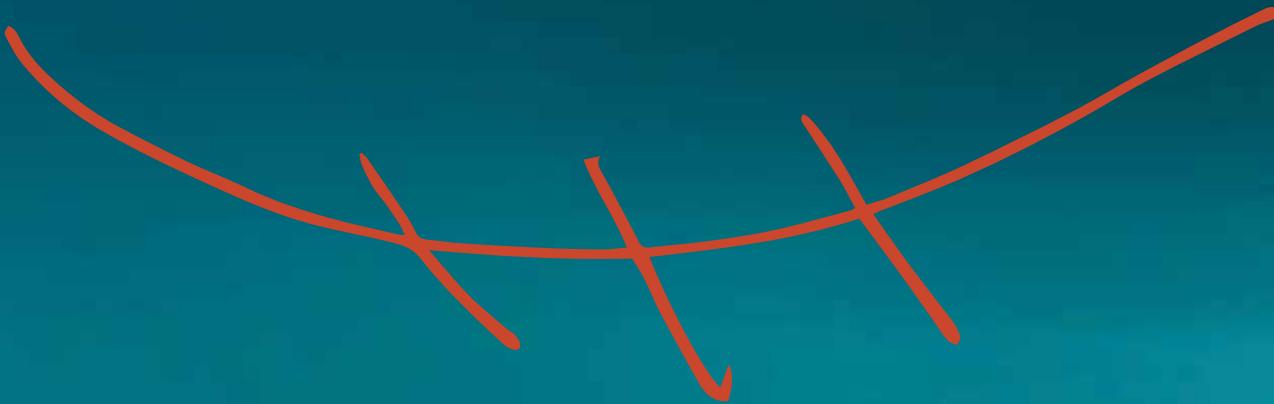
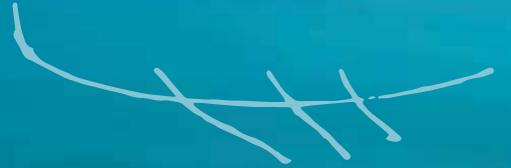


# Odysseys

Odysseys



*The individual authors are responsible for the views expressed in the texts*

© *National Archaeological Museum*

© *Archaeological Receipts Fund*

© *I. Iliopoulou, extracts from the poems by O. Elytis*

Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press

Townsend: Copper Canyon Press

© *A. Lontou, extracts from the poems by G. Seferis*

Princeton: Princeton University Press

© *E. Ritsou, extracts from the poems by Y. Ritsos*

Princeton: Princeton University Press

Minneapolis, Minnesota: The North Central Publishing Company

ISBN 978-960-386-320-5

MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS  
NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM



EDITOR

Maria Lagogianni-Georgakarakos

ATHENS 2017

PUBLISHED BY THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECEIPTS FUND

# EXHIBITION

## CONCEPT, MUSEOLOGICAL NARRATIVE AND COORDINATION

Dr. Maria Lagogianni-Georgakarakos  
Archaeologist, Director of the National Archaeological  
Museum

## MUSEOLOGICAL - MUSEOGRAPHIC CURATING

Dr. Maria Lagogianni-Georgakarakos  
Sappho Athanasopoulou, Archaeologist, MA Museologist  
Dr. Despina Kalessopoulou, Archaeologist-Museologist

## MUSEOGRAPHIC DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION

Pantelis Feleris, Conservator, Exhibition Designer

## ECONOMOTECHNICAL SUPERVISION

Kelly Drakomathioulaki, Technologist, Civil Engineer

## WORKING GROUP

Dr. Maria Lagogianni-Georgakarakos,  
Dr. Kostas Nikalentzos, Sappho Athanasopoulou,  
Kelly Drakomathioulaki, Dr. Despina Kalessopoulou,  
Giannis Panagakos, Pantelis Feleris

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL CURATING, CONSERVATION AND INSTALLATION OF EXHIBITS, TECHNICAL WORK

### Archaeologists

Dr. Giorgos Kavvadias, Dr. Christina Avronidaki,  
Dr. Elena Vlachogianni, Ariadni Klonizaki,  
Panagiota Koutsiana, Dr. Eleni Konstantinidi-Syvridi,  
Katerina Kostanti, Dr. Katia Manteli,  
Dr. Kalliopi Bairami, Dr. Efi Oikonomou,  
Nomiki Palaiokrassa, Dr. Kostas Paschalidis,  
Dr. Maria Salta, Dr. Maria Selekou,  
Eleni Tourna, Dr. Chrysanthi Tsouli,  
Alexandra Chatzipanagiotou, Dr. Maria Chidiroglou

### Conservators

Dr. Georgianna Moraitou, Panagiotis Athanasopoulos,  
Kostas Alexiou, Evridiki Velalopoulou, David Dellios,  
Katerina Ioannidou, Eirini Kapiri,  
Georgia Karamargiou, Rania Kapsokoli,  
Maria Kontaki, Tina Koutouvali,  
Panagiotis Lazaris, Makis Makris,  
Ioanna Dalla, Katerina Xilina, Sophia Spyridaki

**Sculptors:** Thanasis Kalantzis, Nikos Kyritsis

**Painter:** Nektaria Roumelioti

**Workmen:** Tasos Vangelis, Nikolaos Kotsiouros,  
Ilias Babalis, Thanasis Chatzichydiroglou

## TRANSLATIONS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL TEXTS

Dr. Katia Manteli

## DIGITAL APPLICATIONS

Pantelis Feleris, Maria Kontaki, Conservators

## MUSIC COMPILED BY:

Dr. Nikos Xanthoulis

## ADMINISTRATIVE - FINANCIAL - TECHNICAL SUPPORT

Bessy Drougka, Periklis Malamitsis, Vaso Igglesi,  
Anthi Malamitsi, Kalliopi Spyrou

## CONTRACTORS

**Visual material design:** Athena Iakovidou

**Visual material production:** HORIZON

**Constructions:** Emmanouil Lignos "Constructions  
for Museums and Exhibition spaces"

**Lighting:** Giannis and Kostas Velonis

**Lighting consultant:** Kostas Blougouras

**Paintwork:** Giannis and Manthos Karabelias

**Soundscape design:** Nikos Karapiperis

**Transportation - Insurance of exhibits:** MOVE ART S.A.

## LENDING MUSEUMS

Epigraphic - Numismatic Museum

Acropolis Museum

## EXHIBITION LOGO

The exhibition Logo is based on the series "Triremes" by  
Giorgos Xenos

## MUSIC

The music for the exhibition is courtesy of the composer  
Vangelis Papatthanassiou from his works "Ithaca" and  
"VOICES - Dream in an Open Place"

## COLLABORATING INSTITUTIONS

Eugenides Foundation

National Theatre of Greece

## SCIENTIFIC COLLABORATOR

Giannis Metzikov, Scenographer - Costume designer

## LEAD DONOR



## COMMUNICATION SPONSORS



# CATALOGUE

## EDITOR

Dr. Maria Lagogianni-Georgakarakos

## ESSAY AUTHORS

Dr. Christina Avronidaki, Archaeologist NAM

Sappho Athanasopoulou, Archaeologist,

MA Museologist NAM

Dr. Robin Barber, Professor of Archaeology, Department of Classical Archaeology, University of Edinburgh

Dr. Despina Kalessopoulou, Archaeologist - Museologist NAM

Dr. Eleni Konstantinidi-Syvridi, Archaeologist NAM

Katerina Kostanti, Archaeologist NAM

Dr. Maria Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, Archaeologist, Director of the National Archaeological Museum

Dr. Katia Manteli, Archaeologist NAM

Dr. Joseph Maran, Archaeologist, Institute of Pre- and Proto-History, University of Heidelberg

Dr. Georgianna Moraitou, Conservator, Head of the Department of Conservation, Physical and Chemical Research and Archaeometry NAM

Dr. Dimitri Nakassis, Associate Professor of Archaeology, Department of Classics, University of Toronto

Dr. Kostas Nikolentzos, Archaeologist, Head of the Department of Prehistoric, Egyptian, Cypriot, and Near Eastern Antiquities NAM

Dr. Efi Oikonomou, Archaeologist NAM

Dr. Kostas Paschalidis, Archaeologist NAM

Dr. Vasileios Petrakos, Secretary General of the Athens Archaeological Society, Academician

Dr. Kevin Pluta, Deputy Director, Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory (PASP), Department of Classics, University of Texas at Austin

Dr. Maria Salta, Archaeologist NAM

Dr. Bernhard Schmaltz, Emeritus Professor of Archaeology, University of Kiel, Department of Classics, Classical Archaeology

Dr. John Seiradakis, Emeritus Professor of Astronomy, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Member of the Antikythera Mechanism Research Project

Dr. Nikolaos Stambolidis, Professor of Classical Archaeology, University of Crete, Director of the Museum of Cycladic Art

Dr. Ulrich Thaler, Archaeologist, German Archaeological Institute at Athens

Dr. Chrysanthi Tsouli, Archaeologist NAM

Dr. Maria Chidiroglou, Archaeologist NAM

## CATALOGUE AUTHORS

Dr. Giorgos Kavvadias, Dr. Kostas Nikolentzos,

Dr. Christina Avronidaki, Sappho Athanasopoulou,

Dr. Kalliopi Bairami, Ioanna Bougatsou,

Alexandra Chatzipanagiotou, Dr. Maria Chidiroglou,

Dr. Eirini Choremi, Eirini Karra, Ariadni Klonizaki,

Katerina Kostanti, Dr. Eleni Konstantinidi-Syvridi,

Panagiota Koutsiana, Dr. Mimika Kriga, Dr. Katia Manteli,

Dr. Efi Oikonomou, Nomiki Palaiokrassa,

Dr. Kostas Paschalidis, Dr. Vasiliki Pliatsika, Dr. Maria Salta,

Dr. Maria Selekou, Eleni Tournas, Dr. Chrysanthi Tsouli,

Anna Vlachaki, Dr. Elena Vlachogianni, Elena Zavvou,

Eleni Zosi

## GATHERING OF MATERIAL

Kalliopi Spyrou

**Collaborators:** Valentina Michalaki, Rogiros Christodoulou

## PHOTOGRAPHS

*Photographic Archives of National Archaeological Museum*

Ioanna Dalla, Klaus Valtin von Eickstedt, Giorgos Fafalis,

Eleutherios A. Galanopoulos, Dimitris Gialouris,

Hans Rupprecht Goette, Ilias Iliadis, Maria Kontaki,

Socratis Mavrommatis, Eirini Miari, Athanasios Miliarakis,

Kostas Paschalidis, Giannis Patrikianos, Spilios Pistas,

Stelios Skourlis, Stefanos Stournaras, Tasos Vrettos,

Kostas Xenikakis

*Photographic Archives of Acropolis Museum*

Socratis Mavrommatis, Vangelis Tsiamis

*Photographic Archives of Epigraphic - Numismatic Museum*

Vaso Delibasi, Panagiotis Kefis, Vasilis Stamatopoulos

## GENERAL SUPERVISION

Eleni Kotsou

## CATALOGUE EDITING

Vasiliki Krevvata

## BIBLIOGRAPHY EDITING

Evangelia Mermigka, Katerina Tsekoura

## TRANSLATION

Dimitris Doumas, Freya Evenson, Deborah Brown-Kazazis

## ARTISTIC SUPERVISION

Stelios Skourlis

### Working Team

Kyriakos Koutsogiannopoulos, Konstantina Nydrioti,

Lila Patsiadou

## COVER LAYOUT, LOGO AND DIVIDERS LAYOUT OF THE EXHIBITION AXES

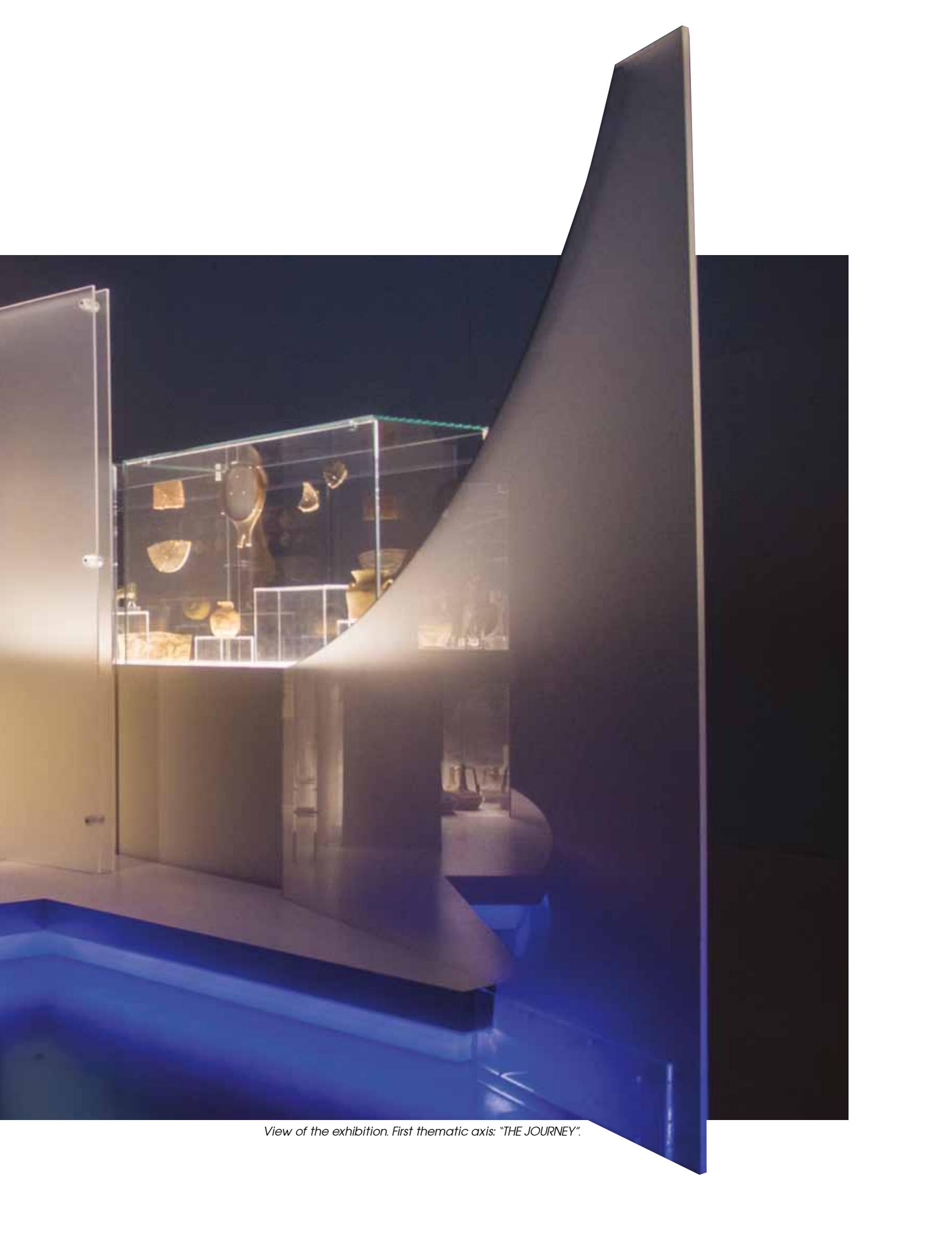
Athena Iakovidou

The ships of the compositions are based in the series "Triremes" by Giorgos Xenos

## DIGITAL IMAGE PROCESSING - PRINTING

LYCHNIA S.A.





*View of the exhibition. First thematic axis: "THE JOURNEY".*

## CONTENTS

---

PREFACES .....	10
FOREWORD .....	15
MARIA LAGOGIANNI-GEORGAKARAKOS "Odysseys": A timeless and human narrative, because ... ..	19
KATIA MANTELI - ELENI KONSTANTINIDI-SYVRIDI Maritime routes in Prehistoric times .....	36
MARIA CHIDIROGLOU Maritime routes and travel in the Mediterranean during the Historical period .....	45
CHRISTINA AVRONIDAKI - EFI OIKONOMOU - CHRYSANTHI TSOULI Myths of the sea: gods, heroes, daemons, and monsters .....	61
ROBIN BARBER Phylakopi on Melos and the National Archaeological Museum .....	71
JOSEPH MARAN - ULRICH THALER Adding (more than) colour. Wall-paintings in the palace of Tiryns .....	79
JOSEPH MARAN - ULRICH THALER The Mycenaean Palaces .....	83
DIMITRI NAKASSIS - KEVIN PLUTA The Linear B Tablets from Pylos .....	91
KOSTAS PASCHALIDIS The Odyssey of violence and power. Times of war and dominance in the early Greek world .....	97
MARIA LAGOGIANNI-GEORGAKARAKOS The Athenian Democracy: The timeless journey of a collective pursuit .....	107
NIKOLAOS CHR. STAMPOLIDIS Eros, from Hesiod's Theogony to Late Antiquity .....	115
KATERINA KOSTANTI - KONSTANTINOS NIKOLENTZOS The concept of death in the Prehistoric societies of Mainland Greece and the Cyclades .....	123
MARIA SALTA Phrasikleia: The Kore from Myrrhinous. An Archaic grave statue .....	137
BERNHARD SCHMALTZ The statue of Phrasikleia - On the polychromy of Greek sculpture .....	151
JOHN H. SEIRADAKIS The Antikythera Mechanism: Basic facts and recent results .....	157
SAPPHO ATHANASOPOULOU - DESPINA KALESSOPOULOU "Odysseys": The exhibition experience from the perspective of museology .....	171

## **ADDENDUM**

### **150 YEARS NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM**

VASILEIOS CH. PETRAKOS	
The National Archaeological Museum .....	193
MARIA SALTA	
The National Archaeological Museum. From ancient myth to contemporary history .....	197
SEMNI KAROUZOU	
<i>The National Museum since 1941</i> .....	199
DESPINA KALESSOPOULOU	
National Archaeological Museum 1866-2016: From the teaching of the science of archaeology to the challenge of the multifaceted museum experience .....	211
GEORGIANNA MORAITOU	
The "Odyssey" of the Conservation and Physicochemical Research of Antiquities at the National Archaeological Museum .....	237

### **THE EXHIBITION CATALOGUE**

#### **THE JOURNEY OR NOSTOS**

Sea routes .....	266
Gods and daemons - Heroic generations and legendary journeys .....	282
Valuable cargoes: Testimonies of civilizations .....	296

#### **ITHACAS**

The Place .....	334
Resources .....	342
Religion .....	352
Hegemony .....	370
War .....	386
Constitution .....	408
Eros .....	434
Death .....	462

<b>EXODUS</b> .....	491
---------------------	-----

<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b> .....	502
---------------------------	-----

The National Archaeological Museum was established on October 3rd, 1866. Today, it celebrates its 150th anniversary with the periodic exhibition, "Odysseys".

The National Archaeological Museum is the oldest museum in Greece and one of the most important of its kind in the world. Its evolution and activities are inextricably linked with our country's history.

The contact with our past through the testimony of monuments and historical finds is the most immediate way for understanding the progress and evolution of the people and societies who lived in our land.

The National Archaeological Museum dedicates this remarkable exhibition on the occasion of the anniversary of its establishment to humankind, its incessant struggle to persevere, its desire to create and effectively organize society, as well as its timeless desire to exceed its potential.

The exhibition "Odysseys" is therefore full of symbolisms and of meaningful parallels to the present day that invite us to be inspired by antiquity and encourage us to continue the journey of life full of faith.

*Alexis Tsipras*  
*Prime Minister of Greece*

The National Archaeological Museum, the greatest museum in the Country, the one museum with the richest and most comprehensive collection of Greek antiquities celebrates this year the 150th anniversary of its foundation with the exhibition "Odysseys" being the major event.

The choice of the exhibition aims to stress that the myth of Odysseus symbolizes the course of humanity. Every person is an Odysseus. It is the person who sets goals, but does not act merely from expediency. He or she is not afraid to confront perils, is not disheartened by the cruelty of the gods, and does not retreat when disasters strike. Odysseus uses his brain and hands, supports his friends and comrades and affiliates himself with people from foreign lands. He is the person who lives his life by creating.

The objects of the exhibition, as commented by the words of great Greek poets, converse with the visitor, each and every Odysseus of today.

In this manner the artefacts of material culture become the vehicles of a fruitful endeavour not just to improve the conditions of survival, but also to leave an imprint on every aspect of daily life as well as on spiritual and religious customs and activities. The exhibition approaches humanity with the sensitivity of the poet.

*...The heavenly always side by side  
with the day-to-day. Next to man: the animal and the objecta –  
bracelet on the arm of the naked goddess, a flower  
fallen to the floor. Remember the fine representations  
on our clay pots: the gods alongside birds and animals,  
along with the lyre, a hammer, an apple, the box, the pliers:...*

*Yannis Ritsos, The Prototypes*

The exhibition pays tribute to those people who have worked for the development of the Museum from its foundation to the present. In my capacity as Minister of Culture and Sports I would like to express my most sincere thanks to all those who were involved in conceiving and implementing the exhibition as well as to those who have continuously been supporting the course of the National Archaeological Museum throughout its long history.

*Aristides Baltas  
Minister of Culture and Sports*

*old age is a false dream and Death but fantasy,  
all playthings of the brain and the soul's affectations,  
all but a mistral's blast that blows the temples wide;*

*Nikos Kazantzakis, The Odyssey, 65-67*

Nikos Kazantzakis, C. P. Cavafy, James Joyce are only a handful of authors in the 20th century that encountered, were influenced by and conversed with the Homeric hero and his torment, which the poet summarizes succinctly in the opening lines of the *Odyssey* "many were the men whose cities he saw and whose mind he learned, aye, and many the woes he suffered in his heart upon the sea, seeking to win his own life and the return of his comrades".

The National Archaeological Museum transfigures this karmic journey to knowledge and self-awareness into a diachronic exhibition. With the aid of the masterpieces of its collections, but also objects that for decades were in storage, from humble amber beads to sculptures of exquisite aesthetic quality, an attempt is made to present the journey of Man in the course of history in a concise manner.

A journey that has a dual purpose: the trade of products, the procurement of material wealth, the achievement of better living conditions, and the affirmation of supremacy and authority. Simultaneously, it is a journey to self-awareness and fulfilment through artistic creation and production, the existential vacuum of every man before the tragedy of death; and yet a journey that nonetheless offers "sensual perfume of every kind", love, affection, and companionship.

These universal concepts, of high symbolic meaning, take shape in the exhibition "Odysseys" that was staged by the National Archaeological Museum on the occasion of the celebration of 150 years since its foundation.

And it becomes clear that the Museum itself, being a living organism, has experienced during these 150 years its very own *Odyssey*. The selection of its location, the funding of its construction and completion, the transport and display in its premises of hundreds of antiquities from across the country, the epic undertaking of the concealment of the ancient works at the outbreak of World War II, the appalling conditions during the German Occupation, the gaping – even today – wounds of the December 1944 events as these are reflected in the walls of the Museum, the post-war redisplay of the antiquities, they all these establish a link between the National Archaeological Museum and the history of modern Greece, the struggles and the anguish of the Greek people.

The articulation of the exhibition attempts to narrate the small or great adventures of the people that lived in Greece from the fifth millennium BC to the end of the Roman period. The coexistence of exhibits of different time periods and cultural horizons help in vividly illustrating and highlighting in the eyes of the spectator key concepts, such as Love, Death, Homeland, *Oikos* (Family) in their diachrony.

And, of course, in a country like Greece, the dominating element is the sea which offered to the Homeric *Odysseus* as well as the people of this country the predilection for travelling, exchange of goods and ideas, discovery, inventiveness, adjustability, and ingenuity.

The exhibition, based on museological principles and using modern technology prudently, aims to decipher the symbolisms, but also the meaning of each exhibit and at the same time offer the journey to an "Ithaca"

which each visitor is invited to “find or choose” after the conclusion of the exhibition.

The present catalogue, aside from entries for every exhibit, provides also synthetic approaches, based on the latest scientific findings, concerning concepts and issues which the exhibition considers. Moreover, prominent scientists of international acclaim present the results yielded by their years-long research into the “unknown” to many people “world” of the Museum’s storerooms. Because this aspect of our National Museum, namely its role as a research centre that promotes Archaeognostic studies, should not be overlooked.

It is my duty to congratulate the Museum staff, which undoubtedly worked hard and strove physically and spiritually to “bring together” this exhibition. My warmest thanks go to the Stavros Niarchos Foundation whose munificent donation supported the undertaking thereby turning in the end the ideas into reality.

I wish that the National Archaeological Museum carries on its journey, with no fear of Laistrygonians and Cyclops or livid Poseidon, and may its course be a long one, full of beautiful stories, filled with knowledge.

*Dr. Maria Vlazaki-Andreadaki*  
*General Secretary of Culture*

The temporary exhibition "Odysseys" coincides with the evolution over time, or the "Odyssey" of the National Archaeological Museum itself, which celebrates 150 years since its founding. For this reason, the exhibition organizers set as its central axis the celebration of the timelessness of artefacts as a conceptual communion with the lived experience of the visitor, who is, in the end, the recipient and judge of the entire enterprise.

The "Odysseys" are displayed as a retrospective and point of reference for the experience and self-realization of the visitor himself, in his eternal course in the seductive yet tragic journey of human life and creation. A total of one hundred eighty-four objects from the National Archaeological Museum as well as six exhibits on loan from the Epigraphic Museum and the Acropolis Museum are exhibited in three thematic axes, The Journey - *Ithacas* - Exodus. The "Little Seafarer" by O. Elytis provides an additional introductory reception and poetic annotation to the display, and stations have been created in the Museum's permanent collection distinguishing emblematic works that complement the exhibition.

The core of the exhibition recalls that epic poetic creation, the *Odyssey*, and the hero for whom it was named, long-suffering Odysseus, the timeless Greek Argonaut, traveller and civilizing force par excellence. The exploratory feat of the universal Hero-Symbol and all others that are identified in the exhibits - Gods and Daemons, Heroic Generations and Legendary Journeys - is addressed to the visitor and his own experience, offering consolation for his own life's adventures as he journeys toward his Ithaca and Homecoming with its analogous symbolism.

Interjected in this multi-layered exhibition, as both its complement and counterpoint, are thematic units centered on the creative power of Eros and the inevitable end of human perishability, while the third thematic axis of the exhibition, Exodus, highlights masterpieces of ancient Greek creativity, such as a copy of the Diadoumenos by Polykleitos, the Antikythera Mechanism, an example of Mycenaean Linear B writing, and the Zeus Kerauneios, a prelude to continuing human creativity.

The "Odysseys" is an exhibition rich in artefacts, in accompanying scenography, in poetic references and in interconnections and intermingling of works of various eras by diverse artists that will enchant and engage with its visitor as well as with those who peruse the accompanying exhibition catalogue.

*Dr. Elena Korka*  
*General Director of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage*

## FOREWORD

*We who set out on this pilgrimage  
looked at the broken statues  
became distracted and said that life is not so easily lost ...*

*Giorgos Seferis, Mythistorema*

The 3rd of October 2016 marks the 150-year anniversary of the foundation of the National Archaeological Museum. The resplendent space in which the most magnificent and significant antiquities from all over the country were gathered succeeded in accentuating the main aspects of the Greek culture across most of the areas in which it flourished through an objective and fully comprehensive approach. However, aside from offering a pragmatistic picture of the past, the ancient monuments have the capacity to visualize concepts and disclose messages that quite often touch today's visitors, thus instigating thought and sensory reflection or giving rise to an emotional response and poetic inspiration.

The new anniversary exhibition "Odysseys" displays the undying memories which the ancient works of the National Archaeological Museum encompass in their perishable physicality. Odysseus has been described in the Homeric epic as wretched (*τάλας*) and stout-hearted (*τλήμων*), prudent (*δαίφρων*) and of many devices (*πολύτροπος*) and thus constitutes a timeless symbol of the long-suffering, unwearied and wise traveller, who denounces the effortlessly gained immortality and pursues his own higher goal.

The "Odysseys" of the National Archaeological Museum have been inspired by the eminent mythological epic and, without recounting it, they look into the societies that emerged and developed in the Hellenic cultural space from the fifth millennium BC to late antiquity. The exhibition narrative aims to reconstruct a long and adventurous chronicle through a sequence of cultural layers, re-enacting differentiations in space and time and exploring the critical affinities and key similarities that comprise the common imprint that man has left on the centuries, the ages and the civilizations.

The presentation of the exhibits, without deviating from the strict archaeological criteria, is objectively structured and at the same time integrates symbolic images and semiological allusions that unravel new readings and perhaps new or unexpected interpretations. In this direction four modern poets, C. P. Cavafy, G. Seferis, O. Elytis, and Y. Ritsos, lead our thought in a contemplative manner as they encode timeless symbolisms regarding the journey, *Ithacas*, Eros, death, and human creation

One hundred and ninety unique ancient works have been thoughtfully and carefully selected, with the intention of telling the age-old and enchanting story of the human adventure within the limited space designated for the temporary exhibitions of the Museum. Seven additional points in the permanent exhibition signal emblematic works which supplement and expand the narrative, reversing spatial conventions and furthering the holistic approach to the subject. The catalogue that accompanies the exhibition and upholds its commemorative character serves the purposes of this notion with 341 entries, essays intended exclusively for the exhibition, and significant contributions from the international scientific community.

In this undertaking we had a large number of supporters whom we would like to warmly thank from this position also. We would like to express our deepest gratitude to the Minister of Culture and Sports Professor A. Baltas, the Secretary General of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports Dr. M. An-

dreadaki-Vlazaki, and the General Director of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage Dr. E. Korca for supporting the exhibition in their area of responsibility. We extend our sincerest thanks to the President of the Acropolis Museum Professor D. Pandermalis and the Director of the Epigraphic-Numismatic Museum Dr. G. Kakavas for the loan of six antiquities, and the Director of the National Theatre of Greece Mr. S. Livathinos for providing us with one ancient drama costume.

For the loan of works of art on the occasion of the celebration of the 150 years of the National Archaeological Museum we are deeply thankful to the Director of the Badisches Landesmuseum of Karlsruhe Professor E. Köhne and Dr. K. Horst, the Head Curator of the Department of the Greek and Roman Art of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Dr. C. Picón, the Director General of the National Museum of Western Art in Tokyo Dr. A. Mabuchi, the Director of the Palace Museum of Beijing Dr. S. Jixiang, and the Ambassador Mr. Z. Xiaoli, the President of the Management Board of the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation Mr. A. Papadimitriou, the Professor of the Institute of Classical Archaeology D. Panagiotopoulos and the Forum Antike, the Association of Friends of the Institute of Classical Archaeology of the University of Heidelberg, the Professor Emeritus of the Athens School of Fine Arts M. Lambraki-Plaka, Director of the National Gallery - Alexandros Soutzos Museum, and the Director of the National Museum of Contemporary Art Dr. K. Koskina.

We are grateful to the President of the Eugenides Foundation Mr. L. Dimitriadis-Eugenidis, the Director of the Planetarium of the aforementioned Foundation Mr. M. Kitsonas, the scenographer and costume designer Mr. Y. Metzikov, the Professor of Digital Applications of the Department of Graphic Design of the Technological Educational Institute of Athens Mr. V. Chatzitheodorou and Ms. K. Bazina for their contribution to the purpose of the exhibition.

We are indebted to Ms. I. Iliopoulou, Ms. A. Lontou and Ms. E. Ritsou for granting us publication rights to include extracts from the poetry collections in the catalogue. We warmly thank Mr. Vangelis Papathanasiou for his permission to use his music, and also Mr. E. Kalafatis for his support. Many thanks also go to Mr. Giorgos Xenos for letting us use his drawings from the series "Triremes" and to Ms. Chr. Ntouvri.

Our sincerest thanks also go to the Governing Board of the Archaeological Receipts Fund and its President Dr. A. Louvi-Kizi and particularly the Department of Publications and its Director Ms. E. Kotsou as well as the executives Ms. V. Krevvata and Mr. S. Skourlis who were responsible for editing and designing this catalogue.

For the commercial promotion of the exhibition we extend our gratitude to Greek Radio Television - ERT and Mr. L. Tagmatarchis and Mr. D. Tsaknis in particular, the Urban Rail Transport (STA.SY. S.A.) and especially Mr. S. Stephopoulos and Mr. G. Thomopoulos, and also the "Alliance for Greece" and Mr. G. Kaloudis.

From this position we would also like to thank the Board of Directors of the Association of Friends of the National Archaeological Museum for their immediate and effective - as usual - collaboration in our work.

Special mention and heartfelt thanks are due to the Grand Sponsor of the exhibition, the Stavros Niarchos Foundation, which actively supported and contributed generously to the aims, the objectives, and the implementation of this ambitious anniversary project.

To conclude with, it should be stressed that the exhibition "Odysseys" could not have been realized without the arduous efforts of the experienced staff of the National Archaeological Museum. We have all exerted ourselves fervently and devotedly so as to honour all the things which this landmark anniversary signifies.

*Dr. Maria Lagogianni-Georgakarakos  
Director of the National Archaeological Museum*



*View of the exhibition. Second thematic axis: "ITHACAS".*

Odysseys

~~Odysseys~~

Odysseys

## **“ODYSSEYS”: A TIMELESS AND HUMAN NARRATIVE, BECAUSE ...**

*In any case we would always voyage in our own places*  
*O. Elytis, The Odyssey*

The new exhibition of the National Archaeological Museum attempts to give an account of the adventurous journey of man through time considered from an abstract and symbolic perspective that draws its inspiration from the Homeric *Odyssey*. The occasion for the planning of such a demanding exhibition has been the 150th anniversary of the establishment of the National Archaeological Museum. In celebrating this milestone all of the Museum's Collections take part in the undertaking, committed to supporting with their unique works the archaeological dimension of the theme and at the same time focusing on the undying memories encompassed in the perishable nature of the ancient works. Great modern poets offer the thread that bridges the gap between the past and the present through a unique dialogue that goes beyond time and remains ever so topical concerning the journey, *Ithacas*, love, death, and human creation.

### **The character of the exhibition: when archaeology converges with poetry and semiology**

“Odysseys” constitute a timeless and human narrative with symbolic extensions, or a journey through the ages from the time at which events could hardly be ascertained in the mists of myth, to the familiar historical past and perhaps until today. Without reciting the mythological epic of Homer, the exhibition is inspired by the archetypal character of Odysseus and recounts through the ancient works of the National Archaeological Museum the long history of the beleaguered man, the unremitting quest, the hopes, the fears, the difficulties, the mistakes, the passions, the struggle, the experience, the happiness, the conquests, the accomplishments, the defeats, and the triumphs.

Being an anthropocentric epic with anachronisms and symbolic connotations, the Homeric *Odyssey* and its main episodes comprise the ideal setting for articulating the exhibition. The unique works of the National Archaeological Museum become the vehicle for the exhibition narrative which delves into the societies that developed in the Greek cultural space from the 5th millennium BC to late antiquity looking closely at the course of events in the adventure of man.

Marble sculptures and clay vases, metalwork and minor arts objects, works of art of public, religious, or funerary character, personal items and simple, useful and everyday artefacts, such as jewels, vessels, tools, and raw materials, convey memories and serve as guides for the mesmerizing journey through the ages. Evidence of the Neolithic societies at Dimini and Sesklo, the Cycladic culture, the Minoan Crete, the Mycenaean world, and the Greek civilization of Historical times narrate human and heroic stories and touch on aspects of countless lives, known and unknown “Odysseys”, personal as well as collective. Ancient works originating from different places and time periods are presented in an enchanting sequence of cultural stratification, enabling the visitor to discern the differentiations and changes and simultaneously detect those elements that

reside and remain unaffected in time and constitute the shared imprint which man has left on the centuries, the ages and the civilizations.

The presentation of the exhibits has been based on archaeological and aesthetic criteria, is structured in a literal as well as metaphorical mode and acts objectively and symbolically. As a result, the exhibition puts forward multiple readings and interpretations and entails allusions to the present day. In terms of the archaeological and historical reading, the ancient works are displayed as objective witnesses of their epoch based on the way they have been stratified in time bearing references to mythological and historical elements.

With regard to symbolism, the ancient works express eternal meanings and ideas, encapsulate personal situations and feelings, and communicate messages concerning social circumstances and historical events. In this direction our steps are guided by four modern pioneer poets, C. P. Cavafy, G. Seferis, O. Elytis, and Y. Ritsos, who, as they draw their inspiration from elements of myth, history, and the ancient Greek art, encode timeless symbolisms and convey them to present-day reality, each one in his own expressive manner.



*Synthesis comprised of the ancient works cat. nos. 3, 9, 26, and 30.*

## The axes of the exhibition

The two first axes of the exhibition, the “Journey” and “*Ithacas*”, are conceptually developed in direct juxtaposition with the principal episodes of the Homeric *Odyssey*. The third axis is titled “Exodus” and functions as a pragmatistic synopsis and sensory reflection, as a rational recourse and a redemptive riposte to the human destiny.

### THE JOURNEY OR NOSTOS

*Κύπρον Φοινίκην τε καὶ Αἴγυπτίους ἐπαληθείς  
Αἰθιοπίας θ' ἰκόμην καὶ Σιδονίους καὶ Ἐρεμβούς  
καὶ Λιβύην [...]*

*Ομήρου Οδύσσεια, δ 83-85\**

*Over Cyprus and Phoenicia I wandered, and Egypt,  
and I came to the Ethiopians and the Sidonians and the Erembi,  
and to Libya ...*

*Homer, The Odyssey, IV 83-85\**

[...]

*may you stop at Phoenician trading station  
to buy fine things,  
mother of pearl and coral, amber and ebony,  
sensual perfume of every kind –  
as many sensual perfumes as you can;  
and may you visit many Egyptian cities  
to gather stores of knowledge from their scholars.*

*C. P. Cavafy, Ithaca*

The multifarious facets of the journey throughout human diachrony are presented: the maritime routes<sup>1</sup>, the ships of seafarers, the goods which the high seas yield, the new ideas, commerce, trade, the colonies<sup>2</sup>, war, the mythical journeys, gods and heroes, the nymphs and the benevolent creatures, the daemons and the sea monsters<sup>3</sup>.

Models of boats, representations of rowing, sailing, and ram-bearing ships, which all constitute eternal symbols of maritime routes and the human quest, act jointly with artefacts that depict familiar elements of the marine environment, dolphins, octopuses, corals, and nautilus that lure us into their enchanting world<sup>4</sup>.

---

\* Homer, *The Odyssey*, Loeb Classical Library. For modern poetic sources, see p. 502.

1. See in the present volume, K. Manteli - E. Konstantinidi-Syvriddi, Maritime routes in Prehistoric times, pp. 36-44.

2. See in the present volume, M. Chidioglou, Maritime routes and travel in the Mediterranean during the Historical period, pp. 45-60.

3. See in the present volume, Ch. Avronidaki - E. Oikonomou - Ch. Tsouli, Myths of the Sea: Gods, heroes, daemons, and monsters, pp. 61-70.

4. Cf. the eyed jug from Akrotiri on Thera that bears painted decoration depicting two dolphins, cat. no. 15 (late 17th c. BC), the fresco from Phylakopi of Melos that shows flying fish in a seascape, cat. no. 16 (16th c. BC), and the palatial jar/amphora from Prosymna in Argolis decorated with octopuses in a marine environment, cat. no. 20 (1500-1450 BC).



Synthesis comprised of the ancient works cat. nos. 1, 15, 37, 51, 55, 56, and 69.

Interconnected spirals that resemble the frothy waves of the sea surround a rowing ship incised on a “frying-pan” vessel from Syros (2800-2300 BC, cat. no. 1). A helmsman from the Cyclades standing erect and imperious on a ship is portrayed on the fragment of a vase from Phylakopi of Melos (2700-2300 BC, cat. no. 2). The open sails of a sailboat, similar to those that crossed the Archipelago and the high seas of the Eastern Mediterranean, are preserved on the painted decoration of another fragment (2300-2000 BC, cat. no. 2), whereas the bronze model of a boat from Kephala on Kea (16th c. BC, cat. no. 3) depicts a type of sea vessel that was widespread across the Cyclades, the Minoan Crete, and the Mycenaean world.

A votive plaque (cat. no. 9) that bears the representation of a warship and comes from the sanctuary of Athena and Poseidon at Sounion, the place where the Athenians built a heroon and staged boat races in honour of Phrontis, the brave helmsman of Menelaus, takes us to historical times (early 7th c. BC), whereas the ram-bearing ship with all its crew members, the oarsmen, the helmsman, and the *keleustes* (boatswain) depicted on a Corinthian aryballos (575-550 BC) recalls the seagoing vessels with which the daring seafarers controlled the trade routes of the Mediterranean (cat. no. 11).

Painted vases that illustrate fascinating adventures, suffering, passions, and heroic feats in faraway lands and overseas voyages draw our attention. Perseus, the Argonauts, Heracles, Odysseus<sup>5</sup>, heroic generations of myth and legend, call to mind memories and images, point to historical events consigned to oblivion and impart meaning to the endless fight and the resourceful power of man.

Precious small figurines brought from far-flung territories<sup>6</sup>, clay, bronze, and glass vases from Syria, Palestine, and Egypt<sup>7</sup>, miniature stirrup jars from Mycenae intended for the transport of scented oils<sup>8</sup>, Hellenistic lagynoi that carried wine<sup>9</sup>, exotic rhyta made of ostrich eggshell<sup>10</sup>, obsidian cores and artefacts made of obsidian from Melos<sup>11</sup>, jewels made of amber from the Baltic Sea<sup>12</sup>, faience of Egypt<sup>13</sup>, carnelian and lapis lazuli from Syria and West Asia<sup>14</sup>, elephant and hippopotamus tusks<sup>15</sup>, imported materials and objects as well as works inspired by other civilizations comprise the multifarious cargo of an imaginary ship on its return home.

5. Cf. the Attic black-figure amphora that depicts the Gorgons chasing Perseus, cat. no. 31 (620-610 BC), the Attic red-figure pelike that depicts Phrixus, cat. no. 35 (460-450 BC), the Attic black-figure lekythos that portrays Heracles on the outermost banks of Oceanus, cat. no. 32 (510-500 BC), and the Attic black-figure lekythos that displays Odysseus (tied to the mast of his vessel) and the Sirens, cat. no. 37 (late 6th c. BC).

6. Cf. the silver deer-shaped vessel of Hittite origin, cat. no. 55 (16th c. BC), the terracotta female figurine from Cyprus, cat. no. 65 (1450-1200 BC), and the bronze figurine of the war god Resheph from Syro-Palestine, cat. no. 79 (13th c. BC).

7. Cf. the Canaanite amphorae, cat. no. 81 (13th c. BC), the Phoenician phiale made of bronze, cat. no. 87 (late 8th-early 7th c. BC), and the glass vase from Egypt, cat. no. 64 (1550-1307 BC).

8. Cat. no. 69 (14th-13th c. BC).

9. Cat. no. 109 (2nd-1st c. BC).

10. Cf. the ostrich eggs that were imported from Egypt and their shell was shaped into rhyta, cat. no. 56 (16th-14th c. BC).

11. Cat. no. 49 (6th-5th millennium BC and 3200-2800 BC). The obsidian from Melos attests to the earliest voyages that took place across the Aegean already since the 12th millennium BC. See in the present volume, K. Manteli - E. Konstantinidi-Syvridi, Maritime routes in Prehistoric times, pp. 36-38.

12. Cf. beads, cat. no. 54 (16th c. BC).

13. Cf. beads, cat. no. 73 (13th c. BC).

14. Cf. beads and pendants, cat. no. 74 (13th c. BC).

15. Cf. cat. nos. 75, 76 (13th c. BC).

## The symbolisms

«Εἰ δ' ἄγε δὴ μοι τοῦτο, θεά, νημερτὲς ἐνίσπες,  
εἴ πως τὴν ὀλοὴν μὲν ὑπεκπροφύγοιμι Χάρυβδιν,  
τὴν δέ κ' ἀμυναίμην, ὅτε μοι σίνοιτό γ' ἑταίρους.»  
Ομήρου Οδύσσεια, μ 113-115

*Come, I pray thee, goddess, tell me this thing truly, if in any wise I might  
escape from fell Charybdis, and ward off that other, when she works  
harm to my comrades.*

*Homer, The Odyssey, XII 113-115*

*It's as though he wants to banish from our midst the superhuman Cyclops,  
who watches with one eye, the Sirens, whose song makes you forget, and  
Scylla and Charybdis, who swallow you whole,  
so many elaborate monsters that keep us from reflecting how he was a  
man who strove in the world with his body and his soul.*

*G. Seferis, Upon a Foreign Verse*

The symbolic character of the sea voyage and the comparison of *nostos* by the modern Greek poets with the journey of life, the vicissitudes, the ordeals, the good expectations, and the unforeseen misfortunes is denoted in the exhibition by the marble statuettes that accompany the ship, the kindly Tritonides (early 2nd c. BC)<sup>16</sup> that symbolize the hopes of the seafarer, but also the fatal Sirens (4th c. BC)<sup>17</sup> and the fearful Scylla (late 2nd-early 1st c. BC)<sup>18</sup>, imaginary monsters that signify the anguish of Odysseus and all those that put him through an ordeal.



16. Cat. no. 48 from the Temple of the Great Goddesses at Lykosoura in Arcadia.

17. Cat. no. 44 from the Kerameikos.

18. Cat. no. 47. Cf. also the bronze figurine of Scylla, cat. no. 46 (late 4th c. BC).

*Synthesis comprised of the ancient  
works cat. nos. 44 and 48.*



Statuette of the god Poseidon, cat. no. 27.

*ᾠρσε δ' ἐπὶ μέγα κῦμα Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων,  
δεινόν τ' ἀργαλέον τε, κατηρεφές, ἤλασε δ' αὐτόν.  
Ομήρου Οδύσσεια, ε 366-367*

*Poseidon, the earth-shaker, made to rise up a great wave, dread and  
grievous, arching over from above, and drove it upon him.*

*Homer, The Odyssey, V 366-367*

The bronze statuette of Poseidon, the earth-shaker and ruler of the seas<sup>19</sup> who stirs the waters into a fury and raises menacingly an enormous wave against Odysseus, acts in a similar manner. "AXION ESTI the wave that's raging and lifts five fathoms in the air", O. Elytis<sup>20</sup> reminds us as he points that the trials and the struggle are those that make life worthy and meaningful. "Laistrygonians and Cyclops, wild Poseidon you won't encounter them, unless you bring them along inside your soul, unless your soul sets them up in front of you", C. P. Cavafy says in response<sup>21</sup>. In this regard many times the journey of life turns into a journey to self-awareness, an inner path and agonizing wandering deep down into the mind and the soul in the way that O. Elytis describes.

*I said I'll leave. Now. With whatever: travel sack on my  
shoulder; guidebook in my pocket; camera in my hand. I'll go  
deep in the soil and deep in my body to find out who I am.  
What I give, what I am given, and still injustice has the  
greater part.*

*O. Elytis, The Little Seafarer*

"Meanwhile Greece goes on travelling, always travelling", G. Seferis remarks<sup>22</sup> thus establishing a connection between the sea voyage, the experiences, the episodes of our personal life, and all those that leave an indelible seal on our collective path, the history, and the destiny of this land. "My country, an enduring ship", O. Elytis adds<sup>23</sup>.

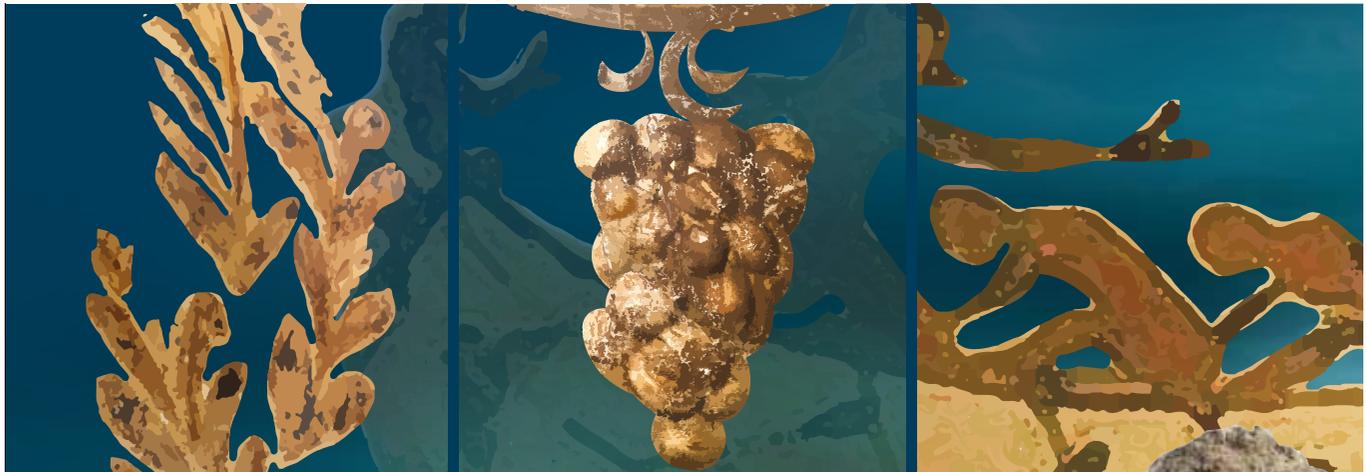
19. Bronze statuette of the god Poseidon found in the sea off Livadostra bay, Boeotia, cat. no. 27 (ca. 480 BC).

20. O. Elytis, *The Axion Esti* (Worthy it is).

21. C. P. Cavafy, *Ithaca*.

22. G. Seferis, *In the Manner of G.S.*

23. O. Elytis, *The Little Seafarer*.



## ITHACAS

ὦς οὐδὲν γλύκιον ἦς πατρίδος  
 Ομήρου *Οδύσσεια*, ι 34

*So true is it that naught is sweeter than a man's own land.*  
 Homer, *The Odyssey*, IX 34

*Keep Ithaca always in your mind.*  
*Arriving there is what you are destined for.*  
 C. P. Cavafy, *Ithaca*

*And again and again, the shade of Odysseus appears before me, with eyes red from the brine of the waves and from a ripe yearning to see once more the smoke wafting from the warmth of his house, and the dog grown old waiting at the door.*

*There he stands, tall, whispering through his whitened beard words of our tongue, as it was spoken three thousand years ago.*  
 G. Seferis, *Upon a Foreign Verse*

The end of the journey is associated in the Homeric *Odyssey* with the return home and the blissful reunion with the beloved. The exhibition explores the diachronic *Ithacas* as a natural landscape, as a place for collective act and a space for self-fulfilment.

Worn by the salinity of the seawater of Antikythera, the statue that depicts Odysseus as a mature and bearded man (first half of the 1st c. BC)<sup>24</sup> marks the beginning of the unity, signifies the return from his adventure and implies associatively the "ripe yearning" of the voyager "to see once more the smoke wafting from the warmth of his house"<sup>25</sup>. The deep and dominating relationship of man with everything his land means to him is paralleled by G. Seferis with a rigid armature built within the body "like the veins where the blood booms", and also with love unconquerable like music and ever-

24. Cat. no. 120 (first half of the 1st c. BC).

25. G. Seferis, *Upon a Foreign Verse*.

*Statue of Odysseus, cat. no. 120.*





*The Spring Fresco, Akrotiri, Thera, cat. no. 111.*

lasting "because it was born when we were born and whether it dies when we do we do not know and it is no use trying"<sup>26</sup>.

An islet in the centre of the Room has been designed with the intent to take us to an island setting. Vases designated for everyday use and cult rituals, askoi, jugs, a rhyton, and a kymbe from Akrotiri of Thera<sup>27</sup>, illuminate elements of the natural environment. Crocus flowers, ears of barley, legumes, anemones, olive branches, grapes, wild goats, and dolphins excite our imagination with their beauty. All of a sudden, the Cycladic landscape of the 17th c. BC seems unaltered in time, imperishable since then until today, like an eternal image hidden deep inside our collective consciousness that sees our common Ithaca with the eyes of O. Elytis: "If you deconstruct Greece, in the end you will see an olive tree, a grapevine, and a boat remain. That is: with as much you reconstruct her"<sup>28</sup>.

For C. P. Cavafy Ithaca is different; it is a private and inner Ithaca, a personal goal, a destination, hope and aspiration, a reason to be on the road and an occasion for the amazing journey. "And if you find her poor, Ithaca won't have fooled you. Wise as you will have become, so full of experience, you will have understood by then what these Ithacas mean"<sup>29</sup>, the Alexandrian poet reminds us implying that every personal effort, mental pursuit, or spiritual wandering is worthy as tediously attained inner knowledge even if the end result is lesser and inferior compared to our expectations.

26. G. Seferis, *Upon a Foreign Verse*.

27. Conical rhyton cat. no. 112, jug cat. no. 113, jug cat. no. 114, askos cat. no. 115, jug cat. no. 116, kymbe cat. no. 117. Late 17th c. BC. See also the exquisite Spring Fresco, cat. no. 111.

28. O. Elytis, *The Little Seafarer*.

29. C. P. Cavafy, *Ithaca*.

## Reconstructing the timeless *Ithacas*

The confrontation of Odysseus with the suitors in order to recover his house and kingdom and reinstate his institutional role has given rise to a semiological reconstruction of human action within the context of society. Diachronic acts and situations, meanings and ideas that exceed time function as points of reference: resources and human creation, religion and hegemony, war and claim, state institutions, democracy, philosophy, art and culture and, finally, love and death.

### *Image One: Resources*

τὸν δ' οἶον πατέρ' εὖρεν εὐκτιμένην ἐν ἀλωῇ,  
λιστρεύοντα φυτόν· ῥυπόωντα δὲ ἔστο χιτῶνα  
ῥαπτὸν ἀεικέλιον, περὶ δὲ κνήμησι βοείας  
κνημίδας ῥαπτὰς δέδετο, γραπτῆς ἀλεείνων,  
Ομήρου *Οδύσσεια*, ω 226-229

*But he found his father alone in the well-ordered vineyard, digging about a plant; and he was clothed in a foul tunic, patched and wretched, and about his shins he had bound stitched greaves of ox-hide to guard against scratches*

*Homer, The Odyssey, XXIV 226-229*

*I was given the Hellenic tongue  
my house a humble one on the sandy shores of Homer  
O. Elytis, The Axion Esti*

*And if you find her poor, Ithaca won't have fooled you  
C. P. Cavafy, Ithaca*

Starting off with the Neolithic tools from Sesklo in Thessaly (6th-5th millennium BC)<sup>30</sup> that allude to the struggle for survival and visualize the untiring fervour of man for creation, the exhibition then expounds on the unremitting search for natural resources and the arduous effort to manage them with a large pithos intended for storage from the west storerooms of the Minoan palace of Knossos (17th c. BC) that bears the incised illegible symbols of Linear A, a long-forgotten script<sup>31</sup>.

Clearer messages from the distant past are conveyed by a clay tablet from the Mycenaean Pylos that preserves evidence for the organization of the agricultural economy and the management (storage, transport, and distribution) of viticultural products in the Mycenaean societies of the 13th c. BC written in Linear B, the earliest form of Greek script<sup>32</sup>.

30. Cat. no. 121. See also in the present volume, K. Manteli - E. Konstantinidi-Syvridi, Maritime routes in Prehistoric times, pp. 36-44.

31. Cf. cat. no. 124.

32. Cat. no. 127. It concerns the distribution of wine across nine cities of the kingdom of Pylos. See also in the present volume, D. Nakassis - K. Pluta, The Linear B Tablets from Pylos, pp. 91-96.



*Synthesis comprised of the ancient works cat. nos. 121 and 124.*

## Image Two: Religion

«Ἵ πόποι, οἷον δὴ νυ θεοὺς βροτοὶ αἰτιόωνται  
ἐξ ἡμέων γάρ φασι κάκ' ἔμμεναι, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ  
σφῆσιν ἀτασθαλίησιν ὑπὲρ μόρον ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν. [...]»  
Ομήρου Οδύσσεια, α 32-34

*Look you now, how ready mortals are to blame the gods. It is from us, they say, that evils come, but they even of themselves, through their own blind folly, have sorrows beyond that which is ordained.*

Homer, *The Odyssey*, I 32-34

*That we've broken their statues,  
that we've driven them out of their temples,  
doesn't mean at all that the gods are dead.*

C. P. Cavafy, *Ionic*

*I had seen gods' statues naked, and I knew  
how vulnerable they all were*

Y. Ritsos, *Beneath the Shadow of the Mountain*

The magnificent oversized head of the goddess Athena, the guardian of Odysseus – a creation of a sculptor of the 2nd c. AD – copies a significant classical original work that has been attributed to the great Athenian artist Pheidias<sup>33</sup> and is presented in the exhibition as an imposing symbol of divinity.

The tablet from the archive of the palace of Ano Englianos at Pylos (late 13th c. BC)<sup>34</sup> that records in Linear B a priest (*i-je-re-u*), a follower (*e-ge-ta*), a priestess (*i-je-re-ja*), and a key-bearer (*ka-ra-wi-po-ro*) is conceptually juxtaposed with the inscription from the Acropolis of Athens, dated centuries later, that preserves two decrees of the Athenian *Ecclesia tou Demou* (the Popular Assembly) concerning the reorganization of the cult of Athena Nike inscribed on both sides of the monument (440-430 BC(?) and 424/3 BC)<sup>35</sup>. By order of the Boule (Council) and the *Ecclesia tou Demou* construction work is planned in the sanctuary of the goddess, the election of a priestess from all Athenian women by lot is specified, and also her fee and the time of payment by the *kolakretai*, namely the magistrates in charge of financial matters, are regulated.

The access of women to priesthood is attested by a marble grave stele from Rhamnus (380-370 BC)<sup>36</sup> that is juxtaposed in the exhibition with the tablet from Pylos in a signifier-signified relationship. The low relief of the front side depicts the venerable figure of a priestess (possibly of the goddess Nemesis) holding in her left hand a large key to a temple, thus indicating a high priestly office similar to that which the key-bearer priestess (*ka-ra-wi-po-ro*) of Pylos held many centuries earlier.

33. Cat. no. 165.

34. Cat. no. 151.

35. Cat. no. 158.

36. Cat. no. 163.

*Synthesis comprised of the ancient works cat. nos. 158, 163, and 165.*

### Image Three: Hegemony

[...] ἢ σέ γε λαοὶ  
ἐχθαίρουσ' ἀνὰ δῆμον [...] *Ομήρου Οδύσσεια, π 95-96*

*Or do the people throughout the land hate thee?  
Homer, The Odyssey, XVI 95-96*

*This is why Dimitrios Selefkidis was displeased;  
and right away he offered Ptolemy  
purple robes, a magnificent diadem,  
precious jewels, numerous servants and retainers,  
his most expensive horses [...]*

*C. P. Cavafy, The Displeasure of Selefkidis*

The concept of hegemony is similarly represented. A tablet from the archive of the palace of Ano Englianos inscribed with Linear B symbols reflects the pyramid of the administrative hierarchy of the society of Pylos at the end of the 13th c. BC headed by the king (*wa-na-ka*) being the supreme monarch who exerted control over worship, followed by the leader of the people (*ra-wa-ke-ta*) who was a military commander<sup>37</sup>.

Emblematic objects, indicative of power, eminence, and authority, such as imposing death masks, gold sceptres and diadems, decorated swords and ornate daggers, precious jewels and luxurious vases, accompanied the deceased Mycenaeans who attained high political and religious offices<sup>38</sup>. A mask, a sceptre and the thorax plate, all made of gold, and a luxurious dagger decorated with lapis lazuli, is what has been left of the image of an anonymous prince from Mycenae that lived in the second half of the 16th c. BC and passed away at the age of thirty<sup>39</sup>. Amongst the burial gifts that were deposited in that grave was also the famous golden cup with the elaborate handles that ever since it was recovered sparked the imagination and was falsely attributed to the sovereign of a later epoch, the prudent king Nestor of Pylos<sup>40</sup>.

The concept of hegemony is supplemented with an eminent historical figure of paramount significance and ecumenical character. The marble portrait of Alexander the Great (ca. 300 BC)<sup>41</sup>, wearing a magnificent lion pelt, serves as an imposing symbol of the heroic lineage of a ruler that was venerated like a god.

37. Cat. no. 179. The third in rank in the kingdom of Pylos were the *telestai* (officials, land holders) and then came the *akolouthoi* (followers), and in the fifth rank were the *basileis* (labour organizers). See in the present volume, K. Paschalidis, *The Odyssey of violence and power: Times of war and dominance in the early Greek world*, pp. 97-106.

38. Cat. nos. 169-178. On the warrior-kings of the Mycenaean world, see in the present volume, K. Paschalidis, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-106.

39. Cat. no. 170. Grave Circle A, Shaft Grave IV.

40. Cat. no. 171. Similarly arbitrary was the identification of the death mask cat. no. 169 with Agamemnon.

41. Cat. no. 184.



*Synthesis comprised of the ancient works  
cat. nos. 170, 171, 173, 179, and 184.*



### Image Four: War

πολλοὶ δ' οὐτάμενοι χαλκήρεσιν ἐγχείησιν,  
 ἄνδρες ἀρήφατοι βεβρωτώμενα τεύχε' ἔχοντες  
 Ομήρου Οδύσσεια, λ 40-41

*and many, too, that had been wounded with bronze-tipped spears, men  
 slain in fight, wearing their blood-stained armour.*

Homer, *The Odyssey*, XI 40-41

*... I heard, amid the splashing of oars, the voices,  
 the squabbles  
 of the commanders, over booty they had not yet taken*

Y. Ritsos, *Philoctetes*

A page-shaped clay tablet from Pylos records thirty men that were destined to serve in the late 13th c. BC as oarsmen (*e-re-ta*) in a warship that belongs to the fleet of the anonymous, today, ruler<sup>42</sup>.

Warriors in full armour are depicted on both sides of the impressive krater of the 12th c. BC from Mycenae<sup>43</sup>. Centuries later, the representation of a warship is shown on a fragment of a large funerary krater<sup>44</sup> from Athens dated from the Geometric period (750-700 BC), whereas a later Attic black-figure calyx krater (510-500 BC)<sup>45</sup> displays a Homeric battle scene.

The portion of an inscribed marble stele that preserves only a few lines of the historic decree of the Athenian Ecclesia tou Demou (415 BC) that proved fateful and concerned the dispatch and funding of an expeditionary force conveys fragmented attestations of the decision of the Athenians to gain control of the faraway Sicily by waging war<sup>46</sup>.

According to Thucydides (Thuc. 6.31), sixty nimble ships and forty more carrying men were sent as part of the most expensive Greek expedition overseas. The historian refers to the devastating outcome of the military campaign describing the outrage, the grief, and the fear that overwhelmed the Athenians when they realized the magnitude of the unpredicted catastrophe (413-412 BC), concluding though that in the end prudence prevailed over fearfulness as it usually happens in democracy (Thuc. 8.1).

42. Cat. no. 196. The tablet belongs to a group of tablets with catalogues of men who served in the navy and army of the anonymous ruler.

43. Cat. no. 197. See also in the present volume, K. Paschalidis, *The Odyssey of violence and power: Times of war and dominance in the early Greek world*, pp. 97-106.

44. Cat. no. 198.

45. Cat. no. 203. Rendered in the manner of Exekias.

46. Cat. no. 210.

*Synthesis comprised of the ancient works  
 cat. nos. 194, 196, 197, 203, and 210.*

### Image Five: Constitution

δῆμός τε πόλις τε  
Ομήρου Οδύσσεια, λ 14

the land and city  
Homer, *The Odyssey*, XI 14

You will always end up in this city ...  
As you've wasted your life here, in this small corner,  
you've destroyed it everywhere else in the world.  
C. P. Cavafy, *The City*

From four stones and a little seawater  
I made a Temple and sat down to guard it  
O. Elytis, *On the Republic*

I must see a bit of the city – no, not the moon –  
the city with its calloused hands, the city of daily work,  
the city that swears by bread and by its fist,  
the city that bears all of us on its back [...] *Y. Ritsos, Moonlight Sonata*

From the Heraion of Argos comes a bronze plaque bearing part of a law against the potential enemies of the citizens and the system of government (575-570 BC) inscribed in *boustrophedon* style<sup>47</sup>. Already since the late 7th c. BC the Athenians claimed written laws, justice and more political rights. Within this framework the first institutions of the city were established by Draco (621/0 BC) and a little later Solon's laws (594/3 BC) were enacted that made provisions for justice and isonomy<sup>48</sup>.

Integrated into the historical sequence, as part of the exhibition, and with symbolic connotations, the black-figure amphora that depicts sturdy guards of Peisistratos carrying clubs (530-526 BC)<sup>49</sup>, calls to mind the recurring attempts of the tyrant to cause the downfall of the regime by mounting coups<sup>50</sup>.

The relief that portrays a brilliant Athenian hoplite runner<sup>51</sup> who has just achieved his goal and won his personal struggle dates from 511 BC onwards, following the restoration of Democracy. By contrast, the marble stele<sup>52</sup> that preserves a later inscription of a series of measures proposed in the Ecclesia by the general and leader of Athens' democratic party

47. Cat. no. 221.

48. See A. Ramou-Chapsiadi, *The Birth of Democracy and Decrees*, in M. Lagogianni-Georgakarakos - K. Buraselis (eds.), *Athenian Democracy Speaking through its inscriptions*, Athens 2009, 17-22 and M. Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, *Athenian Democracy and the Sea*, in M.-X. Garezou - M. Lagogianni-Georgakarakos - S. Makkas - S. Petrounakos (eds.), *Nautilus: Navigating Greece*, Athens 2014, 177-179.

49. Cat. no. 222. Attributed to the Swing Painter.

50. After two repeated coups (561/0 and 558/7 BC) Peisistratos overthrew the democratic constitution of Athens with an army of mercenaries (546-527 BC). On the later attempts either to restrict or abolish the constitution, see M. Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, *The Vicissitudes of the Athenian Democracy in the 5th c. BC.*, in Lagogianni-Georgakarakos - Buraselis (eds.), *op. cit.*, 99-101.

51. Cat. no. 225.

52. Cat. no. 230.



Synthesis comprised of the ancient works cat. nos. 222, 225, and 230.



Synthesis comprised of the ancient works cat. nos. 237, 238, 239, 244, and 245.

Themistocles in order to deal with the Persian invasion in 481/0 BC alludes to a collective endeavour. The victory in the battle of Salamis (480 BC) was regarded as a triumph of the people and democracy over a disparate worldview, and according to the tragic poet Aeschylus who fought at Salamis (*Persians*, 242), a victory of those who were “neither slaves nor vassals of anyone”.

The guiding principles of the Athenian democracy following the Persian Wars were *isonomia*, *isotimia* and *isegoria*. The citizens knew they were equal in the eyes of the law, equal as regards the honours bestowed upon them by the state and that they all enjoyed freedom of speech<sup>53</sup>. The ideal citizen was he who deserved to be in the Athenian Ecclesia and protected the constitution energetically imitating the warrior-citizen as this is depicted on the city’s monuments<sup>54</sup>, and participated in the proper function of Athens following the example of Pericles’ family who eagerly provided the funds for the improvement of the water supply system of the city (432/1 BC)<sup>55</sup>.

The ideal citizen was also he who trained his body and cultivated his ethos and spirit, such as the glorious and modest self-crowning athlete who has just won and is depicted on the votive relief from the sanctuary of Athena at Sounion<sup>56</sup>. Within this ideological framework, the Athenian democracy coexisted with cerebration, creativity, philosophical thought, and art in a manner that is eloquently described by Thucydides in the Funeral Oration of Pericles (Thuc. 2.38).

The free circulation of ideas and the anthropocentric worldview of the Athenian democracy are signified in the exhibition by the portraits of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle<sup>57</sup>. The portrait of Demosthenes<sup>58</sup>, the last proponent of democracy, reminds us that it was in the Ecclesia and the Athenian courts that the method of argumentation was born and the art of rhetoric was perfected.

Finally, the theatrical masks<sup>59</sup> denote implicitly that the same free environment gave birth to theatre, tragedy, and political comedy. In direct reflection to the ideological principles of the Athenian democracy the great Athenian playwrights of the 5th c. BC, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes, underlined with their works the ideal of the city and the citizen and showed the way towards the catharsis from disastrous mistakes and fatal passions.

53. See N. Birgalias, Organization and Competencies of Magistracies of the Athenian State down to the End of the Classical Period, in Lagogianni-Georgakarakos - Buraselis (eds.), *op. cit.*, 25-30.

54. Cf. the Attic red-figure pelike cat. no. 238 (420-410 BC) that depicts the hero Theseus as hoplite-citizen and the grave lekythos cat. no. 240 (420 BC) that displays Athenian hoplites and horsemen.

55. Cat. no. 239. On the honours granted to citizens and foreigners for their beneficence to Athens, see A. A. Themis, Honorific Decrees Passed by the Athenian Democracy for Citizens and Foreigners, in Lagogianni-Georgakarakos - Buraselis (eds.), *op. cit.*, 84-92 and K. Buraselis, Athenian Democracy Struggling, Restricted and Adaptable: From the Confrontation with the Macedonian Kingdom down to Roman Times, in Lagogianni-Georgakarakos - Buraselis (eds.), *op. cit.*, 109-145.

56. Cat. no. 237 (ca. 460 BC).

57. Cat. nos. 251, 252, 253.

58. Cat. no. 254. See in the present volume, M. Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, The Athenian Democracy: The timeless journey of a collective pursuit, pp. 107-114.

59. Comic theatrical mask, cat. no. 244 (2nd c. BC), and tragic theatrical mask, cat. no. 245 (50 BC-50 AD).

### Image Six: Eros

ὦς ἄρα τῇ ἀσπαστὸς ἔην πόσις εἴσοροῶση,  
δειρῆς δ' οὐ πω πάμπαν ἀφίετο πήχες λευκῶ,  
Ομήρου Οδύσσεια, ψ 239-240

*even so welcome to her was her husband, as she gazed upon him, and  
from his neck she could in no wise let her white arms go*  
Homer, *The Odyssey*, XXIII 239-240

*It is union, he said,  
of man and woman, of silence and sound, of life and creation*  
Y. Ritsos, *When the Stranger Comes*

*Straight yes goes the time but love goes vertically and either  
they are cut in two or never meet*  
O. Elytis, *What cannot be*

Standing, tightly embracing each other, wrapped tenderly in the same himation, a man and a woman are portrayed on an Attic black-figure kylix (490-480 BC)<sup>60</sup> that long time ago was used to offer wine, joyfulness and perhaps erotic stupor during a symposium.

A potsherd from a red-figure kylix found on the Acropolis (late 6th c. BC)<sup>61</sup> preserves in fragmentary condition a representation of a youth kissing a maiden.

The group of Aphrodite with Pan and the winged Eros<sup>62</sup> from Delos (ca. 100 BC) seems like a denotation of the timeless union, the defeat of time and decay, the triumph over death.

Seferis reassures us that "the sea will be born again, and the wave will again fling forth Aphrodite"<sup>63</sup> thus underscoring the primordial, infinite, and cosmogonic power of nature<sup>64</sup>.

60. Cat. no. 263. Attributed to the Haemon Painter.

61. Cat. no. 262. Rendered in the style of the Carpenter Painter. Found in the deposits of the Acropolis excavations.

62. Cat. no. 286.

63. G. Seferis, *Memory I*.

64. See in the present volume, N. Stampolidis, Eros, from Hesiod's Theogony to Late Antiquity, pp. 115-122.



*Synthesis comprised of the ancient works cat. nos. 262, 263, and 286.*



*Synthesis comprised of the ancient works cat. nos. 169, 310, and 311.*

### **Image Seven: Death**

*πὰρ δ' ἴσαν Ὠκεανοῦ τε ῥοὰς καὶ Λευκάδα πέτρην,  
ἦδὲ παρ' Ἡελίοιο πύλας καὶ δῆμον ὄνειρων  
ἦϊσαν αἶψα δ' ἴκοντο κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα,  
ἔνθα τε ναίουσι ψυχαί, εἴδωλα καμόντων.*

*Ομήρου Οδύσσεια, ω 11-14*

*Past the streams of Oceanus they went, past the rock Leucas, past the gates of the sun and the land of dreams, and quickly came to the mead of asphodel, where the spirits dwell, phantoms of men who have done with toils.*

*Homer, The Odyssey, XXIV 11-14*

*There are no asphodels, violets or hyacinths  
how then can you talk with the dead?  
The dead know the language of flowers only  
so they keep silent  
they travel and keep silent, endure and keep silent  
past the regions dreams, past the regions of dreams'*

*G. Seferis, Stratis Thalassinou Among the Agapanthi*

*and young we were before thousands of years, young  
we will be after thousands of years, because the time and the sun  
are the same age – our age  
and this light had not at all been a mirage  
but our own light filtered through all the deaths*

*Y. Ritsos, When Comes the Stranger*

In the second *nekylia* of the Homeric *Odyssey* the souls of the slain suitors go past the stream of Oceanus, the Leucas rock, the gates of the Sun and the land of dreams and arrive at the meadow full of daffodils where the shadows of all those who left behind the hardship and the labours of life reside<sup>65</sup>.

The magnificent statues of two youngsters who were gone too soon, the *kore* (550-540 BC) and the *kouros* (540-530 BC) of the ancient deme of Myrrhinous<sup>66</sup>, remain silent with a smile playing on their lips. In her left hand the maiden Phrasikleia holds a lotus flower to her chest.

*"I shall always be called maiden  
for the gods gave me this name  
instead of marriage"*

*we read on the pedestal of her monument<sup>67</sup>.*

*"Nothing is lost", Y. Ritsos reminds us, "and death an addition, not a subtraction"<sup>68</sup>.*

65. On the concept of death in Prehistoric societies of Mainland Greece and the islands, see in the present volume, K. Kostanti - K. Nikolentzos, The concept of death in the Prehistoric societies of Mainland Greece and the Cyclades, pp. 123-136.

66. Cat. nos. 310, 311 (found at Markopoulo, Attica). See in the present volume, M. Salta, Phrasikleia: The Kore from Myrrhinous. An Archaic grave statue, pp. 137-150.

67. Cat. no. 310.

68. Y. Ritsos, *When Comes the Stranger*.

## EXODUS

*Centuries now above the blue volcanoes. Far into my body and far into the earth that I tread I went to find out who I am. I stored up small happinesses and unexpected meetings, and here I am: unable to learn what I give, what they give me and left over is injustice*

*O. Elytis, The Little Seafarer*

*And it is like an exodus from time, like a nailing down of time, like its abolition by the swiftness of thought and memory and dreams and by the endurance of human achievement.*

*Y. Ritsos, When the Stranger Comes*

*So you receive the thunderbolt from Zeuses.  
And the world obeys you. Onward then.  
Spring depends on you. Quicken the lightning!*

*O. Elytis, The Little Seafarer*

The end of the journey looks like a departure from time. We are haunted by the memories, the dreams, and the achievements of people that lived long before us.

The fingerprint of the anonymous scribe that is still preserved on the Linear B clay tablet from Pylos<sup>69</sup> speaks of the victory of the human act against decay.

The gearwheels of the Antikythera Mechanism<sup>70</sup> remind us that the human ingenuity has surpassed death.

The statue of the eternal young athlete from Delos, who binds the victor's ribbon around his head,<sup>71</sup> bids farewell.

All of a sudden, the small bronze figurine of Zeus Kerauneios<sup>72</sup> becomes enormous in our eyes as if he urges us, together with the O. Elytis, to receive the thunderbolt from his hands...

*Maria Lagogianni-Georgakarakos*

69. The Linear B tablets cat. no. 340, as well as many others, preserve on the back and lateral faces the fingerprints and palm prints of the anonymous scribes that inscribed them in the late 13th c. BC in the palace of Pylos. These tablets constitute a remarkable early testimony to the organization and accounting which the human spirit devised. See in the present volume, D. Nakassis - K. Pluta, The Linear B Tablets from Pylos, pp. 91-96.

70. Cat. no. 341 (150-100 BC). The Mechanism constitutes the first mechanical astronomical calculator. This unique accomplishment of man reveals the high level of scientific knowledge and the technology that were developed during the Hellenistic period. See in the present volume, J. Seiradakis, The Antikythera Mechanism: Basic facts and recent results, pp. 157-170.

71. Cat. no. 339. The statue dates back to around 100 BC and is a copy of a significant work made of bronze of the third quarter of the 5th c. BC attributed to the eminent artist Polykleitos. See p. 497.

72. The bronze figurine cat. no. 338, dated between 490 and 480 BC, originates from Ambracia in Aetolia-Acarnania. See p. 496.



*Synthesis comprised of the ancient works cat. nos. 339, 340, and 341.*

# MARITIME ROUTES IN PREHISTORIC TIMES

## THE STONE AGE IN THE AEGEAN

During the past fifteen years a remarkable and constantly widened range of archaeological evidence concerning the maritime routes during the Stone Age in the Aegean islands has come into view, which is nonetheless supplemented with similar discoveries regarding the Ionian Sea. The prevailing view over the past several decades that the Aegean islands were not inhabited before or during the Neolithic period since they did not have extensive plains suitable for the permanent settlement of agropastoral communities has now been confuted. Crete with the Neolithic settlement at Knossos, which dates back to the 7th millennium BC, had always been the exception.

### Palaeolithic and Mesolithic period

The geological and archaeological time scales are entwined in the horizon of the Palaeolithic period as the climate, the landscape, the flora and fauna, the sea level, and the coastlines were much different during the glacial periods of the Middle Pleistocene (780,000- 125,000 years ago), when the hominidae occupied or passed through the site of Rodafnidia on Lesbos which possibly formed part of Asia Minor at that time.



*Fig. 1. Hand axe from Rodafnidia, Lesbos. Middle Pleistocene (780,000- 125,000 years before present (BP)).*

The inhabitants of Rodafnidia display a predilection for the unique landscape of the Kalloni Bay with its hot springs and bedrock born of ancient volcanic pyroclastic flow. They make and use tools hewn from the stone, which are characterised by symmetry of conception and construction. The hand-axes and cutters from Rodafnidia belong to the Acheulean technological tradition, a tradition with roots in Africa that spreads from China to England. The Rodafnidia tools are the oldest testimony of this culture in the Aegean.

In 11000 BC, a little before the Holocene begins, namely the geological and climatic epoch that goes on through to this day, a community of Epipalaeolithic hunter-gatherers and fishermen live at the coastal site of Ouriakos on Lemnos. The surviving material remains constitute the first attestation of sea travel in the Aegean as the island could only be accessed by boat. The surviving material remains that they left behind provide yet another attestation of travel in the Aegean, either by crossing the short distance over the sea or reaching the island via a land bridge revealed during periods of low sea level.

The first Mesolithic inhabitants of Kythnos settle on the island around 8000 BC travelling by sea and live there as fishermen who bury their dead at the site of Maroulas.

The three cases of Lesbos, Lemnos, and Kythnos help us trace the maritime movement of populations that was explicitly directed from the east towards the west with the only plausible reason being the quest of food or more favourable conditions that would enable its procurement. Time blurs to a large extent the visual acuity of the archaeological research and, as a consequence, we are not in a position to identify other possible causes, such as natural disasters, conflicts, warfare, or social differentiation, as the driving force behind these movements.

Nonetheless, it would not be a fallacy to assume that the people who migrated across the Aegean and lived in "new homelands" were many more than those whom the hitherto known material culture remains represent.

Migrating populations were not the only ones who occasionally travelled along the sea routes during the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic periods. The sea routes in the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic were not only used for the movement of populations, but also, throughout the Palaeolithic, movement played an integral role in the way of life of the residents, at times by sea and at times by land, when lower sea levels revealed corridors of land in areas now covered by water. Indeed, fixed "itineraries" have been followed in the Aegean waters to a greater or lesser extent already since the Upper Palaeolithic period (12th millennium BC), as evidenced by the tools made of obsidian from Melos, which were recovered from stratified deposits at Franchthi Cave in the Argolid. As the fishermen at that time sailed the high seas for tuna fishing following the sea currents they made stops at the Cycladic islands where they discovered the plentiful obsidian quarries of Melos. The procurement of this raw material, which was ideal for the manufacture of sharp cutting tools, must have been free and "peaceful" since no evidence of habitation associated with the control of its quarrying has been traced.

### **Neolithic period**

The Neolithic life and civilization, innovative and "revolutionary" compared to hunting and foraging, spread across the Aegean at the beginning of the period, in 7000 BC approximately. People's communities now occupy permanent settlements and their primary economy depends on agriculture (mainly the cultivation of cereals and legumes) as well as on cattle, sheep and goat, and swine husbandry. These plants and animals were imported into Greece and the Aegean in cultivable and domesticated forms respectively. The long and gradual process of their cultivation and domestication had begun several millennia ago in the Near East. Even though their dissemination was not accomplished solely by sea, but also through overland routes, the island archaeology of the Aegean confirms the exclusively maritime routes of the "ark"-boats in which animals and seeds were transported.

The earliest Neolithic event of a rather small group of people settling in a new island "home" is attested in the Aceramic Neolithic settlement (7th millennium BC) at Knossos on Crete, where the first inhabitants lived having successfully arrived at the island carrying the "equipment" of their primary economy and an intangible cargo of beliefs and expertise. A few centuries later (6500 BC) the first handmade ceramic vessels are produced. The settlement at Knossos was inhabited and flourished without interruption for three thousand years as a rather isolated and self-sufficient cultural entity,



Fig. 2. Gold ring idol pendants of hammered sheet "Neolithic Treasure". Final Neolithic period (4500-3300 BC). National Archaeological Museum.

since its material culture does not suggest any systematic interaction with the rest of the Aegean world except only with sites in Crete like Katsambas. Even the quantity of the obsidian that is imported from Melos already since the Aceramic period is limited. Only in the Final Neolithic period (ca. 4500 BC) does Knossos and Crete open to the Aegean, thereby increasing and systematizing the communication with the Cyclades and the Peloponnese, a fact that is possibly associated with the arrival of new populations.

Over a period of approximately three thousand years during which Knossos and Crete does not appear to take an active role in the Aegean, Neolithic settlements are established on Chios and Samos, in the Cyclades (Paros and Saliangos, Mykonos, Naxos, Andros, Amorgos, and Kea), in the Dodecanese (Rhodes, Kos, and Kalymnos) and in the Northern Sporades (Kyra Panagia, Gioura, Skyros, and Alonnisos). With their permanent settlement these island communities of Neolithic times build the memory of the place, acquire the consciousness of their historicity, claim and defend their land and maintain friendly relations with other islands, at least as regards seafaring. It is true that the formulation of distinct local cultural traditions, possibly of different origin in terms of their "homeland" these communities came from, is crystallized in their material culture and mainly in pottery types. Therefore, it would be perfectly reasonable to maintain that in the Aegean there were aquatic boundaries and "territorial waters" in marine navigation which were constantly negotiated and claimed through the ages.

Networks of circulation and distribution of goods, such as the obsidian of Melos, which is traded across the Aegean and the Greek coasts, all the way to Macedonia, to the north, since the Early Neolithic period, transcend the limits of local development. However, the quantity of obsidian tools decreases as we move away from the source, thus indicating that no systematic trade occurred. Similarly, the *Spondylus gaeaderopous* shell, which was used for making simple jewellery such as bracelets, but also buttons for garments, was unsystematically distributed. This shell which originates in the Aegean had reached Macedonia (Dispilio, Dikili Tash) and also Central Europe already since the 6th millennium BC through maritime and overland trade routes.



*Fig. 3. Detail of the decoration of a "frying pan" vessel with spirals representing waves and a boat. Chalandriani, Syros. Early Cycladic II period (2700-2300 BC) (cat. no. 1).*

## THE BRONZE AGE IN THE AEGEAN

### Early Bronze Age

During the 3rd millennium BC the Early Cycladic culture emerges rather unexpectedly. With their swift oared boats the Cycladic islanders pioneer and play a leading role in the commerce of metals, mainly copper and silver, in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean. Nonetheless, in the Ionian Sea also, at Nydri on Lefkas, evidence of the Early Cycladic culture (bone tubes containing colours and obsidian) that served as grave goods has been recovered. It is truly impressive that by mid-millennium, at the peak of the Cycladic culture, the inhabitants of the Cyclades had dominated the seas and trade, as indicated by their adopted symbols encountered in societies in Crete, Attica, and Euboea mainly where the Cycladic islanders lived alongside the local communities.

During the last centuries of the 3rd millennium BC, possibly due to growing rivalry and piracy, the Cyclades recede from the spotlight, as the short-lived culture of the Northeastern Aegean emerges in the settlements of the "early urban" and "cosmopolitan" societies of Lemnos, Lesbos, and Troas, having a strong presence on Syros also.

Seafaring had never been safe, let alone in Prehistoric times. Numerous Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, and Neolithic boats must have sunk in the Aegean. Yet the oldest known shipwreck was found off the island of Dokos dated at the mid-Early Bronze Age (2500 BC). The cargo of a sunken vessel with two stone anchors and a large number of pottery ware of everyday use, stone tools, and artefacts made of obsidian were recovered from the waters of this islet which lies in the Myrtoan Sea between Hydra and the coast of the Argolis. This is how people travelled by sea back then without necessarily being capable of overcoming the obstacles and risks which the sea routes have always entailed.

## Middle Bronze Age

The beginning of the 2nd millennium BC marks the development of one of the most significant cultures in the Aegean, the Minoan. At a crossroads of three continents, Asia, Africa, and Europe, the "Keftiu", as the Egyptian hieroglyphic texts referred to the Minoans, excelled in commerce thereby establishing a mighty and enduring thalassocracy. With their ships they reached the Syro-Palestinian coast where they introduced the polychrome Kamares ware in return for exotic raw materials, such as lapis lazuli, ivory, precious metals, but also high expertise, ideas, gods, and symbols. Moreover, in the palace complexes of Knossos, Phaistos, and Malia precious artefacts and jewels were exchanged as diplomatic gifts between the rulers of the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean.

Taking advantage of its geographical location, Crete soon succeeded in playing a key role as a transit trade station through which precious materials and exotic goods were traded from Egypt and the lands of the Eastern Mediterranean in the Aegean. The communication with the Greek mainland was made possible via the Western Cyclades (Kythnos, Melos), whereas the island of Kythera, where an important Minoan settlement was discovered at Kastri, was the link with the Eastern Aegean (Samos, Lesbos, Psara).

## Late Bronze Age

A combination of unfavourable circumstances, including the volcanic eruption of Thera, brought the Minoan thalassocracy to its demise towards the end of the 15th c. BC. The new, rising power that would prevail in the ensuing centuries across the Aegean, the Mycenaeans, were a warlike people with commercial acumen. Having established a centralized palatial system, in no difference to the great empires of the Eastern Mediterranean, as attested by their official records kept in Linear B, they conquered Knossos in the mid-15th c. BC, thus tying the destiny of Crete with their increasing power. Hittite texts of the same period contain references to the Ahhiyawa who have been identified with the Achaeans-Mycenaeans.



*Fig. 4. Gold seal with duelling scene. Mycenae, Grave Circle A, 16th c. BC (NAM Π 35).*

In a time when compasses and maps did not exist, travelling by sea entailed pitfalls and hazards for the few seafarers who were brave enough to embark. Navigation started in March and ended in November with fair, southern winds, guided and accompanied by the stars: amongst them the Pleiades cluster that is visible in the sky in summer and autumn and the Ursa Major asterism bordering with the Plough (*Boōtes*) constellation that is always bright, offering seafarers a celestial point of reference in navigation at night.

*Gladly then did goodly Odysseus spread his sail to the breeze; and he sat and guided his raft skilfully with the steering-oar, nor did sleep fall upon his eyelids, as he watched the Pleiades, and late-setting Boötes, and the Bear, which men also call the Wain, which ever circles where it is and watches Orion, and alone has no part in the baths of Ocean. For this star Calypso, the beautiful goddess, had bidden him to keep on the left hand as he sailed over the sea.*

*Homer, The Odyssey, V 297-306*

The Mycenaean seafarers travelled along the coastline, anchored at the in-between islands and hardly ever sailed in high seas. The Aegean, being full of larger or smaller islands, offered several shelters that protected from the winds and bad weather. Sea travels were certainly very long given the navigation means of the time period. It has been estimated that a journey with fair wind from Crete to Egypt, covering a distance of 300 nautical miles (480 kilometers), at an average speed of 7-7.5 kilometers per hour would last three to four days.

The exportation of large quantities of Mycenaean pottery, such as the characteristic stirrup jars that have been located outside the Aegean, on Cyprus, in Egypt, along the Syro-Palestinian coast (from Amman to Karkemish, at approximately eighty sites), in Western Mediterranean (Italy, Sicily, Sardinia), and the Iberian peninsula, worthily competes with the Canaanite amphorae filled with scented wine or the Cypriot small jugs designed for opium, that have been found in the Aegean and Egypt. Aside from pottery, luxurious fabrics and scented oil appear to be the exportable products with "designation of origin" for Mycenaean Greece.

*Fig. 5. Map showing commercial contacts between Mycenaean Greece and the East and West.*



The discovery of two shipwrecks on the southern coasts of Asia Minor, of Uluburun (late 14th c. BC) and of Cape Celidonia (ca. 1200 BC) constitutes an eloquent attestation of the sea trade of the Late Bronze Age. Both ships transported mainly exportable products of the Eastern Mediterranean that included talents of copper and tin as well as Mycenaean vases. Many of the goods that comprised the cargo of Uluburun are also recorded in Linear B: olives, figs, wheat and barley, olive oil, wine, sunflower seeds, coriander, cumin seeds, and turpentine (pistacia). A Canaanite amphora contained 2,500 olive stones, whereas a pithos was filled with pomegranate seeds, and hundreds of others were found scattered across the entire cargo, thereby indicating that they were transferred in baskets or leather bags, which are not preserved. The exact provenance of these products remains unknown, since most of them were produced in the Aegean as well as in lands of the Eastern Mediterranean. Surely some of them were regarded exotic and as such they were intended for the Mycenaean aristocracy, like the sesame that was produced in India since the late 3rd millennium BC or cumin that was encountered in Syria also since early times.

The ships departed from the ports of the Peloponnese and Crete loaded with scented oils in small stirrup-jars decorated with painted flowers – an indication of their content –, olive oil and luxurious woollen and linen garments dyed in purple or trimmed with gold. They first anchored at the ports of Cyprus, at Kition in present-day Larnaca, or at Hala Sultan Tekke to the east. Cyprus, which was possibly the farthest stronghold of the Mycenaeans to the east, was also the major supplier of copper in the wider region. The metal was distributed to Egypt, the Near East, the Black Sea, Sardinia, and the Aegean in the form of talents that were shaped like stretched animal skin.

The next significant trading station was the port of Ugarit in northern Syria. The close contacts between Ugarit and Cyprus resulted during the 15th c. BC in the emergence of the Cypro-Minoan syllabary, which was a Linear A variant that served the needs of administration and trade between the Minoan and the Syrian merchants.

From Ugarit, the Aegean vessels headed towards Egypt, which was coveted for its gold and also a variety of semiprecious stones that were imported from Africa and India. In return, Egypt imported timber, mainly from Cyprus, due to the complete lack of forests.

On their way back, the Mycenaeans visited the Cretan ports of Amnisos and Kydonia to finally terminate in the Peloponnese, where they brought home raw materials, mainly metals and semiprecious stones, ostrich eggs converted into lavish rhyta, elephant and hippopotamus ivory, but also worked products, such as Egyptian scarab beetles, bronze figurines of the Syro-Palestinian deity Reshef, cylinder seals depicting gods and heroes of Mesopotamia, metal vessels and weaponry, pottery, and organic materials.

In his effort to restore the diplomatic relations of Egypt with the land of the Keftiu (Crete) and Tanaya (the Peloponnese) the Pharaoh Amenhotep III (1391-1349 BC) and his consort Tiye made a long visit crossing the “Great Green” as the Egyptians used to call the Aegean. This trip is attested archaeologically by the dozens of scarabs that were recovered from various sites on Crete and Mainland Greece, but also by the inscribed faience plaques that were found at Mycenae, bearing the cartouche of the royal couple. The base of the grave stele at Com el-Hetan in Egypt, near the funerary monument of the Pharaoh, possibly commemorates this trip as it makes reference to the towns of Amnisos, Phaistos, Kydonia, Mycenae,



Fig. 6. Egyptian monkey figurine of faience bearing the cartouche of Pharaoh Amenhotep II (1427-1400 BC). Mycenae, Acropolis (NAM Π 4573).

Thebes(?), Messenia, Nauplion, Kythera, Elos(?), Knossos, and Lyctus, thus informing us on the significant ports of the time period in the Aegean.

It seems that the Mycenaeans maintained trading posts also in Southern Italy and Sicily. They explored Europe northwards and westwards travelling to Spain, Britain and Cornwall in quest of gold mainly and tin that were necessary for the creation of a denser brass alloy. The communication channel with the West were the settlements along the coast of Apulia (Southern Italy) that served as intermediate stations between the Ionian Sea (Lefkas) to Sicily and also the Albanian coast across the sea. Towards the end of the Mycenaean period in the 12th c. BC the strengthened relations with Western Europe are also indicated by the emergence of a new type of lethal weapon, the Naue II sword, with flat blade, which is encountered in warriors' tombs of Achaea in Western Greece.

During the collapse of the palatial system in the 12th c. BC, the trade relations between the Greek Mainland, Egypt, and the Eastern Mediterranean were temporarily disrupted and the reserves of precious metals and other exotic materials were either decreased or were completely eliminated. What was left of the sophisticated Mycenaean proficiency and, in effect, the production and commerce, were now relocated to the periphery, such as the Southern Aegean (Naxos, Crete), the Dodecanese (Rhodes, Kos), as well as regions of the Ionian Sea (Achaea).

Katia Manteli - Eleni Konstantinidi-Syvridi

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

---

- Brodie, Ch. N. - J. Doole - G. Gavalas - C. Renfrew (eds.) 2008. *Horizon. Ορίζων. A Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades*, McDonald Institute Monographs, Stavros Niarchos Foundation, Exeter.
- Carter, T. - D. Contreras - S. Doyle - D. D. Mihailovic - T. Moutsiou - N. Skarapelis 2014. The Stelida Naxos Archaeological Project: New Data on the Middle Palaeolithic and Mesolithic Cyclades, *Antiquity* 88, 341.
- Efstratiou, N. - P. Biagi - E. Starnini 2014. The Epipalaeolithic Site of Ouriakos on the Island of Lemnos and its Place in the Late Pleistocene Peopling of the East Mediterranean Region, *ADALYA* 17, 1-13.
- Galanidou, N. - C. Perlès (eds.) 2003. *Greek Mesolithic. Problems and Perspectives*, London: British School at Athens Studies 10.
- Galanidou, N. - K. Manteli 2008. Neolithic Katsambas Revisited, in V. Isaakidou - P. Tomkins (eds.), *Escaping the Labyrinth. The Cretan Neolithic in Context*, Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology 8, Oxford, 165-176.
- Galanidou, N. - J. Cole - G. Iliopoulos - J. McNabb 2013. East Meets West: The Middle Pleistocene Site of Rodafnidia on Lesbos, Greece, *Antiquity* 87, Issue 336, June.
- Hadjisavvas, S. 2003. The Production and Diffusion of Olive Oil in the Mediterranean, ca. 1500-500 BC, in N. Chr. Stampolidis - V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Sea Routes ... Interconnections in the Mediterranean, 16th-6th c. BC*, Athens, 117-123.
- Heymans, E. - G. L. van Wijngaarden 2011. Low-value Manufactured Exotics in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, in A. Vianello (ed.), *Exotica in the Prehistoric Mediterranean*, Oxford, 124-136.
- Μαντέλη, Κ. 2011. Η νεολιθική Κνωσός στο πολιτισμικό πλαίσιο της νησιωτικής αρχαιολογίας, in Ε. Γ. Καψωμένος - Μ. Ανδρεαδάκη-Βλαζάκη - Μ. Ανδριανάκης - Ε. Παπαδοπούλου (eds.), *Πεπραγμένα του 1' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Χανιά 1-8 Οκτωβρίου 2006*, Χανιά: Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος «Ο Χρυσόστομος», 101-109.

- Palmer, R. 2003. Trade in Wine, Perfumed Oil and Foodstuffs: The Linear B Evidence and Beyond, in N. Chr. Stampolidis - V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Sea Routes ... Interconnections in the Mediterranean, 16th-6th c. BC*, Athens, 125-138.
- Papadopoulos, Th. 1978-1979. *Mycenaean Achaea*, SIMA 55, Lund.
- Perlès, C. 2001. *The Early Neolithic in Greece. The First Farming Communities in Europe*, Cambridge University Press.
- Poursat, C. L. 2015. *L'Art égéen 2. Mycènes et le monde mycénien*, Archéologies et Sciences de l'Antiquité (UMR 7041), Paris.
- Pulak, C. 2008. The Uluburun Shipwreck and Late Bronze Age Trade, in J. Aruz - K. Benzel - J. M. Evans (eds.), *Beyond Babylon. Art, Trade and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium BC*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 289-305.
- Sampson, A. - J. Kozłowski - M. Kaszanowska - B. Giannouli 2002. The Mesolithic Settlement at Maroulas, Kythnos, *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 2:1, 45-67.
- Stampolidis, N., Chr. - A. Karetsou - A. Kanta (eds.) 1998. *Eastern Mediterranean. Cyprus, Dodecanese, Crete, 16th-6th c. BC*, Athens.
- Tartaron, T. F. 2013. *Maritime Networks in the Mycenaean World*, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Van Andel, T. H. - J. C. Chachleton 1982. Late Palaeolithic Coastlines of Greece and the Aegean, *Journal of Field Archaeology* 9, 445-454.
- Wachsmann, Sh. 2009. *Seagoing Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant*. Texas: Texas 2003, second edition.

## MARITIME ROUTES AND TRAVEL IN THE MEDITERRANEAN DURING THE HISTORICAL PERIOD

From antiquity until the invention of railroads in modern times, the sea offered the most convenient travel route, and also the fastest and most practical means of commercial transport. The Mediterranean Sea, with its mild climate and numerous small and large harbours or sheltered refuges dotting its coastline, was the primary area in which the trade networks of Greece and Rome developed. During antiquity it emerged as the main route of movement for various population groups and the cradle from which goods and ideas were generated and dispersed. The largest and wealthiest ancient Greek cities were founded on the Mediterranean coast. Apart from the contribution of many other geographical and historical factors, trade by Greek and other Mediterranean cities, such as Phoenician, Etruscan and Roman, developed thanks to their natural or man-made harbours<sup>1</sup>.

A study of ancient sources and archaeological finds makes it clear that Aegean sea routes were known as early as the Prehistoric and Early Historical times. As research progresses, the time depth for the beginning of seafaring in the Mediterranean in the Prehistoric period appears to be pushed further and further into the distant past<sup>2</sup>. Already by the 1st millennium BC, the Aegean was part of the wider Mediterranean commercial network. Inhabitants of the Cyclades and Euboea, an island renowned for the seamanship of its inhabitants, sailed across the Aegean during the 10th and 9th c. BC<sup>3</sup>.

### The sea in Homeric epics

One of the earliest mention of sea routes known in antiquity is found in the Homeric epics. The *Odyssey* is dominated by the figure of Poseidon, and the changes to the seas brought about by his anger. The early sanctuaries of Poseidon, such as at Sounion in Attica where the local hero Phrontis was also worshipped<sup>4</sup>, and others in many coastal regions are indicative of the popularity of the cult of the god of the sea (fig. 1). A characteristic example comes from the often inhospitable southern coast tip of Euboea. According to the *Odyssey*, in returning from Troy, Nestor, Diomedes and Menelaus sailed the open Aegean from the island of Lesbos to the small city of Geraistos in southern Euboea. Upon reaching Geraistos, the heroes offered rich thanksgiving sacrifices at the sacred asylum of Poseidon Geraistios<sup>5</sup>. Geraistos<sup>6</sup>, its harbour<sup>7</sup> and the

---

1. Casson 1995, 73. Horden - Purcell 2000. Malkin 2011.

2. Thomas 2009, 37.

3. *Εὐβοία ναυσικλειτή* (Euboea, famed for ships): *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, 219. Thomas 2009, 39. Dalby 2000, 225.

4. *Odyssey*, III 278-283. For the clay plaque NAM, inv. no. 14935 in fig. 1, see cat. no. 9.

5. *Odyssey*, III 169-179. Sea journeys and Euboea, cf. Casson 1995, 178-195; Boardman 1988 (1964), 39-43, 162-172, 225-226, 229; Popham 1994, 11-34; Lemos 1998, 45-58; Huber 1998, 109-133; Μαζαράκης-Αινιάν 2000, 52-54, 119-132; Ridgway 2000, 31-59. Euboean ships, see Calligas 1990, 77-83.

6. Stephanos of Byzantium, s.v. Geraistos: "Γεραιστός κώμη Εὐβοίας, ἐν ἣ ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνος, ἀπὸ Γεραιστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Διός, ἡ χώρα, Γεραιστίς" (Geraistos, village of Euboea, where a sanctuary of Poseidon, from Geraistos, son of Zeus. The country is called Geraistis). Philochoros, frag. 30. Pseudo-Skylax, 58. *Mega Etym.*, 227, s.v. Geraistos. Strabo, 10, 1, 2 and 7 (10, 446).

7. Harbour-shelter, sea passage and sacred asylum of Geraistos, see Euripides, *Cyclops*, 295; Euripides, *Orestes*, 990-995; Aristophanes, *Knights*, 561; Thucydides, 3, 3, 5; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 3, 4, 4; Demosthenes, 4, 34; Arrian, *Anabasis*, 2, 1, 2; Livy, 31, 45, 10; Stephanos of Byzantium, s.v. Tainaros; Gehrke 1992, 104-105; Schumacher 1993, 77-80; Moreno 2007, 133, note 276. For the satyr drama *Cyclops*, see Lesky 1981, 559-560; Seaford 1984; Voelke 2001.



Fig. 1. Clay plaque with painted representation of a ship. From the sanctuary of Athena and Poseidon at Sounion. Early 7th c. BC (cat. no. 9).

local sanctuary<sup>8</sup>, where the Geraistian Games took place<sup>9</sup>, are mentioned in sources from the Classical to Roman period. The sanctuary of Poseidon Geraistios is associated through myth with the sanctuaries of Poseidon at Tainaron and Kalauria in Troizen<sup>10</sup>. Due to its important location, Geraistos saw intervals of Athenian, Spartan, Macedonian, and Roman domination<sup>11</sup>.

Homer appears to have known well the section of the Mediterranean from Sicily to the Hellespont. For the areas beyond these boundaries, he narrates the stories of the Lotus-eaters, Cyclopes and other imaginary creatures. The epics mention Phoenician seafarers, merchants and pirates, as well as the famous Phoenician city of Sidon<sup>12</sup>. Of the peoples of Asia Minor, the epics refer to the Lycians, with their brave rulers Glaukos and Sarpedon, the barbarian-tongued Carians, Mysians and Leleges, and from Africa, the Ethiopians are known with their king Memnon<sup>13</sup>.

### Ancient maps and geographers

The first Greek philosophical ideas regarding matter, time and the world developed in Ionia during the 7th and 6th c. BC. Among the Pre-Socratic Philosophers, Anaximander of Miletus (ca. 610 to shortly after 546 BC), one of the so-called seven wise men of antiquity, was the first Greek to draw a

8. Cf. *Der Neue Pauly*, s.v. Geraistos, 947-948 (H. Kalcyk); Hansen - Nielsen *et al.* 2004, 645. For the sanctuary of Poseidon Geraistios, see Vian 1944, 97-117; Lerat 1946, 196-203; Vian 1952, 129-155; Schumacher 1993, 77-80; Χιδίρογλου 2009, 1085-1105. For Geraistos in relation to Athens, see Moreno 2007, 133, note 276. Mention of the cult statue of Poseidon Geraistios, see Lucian, *Zeús τραγωδός* 25 (*Iupp. Trag.* 25); Schumacher 1993, 87, note 54. Cf. *SNG Cop.*, pl. 9, no. 423; Head 1884, 24, pl. XIX, 6; Numismatik Lanz, *Auktion* 111 (25.11.2002), München, nos. 590-591; Τσούρη 2006, 202-203, fig. 21. See also *Παλατινή (Ελληνική) Ανθολογία*, 9, 90. For types of statues of Poseidon, such as the Lateran type, cf. Ridgway 1990, 125-126, pl. 67a, b.

9. *Scholia* to Pindar, *Ol.*, 13, 159b. Χιδίρογλου 1996-1997, 185-186.

10. Geraistiades Nymphaei, see *Mega Etym.*, s.v. Geraistiades; Lerat 1946, 198; Ervin 1959, 149; Hadzistellou-Price 1971, 50, note 24. Cyclops Geraistos, see Apollodoros, 3, 212; Ervin 1959, 149-155; Κακριδής 1986, 342-343. Ties of sanctuaries of Poseidon at Kalaur(e)ia, Tainaron and Geraistos, see Schumacher 1993, 62-87.

11. Athens: Thucydides, 3, 3, 5. Sparta: Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 5, 4, 60-61; Diodoros of Sicily, 15, 34. Phillip II: Demosthenes, 4, 34. Rome: Livy, 31, 45, 10. See also Moreno 2007, 338; Keller 1985, 203-205, 211-215, 225; Chapman - Schneider - Schneider 1993, 8-9, 21, 27, 35, 49, 55; Brock 1996, 357-370.

12. Phoenicians: *Odyssey*, XIII 272, XIV 288-289, XV 415, 419, 473. *Iliad*, XXIII 743-744.

13. Lycians: *Iliad*, V 647, VII 13, XIV 426, XVI 490. Carians: *Iliad*, II 867. Mysians: *Iliad*, II 858, X 430, XIV 512, XXIV 278. Leleges: *Iliad*, X 429, XXI 86. Ethiopians: *Odyssey*, XI.522.

map of the earth, an earth indeed in a circular shape following the eastern tradition. Anaximander was a contemporary of Thales of Miletus and was considered to be his pupil. Hekataios of Miletus, student of Anaximander, as a well-travelled geographer, drew a new map of the earth (*Ἡς Περίοδος* or *Journey round the Earth*) around 500 BC. Following the perception of his master as to the shape of the earth, he presented it as a disc surrounded by ocean, receiving a critique from Herodotus, whose historical work from ca. 450-425 BC offered evidence for the peoples of Asia Minor, Egypt and the Mediterranean in general<sup>14</sup>.

Herodotus relates the story of the travelling merchant Kolaïos of Samos who, shortly before 631 BC, sailed to North Africa, reached the city of Tartessos at the Pillars of Heracles (modern Gibraltar) and the edge of the Atlantic Ocean. The commercial profit from the bold journey that the force of the winds induced Kolaïos to take was, according to Herodotus, the second largest of those known to his day; the sea journey undertaken by the Aeginitan Sostratos, son of Laodamas, before that of Kolaïos of Samos was considered by Herodotus as the most profitable of all that he knew. The Samians dedicated a bronze krater with griffin protomes at the Heraion of Samos as a tithe of the profits<sup>15</sup>. The narration is a reminder of the fact that the residents of the Aegean island regions, as merchants, colonists or daring explorers, were pioneers in sea voyages throughout the Mediterranean from the Early Archaic period. The votives that they dedicated at the popular sanctuaries of the period are associated with these journeys and the ensuing commercial contacts that they established.

Other historians of antiquity, such as Ephoros, included geographical information in their works. During the 4th c. BC, Aristotle developed new theories regarding the climate and temperate zones of the earth and analyzed a number of geographical and meteorological phenomena, while physicists of his school put forth theories about important geophysical subjects, such as the annual flooding of the Nile<sup>16</sup>. Alexander the Great's campaigns opened the way to new geographical knowledge. Well-known were the *bematistes* (measurers of distances) who accompanied Alexander's army measuring geographical distances and recording observations from their study of new regions<sup>17</sup>. Dikaiarchos, student of Aristotle, and Eratosthenes, researcher in the Library of Alexandria during the years from ca. 234 to 196 BC, drew information from texts contemporary with Alexander. In writing his *Geography*, Strabo drew on the lost work of Eratosthenes, as well as its critique by Hipparchus<sup>18</sup>, while the *Geography* by Claudius Ptolemy formed the main seafaring manual of the Roman world.<sup>19</sup>

## Colonization

The migration of various population groups from Mainland Greece to the islands of the Aegean and to sites on the coastline of Asia Minor in the second half of the 2nd millennium BC was designated as the First Greek Colonization (fig. 2). The expansion of Hellenism from the middle of

---

14. Lesky 1981, 248-249, 323. Thomson 1948, 47, 94-97. Dihle 1998, 27-42. Critical stance: Herodotus, 4, 36.

15. Herodotus, 4, 152. Thomson 1948, 46, 53.

16. *FrGrHIV*, 37-109. Pseudo-Aristotle, frag. Rose 246-248. Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, II, 5, 362b. Thomson 1948, 87, 89-90, 97.

17. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 6, 61. Athenaios, X, 442b.

18. Thomson 1948, 124.

19. Stückelberger - Mittenhuber 2009.

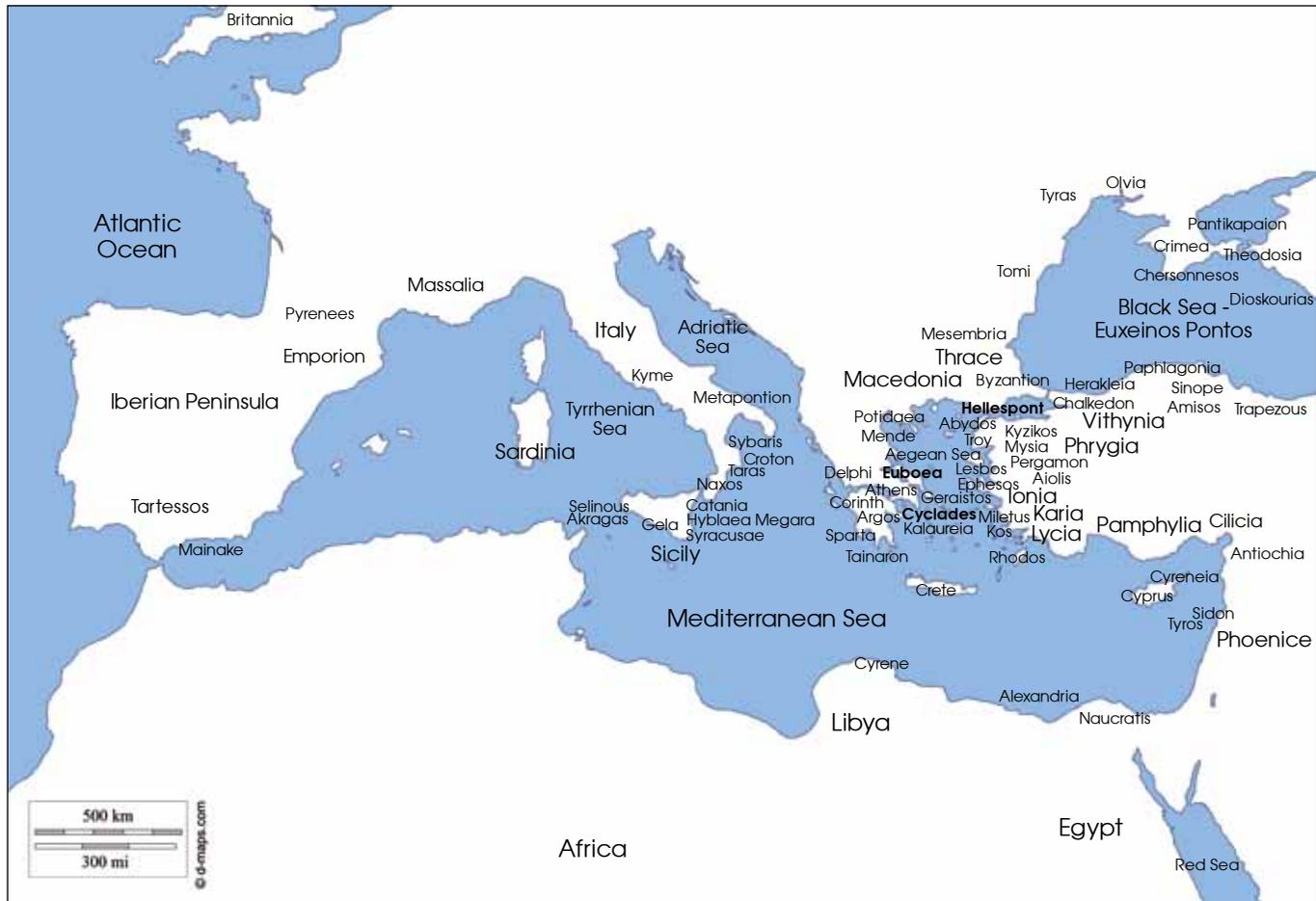


Fig. 2 Map of Europe and the Mediterranean Sea showing Greek colonies.  
 Draft Source: Outline Maps/ Mediterranean.

the 8th to the middle of the 6th c. BC to the shores of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, euphemistically called *Euxeinos Pontos* (Hospitable Sea)<sup>20</sup>, is known as the Second Greek Colonization. This second expansion was undertaken in an organized manner with missions sent out from founding city-states or metropoleis (mother cities). The migrations brought about a series of changes to the social, economic, political, and cultural reality of the Mediterranean peoples. Results included economic and commercial prosperity, the opening of new and the reinforcement of older maritime and overland routes of communication, as well as the creation of a fertile cultural dialogue between the peoples of the East and West. Demographic, economic and sometimes political reasons led the residents of mother cities in Greece to seek out new installations at sites located in the region from Crimea to Spain. Frequently, these installations initially took the form of temporary trading stations for the exchange of goods and some later becoming permanent colonies. Leader of the colonizing mission was the *oikistes* (colonizer), who with the passage of time was posthumously honoured as the foundation hero.

The Ionic city-states of Euboea Eretria and Chalkis were among the first that participated in the Second Colonization movement. They were followed by the Dorian coastal cities of Megara and Corinth. The Euboeans are commemorated in the sources for their overseas commercial voyages and colonies they established from the 8th to the 6th c. BC in Italy, Sicily and

20. Thomson 1948, 57.

Macedonia<sup>21</sup>. Thanks to the results of archaeological research, the commercial ties between Euboea and Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean are documented as early as the beginning of the 1st millennium BC (fig. 2)<sup>22</sup>.

The Chalkidians appeared as organized colonists of Southern Italy and Sicily from the 8th c. BC. Around 750 BC, they founded Kyme (Cumaë) in Campania and later a number of colonies on the eastern shore of Sicily, such as Naxos and Catane. They also occupied the island of Ortygia. The Corinthians followed, founding Syracusae and expelling the Chalkidians from Ortygia. Megara, Rhodes and other cities participated in the colonization of Sicily. The eastern side of Sicily, as well as sections of its northern coast were colonized by Ionian cities, with the exception of Syracusae and Megara Hyblaea, the southern side by Dorians, with the foundation of cities such as Gela and Akragas, while the western coastline remained in Phoenician control. Megara Hyblaea in turn founded Selinous. Colonies of rural type, such as Kroton, Sybaris and Metapontion, were founded in Southern Italy by population groups from Achaea and Central Greece, while Taras was established by Sparta. These colonies soon expanded and their influence spread as far as the Tyrrhenian Sea.

On the shores of the Black Sea, the cities Byzantium, Chalcedon, Mesembria, and Herakleia Pontica were founded by Megara. From the 7th c. BC, extensive colonizing activity took place in the same area by Miletus that founded the cities of Abydos, Kyzikos, Sinope, Amisos, Tomi, Tyras, Olbia, Theodosia, Pantikapaion, and Dioskourias. Sinope founded in turn Trapezous. Through a chain of colonization projects and the trade networks this chain created, the Milesians reached the regions in which the old roads of world trade ended. These routes began in the Russian steppes, Babylon or the interior of Asia and terminated at Sinope or Trapezous on the Black Sea, and from there led to the Aegean Sea. Thanks to the large navigable rivers of the area, grain, timber, hides, gold, and silver, as well as slaves, reached the Aegean from southern Russia and the Crimea, while Ionian and Attic exports, such as pottery vessels, reached as far as modern Kiev<sup>23</sup>. Salted fish, timber and pitch were, for instance, exported from Sinope<sup>24</sup>. After the Persian Wars, cities that were important for trade, such as Sinope, were incorporated into the Athenian political sphere of interest<sup>25</sup>.

Chalkis and Eretria founded rural colonies on the coast of Thrace, and thus Chalkidike, with the exception of the Corinthian colony of Potidaea, became a region with a predominantly Ionian element. Installations and contacts of the Euboeans are also evidenced at a number of coastal sites in Macedonia. Thasos, an island opposite a gold-rich mainland region, was colonized by Paros, and the Troad by Lesbos.

In Egypt, with which many Greek cities developed trade relations over various chronological periods, the city of Naukratis was founded with

---

21. Indicatively, from the increasing bibliography, see Sakellariou 1958; Coldstream 1977; Sakellariou 1979, 9-36; *IEE B'*, 46, 57, 60, 235 (M. Σακελλαρίου); Ραμού-Χαψιάδη 1982, 73-90; Boardman 1988 (1964), 40-43, 48, 71, 162-172, 178, 180, 185, 225-226, 229; Kourou 1992, 110-123; Tsetskhladze - de Angelis 1994; Coldstream 1995, 251-267; Bats - d'Agostino 1998; Dihle 1998, 9-25; Ridgway 2000, 31-59; Ridgway 2004, 15-33; Walker 2004, 141-156.

22. See for example Popham - Sackett - Themelis 1979; Kourou 1990-1991, 237-279; Desborough 1995 (1972), 229-231, 420-421; Snodgrass 2000 (1971), 126-127, 404.

23. Thomson 1948, 56.

24. Thomson 1948, 57.

25. Inaishvili - Khalvashi 2012, 506.



Fig. 3. Plastic vessel in the shape of an Ethiopian's head. From Eretria. Late 6th c. BC (NAM, inv. no. 2385).

commercial stations for Miletus, Samos and Aegina, and the Hellenion sanctuary for all the Greeks of the Aeolic, Ionic and Doric cities. In Libya, Cyrene was founded as a colony of Doric Thera; agricultural and animal husbandry products, as well as the rare silphium were exported from there. Greek merchants are documented as reaching Phoenician cities and trading with Ethiopians (fig. 3)<sup>26</sup>.

Intrepid Phokaians from Asia Minor founded Massalia around 600 BC at the mouth of the Rhodanos River, which served as the water route for amber and other products that were brought from the North to the Western Mediterranean and beyond<sup>27</sup>. Massalia in turn founded the city Emporion on the Iberian peninsula, the trading station Mainake in modern Malaga, which was destroyed by the Carthaginians, and many more small colonies at the edge of the Pyrenees and in modern Alsace, extending in this manner Massalian trade routes as far as Tartessos<sup>28</sup>. Although the ancient Greeks had limited knowledge of the seas of the northern part of Europe, it appears that certain Massalian sailors, such as Pytheas, knew this area better, as well as the island of Albion or Britain, from whence tin and amber were traded to southern regions<sup>29</sup>.

### Maritime trade routes: Archaic to Late Classical period

As witnessed by sources and archaeological finds, the main trade routes of ancient Greece and many other regions of the Mediterranean were maritime ones<sup>30</sup>. The harbour and the agora of each ancient city played a central role in civic and economic matters; nearly every coastal city had a natural harbour shelter or one reinforced with constructions, through which the merchandise of the hinterland, such as food staples, raw materials, cloth, and ceramics were traded<sup>31</sup>.

A study of the dispersion of Corinthian and Attic ceramics to many Mediterranean destinations and as far as Central Europe contributes to a tracing of maritime, overland and river commercial networks. Corinthian ceramics of the 7th and 6th c. BC have been found in Italy and the Iberian peninsula, while Attic black-figure and red-figure pottery of the 5th and 4th c. BC travelled as far as modern Russia, Asia Minor, Egypt, Cyrenaica, Spain, and Central Europe<sup>32</sup>. Pigments used in ceramics, painting, and the coroplastic art, such as Egyptian blue or lazurite, cinnabar, and indigo, were traded through commercial sea routes<sup>33</sup>.

It appears that a maritime route for the transport of silver from Iberia to Egypt had already been established by the time of the birth of the city-states lasting until ca. 670 BC. A Phoenician trade network bringing copper from Cyprus to Southern Asia Minor and the Syro-Palestinian coast had been also developed during the same period. Iron and copper were traded

26. For the plastic vase in the form of an African man's head NAM 2385 in fig. 3, see: ARV<sup>2</sup> 1594, 51; *Adelphoi* 389; BAPD 9016836; Beazley 1929, 77, no. 8.

27. Thomson 1948, 52.

28. Thomson 1948, 53. Wilcken 1976, 118-126.

29. Thomson 1948, 53-54.

30. Dalby 2000, 224-230.

31. See for instance Hansen - Nielsen 2004, 141.

32. See for instance Cook 1960, 41, 61-62, 78, 146-152, 164-165, 193, 277-278; Paleothodoros 2007, 165-182.

33. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 35: 30, 40, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 49. Levidis 1994, 196-200, 228-239.

from Sardinia and the Italian peninsula to the Aegean and the Black Sea<sup>34</sup>. From the 5th c. BC onwards, educated or well-travelled Greeks knew the entire Mediterranean and the Black Sea<sup>35</sup>. Around 415 BC, various commercial sea routes of the Mediterranean were already well known and busy; they were used for trading cereals, salted fish, and slaves from the Black Sea to the Aegean and, further, as far as southern France, silver and fish from the Iberian peninsula to Egypt, while from Greece, mainly wine, oil, and silver were exported. Herodotus relates information and myths regarding the gold-bearing peoples that lived to the north of Thrace<sup>36</sup>. Copper, iron, sheep and goat wool were traded from the Italian peninsula to the Mediterranean, while Egypt exported linen, papyrus and cereals<sup>37</sup>.

Information as well as mythical elements regarding Asia Minor and Persia can be gleaned from Xenophon's *Anabasis of Cyrus*. Geographical information on this region appears to have been included in the works of Ktesias of Cnidus, physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon. Ktesias' works are known from fragments and other versions. The fantastical elements in his descriptions of India were repeated until the medieval period<sup>38</sup>.

Indicative for the overseas trade in staple products is an inscribed testimony regarding the wheat trade during a time of shortage in the third quarter of the 4th c. BC. An inscribed stele made of Parian marble (Stele dei Cereali)<sup>39</sup> from the building of the Small Baths at Cyrene in Libya preserves, among other inscriptions, a catalogue of amounts of local wheat sent to 41 city-states and kingdoms of Greece. The exchange occurred during the year that Sosios son of Kallias was eponymous priest of Apollo at Cyrene, and the inscription dates to 335-326 BC. The wheat shortage affecting Greece during the years 330-326 BC is also corroborated in other sources and inscriptions<sup>40</sup>. Among the Aegean city-states, Kythnos received ten thousand *medimnoi*, Karthaia four thousand, Kea and Koressos three thousand each, Karystos fifteen thousand *medimnoi*, as did Thera, Lesbos and Leukas. Aegina received ten thousand *medimnoi*, while the larger urban centers of Athens and Corinth received one hundred and fifty thousand *medimnoi*, respectively.

### **Maritime trade routes: Hellenistic and Roman period**

After the campaigns of Alexander the Great, the various cities that were created or developed in the regions of the Hellenistic kingdoms, such as Alexandria, Seleucia, Antiochia, Pergamon, Rhodes, and others, became distinguished for their cosmopolitan character, the expansion of trade, and the dispersion of Hellenic culture and the Hellenistic *koine* language that was widely adopted. Around 192 BC, merchant ships crossed the Mediterranean bringing grains from the surplus produced in Egypt, copper from Iberia, and copper, iron, wine, and cereals from Italy. Salted fish were transported

34. McEvedy 2002, 56-57.

35. Casson 1995, 67.

36. Herodotus, 4, 104 and 5, 9. Thomson 1948, 57.

37. McEvedy 2002, 70-71.

38. Xenophon, *Anabasis*. Thomson 1948, 82-85. Regarding the works of Ktesias, *Persika*, *Indika* and *Periplus*, see indicatively Lesky 1981, 675, 858.

39. *SEG* 9, 2. Oliverio 1932-1936, II (1), 8ff., 84ff. Westermann 1929, 17ff. Ziebarth 1929, 71ff, 132, no. 65. Tod 1985, VII, 273-276, no. 196.

40. Demosthenes, 3. 33. 34.39. 42.20 and 42.31. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 360, 8ff., 400, 6ff., 407, 4ff., 408, 8ff., 409, 8ff., 1628, 37ff. Tod 1985, VII, 276. *CAH* VI, 448ff. (W.W. Tarn). Rostovtzeff 1998 (1941), 95, note 29, 1248-1252.

from the Black Sea to the Aegean, wine and oil from the Aegean to Egypt and other destinations, while perfumes and incense from Arabia found their way to the Mediterranean<sup>41</sup>. In this network of Hellenistic overseas communication, Rhodes, with its two harbours, remained one of the most significant commercial and transit centers through which wine, oil and grains, and also the famous local silk cloth of Kos were traded until 168 BC<sup>42</sup>.

By the Early Roman Imperial times, in the late 1st c. BC, an overland silk road from the Asian plateaus towards Samarkand and Seleucia and from there to the harbours of Antiochia and Tyros had been already developed. During the same period, the network of sea commercial routes for the transport of cereals, oil and other food staples expanded, as did the number of harbour installations. Both these developments were necessary in view of the growing needs of food supply for the rising population of Rome and other smaller cities of the empire. Copper from Cyprus and Mesopotamia was transported to the Mediterranean, while gold, ivory, perfumes, resins, and spices from the Arabian peninsula reached the harbours of the Red Sea. The Black Sea hinterland, as well as the hinterland of Cyrene in Africa, remained important for the production and trade of wheat. Egyptian wheat, linen, and papyrus were brought to market from Alexandria, oil, wine, and works of art from Athens, Ephesos, Pergamon and Rhodes, silver, tin, copper, and oil from the Iberian peninsula, amber from the Baltics and lead and tin from Britain<sup>43</sup>.

### **Wine and gastronomy**

The trade in ancient Greek wines was mainly based on maritime routes. Wine played a fundamental role in symposia and in private life as well as in religious rituals (fig. 4). Renowned varieties of wine, foods, and other products were traded mainly by sea<sup>44</sup>. In the *Iliad*, wine is mentioned as reaching Troy by ship from Lemnos. Already by the 8th c. BC, the *pramneios* and *biblinos oinos* were famous types of wine<sup>45</sup>. In the 5th c. BC, according to Herodotus, Egypt imported wine from all over Greece and from Phoenicia<sup>46</sup>.

During the Late Classical and Hellenistic period, commentary on gastronomy and symposia as regards food and drinks, such as wine, seafood, oil, cereals, fruits, and vegetables is recorded in epigrams, comedies, culinary books, and other literary genres. A fragment of a comedy by Hermippos, who was active during the period ca. 435-410 BC, is considered to be one of the earliest literary testimonies concerning the development of trade in culinary and other luxury items in the Aegean<sup>47</sup>. Popular wines from Thasos, Chios, Peparethos, Lesbos, Mende, Rhodes, and other regions were traded in the Aegean from the 5th c. BC onwards. The various types of wine were conveyed over the sea inside transport amphorae, many of which bore stamped handles guaranteeing the region of origin<sup>48</sup>. The financial benefit from the

---

41. McEvedy 2002, 86-87.

42. Green 1990, 378. Thomson 1948, 86. Dihle 1998, 65-80.

43. McEvedy 2002, 96-97.

44. Dalby 2000, 160-170, 210-220.

45. *Iliad*, VII 467-475. *Odyssey*, X 235.

46. Herodotus, 3, 6. Dalby 2000, 160-161. For the red-figure column krater NAM, inv. no. 15112 in fig. 4, see for instance: BAPD 28583; Schone 1987, 292, no. 417.

47. Hermippos, frag. 63 (*Athenaios Epitome*, 27 e). Dalby 2000, 175.

48. Chiot, Thasian, *mendaios* and *peparethios oinos* (wine): Hermippos, frag. 77 (*Athenaios Epitome*, 29 e). Lesbian wine: Philyllios, frag. 23 (*Athenaios Epitome*, 31 a); Ephippos, frag. 28 (*Athenaios*



Fig. 4. Attic red-figure column krater with a scene depicting the transport and trampling of grapes at a press by Satyrs in the presence of Dionysos. Unknown provenance, once in the Collection of the Greek King George III. 450-440 BC (NAM, inv. no. 15112).

trade in good wines appears to have been quite significant, as the Thasians attempted in the early 4th c. BC to set rules in the market for their own wine and impede the importation of other wines to their territory<sup>49</sup>.

Evidence from the sources indicates that an overseas trade in cheese also developed during the 5th c. BC. Aristophanes praises the cheese of Sicily and Alexis the fresh sheep cheese of Kythnos. The cheese of the Thracian Chersonesos reached Athens in the 4th c. BC. There is also testimony for the cheeses of Achaëa, Phrygia, Mysia, and Bithynia<sup>50</sup>. Honey and other products from Hymettos, Calydna and Chios were famous<sup>51</sup>. During the Archaic period, Greek cities imported silphium from Cyrene<sup>52</sup>, Asian or African sesame, Phoenician wine, dates (*daktyloi*), and eastern spices, such as sumac, which in the 6th c. BC Solon considered as one of the culinary pleasures<sup>53</sup>.

*Epitome*, 28 f). Mendean wine: Demosthenes, 35, 10. Kratinos, frag. 195 (*Athenaios Epitome*, 29 d). Rhodian wine: Mnesitheos, frag. 46 (*Athenaios Epitome*, 32 e); Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, 13, 5; Dalby 2000, 158-162, 166-169, 219.

49. *IG XII Suppl.* 347 (after 386/5 BC). Dalby 2000, 229.

50. Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 838. Alexis, frag. 178 (*Athenaios, Deipnosophistai*, 516 e). Euboulos, frag. 148 (*Athenaios Epitome*, 65 c). Semonides, frag. 23 (*Athenaios, Deipnosophistai*, 658 c). Seleukos (*Athenaios, Deipnosophistai*, 658 d). Hegesippos (*Athenaios, Deipnosophistai*, 516 d). Galen, *On the Powers of Foods*, 3, 16, 3. Galen, *On the Powers (and Mixtures) of Simple Remedies*, 10, 1, 7. Strabo, 12, 4, 7. Dalby 2000, 228.

51. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 11, 32-33 and 14, 113. Dalby 2000, 111, 112, 228.

52. Silphium, a plant related to fennel and celery, was exported in the form of dried juice (*opos*) or new shoots (*kaulos*). Dalby 2000, 145-146.

53. Solon, frag. 41. Dalby 2000, 145. Smooth rhus (*byrsia* or *roudi*, Arabic and Syrian summäq). Eastern spice coming from a blossoming plant of the *anacardiaceae* family. It grows in subtropical and temperate regions.

Sesame (*sesamon*), an aromatic seed, is mentioned by Hipponax in the 6th c. BC and by Aristophanes in the 5th c. BC. Also the word *sesamopastos* is used by Philoxenos for a type of sweet<sup>54</sup>. Herodotus mentions dates as an exotic product; dried dates and dried figs were typical desserts<sup>55</sup>. Even trade in known products and daily foodstuff was often transported by sea. In a comedy by Eupolis from the 5th c. BC, a character asks for almonds from Naxos and wine from Naxian vineyards, while in a comedy by Hermippos dating to the same century, Rhodian grapes and figs are mentioned, as well as chestnuts and bright almonds from Paphlagonia. Almond oil formed the base of many ancient aromatic oils<sup>56</sup>.

In the 5th c. BC, cereals were imported into Greece from Russia, Libya, Egypt, and Phoenicia, salted fish and fish sauce from Russia and Spain, and hazelnuts and walnuts from the East. The trade in perfumes and incense, most of which came from Asia and Africa, was important for religious rituals and everyday life<sup>57</sup>. The trade in popular spices, such as cinnamon, and aromatic resins, such as frankincense, flourished from the Early Hellenistic period until the end of the Roman Imperial times. These products reached the harbours of the Mediterranean from the Arabic peninsula and the East<sup>58</sup>. During this same period, it appears that some sections of the long silk road from China to Mesopotamia became more familiar and this knowledge would lead to an expansion of silk trade during the Late Roman and especially the Byzantine period<sup>59</sup>.

Culinary sophistication, imported delicacies and luxury often characterized the meals of wealthy urbanites, particularly during the Hellenistic and Roman period. Indicative of the maritime and overland commercial transport of a variety of culinary products already by the 4th c. BC is a fragment by the comic poet Antiphanes, which probably formed a satirical description of a meal on the occasion of political alliances. The meal and its organization included a cook from Elis, cookware from Argos, wine from Phlious, mattresses from Corinth, fish from Sikyon, a flute-girl from Aegion, cheese from Sicily, perfumes from Athens, and eels from Boeotia<sup>60</sup>. The diverse origins of the personnel and objects used in the preparation and enjoyment of the symposium is indicative of the potential of trade, as well as of the cosmopolitan atmosphere enjoyed primarily by the wealthy urban social classes in the Greek cities during the Late Classical period.

---

54. Hipponax, frag. 26 a (Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai*, 645 c). Alkman, frag. 19 (Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai*, 111 a). Aristophanes, *Peace*, 869. Philoxenos, frag. E 18 (Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai*, 643 c). Mention of sesame oil, which must have been particularly well known during the Early Classical period, is found in Herodotus: Herodotus, 1, 193, 4. Dalby 2000, 88-89, 145.

55. Herodotus, 1, 193, 5. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 2, 3, 15. Dalby 2000, 138.

56. Eupolis, frag. 271 (*Athenaios Epitome*, 52 d). Hermippos, frag. 53 (*Athenaios Epitome*, 27 e). Dalby 2000, 136-137, 173-174.

57. Dalby 2000, 228-229.

58. Keay 2005, 35-58.

59. Wood 2002, 36-47.

60. Antiphanes, frag. 233 (*Athenaios Epitome*, 27 d). Dalby 2000, 213. Regarding Antiphanes, see Lesky 1981, 871.



### Religious networks and sea routes

The commercial and economic bonds that developed from the Archaic period connecting a number of Greek cities were often reflected in networks of religious and mythological traditions (fig. 5). This network of ritual and economic geography emerged through busy routes of communication between various regions, often over the sea<sup>61</sup>. Religious, political and economic ties between city-states were associated with corresponding religious festivals and feasts in which all the members of a group or confederation participated, travelling overseas towards an important sanctuary, such as the sanctuary of Apollo at Delos. The description by Herodotus of the course travelled by Hyperborean offerings to the sanctuary of Apollo at Delos is an example of a commercial route of the early historical period that acquired religious and ritual connotations. The gathering of Ionians in Delos was part of a ritual celebration as well as a commercial festival. In mythological tradition, the trade route from the North to the Aegean corresponded with the ritual journey of Apollo. The celebratory paean symbolized the invocation to the god and the goods he brought through his travels from the mythical North of his origins to the South<sup>62</sup>. Other gods, such as Aphrodite, were also associated in myth with sea voyages (fig. 6)<sup>63</sup>.

*Fig. 5. Ivory plaque with relief depiction of a ship. From the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta. Late 7th c. BC (cat. no. 10).*

61. Horden - Purcell 2000, 406-407. For the ivory relief plaque cat. no. 10 in fig. 5, see the relevant Catalogue entry.

62. Herodotus, 4, 32-35. Kallimachos, *Hymn to Delos*, 283ff. Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4, 143. From the rich bibliography, see for instance Homolle 1890, 389-511; Laidlaw 1933, 40-47; Tréheux 1953, 758-774; Gallet de Santerre 1958, 165-173; Burkert 1993, 308-318; Bouzek 2000, 57-62. Regarding the work by Kallimachos, *Hymn to Delos*, see for instance Ukleja 2005, 251-269, 271-283.

63. For the terracotta figurine of Aphrodite rising from a shell cat. no. 283 in fig. 6 see the relevant Catalogue entry.



Fig. 6. Clay figurine of Aphrodite rising from a shell. Corinthian workshop. From Corinth. Second half of the 4th c. BC (cat. no. 283).

### **Ships, shipwrecks and piracy**

Wreckages of 5th and 4th c. BC ships have been discovered at many sites of the Mediterranean region, such as Cyreneia on Cyprus, Massalia in France, Haifa in Israel, and elsewhere<sup>64</sup>. The sites of the shipwrecks denote the geographic extent and economic magnitude of the seafaring and commercial activities of the Greek city-states from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period.

Piracy was a permanent threat to the residents of the island regions. An iconographical example is offered by an Attic black-figure white-ground lekythos of the late 5th c. BC (NAM, inv. no. 487) (figs. 7, 8), from Pikrodaphni, Attica, housed in the National Archaeological Museum, which depicts a ship and the capturing of men. The scene is probably a rare representation of piracy or the punishment of pirates<sup>65</sup>.

Episodes of piracy from various periods of antiquity are mentioned in the sources<sup>66</sup>. Piracy, including robberies, plundering, hostage-taking, and kidnapping of citizens for sale in the slave trade, occurred in times of economic or military crisis, and it was mainly directed at island locations in the Aegean and Mediterranean. Attempts to restrict piracy in Cilicia and Pamphylia were undertaken in 102 BC by the Roman general Marcus Antonius and in Lycia and Isauria by Publius Servilius Vatia around the years 78 to 74 BC. The campaigns undertaken by the Roman generals Gnaeus Pompeius and Quintus Caecilius Metellus during the years 69 and 67 BC in Cilicia, Crete and elsewhere put a more definitive end to piracy in the Eastern Mediterranean<sup>67</sup>.

64. Δαμιανίδης, 2014.

65. NAM, inv. no. 487: Dumont - Chaplain 1888, 385-386, pl. 23. BAPD 30211. Hatzivassiliou 2010, 166, no. 837, pl. 22, 5-7.

66. Piracy in the Hellenistic and Early Roman period: Ormerod 1924; Green 1990, 302-303, 306, 362-364, 374, 557-558, 657-658; Rostovtzeff 1998 (1941), 58, 98, 195-196, 202, 222-223, 396, 531, 608, 781, 785, 844-845, 1364-1365, note 24; de Souza 1999, 22, 25, 31, 36, 86; Rauh 2003, 169-201. Cf. Thucydides, 1, 7; Virgil, *Georgics*, 4, 127; Diodoros of Sicily 20, 110, 4; Livy 31, 22.

67. Cilicia, Crete and the operations to end piracy: *IEE*, E', 208-210 (Ι. Τουλουμάκος). Crete: Brulé 1978, 29-56; Habicht 1998, 302. Aegean and Delos: Buraselis 1982, 55, 57, 86; Regier 1994, 19, 29-31,

## Conclusions

The history of sea voyages of the ancient Greeks is one of the richest fields of study of antiquity, as both the sources and the archaeological finds demonstrate the importance and frequency of these journeys for politics, trade, the economy, religion, and other aspects of public and private life.

Already during the Early Archaic period, investigations into the shape and extent of the world were linked by Pre-Socratic Philosophers to philosophic theories regarding matter and time. The Mediterranean Sea, with its large and small islands and hospitable shores on which numerous coastal cities, harbours, and smaller settlements were founded, became the cradle of ancient Greek and other civilizations and religions, thanks to the development of trade, especially in times of peace, and to the contacts developed between peoples residing in its various regions.

During the historical period, intercrossing networks of overseas routes for the trade of wine, oils, cereals, metals, and other goods spread to the Eastern and Western Mediterranean. From the 2nd c. BC to the 3rd c. AD, these same busy marine networks formed the basis for the communication, commercial relations and political domination of the Roman Empire, which appropriated the Mediterranean as *mare nostrum*.

The marine trade networks in combination with the products that were exchanged, such as food staples, spices, metals, ceramics, and slaves, offer invaluable clues for the study of ancient public and private life. In particular, the dispersal of varieties of wine, foods, perfumes, and spices reflects aspects of the Mediterranean ecosystem, the natural environment and the agricultural economy, which remain intriguing subjects today, often in the context of modern developmental programs.

In antiquity, the most frequented sea routes crossed the Aegean from South to North, as far as the Black Sea, and from the West as far as the coast of Asia Minor in the East with its access to the Asian hinterland. Sea routes also led from the cities of Greece to Egypt, Phoenicia and Cyprus, and to even further regions such as Cyrenaica, Massalia and the Iberian peninsula, while a few intrepid sailors appear to have reached as far as Europe's northern seas. A versatile network united the ancient small island communities in the closed sea of the Mediterranean, and at the same time bound each of these to the dominant political force at the time, Athens, Sparta, Thebes, Macedonia, or Rome.

Maria Chidioglou



Figs. 7-8. Attic black-figure white-ground lekythos with a scene of violence on a shipwreck. From Pikrodaphni, Attica. Late 5th c. BC (NAM, inv. no. 487).

44-46, 261-263; Morrison - Coates 1996, 32, 102, 117-119; Constantakopoulou 2007, 18, 107-108, 116, 187, 196-197.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

---

- Bats, M. - B. d'Agostino (eds.) 1998. *Euboica, L'Eubea e la presenza Euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente*, Napoli.
- Beazley, J. D. 1929. Charinos. Attic Vases in the Form of Human Heads, *JHS* 49, 38-78.
- Boardman, J. 1988 (1964). *The Greeks Overseas, their Early Colonies and Trade*, London.
- Bouzek, J. 2000. Apollon Hyperboréen, le héros solaire et l'âme humaine, *Αγαθός δαίμων, Mythes et Cultes. Études d'iconographie en l'Honneur de Lilly Kahil*, *BCH Suppl.* 38, 57-62.
- Brock, R. 1996. The Tribute of Karystos, *EMC* 40, 357-370.
- Brulé, P. 1978. *La Piraterie crétoise hellénistique*, Paris.
- Buraselis, K. 1982. *Das hellenistische Makedonien und die Ägäis. Forschungen zur Politik des Kassandros und der drei Antigoniden im Ägäischen Meer und in Westkleinasien*, München.
- Burkert, W. 1993. *Αρχαία ελληνική θρησκεία. Αρχαϊκή και Κλασική Εποχή* (μτφρ. Ν. Π. Μπεζαντάκος - Α. Αβαγιανού), Αθήνα.
- Calligas, P. G. 1990. Early Euboean Ship Buildings, in H. E. Tzalas (ed.), *Tropis II, Proceedings of the Second International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity, Delphi 27-29/8/1987*, Athens, 77-83.
- CAH. Cambridge Ancient History.*
- Casson, L. 1995. *Το ταξίδι στον αρχαίο κόσμο* (μτφρ. Λ. Σταματιάδη), Αθήνα.
- Chapman, W. P. - R. M. Schneider - H. Schneider (eds.) 1993. *Karystos: City-state and Country Town*, Baltimore.
- Coldstream, J. N. 1977. *Geometric Greece*, London.
- Coldstream, J. N. 1995. Euboean Geometric Imports from the Acropolis of Pithekoussai, *BSA* 90, 251-267.
- Constantakopoulou, Chr. 2007. *The Dance of the Islands, Insularity, Networks, the Athenian Empire and the Aegean World*, Oxford.
- Cook, R. M. 1960. *Greek Painted Pottery*, London.
- Dalby, A. 2000. *Σειρήνεια δείπνα. Ιστορία της διατροφής και της γαστρονομίας στην Ελλάδα* (απόδοση στα ελληνικά Έ. Πατρικίου), Αθήνα.
- Δαμιανίδης, Κ. (ed.) 2014. *Ναυς, Πλοία και ναυπηγική στον ελληνικό κόσμο*, Αθήνα.
- Desborough, R. V. d'A. 1995 (1972). *Οι ελληνικοί σκοτεινοί αιώνες* (μτφρ. Σ. Κόρτη-Κόντη, επιμ. Θ. Ξένος), Αθήνα.
- de Souza, Ph. 1999. *Piracy in the Graeco Roman World*, Cambridge.
- Dihle, A. 1998. *Οι Έλληνες και οι ξένοι* (μτφρ. Τ. Σιέτη), Αθήνα.
- Dumont, A. - J. Chaplain 1888. *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre*, Paris.
- Ervin, M. 1959. Geraistai Nymphai Genethliai and the Hill of the Nymphs. A Problem of Athenian Mythology and Topography, *Platon* 11, 146-159.
- Gallet de Santerre, H. 1958. *Délos primitive et archaïque*, Paris.
- Gehrke, H.-J. 1992. Zur Rekonstruktion antiker Seerouten. Das Beispiel des Golfs von Euboia, *Klio* 74, 98-117.
- Green, P. 1990. *Alexander to Actium. The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age*, Berkeley - Los Angeles.
- Habicht, Chr. 1998. *Ελληνιστική Αθήνα* (μτφρ. Γ. Κοιλής), Αθήνα.
- Hadzisteliou-Price, Th. 1971. Double and Multiple Representations in Greek Art and Religious Thought, *JHS* 91, 48-69.
- Hansen, M. H. - Th. H. Nielsen 2004. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis, An Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish National Research Foundation*, Oxford.
- Hatzivassiliou, E. 2010. *Athenian Black Figure Iconography between 510 and 475 B.C.*, Rahden.
- Head, B. V. 1884. *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, VIII: Central Greece*, London.
- Homolle, Th. 1890. Comptes et inventaires des temples déliens en l'année 279 avant J.C., *BCH* 14, 389-511.
- Horden, P. - N. Purcell 2000. *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*, Oxford.
- Huber, S. 1998. Erétrie et la Méditerranée à la lumière des trouvailles provenant d'une aire sacrificielle au nord du sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros, in M. Bats - B. d'Agostino (eds.), *Euboica, L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Napoli 13-16 Novembre 1996*, Napoli, 109-133.

- IEE *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, Αθήνα 1970-1978 (Vols. Α'-ΙΕ').
- IG II<sup>2</sup>. I. Kirchner, *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclides anno posteriores*, Berlin 1927.
- IG XII Suppl. E. Ziebarth, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, XII Supplementum, Berlin 1939.
- Inaishvili, N. - M. Khalvashi 2012. Sinopean Imports on the Black Sea Littoral of South-West Georgia, in D. Kassab Tezgör (ed.), *Sinope. The Results of Fifteen Years of Research, Proceedings of the International Symposium, Sinop 7-9 May 2009*, Leiden - Boston, 487-509, 559.
- Κακριδής, Ι. Θ. 1986. *Ελληνική Μυθολογία*, vol. 2, *Οι Θεοί*, Αθήνα.
- Keay, J. 2005. *The Spice Route*, London.
- Keller, D. R. 1985. *Archaeological Survey in Southern Euboea, Greece: A Reconstruction of Human Activity from Neolithic Times through the Byzantine Period*, Ph.D. Thesis, Indiana University.
- Κούρου, Ν. 1990-1991. Εύβοια και Ανατολική Μεσόγειος στις αρχές της πρώτης χιλιετίας, *AEM* 29, 237-279.
- Kourou, N. 1992. Aegean Orientalizing versus Oriental Art: The Evidence of Monsters, in V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Symposium "The Civilizations of the Aegean and their Diffusion in Cyprus and Eastern Mediterranean 2000-600 B.C."*, Larnaca, 110-123.
- Laidlaw, W. A. 1933. *A History of Delos*, Oxford.
- Λεβίδης, Α. Β. (ed.) 1994. *Πλίνιος ο Πρεσβύτερος, Περί της αρχαίας ελληνικής ζωγραφικής, 35ο βιβλίο της Φυσικής Ιστορίας* (μτφρ. από τα λατινικά Τ. Ρούσσος - Α. Β. Λεβίδης), Αθήνα.
- Lemos, I. S. 1998. Euboea and its Aegean Koine, in M. Bats - B. d'Agostino (eds.), *Euboica, L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Napoli 13-16 Novembre 1996*, Napoli, 45-58.
- Lerat, L. 1946. Geraistos et les Geraistai, *RA* 25, 196-203.
- Lesky, A. 1981. *Ιστορία της αρχαίας ελληνικής λογοτεχνίας* (μτφρ. Α. Γ. Τσοπανάκης), Θεσσαλονίκη (5η έκδοση, αναθεωρημένη).
- Μαζαράκης-Αινιάν, Α. 2000. *Όμηρος και αρχαιολογία*, Αθήνα.
- Malkin, I. 2011. *A Small Greek World. Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Oxford.
- McEvedy, C. 2002. *The New Penguin Atlas of Ancient History*, London.
- Moreno, A. 2007. *Feeding the Democracy. The Athenian Grain Supply in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*, Oxford.
- Morrison, J. S. - J. F. Coates 1996. *Greek and Roman Oared Warships, 339-30 B.C.*, Oxford.
- Oliverio, G. 1932-1936. *Documenti antichi dell'Africa Italiana*, I-III, Bergamo.
- Ormerod, H. A. 1924. *Piracy in the Ancient World. An Essay in Mediterranean History*, London.
- Paleothodoros, D. 2007. Commercial Networks in the Mediterranean and the Diffusion of Early Attic Red-figure Pottery (525-490 BCE), *Mediterranean Historical Review* 22, 165-182.
- Popham, M. 1994. Precolonization: Early Greek Contact with the East, in G. R. Tsetskhladze - F. de Angelis (eds.), *The Archaeology of Greek Colonization Essays Dedicated to Sir John Boardman*, Oxford, 11-34.
- Popham, M. - L. H. Sackett - P. Themelis 1979. *Lefkandi I: The Iron Age*, London.
- Ραμού-Χαψιάδη, Ά. 1982. *Από τη φυλετική κοινωνία στην πολιτική*, Αθήνα.
- Rauh, N. K. 2003. *Merchants, Sailors and Pirates in the Roman World*, Stroud, Gloucestershire UK & Charleston, SC, USA.
- Reger, G. 1994. *Regionalism and Change in the Economy of Independent Delos, 314-167 B.C.*, Berkeley.
- Ridgway, B. S. 1990. *Hellenistic Sculpture I, The Styles of ca. 331-200 B.C.*, Bristol.
- Ridgway, D. 2000. *Οι πρώτοι Έλληνες στη Δύση, Η αυγή της Μεγάλης Ελλάδας* (μτφρ. Φ. Αρβανίτης), Αθήνα.
- Ridgway, D. 2004. Euboeans and others along the Tyrrhenian Seaboard, in K. Lomas (ed.), *Greek Identity: Papers in Honour of B. Shefton*, Leiden, 15-33.
- Rostovtzeff, M. 1998 (1941). *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, vols. I-III, Oxford - New York.
- Sakellariou, M. B. 1958. *La migration grecque en Ionie*, Athènes.

- Sakellariou, M. 1979. Quelques questions relatives à la colonisation euboéenne en Occident, *Ei Eubei in Occidente, Atti XVIII, Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia*, Tarento, 9-36.
- Schone, A. 1987. *Der Thiasos. Eine ikonographische Untersuchung über das Gefolge des Dionysos in der attischen Vasenmalerei des 6. und 5. Jhs v. Chr.*, Göteborg.
- Schumacher, R. W. M. 1993. Three Related Sanctuaries of Poseidon: Geraistos, Kalaureia, Tainaron, in N. Marinatos - R. Hägg (eds.), *Greek Sanctuaries - New Approaches*, London - New York, 62-87.
- Seaford, R. 1984. *Euripides Cyclops*, Oxford.
- SNG Cop. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum, Aetolia, Euboea*, Copenhagen 1944.
- Snodgrass, A. M. 2000 (1971). *The Dark Age of Greece*, Edinburgh.
- Stückelberger, A. - F. Mittlenhuber 2009. *Klaudios Ptolemaios. Handbuch der Geographie*, Basel.
- Thomas, C. G. 2009. The Mediterranean World in the Early Iron Age, in K. A. Raaflaub - H. van Wees (eds.), *A Companion to Archaic Greece*, Malden, USA & Oxford, UK.
- Thomson, J. 1948. *History of Ancient Geography*, Cambridge.
- Tod, M. N. 1985. *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Chicago.
- Tréheux, J. 1953. La réalité historique des offrandes hyperboréennes, in G. Mylonas - D. Raymond (eds.), *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson II*, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, 758-774.
- Tsatskhladze, G. R. - F. de Angelis (eds.) 1994. *The Archaeology of Greek Colonization, Essays Dedicated to Sir J. Boardman*, Oxford.
- Τσοῦρη, Η. 2006. Το αρχαίο νομισματοκοπείο της Καρύστου ως προοπτική ανάπτυξης της πόλης, in Μ. Χιδίρογλου - Α. Χατζηδημητρίου (eds.), *Αρχαιότητες της Καρυστίας / Antiquities of Karystia*, Κάρυστος, 187-211.
- Ukleja, K. 2004. *Der Delos-Hymnus des Kallimachos innerhalb seines Hymnensextetts*, Münster.
- Vian, F. 1944. Les Géants de la mer, *RA* 22, 97-117.
- Vian, F. 1952. Génies des passes et des défilés, *RA* 39, 129-155.
- Voelke, P. 2001. *Un théâtre de la marge, Aspects figuratifs et configurationnels du drame satyrique dans l'Athènes classique*, Bari.
- Walker, K. G. 2004. *Archaic Eretria, A Political and Social History from the Earliest Times to 490 B.C.*, London.
- Westermann, W. L. 1929. New Historical Documents in Greek and Roman History, *The American Historical Review* 35, 14-32.
- Wilcken, U. 1976. *Αρχαία ελληνική ιστορία* (μτφρ. Ι. Τουλουμεάκος), Αθήνα.
- Wood, F. 2002. *The Silk Road*, London.
- Χιδίρογλου, Μ. 1996-1997. Οι λατρείες της αρχαίας Καρύστου, *AEM* 32, 175-191.
- Χιδίρογλου, Μ. 2009. *Γεραίστιοί τε καταφυγαί*. Ευριπίδης, Κύκλωψ, 295. Γεραίστος Καρυστίας. Τα πρώτα πορίσματα των ανασκαφών, 2ο ΑΕΘΣΕ, Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης, Βόλος 16-19 Μαρτίου 2006, Βόλος, 1085-1105.
- Ziebarth, E. 1929. *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Seeraubs und Seehandels im alten Griechenland*, Hamburg.

## MYTHS OF THE SEA: GODS, HEROES, DAEMONS, AND MONSTERS

In the environment of the Aegean Sea, where land and sea merge to form a single undivided unit, men were born and lived their lives, founding permanent installations and shaping ideas, perceptions, cults, arts, and trade. Through the difficulties, their needs and struggles for survival, through contact with the foreign and their familiarity with water, the sea that divided them became the road that brought them together. Here a cosmogony came into being with man at its center. Natural elements were transformed into terrifying monsters, while the gods took human form, at times acting as benign advocates and at others as merciless persecutors and avengers.

The quest for commercial routes and the campaigns of Aegean peoples to procure raw materials in the North, East and West, even the colonization of various regions, are reflected in the ancient Greek myths of heroic travellers: Heracles, Theseus, the Argonauts, and the Achaean kings, with the most representative of all being long-suffering Odysseus. They wandered the Aegean, and indeed most crossed the Mediterranean to reach the edges of the known world, the Black Sea in the north and the Pillars of Heracles, or Gibraltar, in the west. The historical core of these wanderings was embellished from the beginning, and often altered, by the devises of poets based on fairytale elements as well as the descriptions of far-away journeys by sailors and merchants. The dangers and adventures in the tales of the latter were naturally magnified, and the mystery of the sea gave birth to enormous rocks that moved or clashed together, whirlpools that swallowed ships with all their crew, even beasts and monsters. The fear was widespread already by the time of Homer that those who dared go to sea might be gobbled up by the mysterious beings lying below the surface. In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, fish eat human flesh (*Il.* XIX 267-268, XXI 122-127 and 201-204. *Od.* XIV 135-136, XV 480-481, XXIV 290-291), sea creatures lurk (*Od.* V 421-422) and the drowned remain unburied (fig. 1). Even the word *λαίημα* (throat, the gulf of the sea) that the poet uses so frequently regarding the sea, and indeed in phrases associated with its perils for seafaring (*Od.* IV 504, V 174 and 409, IX 260. Cf. *Il.* XIX 267), makes us imagine it as an enormous throat ready to swallow anyone fool-hardy enough to cross it.

But the sea itself was also personified by the ancients, in the form of two marine deities associated with the birth of the world, Pontos and Oceanos. Both express the concept of primordial waters, the first as a navigable but difficult path, and the second as the boundary between the world of the living and that of the dead.

According to Hesiod, Pontos was the child of Gaia, with whom he mated bringing into the world Eurybia, Thaumatas, Phorkys, Nereus, and Keto (*Theog.* 131-132, 233-239). Eurybia most likely represents the expansiveness of the sea and its violent currents. Thaumatas represents its wondrous and terrifying phenomena, and Keto personifies sea creatures. Finally, Phorkys and Nereus, due to their ability to shift shape, denote the continual changeability of the weather and of the colours of the sea. The waters of Pontos were salty (*Theog.* 107) and whipped by raging waves (*Theog.* 131-132, 189. *Erg.* 390), also an expression of the dangers inherent in the sea to seafarers. It is no coincidence that the union of his son Thaumatas with Elektra, daughter of Oceanos, brought forth the Harpies (*Theog.* 265-269), personifications of gales and violent winds, in the form of predatory daemons with a female



Fig. 1. Inscribed funerary stele. The relief depicts a shipwreck with sailors struggling in the waves while a youth sits mournfully on the shore. From Delos. Late 2nd-early 1st c. BC (NAMΓ 1313).

face and the body of a vulture<sup>1</sup>, while the offspring of Phorkys and Keto were the two Graeae, the three Gorgons (*Theog.* 270-278) (cat. no. 31), and also perhaps the dragon guarding the apples of the Hesperides (*Theog.* 335-336). Daughters of Phorkys are said to be the Sirens (Soph. frag. 861) (cat. nos. 41, 42, 43, 44) and Scylla (Hes. frag. 262. Merkelbach - West. Akous. *FGH* 2 F42) (cat. nos. 46, 47) who also embody the supernatural powers of the water element.

The other personification of the sea, the Titan Oceanos, son of Gaia and Ouranos, is described as a river running around the entire (flat) earth (Hes. *Theog.* 132-133 and *Asp.* 314. Hom. *Il.* XVIII 607-608. Aesch. *Pr.* 136-143). His children were the Oceanids, the rivers, springs and lakes, all the waters that flow into the sea (Hes. *Theog.* 361, 368, 789). But as he was placed at the edges of the world<sup>2</sup>, near the Elysian Fields, the isles of the Blessed and the Garden of the Hesperides (Hes. *Theog.* 274-279 and *Erg.* 170-171. Hom. *Od.* IV 563-568. Pind. *Ol.* 2.70-72. Aesch. frag. 74.1-3), Oceanos became the imaginary boundary between life and death. For this reason, he appears in most myths as the passage through which heroes had to cross: Odysseus to reach Hades (Hom. *Od.* X 508-512, XI 13-22), Perseus to find the Graeae and the Gorgons (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.2. Ov. *Met.* 4.772-784) (NAM, inv. nos. A 13401, A 13402), and Heracles to bring back the cattle of Geryon (Pany. *EGF* frag. 7. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.10. Athen. *Deipn.* 11.469d-470d) as well as to reach the Hesperides. The return from such a dangerous journey symbolizes, in effect, the victory of these heroes over death.

Heracles (NAM, inv. no. X 15066), the paramount heroic figure of Greek mythology, travelled the entire known world to rid it of vicious monsters, but he also participated in campaigns, such as the voyage of the Argonauts, and in wars of conquest. In the context of his Labours performed at the orders of his uncle Eurystheus, he travelled as far as Crete to apprehend the bull of Minos, indeed crossing the Aegean on the animal's back on his return to the Peloponnese. Aboard a ship manned by many famous heroes he arrived in Thrace to capture the horses of Diomedes, and the Black Sea to retrieve the belt of the Amazon queen Hippolyte.

However, the furthest journey he made was to bring back the cattle of Geryon from the island Erytheia in the far West, beyond Oceanos. Heracles reached Southern Spain on foot, as far as the straits separating Europe from Africa, on each side of which he erected a column, called the Pillars of Heracles. There he sat on the shore and managed to take from Helios (cat. no. 32) his gold cup, the "golden depas" so as to cross the current of Oceanos (Aesch. *Herakl.* *TrGF* 3 F74. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.10). Indeed, he did not hesitate to threaten Helios himself with his bow, and also Oceanos, when he raised a storm against him. During his return overland with the flock of cattle, he killed many wild beasts and dangerous bandits on the Iberian and Italian peninsula, and even managed to kill Scylla in Southern Italy because she devoured some of his cattle. The monster was brought back to life by her father Phorkys, after boiling the corpse in a large cauldron, thus giving her immortality.

---

1. They are commonly represented in iconography as winged female figures. For their persecution by the Boreads during the Argonaut expedition and their clash with the Trojans of Aeneas at Strophades, before the latter arrived in Italy, see respectively A.R. 2.266-300 and Verg. *Aen.* 3.210-256.

2. In the Late Archaic and Classical period, Oceanos was identified with the Atlantic, and the Pillars of Heracles (the straits of Gibraltar) became the entrance to the Ocean as well as to the world of the dead (Pind. *Ol.* 3.43-45, *Nem.* 3.20-23. Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 742-750).



Fig. 2. Column krater with a scene of Heracles wrestling Nereus. Unknown provenance. By Sophilos. Ca. 590 BC (NAM A 12587).

The voyage to seek the garden with the golden apples of the Hesperides was also long for Heracles. To learn the way to the garden he had to wrestle Nereus (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.11) (fig. 2), the old man of the sea, who knew the way to the beyond. In his travels Heracles passed through Africa; in Libya he killed the giant Antaios after lifting him up high so as to lose the supernatural powers given to him by his mother Gaia (Earth), and in Egypt the king Bousiris (cat. no. 34). The apples were brought to Heracles by Atlas, after the hero temporarily held the heavens on his shoulders (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.11) (cat. no. 33).

Apart from the Labours, Heracles also accomplished other important feats and indeed ruled cities and founded colonies on his own initiative. During the Argonaut expedition, before or after the operation in Colchis, he passed through Troy where he rescued Hesione, daughter of king Laomedon, from the sea monster sent by Poseidon to devour her (Hom. *Il.* XX 144-149. *Hellan. FGrH* 4 F26, F 28. *Lykophr. Alex.* 33. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.9). At Laomedon's refusal to give him his immortal horses as promised, the hero organized a campaign against Troy (Hom. *Il.* V 638-643. D.S. 4.32) and from there, after the storm sent by Hera sunk most of his ships, he wound up on Kos (Hom. *Il.* XIV 250-259), which he conquered. There are clear similarities between the myth of the rescue of Hesione from the sea monster and that of the rescue of Andromeda by Perseus, who also killed another deadly sea creature sent by the god of the sea (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.3. *Ov. Met.* 4.663).

Only one ship could pass through the Clashing Rocks: the Argo "ποντοπόρος νηῦς Ἀργώ" (Argo, the boat that crosses the seas). These few words by Homer (Hom. *Od.* XII 61-70) are the earliest testimony for the journey of the Argonauts to Colchis to bring back the golden fleece of the ram of Phrixos (cat. no. 35). The heroes taking part in the Argonaut expedition are the fathers of those who campaigned against Troy: Peleus, father of Achilles, Laertes, father of Odysseus, Telamon, father of Ajax. Together with them were the Dioskouroi (cat. no. 36), who afterwards were worshipped as protectors of sailors, and the famous musician Orpheus who distracted

the Argonauts' attention from the Sirens and safely led the ship from Anthe-moessa to the Tyrrhenian Sea on their return (A.R. 4.891-921)<sup>3</sup>. Afterwards they passed through the straits of Messene between Sicily and Southern Italy, but managed to avoid Scylla and Charybdis with the aid of Thetis, who guided the ship as her husband Peleus was aboard, and the other Nereids (A.R. 4.922-964).

The confrontation between these two monsters and Odysseus (cat. no. 120) and his crew was far more dramatic. The adventures of Odysseus and the rest of the Achaeans<sup>4</sup> began immediately after their departure from Troy, because they had provoked the wrath of the gods by disrespecting the temples during the fall of the city (cat. no. 329). Suffering more than the others, Odysseus was also punished for blinding Polyphemos (cat. no. 38), son of Poseidon, provoking the god's fury.

As soon as Odysseus left the Aegean, swept by a storm in cape Maleas, and began to wander in foreign seas in the Western Mediterranean<sup>5</sup>, he encountered every manner of strange people, giants and monsters. After the Lotus-eaters and the Cyclopes, the Laestrygonians, the witch Circe who turned his men to swine (cat. nos. 39, 40), and the nymph Kalypso, he had to face the Sirens, Scylla and Charybdis, spawned by the imagination of men in order to give shape to their fears of the unknown risks hiding in the infinitude and the depths of the sea, there where any sense of time is nearly completely lost in the struggle to survive. Symbols of the dangers of overseas travel, the Sirens are argued to personify the deadly stillness, Scylla the sharp rocks and Charybdis the tidal whirlpools.

Sirens, two (Hom. *Od.* XII 52), three (Eur. *El.* 169-171), or, rarely, more (Plat. *Pol.* 617b), appear in iconography already by the late 8th and early 7th c. BC as birds with female heads (cat. nos. 41, 42). From the middle of the 6th c. BC they become more humanized, since their white female skin is rendered as reaching their chest (NAM, inv. no. A 17984), which is depicted as swelling by the 5th c. BC (cat. no. 43) so as to make them appear more like women than birds. Their sweet song lured travellers to their deaths, so enchanting it was that it made them want to hear it forever, becoming indifferent not only to their return home but also to food, until in the end they died of starvation. Precisely because of their association with death<sup>6</sup>, as well as of their song that promised solace, they were depicted as mourners, and indeed statues of sirens were often set up over tombs as funerary monuments (cat. nos. 44, 45). Odysseus, following the advice of Circe, blocked the ears of his companions with wax so they could not hear, but he himself, wanting to satisfy his curiosity, bound himself to the mast and managed thus not to be swept away. According to one version of the myth, this fact

---

3. Thus the Argonauts were the first – before Odysseus – to survive the Sirens. Boutes, the only one to be enchanted by their song and throw himself into the sea to reach them, was finally saved by Aphrodite.

4. For the *nostos* (journey home) of the Achaeans, see Hom. *Od.* IV 495-569. Characteristic are the wanderings of Menelaus and his landing on the islet of Pharos in Egypt, where he managed, with tricks and wearing a seal skin, to approach the sea daemon Proteus and learn the route home to Sparta (Hom. *Od.* IV 351-480).

5. The geography of the *Odyssey* and the identification – or not – of the mentioned place names with actual locations has long been the subject of study, but it is not possible to provide commentary in such a brief paper. See indicatively L. Braccisi, *Sulle rote di Ulisse. L'invenzione della geografia omerica*, Roma - Bari 2010.

6. Their association with death is documented in the sources as they are mentioned as residents of Hades (Plat. *Pol.* 617b) and companions of Persephone (Eur. *El.* 168-178. A.R. 4.896-899). Indeed, in Plato they have completely lost their negative connotation and are mentioned as being eight in number, each singing one note and thus composing a musical scale of heavenly harmony.

led to the death of the Sirens, who, in desperation, threw themselves on the sharp rocks of their island.

Next, the winds led the hero's ship near the Clashing Rocks, two rocks believed by sailors to move, threatening at a moment's notice to crash into their ships, sinking them. Following the advice of Circe, they avoided the rocks and travelled towards two headlands nearby, most likely the straits of Messene between Italy and Sicily (Thuc. 4.24.5). In the higher of the two was a cave in which Scylla lived. Circe calls Scylla immortal, an invincible being that no one can resist (Hom. *Od.* XII 116-120). Her monstrous nature is underlined by the epithet *πέλωρ* (monster) (Hom. *Od.* XII 87) which is also used for the Cyclops Polyphemus (Hom. *Od.* IX 428). She had twelve legs and six long necks that ended in an equal number of horrific heads, each with three rows of many dense teeth (Hom. *Od.* XII 89-92). Corresponding to the number of heads was the number of her victims, true also in the case of Odysseus' companions, and the sight of them writhing in the air and then being devoured in front of the monster's cave was, according to his characterization, the worst thing the hero had ever seen (Hom. *Od.* XII 245-259).

The etymological similarity of the name Scylla and the word for female dog, and her voice which was like a puppy's (Hom. *Od.* XII 86), is reflected in her external appearance as it is represented in the iconography of the 5th c. BC onwards, with strong female characteristics, the head and body of a woman, a fish tail and heads or busts of dogs that usually spring from her middle (cat. nos. 46, 47) (fig. 3). In the written sources, the variation of the myth that sees Scylla transformed from a beautiful virgin of the sea to a monster by the jealous Circe is not documented before the Hellenistic period, while it is related in its entirety by Ovid in *Metamorphoses* (*Met.* 13.730-741, 13.898-14.74).

On the promontory opposite Scylla lived Charybdis, who must be considered the climax of terror embodied by the sea creatures, since even Poseidon himself could not rescue Odysseus from her, according to Circe (Hom. *Od.* XII 107). Her epithet *ὄλοή* (destructive, deadly) (Hom. *Od.* XII 113, 428) also indicates her monstrous nature. Although the words used to describe the manner in which she "sucked" (Hom. *Od.* XII 104, 105, 106, 236, 240) and then "regurgitated" water (Hom. *Od.* XII 237) imply that she could



Fig. 3. Metal sheet with a depiction of Scylla holding an oar in her left hand and presumably a stone in her right. From a vessel or folding mirror. Workshop of Taras, Italy. 350-300 BC (NAM Kap. 82).

be a living being, it has also been argued that Charybdis is an actual natural phenomenon. In contrast to the detailed description of Scylla, she is not given physical characteristics: she is placed next to elements of the natural landscape and is compared to a boiling cauldron over a large fire (Hom. *Od.* XII 237), and has a vortex in the middle through which the black sands of the seafloor are visible (Hom. *Od.* XII 241-243). Metaphor or personification, Charybdis is nevertheless the most extreme Homeric example of giving the landscape the form of a living organism. The first time Odysseus passed near her, he preferred to steer his ship closer to Scylla and thus sacrifice six men in order to save the rest of the crew. After his ship was sunk by Zeus in vengeance for his companions eating the cattle of Helios, the wind again pushed him close to Charybdis at the moment that the monster swallowed the waters (Hom. *Od.* XII 426-453). Odysseus managed to grasp hold of a wild fig tree, under which the terrible monster sat, and stayed hanging there for many hours until she started to vomit up the waters with the wreckage of his ship. Then he threw himself into the sea, climbed on the wreckage and rowed himself away with his hands.

It is worth noting that although Thanatos (Death) is male, all the aforementioned sea monsters of the *Odyssey* who spread fear, expressing the unspeakable and unthinkable, are female. Perhaps this is due to the fact that they are an expression of "otherness" itself, the gory and malevolent powers symbolizing not the inevitable fate of mankind, but the confrontation with death and its horrors. Some of these, such as the Sirens (and the Harpies in the Argonaut expedition), with female faces and breasts but the claws of a predatory bird, combine agony and horror with attraction and charm, making death nearly approach desire<sup>7</sup>.

Lurking at sea, however, were not only disfigured and threatening flesh-eating creatures, ready to devour anyone bold enough to cross the conceptual boundaries of the Aegean. Benevolent spirits also lived, played and made love in the same waters, and had the power to travel with and protect seafarers. The sea was also associated with the gods, who at times helped and at times harassed the mortals.

Zeus, the mightiest Greek god, was initially worshipped as a god of weather, whose blessing was sought by men to succeed in taming their new homes, praying for him to not use his lightning to destroy the foundations of their new world (cat. no. 338). Already by the time of Homer, the god of rain and storms was transformed into a god of destiny, and his lightning was accompanied by his sacred golden scales with which he weighed the fate of men (Hom. *Il.* XXII 209-213). The goddess Athena, steady protector of many heroes in their adventures at sea, built the best ship for *Mankind*, the *Argo*, into which she breathed divine spirit, as the supreme expression of divine charity. Sailors turned to the sanctuaries of Artemis scattered on the Attic shores, following the precedent of the Achaeans before their departure from Aulis, to ensure the goddess' favour. Aphrodite, a primordial force of the renewal of life, arose from the waves of the life-giving sea (NAM, inv. no. A 4164) (fig. 4), born from the sperm of Ouranos, expressing the urge of beings to unite and reproduce life. She travelled, as did her son Eros, on the back of a dolphin. The goddess of the open sea and harbours lived both in the air, as a

---

7. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that Homer stresses the seductiveness of the Sirens with their melodic voices (which not coincidentally is reminiscent of the song of Circe), while the "λειμών" (moist grassy place), in which they are described as sitting, is a word that also means female genitalia, thus placing them in the realm of erotic attraction.

celestial deity, and in the depths of the sea, and was co-worshipped in many coastal areas with Poseidon.

Poseidon (cat. no. 27), son of Kronos, was the master of the seas (Hom. *Il.* XV 190) where, according to the poets, he lived in his "glittering palace" in the depths and travelled by a chariot drawn by horses with bronze hooves and golden manes (Hom. *Il.* XIII 20-31). With his trident (cat. nos. 29, 30), the god could raise wild waves in an instant, and just as quickly calm the raging sea. In the *Odyssey* he was the avenging god, father of the primitive Cyclopes, who caused tremendous storms, forever persecuting long-suffering Odysseus, and also Ajax, engulfing the reef Gyre on which he had taken refuge, drowning him for boasting that he had escaped the waves in spite of the gods (Hom. *Od.* IV 499-511). Through the allegory of myth, the poet expressed the identification of the god in men's minds with the earth, natural catastrophes and geological phenomena. Further, many cults of Poseidon were aimed at propitiating his temper. The *Earth-shaker* god was merciless with those who did not respect him, shown also in the myth of the Gigantomachy where he hurled a piece of Kos – the island of Nisyros – against the Giant Polybotes (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.6.2). At the same time, he was the founder of lines of seafaring peoples, such as the Phaeacians, to whom he gave ships that did not need a captain and flew over the waves as swiftly as human thought (Hom. *Od.* VIII 555-563). The primitive Cyclopes and the Phaeacians, civilized travellers, embody both natures of Poseidon. An expression of the same perception is the association of the god with evil monsters, his offspring, but also with the supreme Attic hero Theseus. The latter, indeed, during his trip to Crete (cat. no. 238), intent on releasing the city from the requirement of human sacrifice to the Minotaur, boasted to king Minos of his divine ancestry, which he irrefutably proved by diving to his father's palace and returning to the rash king the gold ring he had thrown into the sea as a challenge (Bacch. 17.97-103, 109-124).

The sea daemons Proteus, Triton and Glaukos, as sons of Poseidon, were also exponents of his divine natures. These most ancient spirits, the *ἄλαιο γέροντες* (old men of the sea), pre-Olympic deities and rulers of the Water kingdom before the predominance of Poseidon, knew the secrets of the seas, predicted the weather, could guess the things to come and had the capacity for perpetual transformation. These daemoniac creatures were beloved, but at the same time provoked a sense of awe in the people who lived with the sea and who sought their support and guidance.

The name of the venerable Proteus, who, according to myth, had the ability to continually transform himself, suggests the cosmogonic perception that from a *proto* (first) form began the genetic process of the world, and that the rest of its forms were metamorphoses of this first material. The association of Proteus with the sea is due to an empirical understanding of the generative powers of water. His placement on the coast of Africa (Eur. *El.* 1280), which meant the eastern boundary of the known world, demonstrates that in the collective imagination Proteus belonged to the far-removed East, as Atlas correspondingly belonged to the distant West.

Triton, a man from the torso upwards but with a fish tail (fig. 5), is linked in art with scenes of joyfulness, erotic games and wellbeing, associated with Nereids and Erotes (Cupids) (cat. no. 24). Moreover, when Triton and his troupe are chosen (cat. no. 48) as pictorial decoration with eschatological implications on sarcophagi, it is in anticipation of the pleasures of afterlife. In pre-Hellenic mythology, however, Triton and also Proteus were personifications of the primordial natural power of water.



Fig. 4. Plastic lekythos with the bust of Aphrodite "Anadyomene" (emerging from the waves). From Tanagra, Boeotia. 400-375 BC (NAM A 2060).



Fig. 5. Fragment of a marble himation decorated with relief figures of a marine troupe. Triton holds a rudder and carries a half-naked Nereid on his back. From the Temple of the Great Goddesses in Lykosoura, Arcadia. Early 2nd c. BC (NAM Γ 1737).

Fig. 6. Pyxis depicting the pursuit of Amphitrite by Poseidon. The bearded male with human body and fish tail is identified as Triton or Nereus. From Aegina. By the Amphitrite Painter. 470-460 BC (cat. no. 266).

Unknown in the poetry of Homer and Hesiod, the sea god Glaukos, a Boeotian fisherman before he became immortal and joined the sea's embrace, also practiced the mantic art, which it is said he taught to Apollo. He enjoyed great respect from sailors who turned to him to escape an uncertain fate.

To the same tradition of mortals who are reborn by jumping into the sea belongs the myth of Leukothea and her son Palaemon. They once lived in the realm of men until a violent and unfair end brought them to the sea, who received them mercifully. There the gods granted them immortality. Ever since, they assisted and protected seafarers, such as Odysseus, who, shipwrecked, would have been lost at sea if Leukothea had not offered him her headscarf (Hom. *Od.* V 333-353).

The Nereids, fifty sea nymphs, are mentioned by the poets with names indicative of sea traits and of their care of sailors. They lived in the depths near their father, the benevolent god Nereus and their mother Doris (fig. 6), daughter of Oceanos, ready to assist men as well as gods when in danger. Incorporated into the realm of these divine maidens were pre-existing marine deities, such as Amphitrite, consort of Poseidon, and polymorphic Thetis, wife of Peleus and mother of Achilles.

Vase painting is inspired by the myth of the latter's abduction by the mortal Peleus (fig. 7) already by the 6th c. BC, when the goddess struggles to escape the firm grasp of the man, continually taking on different forms that express primordial cosmogonic concepts.

An equally beloved subject from the middle of the 5th c. BC onwards is the transport of the *Ἡφαιστιότευκτα* (made by Hephaistos) weapons of Achilles (Hom. *Il.* XIX 10-13) (fig. 8), presaging the hero's death and linking the Nereids with the passage of mortals to the Beyond<sup>8</sup>. Death, besides,



8. Ancient sources also associate the Nereids with death. In Homer, Thetis and her sisters mourn the dead Patroklos (*Il.* XVIII 35-65), and also Achilles (*Od.* XXIV 57-62). In *Andromache* by Euripides, Thetis describes the care that Peleus would have at his death and his posthumous deification, since then they could be together in the Nereid palace in the depths of the sea (Eur. *Andr.* 1254-1268). Finally, in the epigram by Alkaios for Homer, the Nereids are described as caring for the body and burial of the dead poet (*Pal. Anth.* VII 1). This association is confirmed iconographically by their presence on funerary monuments, both on the "Monument of the Nereids" at Xanthos in Lycia as well as on sarcophagi and burial pots.



*Fig. 7. Red-figure bobbin with a scene of Peleus and Thetis. Unknown provenance. By the Pisto Xenos Painter. Ca. 465 BC (NAM A 2192).*



*Fig. 8. Pelike. Thetis is depicted on a hippocampus (seahorse) with the arms of Achilles. From Vourvoura, Kynouria. Ca. 400 BC (NAM A 19446).*

was nothing more than a sea voyage, and the Nereids were protectors of travellers, both alive and dead<sup>9</sup>.

Finally, belonging to the nymphs of the sea are the 3,000 Oceanids, daughters of Oceanos and Tethys, who, according to cosmogonic perceptions, were the beginning of life. These divine girls took the form of beautiful women who were charged by Zeus with the care and upbringing of the children of humans. Just as the Nereids, they were the expression of the need by seafarers to place their lives in the hands of benevolent daemons, from nymphs to *gorgones* (mermaids), who, over the centuries, were sanctified and transformed into the Panagia Gorgona of modern Greek tradition.

The Aegean was always a stable base of operations, a womb that received human waves, the successive generations that attempted to exceed its limits. In this perpetual journey, with its reversals and charms, the traveller was waylaid by terrible beasts and monsters inhabiting the sea, as well as by daemonic beings that held knowledge, wisdom and prophecy. Always present were also the gods of the Greeks, all-powerful regulators of human fate, and opposite them, Mankind, who dared to clash intellect with divine omnipotence.

Christina Avronidaki - Efi Oikonomou - Chrysanthi Tsouli

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

---

- Aston, E. 2011. *Mixanthrōpoi. Animal-human Hybrid Deities in Greek Religion*, Kernos, Suppl. 25, Liège, 55-77.
- Barringer, J. 1994. *Divine Escorts. Nereids in Archaic and Classical Greek Art*, Ann Arbor.
- Beaulieu, M.-C. 2016. *The Sea in the Greek Imagination*, Philadelphia, 1-58.
- Garezou, M.-X. - M. Lagogianni-Georgakarakos - S. Makkas - S. Petrounakos (eds.) 2014. *Nautilus: Navigating Greece*, Athens.
- Govers Hopman, M. 2012. *Scylla. Myth, Metaphor, Paradox*, Cambridge.
- Κακριδής, Ι. Θ. (ed.) 1986. *Ελληνική Μυθολογία*, Αθήνα.
- Louden, B. 2011. *Homer's Odyssey and the Near East*, Cambridge, 164-179.
- Murgatroyd, P. 2007. *Mythical Monsters in Classical Literature*, London.
- Pevnick, S. D. 2014. *Poseidon and the Sea: Myth, Cult and Daily Life*, London.
- Σαμαρά-Κάουφμαν, Α. (ed.) 2008. *Η θάλασσα θεών, ηρώων και ανθρώπων στην αρχαία ελληνική τέχνη*, Αθήνα.
- Simon, E. 1996. *Οι θεοί των Ελλήνων* (μτφρ. Σ. Πινγιάτογλου), Θεσσαλονίκη.
- Vermeule, E. 1979. *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry*, Berkeley - Los Angeles - London, 182-188.
- Vernant, J.-P. - A. Doueihy 1986. Feminine Figures of Death in Greece, *Diacritics* 16, 55-64.
- Winkler-Horaček, L. 2015. *Monster in der frühgriechischen Kunst*, Berlin, 182-206.

---

9. The subject of sea goddesses seated on the back of dolphins or other imaginary animals transporting the weapons of the hero would evolve into the so-called "sea troupe" of Hellenistic times and, losing its mythological character, would become a pretext for the depiction of half-naked young women traversing the waves on real or imaginary animals.

## PHYLAKOPI ON MELOS AND THE NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM

The connection of the National Archaeological Museum with the key prehistoric Cycladic site of Phylakopi (fig. 1), on the island of Melos, goes back to an early stage of its history. Following the excavations of the British School at Phylakopi in the years 1896-1899, the finds were deposited in Athens. By the time of the publication of the first guide to the Mycenaean and other elements of the Prehistoric collections by V. Stais in 1909<sup>1</sup>, a selection of them were on display.

A comment by C. C. Edgar in *Phylakopi*<sup>2</sup> refers to work done on the pottery in Athens during and after the last two years of the excavation. This and other evidence, including paper slips bearing the date "1899" in some of the drawers with Phylakopi material in the Museum storerooms, show that the finds were transferred to Athens at an early stage. Some of the material may still then have been grouped according to its excavated levels, though that is now impossible to verify since much has been sorted – either then or later – into arbitrary groups of (e.g.) Mycenaean or Minoan sherds, sherds with potters' marks, sherds with representational scenes, etc.



Fig. 1. The site of Phylakopi. View from the south.

### The excavation and publication of Phylakopi

More than a century later and from a contemporary archaeological standpoint, it is easy to find fault with the Phylakopi excavations, but they had very many positive aspects. Carl Blegen, for example, certainly held them in high regard<sup>3</sup>, and Mackenzie's *Daybooks*<sup>4</sup> are an outstanding example of archaeological observation and reasoning. In any case, archaeologists today tend to overestimate the superiority of modern excavation practice and analysis.

1. V. Stais, *Guide illustré du Musée National d'Athènes : collection mycénienne*, Athènes 1909.

2. At p. 81.

3. C. Renfrew *et al.*, *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos 1974-77*, London 2007, 1.

4. The *Daybooks* for the excavations of 1896-1899 are in the archive of the British School at Athens. An unpublished transcript by Colin Renfrew is available in the Library of the British School at Athens and elsewhere. The *Daybooks* will be published in a forthcoming monograph – M. J. Boyd, N. J. Brodie, and R. J. Sweetman, *Research at Phylakopi by the British School at Athens*, London (British School at Athens).

Not the least impressive feature of the British School's work at Phylakopi was its publication, in the fine volume of 1904<sup>5</sup>. As well as a full commentary on the architecture of the settlement, this provided detailed description and illustration of a large and representative selection of the finds, with observations on relative chronology and relationships to material from the other islands and beyond. Particularly valuable in that respect were Tsountas' reports<sup>6</sup> of his discoveries in the Cyclades, the early work at Knossos<sup>7</sup>, in which Mackenzie played a central role from 1900, and pottery discovered on Thera earlier in the 19th century<sup>8</sup>.

That the quality of the excavation and recording, and of this volume, was far in advance of its time is due largely to the contributions of two Scots, from humbler backgrounds than those of many of the British School establishment of the time.

### The excavators (fig. 2)

Duncan Mackenzie<sup>9</sup> was the son of an illiterate gamekeeper on a northern Scottish estate. Having won a place at Edinburgh University, he studied Philosophy and was first introduced to Classical Archaeology through the lectures of the Professor of Fine Art, Gerard Baldwin Brown, a devotee of ancient art. After two years' further study in Germany, he moved to Vienna, subsequently working for a doctorate (*Der Westfries von Gölbaşı*) under Otto Benndorf on the frieze of the heroon at ancient Trysa in Asia Minor. Arriving in Athens at the British School late in 1895, he took part in the School's site work in Athens and then went with the team to Melos. Extraordinarily, in view of his skill as a field archaeologist soon to be demonstrated at Phylakopi, this was his first major excavation experience<sup>10</sup>.

Campbell Edgar<sup>11</sup> was born in Kircudbright in southern Scotland, where his father was Minister, later moving to Ayrshire. Having read Classics at Glasgow University, he continued his studies at Oriel College, Oxford, gaining a first in Litterae Humaniores. He went to Greece in the same year as Mackenzie (1895) and was co-opted to join the British School excavations on Melos. In spite of the fact that he, too, apparently lacked previous archaeological experience, he carried out a masterly study of the pottery from Phylakopi and produced the first classification<sup>12</sup>, which has largely stood the test of time.

After his work at Phylakopi, Edgar became Inspector of Antiquities for Lower Egypt and, later, Director of the Cairo Museum. He did no further work in Greece but became a leading authority on Greek papyri.

Although we have little in the way of personal records of these two scholars, it is hard to believe that they did not, at some point, visit the Na-

---

5. T. D. Atkinson *et al.*, *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos*, London 1904 (Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies Supplementary Paper no. 4), henceforth, *Phylakopi*.

6. Ch. Tsountas, *Κυκλαδικά*, *AE* 1898, 137-212; 1899, 73-134.

7. N. Momigliano, *Duncan Mackenzie: A Cautious Canny Highlander and the Palace of Minos at Knossos*, London (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement 72), 1999. D. Mackenzie, *The Pottery of Knossos*, *JHS* 23 (1903), 157-203.

8. F. Fouqué, *Santorin et ses éruptions*, Paris 1879.

9. Momigliano, *op. cit.*

10. Momigliano *op. cit.*, 25.

11. Edgar's time at Glasgow is documented in the University records. Further information was kindly supplied to me by his granddaughter, M. Waegner, and by P. Scott, who traced other details of his career via the internet.

12. *Phylakopi*, chapter IV.



*Fig. 2. (Left to right) Edgar, Atkinson, Mackenzie and Hogarth at Phylakopi.*

tional Archaeological Museum to see the finds they had excavated and published on display to the public in Greece's premier museum.

### **The new project**

In spite of its general excellence, the 1904 publication of Phylakopi had one major drawback, particularly from the viewpoint of scholars wanting to compare finds from other sites with those from Melos. In common with most publications of its time, there were no scale drawings.

That constituted one significant reason why a new presentation of the material seemed desirable. But there are others too, equally important. In addition to the fact that further excavation work has provided much more material for comparison, most traditional, and many new, fields of study have developed, often enabling us extract additional information from the 19th century finds<sup>13</sup>.

The National Archaeological Museum (then Director, N. Kaltsas; Head of Prehistoric Department, E. Papazoglou) readily agreed to the proposal (in 2010) for the project, and we are very greatly indebted to its staff<sup>14</sup> for their help, friendly co-operation and unfailingly positive approach to the work.

---

13. Apart from extensive post-1904 work by generations of scholars on Mycenaean, Minoan and Cycladic pottery, progress can be exemplified by the huge amount of research effort expended on the study of (e.g.) marble figurines and of frescoes, with discoveries of the latter, particularly at Akrotiri but also other Aegean sites, as well as beyond Greece at Tel D'aba in Egypt. Ceramic petrology and other techniques have provided greater certainty about the provenance of pottery products and offer new possibilities for the identification of individual potters and their characteristic practices. In the field of textile research, functional analysis of loom weights and spindle whorls has produced new insights into the types of textiles that could have been produced at different sites and in various contexts. And these are only a few examples of many developments which we can exploit.

14. We offer heartfelt thanks to all the staff members of the National Archaeological Museum who (in addition to those mentioned elsewhere) have given us such a warm welcome and supported our work in every conceivable way – K. Nikolentzos, E. Konstantinidi-Syvridi, K. Kostanti, K. Mandeli, K. Paschalidis of the Department of Prehistoric Antiquities; M. Kontaki, P. Lazaris, G. Moraitou, E. Velopoulou, D. Delios of the Conservation staff. We are grateful too to A. Stasinou and the museum antiquities guards for their considerate assistance.

## FINDINGS AND RESULTS

It was clear, from an early stage, that the National Archaeological Museum collections contain a substantial amount of material, much of it in the form of potsherds, but also other objects – of terracotta, marble, metal, etc. – not included in the original publication. Some of this is of considerable interest.

Much of the research which must accompany exhaustive examination and description of the objects is still to be done but a number of observations can be made, especially in the area of pottery.

### Post-prehistoric pottery

One rather curious aspect of the material is the presence, in many of the pottery drawers, of not insignificant numbers of post-prehistoric sherds, in spite of the fact that investigators of the site have stated firmly<sup>15</sup> that, with the exception of one or two pieces, there was no later material. What could be the reason for this? Since it is inconceivable that the excavators' statements are erroneous, the material must be, in some sense, intrusive. If it is somehow associated with the 19th century excavations at Phylakopi, the most likely explanation (we owe this suggestion to Katerina Kostanti) is that it comes from the initial excavations conducted by the British team in 1896, on the site of Classical Melos, before they transferred their attention to Phylakopi<sup>16</sup>. Another possibility is that it results from prospections by the team in the broader area of Phylakopi, from which later material is known<sup>17</sup>. If neither of these explanations is valid – and it is difficult to see how certainty can be reached – the presence of these finds must be due to some later disturbance of the collections, perhaps in wartime.

### Find-spot information

Another potentially significant aspect of the pottery is the presence on a considerable number of sherds of pencil marks<sup>18</sup>, made on site or on first inspection of the finds, indicating the area and depth at which they were found. When these can be collated with references in the detailed *Day-books* kept by Mackenzie<sup>19</sup>, they may provide valuable information about find-contexts. Unfortunately, many of the pencilled marks are hard to read, though we are investigating various methods of enhancing them.

### Potters' marks

The very large number (several hundreds) of potters' marks<sup>20</sup> adds spectacularly to the corpus of signs and will allow a surer analysis of the relationship of marks to pottery classes and specific shapes. It will be of considerable interest to co-ordinate this information with the hoped-for identification of workshops and individual potters through ceramic petrology and other techniques, a study for which we have received a generous grant from the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland<sup>21</sup>.

---

15. Eg. C. C. Edgar, *Excavations in Melos, 1898*, III. The Pottery, *BSA* 4 (1897-1898), 38.

16. *Phylakopi* 1-3. C. Smith, *Excavations in Melos, BSA* 2 (1895-1896), 63-76.

17. *ΑΔ* 16 (1960), *Χρονικά*, 247-248; 25 (1970), 423.

18. C. Smith, *Excavations in Melos, 1897, BSA* 3 (1896-1897), 20.

19. See note 4.

20. See *Phylakopi*, chapter V. A. Shepard Bailey, *The Potters' Marks*, in Renfrew *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 3), 444-455.

21. We are greatly indebted to the Carnegie Trust and its staff for their interest and support.

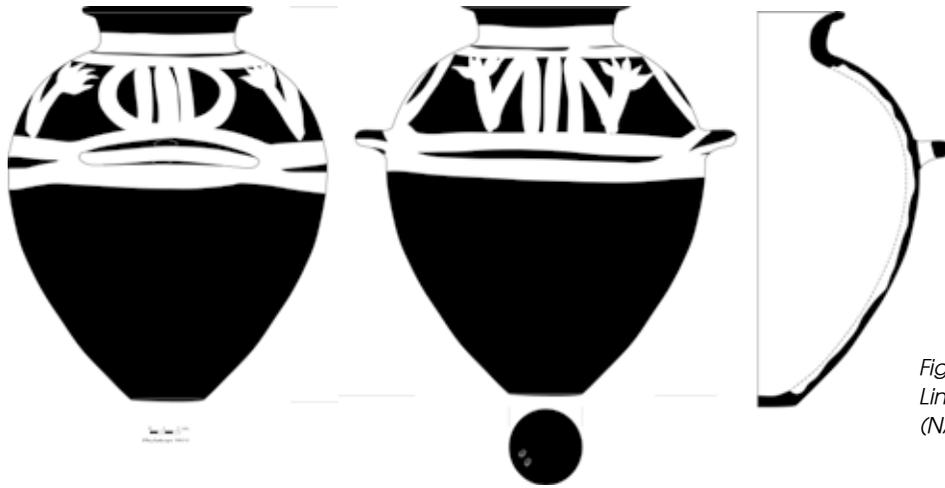


Fig. 3. "Geometric" amphora in "Thick Linear" style from Phylakopi. H. 0.026 m (NAM, inv. no. 5831).

### Pottery classification

Conventional pottery study has enabled us to inject more detail into Edgar's classification at several points<sup>22</sup>. We can also suggest some refinements to the relative chronology of the site, which may prove to have value for Cycladic chronology more widely. It has resulted too in the identification of some new aspects of the external relations of Phylakopi.

### Combination ware

"Melian bowls" were given a prominent place in the 1904 publication<sup>23</sup>. The classic form of bowl, with lustrous red surface and simple Geometric decoration over white slip on the rim, was well classed by Susan Sherratt<sup>24</sup>, in her catalogue of the Cycladic material in the Ashmolean Museum, as "Combination ware". Study of the National Museum material, as well as of finds from the 1911 season at Phylakopi in the Melos Archaeological Museum, has enlarged the range of shapes which can be assigned to this class. The rich red slip and burnish, together with figured decoration over white slip, is found on vessels which Edgar assigned<sup>25</sup> to his second and generally later (mainly MC) class of "Geometric pottery". This suggests that, just as Combination ware seems stylistically transitional between the Geometric pottery of EC III B and the Dark Burnished pottery of the early MC period, so it can be used as a significant chronological marker of this stage in the history of Phylakopi.

### Thick Linear

Another distinctive group of pottery, which we have named, for the time being, "Thick Linear" – based on the decoration of the amphora shown in fig. 3 –, may also belong to this transitional phase or to the first stage of the Middle Cycladic period. It has distinctive compositional features, making use – on the larger vases – of thick circles and groups of vertical lines in a zone on the shoulder of the vessel. In some cases the motifs seem to be

22. First presented by me to the Athens Cycladic Seminar on 9th December 2014.

23. *Phylakopi*, chapter IV, section 15.

24. S. Sherratt, *Catalogue of Cycladic Antiquities in the Ashmolean Museum: The Captive Spirit*, Oxford 2000, 271-272.

25. Cf. *Phylakopi*, pl. xi, 2, and pp. 103-104.



Fig. 4. Fragments of a Dark-faced duck vase (*askos*) with incised decoration, from Phylakopi. There is a close parallel from Kalymnos. L. (max.) 0.08 m (NAM, inv. no. 20579).



Fig. 5. Fragment of a Theran Late Cycladic jug from Phylakopi. L. (max.) 0.112 m (NAM, inv. no. 11436).



Fig. 6. Part of an ovoid jar in Combination ware from Phylakopi. H. 0.16 m (NAM, inv. no. 22962).

representational and the gestures (possibly ritual) of the apparently human forms can be connected with figures on pottery of different classes<sup>26</sup>.

### Dark-faced pottery

Another class – of great importance to the sequence at Phylakopi since it was confined to a single phase (Phylakopi I-ii), which apparently saw the expansion of the site from a village into a town, but harder to relate to other sites, where it is usually less common – is Edgar's "Dark-faced" category<sup>27</sup>, often with incised decoration (fig. 4).

Our research has provided additional clarification of the chronological position (early EC III B) of this pottery at Phylakopi, as well as throwing up some new shapes. This class also represents an area where more recent research and excavation<sup>28</sup> (excavations by T. Marketou at Asomatos on Rhodes and the Seraglio on Kos, W.-D. Niemeier at Miletus, O. Kouka and W.-D. Niemeier at the Heraion on Samos; study by M. Benzi of finds from the Vathy Cave on Kalymnos) have illuminated the chronology and suggested more significant connections between Melos and the islands of the southern and Eastern Aegean than have been evident up till now.

### External relations

Connections with Crete (MM/LM), Mainland Greece (chiefly, but not exclusively, LH), also Thera (witness the clearly Theran bird illustrated in 1904<sup>29</sup> and again here, NAM, inv. no. 11436) (fig. 5) were already evident among the published material. To these we can add other examples in most categories (including additional pieces from Thera) as well as some new information.

The unpublished pottery includes examples from Naxos, Kea and some other areas, perhaps including the Dodecanese.

One spectacular piece helps to identify as Melian the source of a find from the Cave of Zas on Naxos<sup>30</sup>. Amongst our material are fragments of a beautiful ovoid jar (NAM, inv. no. 22962) (fig. 6) in Combination ware, with fine red slip/burnish, and linear decoration over a band of white slip. It is somewhat surprising that this was not published previously. The Zas vessel is so similar that it must certainly be a Melian product – from the same workshop, even the same hand, as the piece recently located.

26. R. L. N. Barber, Subject and Setting: Early Representational Motifs on Pottery from Phylakopi (EC III B-MC) and their Relevance to Fresco Scenes, in A. Vlachopoulos (ed.), *Χρωστικές, Η Τοιχογραφία και η Αγγειογραφία της 2ης χιλιετίας π.Χ. σε διάλογο / Paintbrushes. Wall-painting and Vase-painting of the 2nd Millennium BC in Dialogue*. Proceedings of a Conference held at Aktotiri, Thera, 24-26.5.2013 (forthcoming).

27. *Phylakopi*, chapter IV, section 4.

28. For bibliographies, cf. T. Marketou, Dodecanese, in E. Kline (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean*, Oxford - New York 2010, chapter 57 and O. Kouka, Against the Gaps: The Early Bronze Age and the Transition to the Middle Bronze Age in the Northern and Eastern Aegean / Western Anatolia, *AJA* 117 (2013), 569-580.

29. *Phylakopi*, 120, fig. 92.

30. R. L. N. Barber, Κεραμική της Μέσης και Ύστερης Εποχής του Χαλκού από το σπήλαιο του Ζα, in Κ. Σουρέφ - Θ. Κύρκου (eds.), *Σπείρα*, Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου προς τιμήν των Αγγέλκας Ντούζουλη και Κωνσταντίνου Ζάχου (forthcoming).

## Epilogue

This brief account shows that our work has already added considerably to understanding of the history of Phylakopi and its external relationships, as well as raising some difficult questions. In completing the study, we shall be able to take full advantage of research developments since 1904 in a number of areas to throw further light on the life and society of this and other Cycladic settlements, from the earliest occupation in the EC period until its demise towards the end of the Mycenaean.

Of the townships in the Cycladic islands, Phylakopi and Akrotiri on Thera are the most extensively excavated and striking examples, reaching their greatest extent and sophistication in the Late Cycladic period. The beginnings of urban development can be seen at Phylakopi in the earlier part of EC III B and at Akrotiri possibly at about the same time, if the filling of the earlier rock-cut chambers has been correctly interpreted<sup>31</sup> as being to facilitate expansion of the settlement. In the present state of our knowledge it seems that these two were indeed the largest settlements and, in view of their proximity, it is tempting to speculate<sup>32</sup> on a degree of rivalry between them in the Early LC period, before the volcanic destruction of Thera.

Viewing the project in a broader context, it is clear that financial stringency and the continual increase in excavation costs are pushing archaeologists towards the study of previously excavated material rather than the uncovering of new. This is no bad thing for, on the one hand, many museums are full of unpublished material – a situation caused largely by the unremitting pressure of rescue excavation – and, on the other, advances in research and analytic techniques offer opportunities to reassess and extract new information from earlier discoveries. While we have certainly made progress here, this body of finds represents an inexhaustible source of research potential and we shall certainly not be the last (fig. 7) to require



Fig. 7. Study of Phylakopi (and other) material in the storerooms of the National Archaeological Museum.

31. Ch. Doumas, *Chambers of Mystery*, in N. Brodie *et al.* (eds.), *Horizon: A Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades*, Cambridge 2008, 165-175.

32. R. L. N. Barber, *The Status of Phylakopi in Creto-Cycladic Relations*, in R. Hägg - N. Marinatos (eds.), *The Minoan Thalassocracy: Myth and Reality*, Stockholm (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Athen 32), 1984, 179-182.

and enjoy the hospitality of the National Archaeological Museum for study of the 19th century material from Phylakopi. Who knows what knowledge and techniques future generations will have at their disposal to provide further enlightenment?

*Robin Barber*

It is an honour to participate in this publication and I am most grateful to the Director of the National Archaeological Museum, Dr. Maria Lagogianni, for her invitation to do so.

The longstanding connection of Liverpool University – in the persons of R. C. Bosanquet (1890s) and J. M. Droop (1911 season) – with the work at Phylakopi has been reaffirmed in the presence of several students and graduates, happily introduced to me by the late Professor Chris Mee. His benign influence endures in the willing and constructive efforts they have put into the project. As well as those mentioned elsewhere, we are grateful too for the contributions of Alexis Nolan-Webster and Stephen O'Brien.

#### Project personnel

Pottery: R. Barber, I. Berg, R. Catling, A. MacGillivray, P. Mountjoy, C. Nuttall, K. Paschalidis, D. Smith, A. Shepard-Bailey (Potmarks). Frescoes: L. Morgan. Figurines: E. French. Obsidian: T. Carter. Other small finds of terracotta: J. Cutler. Stone vases: J. Cutler. Marble figurines: C. Renfrew. Weaving equipment: J. Cutler. Bone/Ivory: O. Krzyszkowska. Metal objects and metalworking equipment: D. Smith.

Technical analyses: R. Jones, J. Hilditch, V. Kilikoglou.

Drawing: K. Theodoropoulou.

## ADDING (MORE THAN) COLOUR

### Wall-paintings in the palace of Tiryns

Among the palaces of Mycenaean Greece, the palatial complex of Tiryns arguably represents the most elaborate architectural expression of common design concepts embodied in these 13th c. BC royal seats; the painted decoration of walls and floors played an integral part in these concepts. And while the excavation of the Tiryns palace by Heinrich Schliemann and Wilhelm Dörpfeld did not produce a major group of wall-painting finds – despite uncovering elaborately decorated floors –, a significant corpus of Bronze Age murals came to light in the area of the so-called Western Staircase as early as 1910. Published in exemplary fashion by Gerhard Rodenwaldt a mere two years later<sup>1</sup> and curated to this day at the Athens National Archaeological Museum, this material includes such well-known scenes as the Hunt Frieze, the Deer Frieze and the so-called *Große Frauenprozession*, a near life-size depiction of festively-dressed women in procession, carrying various gifts or offerings (fig. 1).

Our interpretation and understanding of these scenes, however, has long been hindered by the fact that, like most of the remaining wall-painting finds from Tiryns, the Western Staircase murals were found in secondary deposition, i.e. not in the rooms they originally adorned but in dumps of building debris. Despite such difficulties, the social constitution of space has now become a major focus, besides continuing and renewed enquiry into iconography and chronological matters, in the study of wall-paintings from the site. The latter received a major impetus in 1999 by the surprising discovery, in the course of a conservation project carried out jointly by the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Argolis and the



Fig. 1. Figures from the Tiryns *Frauenprozession*, digitally enhanced fragments and fragments in original state (sections of figure in the middle) as well as reconstruction (U. Thaler based on drawings by B. Konnemann and A. Makris).

<sup>1</sup> Rodenwaldt 1912.

German Archaeological Institute, of a large group of wall-painting in deposits surprisingly left untouched by earlier excavations in the Western Staircase<sup>2</sup>.

What new insights can be engendered by a shift of focus such as the new emphasis on social space and its (re-)creation, which echoes a wider theme in recent work at Tiryns, is best exemplified by the *Frauenprozession*. A century after its discovery, it has become possible, for the first time, to assign this most famous and arguably most impressive wall-painting from Tiryns an original location within the palatial complex, based on detailed contextual consideration and a number of crucial connections with the new finds<sup>3</sup>. With a high degree of confidence, the scene can be linked to the most central section of the palace, constituted by the megaron and the megaron court with its columned halls, and even a more precise connection of the scene to the vestibule of the megaron can be made plausible. This would establish a remarkable parallel to the “sign-post” function of processional paintings in the better-documented vestibule of the megaron at the contemporary palace of Pylos.

The question of original locations is directly linked to the most important chronological insight in recent years, i.e. that the Western Staircase paintings as well as probably comparable finds from the Middle Acropolis need to be dated to the very end of the Palatial period. The dating constitutes a significant shift from the previously widely-accepted assumption that the majority of the Tiryns paintings belonged to an earlier phase of the palace and is based both on the aforementioned connections of the 1910 and 1999 finds and the analysis of the pottery directly associated with the latter or found in immediately superimposed layers<sup>4</sup>. This suggests that the Western Staircase deposit resulted from clearing activities undertaken shortly after the destruction of the palace.

Research into Mycenaean iconography has also been advanced by the new finds, which include, besides well-established themes like processions and hunting, rare or unprecedented motifs: an outstanding example is a medium-scale scene with several larger female figures sheltered under parasols or canopies and apparently holding or carrying much smaller female figures, which presumably either represent young girls in an act of initiation or cult images in a textually-attested ritual of *te-o-po-ri-ja*, i.e. *θεοφορία*<sup>5</sup>. Although iconographical comparanda exist for either interpretation, no direct parallels exist for this scene, which thus offers a so-far unique glimpse into Late Bronze Age cult practice.

Continuing work combines these different perspectives and deliberately challenges the achieved results. A recent study of chariot depictions (fig. 2) integrates iconographical with socio-spatial perspectives by linking the chariots shown in murals like the Hunt Frieze with representations in media of wider distribution in both social and spatial terms, such as terracotta models<sup>6</sup>. At the same time, efforts to establish

---

2. Maran *et al.* 2015.

3. Maran 2012, 152-154. Maran *et al.* 2015, 101-102.

4. Kardamaki 2009. Maran *et al.* 2015, 100-101.

5. Papadimitriou *et al.* 2015.

6. Thaler - Vettters (forthcoming).

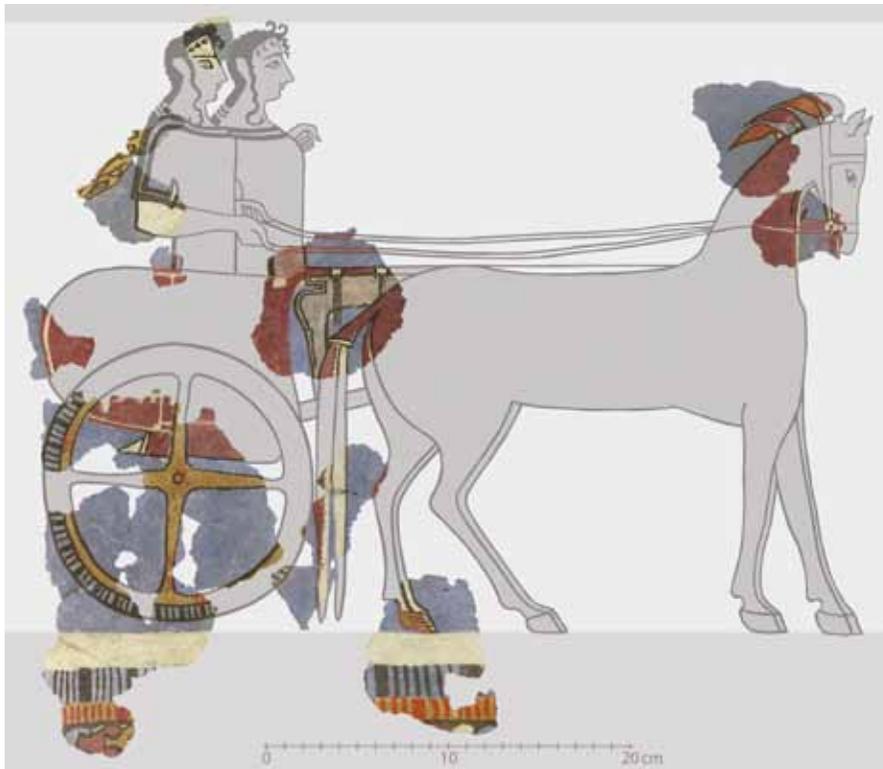


Fig. 2. Chariot depiction from the Tiryns Hunt Frieze, digitally enhanced fragments and reconstruction (U. Thaler based on drawings by B. Konnemann).

minimum numbers of the figures in the *Frauenprozession* based on different elements of the depiction such as preserved heads and feet or distinct dress ornaments are intended to test the scene's tentative assignment to the vestibule, a small room with multiple doors and thus limited wall space, and follow up on evidence that it may have spanned several rooms along the route to the throne room<sup>7</sup>.

Joseph Maran - Ulrich Thaler

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Kardamaki, E. 2009. *Ein neuer Keramikfund aus dem Bereich der Westtreppe von Tiryns. Bemalte mykenische Keramik aus dem auf der Westtreppenanlage deponierten Palastschutt*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Heidelberg.  
 urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-heidok-147568
- Maran, J. 2012. Architektonischer Raum und soziale Kommunikation auf der Oberburg von Tiryns. Der Wandel von der mykenischen Palastzeit zur Nachpalastzeit, in F. Arnold - A. Busch - R. Haensch - U. Wulf-Rheidt (eds.), *Orte der Herrschaft. Charakteristika von antiken Machtzentren, Menschen - Kulturen - Traditionen* 3, Rahden, 149-162.
- Maran, J.- A. Papadimitriou 2015. Tiryns, Griechenland. Die Arbeiten der Jahre 2012 bis 2014, *e-Forschungsberichte des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 2015.3, 47-55.
- Maran *et al.* 2015. J. Maran - A. Papadimitriou - U. Thaler, Palatial Wall-Paintings from Tiryns. New Finds and New Perspectives, in A.-L. Schallin - I. Tournavitou (eds.), *Mycenaeans Up To Date. The Archaeology of the Northeastern Peloponnese - Current Concepts and New Directions*, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 4<sup>o</sup>, 56, Stockholm, 99-116.

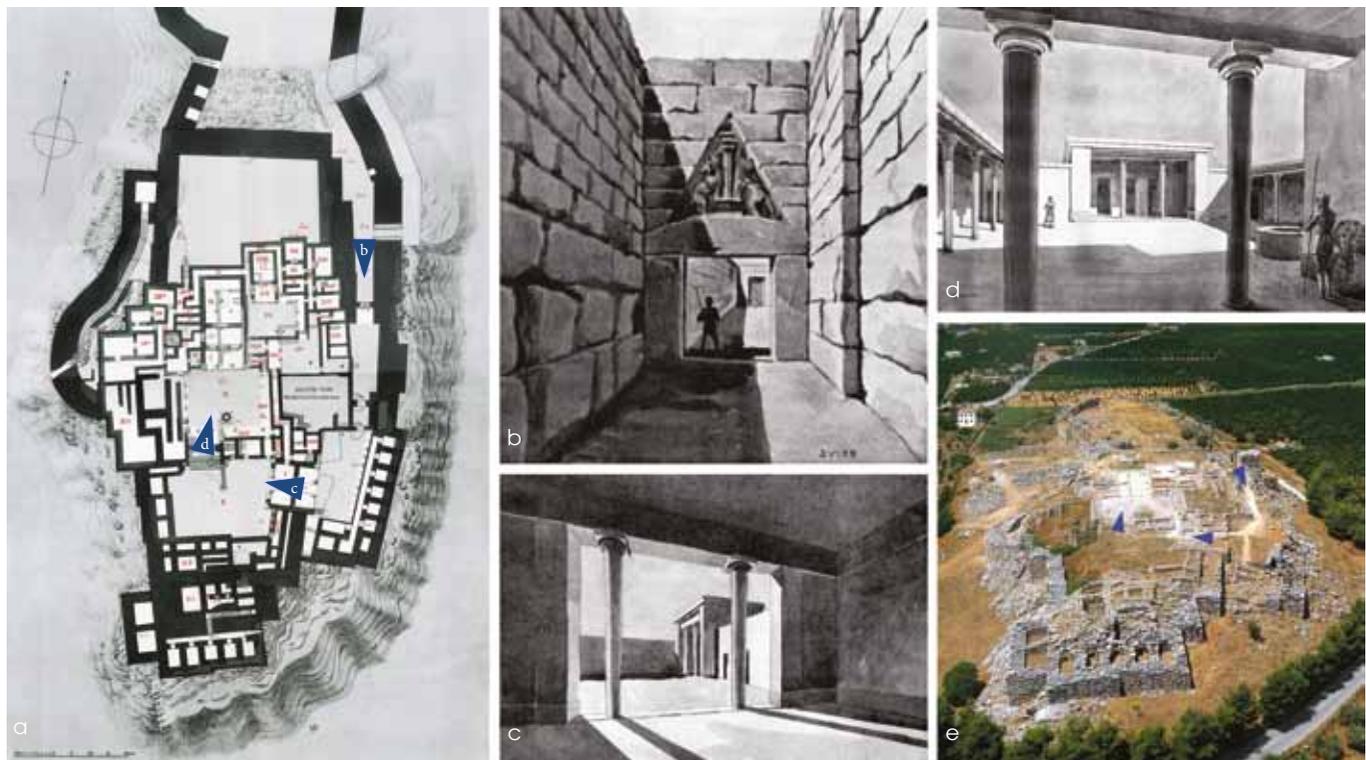
7. Thaler, in Maran - Papadimitriou 2015. 48ff.

- Papadimitriou *et al.* 2015. A. Papadimitriou - U. Thaler - J. Maran, Bearing the Pomegranate Bearer: A New Wall-Painting Scene from Tiryns, in H. Brecoulaki - J. L. Davis - S. Stocker (eds.), *Mycenaeans Wall-Paintings in Context. New Discoveries and Old Finds Reconsidered*, *Meletemata* 72, Athens, 173-211.
- Rodenwaldt, G. 1912. *Die Fresken des Palastes, Tiryns II*, Athens.
- Thaler, U. - M. Veters (forthcoming). All the King's Horses, in A. Vlachopoulos (ed.), *Paintbrushes. Wall-Painting and Vase-Painting of the 2nd Millennium BC in Dialogue* (forthcoming).

## THE MYCENAEAN PALACES

Already the first excavations that led to the identification of a Mycenaean culture as such also yielded evidence for outlining distinctive features of a Mycenaean palace. In 1884 the excavation of Heinrich Schliemann and Wilhelm Dörpfeld on the Upper Citadel of Tiryns led to the discovery of an architectural complex (fig. 1 a, e) with a monumental rectangular building at its centre showing a tripartite subdivision into a porch, a vestibule, and a main room furnished with a large central ceremonial hearth<sup>1</sup>. The porch opened onto a court accessed, notably not along the axis of the megaron, through a monumental propylon. To the east of this building stood a similar one, but measuring only roughly half of the size of the main building and consisting of a porch opening to a court as well as a room with a rectangular hearth. Although the two buildings were situated next to each other, no direct means of access existed between them on floor level. The finely plastered floors and walls of these buildings as well as other rooms of the palace were decorated with painted ornaments<sup>2</sup>. Dörpfeld labelled the two buildings with the Homeric term "megaron"<sup>3</sup>. This term is used until today for buildings with a hearth room and a porch opening to a court although we do not know how they were designated at the time of their use. How right Dörpfeld was to consider this type of building as a defining feature of a certain type of palatial architecture became apparent a few years later, when the excavation by Christos Tsountas on the acropolis of Mycenae (fig. 2 a, b) uncovered a building similar in every respect to the Great Megaron of Tiryns<sup>4</sup>. As of 1900 the excavations under the direction of Sir Arthur Evans in Knossos highlighted the fundamental differences

*Fig. 1. Tiryns: a. Upper Citadel: plan of the palace published by K. Müller in 1930, with positions of viewers for reconstructions (b), (c) and (d) indicated by triangles. b. Upper Citadel: Reconstruction of view from gateway towards main gate by H. Sulze. c. Palace: Reconstruction of view from outer towards inner propylon by H. Sulze. d. Palace: Reconstruction of view from inner propylon towards the Great Megaron by H. Sulze. e. Aerial photograph of the Citadel of Tiryns from the south, 1998, with positions of viewers for H. Sulze's reconstructions indicated by triangles.*



1. Schliemann 1886.

2. Rodenwaldt 1912.

3. Dörpfeld 1886.

4. Τοούντας 1888. Tsountas - Manatt 1897.



*Fig. 2 Mycenae: a. Photograph of the newly excavated remains of the megaron, 1890, with original extent of hearth room and hearth indicated by dashed lines. b. Detail of an aerial photograph of the citadel of Mycenae from the south-west, 2014, showing the restored megaron and the palace's courtyard. c. Aerial photograph of the Citadel of Mycenae from the south, 2009, with indication of the location of throne room (1), Cult Centre (2), and Grave Circle A (3).*

between Minoan and Mycenaean palatial architecture. The plan of the palaces in Crete was not dominated by a central building, but a large rectangular court surrounded on all sides by architectural units. The excavation of the Knossos throne room also enabled the identification of a rectangular field in the floor decoration of both the Great and the Little Megaron of Tiryns as the place where originally a throne had stood<sup>5</sup>.

Just as later excavations have underlined the wide distribution of the palatial plan first recognized at Knossos in other regions of Crete, the excavation directed by Carl W. Blegen at Pylos (Messenia) demonstrated that the palace complex built around the megaron is a phenomenon also encountered, on the mainland, outside the Argolis<sup>6</sup>. The resemblance of the architectural complex uncovered a few years ago at Dimini shows that certain principles of palatial organization were not restricted to the Peloponnese, but reached as far north as Thessaly<sup>7</sup>. This makes it probable that, in future, megaron palaces will also be uncovered in other areas of Central Greece.

Even though the megaron-palace is the most well-known type of Mycenaean palatial architecture, there is evidence indicating that it became canonical perhaps as late as the 13th c. BCE, while before that period a greater variability in palatial plans may have existed. Furthermore, it seems that these different architectural layouts of palaces should not be perceived as stages of a linear evolution, but rather as the result of multiple transformations caused by the agency of political groups<sup>8</sup>. No evidence of palatial architecture remains from the beginning of the Mycenaean period (17th and 16th c. BCE); the funerary sphere may have constituted the only area of architectural monumentalization then. As a, so far, singular 15th c. BCE building, the so-called Mansion I at the Menelaion near Sparta in Laconia seems to anticipate central features of the megaron palaces<sup>9</sup> and is considered as a kind of "proto-palace" by many. Nonetheless, it appears that during the 14th c. BCE the significance of this site was eclipsed by nearby Agios Vasileios, where ongoing excavations are uncovering a much larger and unquestionably palatial complex, whose most prominent feature so far is a large court surrounded by stoas, while a central suite of rooms has as yet not been identified<sup>10</sup>. This recalls the suggestion that a palatial complex with a large central court resembling Minoan ones may have served as a predecessor of the megaron-palace at Pylos<sup>11</sup>.

Even if future research attests to the existence of an alternative "Minoan" model, the fact remains that the first megaron palaces that were built in Tiryns during the 14th c. BCE and in Pylos around 1300 BCE<sup>12</sup> seem to have been imposed on top of the remains of earlier architecture with a different layout<sup>13</sup>. In Tiryns, there is reason to believe that the point of reference for choosing the plot for the palatial megara were not the immediately preceding buildings but a ritual tumulus formed in the late 3rd millennium BCE

5. Müller 1930, 145.

6. Blegen - Rawson 1966.

7. Αδρύμη-Σισμάνη 1999-2001. Adrymi-Sismani 2004/2005.

8. Kilian 1987b. Dabney - Wright 1990. Wright 2008.

9. Catling 2009.

10. Βασιλογάμβρου 2010. Βασιλογάμβρου 2011. Βασιλογάμβρου 2012.

11. Kilian 1987a. Nelson 2001. Nelson 2007.

12. Kilian 1987c. Kilian 1989. Nelson 2001.

13. Maran 2001a.

out of the ruins of the Early Helladic Circular Building (Rundbau)<sup>14</sup>. The construction of the most important buildings of the Mycenaean palace exactly above the ancient tumulus would have allowed for the integration of the megaron into a long chain of tradition.

Concerning the choice of the megaron as the central building, there is a strong tendency in research of identifying this building as a purely “Hellenic” architectural form that developed continuously out of earlier Mainland Greek predecessors of the Middle Bronze Age<sup>15</sup>. Despite the fact that rectangular buildings with hearth rooms indeed had a long tradition on the Greek Mainland, the megaron palaces of the 14th century may be better understood as a reinvention based on a transcultural process in which architects, designers, and builders deliberately merged Mainland Greek architectural elements, such as the central hearth, with features of Minoan derivation<sup>16</sup>. Hence, the positioning of the throne on the right-hand side of the main room of Mycenaean palatial megara and the framing of the throne by a wall-painting with a griffin in the megaron of Pylos (fig. 3) emphasize that certain features of the layout of the main Mycenaean palatial buildings reflect the design of the Knossos throne room<sup>17</sup>.

Mycenaean palaces were administrative, economic, political, and religious centres although these sectors of society often cannot be disentangled, since they were so closely interrelated. All palaces were integrated into a wider architectural setting consisting of quarters used for storage, administration, artisanal activity, cult purposes, or for housing personnel. The administrative role of the palaces is reflected in the activities of a bureaucracy using the Linear B-script to write early Greek texts on unbaked clay tablets<sup>18</sup>. These texts provide information about the structure of the palatial polities and demonstrate that the palaces took a strong interest in certain sectors of the economy, but do not seem to have controlled all economic activity. The palatial centres are also distinguished by the presence of artisans who manufactured a variety of finished products consisting of raw materials that were often obtained through long distance trade. The palaces also had facilities for the bulk storage of commodities, such as wine and oil, in sufficient quantities so as to cover the needs of the permanent residents of the palatial centres and those who visited them on the occasion of festivities<sup>19</sup>.

The characteristic form of the Mycenaean centres of the Argolis is the citadel in which the palace and parts of the surrounding settlement were fortified with a massive Cyclopean wall, while other architectural complexes remained outside of the fortification<sup>20</sup>. Similar fortified palatial centres also seem to have existed in Attica and, at least to some extent and in slightly different form, in Boeotia, while in Messenia, Laconia and Thessaly citadels of this kind have not been ascertained<sup>21</sup>. Mycenaean palaces were not always built on the highest part of a hill, but in most cases topographically exposed points were chosen as building plots, which suggests that the palaces were meant to be visible from far away. The Palaces were “per-

---

14. Maran 2016.

15. Kilian 1987a. Barber 1992.

16. Wright 2008.

17. Maran - Stavraniopoulou 2007.

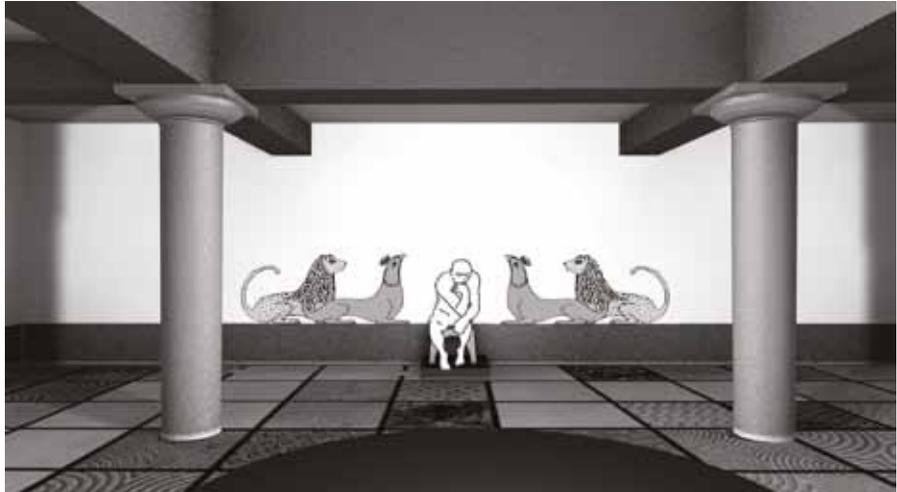
18. Shelmerdine 2008. Shelmerdine - Bennet 2008.

19. Nakassis 2012.

20. Iakovides 1983.

21. Hope Simpson - Hagel 2006, 23-143.

Fig. 3. Pylos. Throne room. Digital reconstruction of the view across the central hearth towards the throne.



formative spaces” that were designed down to the smallest detail for the staging of certain forms of social communication, above all processions<sup>22</sup> that crossed through courts and ultimately led to a specific destination, i.e. the central building and its court<sup>23</sup>. The various hypethral and roofed spaces of the palaces were used by different social groups for feasting and other ceremonies<sup>24</sup>. The architectural layout of the palaces guided visitors to move in a certain direction, exposed them to various sensory stimuli and drew them deeper and deeper into the palace (fig. 1 b, d), until those allowed to reach the final destination of the procession performed those rituals central to the state ideology<sup>25</sup>. Some of the themes of the palatial wall-paintings were closely related to the social practices that were actually carried out in the rooms or buildings they adorned, something that becomes particularly evident in the frescos of processions that in Pylos and most likely Tiryns as well moved in the direction of the throne room<sup>26</sup>.

Although the prominence of processions suggests significant communal participation, what was going on inside the palaces was undoubtedly embedded in a strategy of concealment, exclusivity, and seclusion by the ruling class – a tendency that seems to have increased in the course of the Palatial period until reaching its peak in the final fifty years of that period<sup>27</sup>. The structuring of the routes used for ritual movement is a reflection of the hierarchical political order culminating in the wanax and the associated ruling elites<sup>28</sup> which, in the course of the Palatial period, seem to have increasingly emphasized their exclusive rights to control public ritual. At Mycenae, the final decades of this period saw the construction of a new west cyclopean wall, by means of which the Cult Centre and Grave Circle A (fig. 2 c: 2-3), previously situated outside the citadel wall, were integrated into patterns of circulation inside the citadel<sup>29</sup>. This allowed processions to create links between the seat of the ruler, the seat of the gods in the Cult Centre and the seat of the ideologically elevated ancestors in Grave Cir-

22. Weilhartner 2013.

23. Wright 1994. Wright 2006. Thaler 2006. Maran 2006.

24. Bendall 2004. Stocker - Davis 2004.

25. Wright 1994. Küpper 2006. 111-113. Thaler 2012.

26. Maran 2012. Maran - Papadimitriou - Thaler 2015.

27. Maran 2015.

28. Thaler 2015. Thaler (forthcoming).

29. Wardle 2003. Wardle 2015.



*Fig. 4. Tiryns. Reconstruction of the citadel after the destruction of the palace and the erection of the post-palatial megaron.*

cle A<sup>30</sup>. In this way, the control over access to crucial religious monuments became an exclusive right of the palatial elite. Such a wish for exclusivity is also manifest in Tiryns, where starkly contrasting sensory impressions created by the elaborate architecture and artfully employed changes of direction appear to be the archaeological correlates of differentiated rights of access that came into play as a gradually diminishing group of participants in a procession neared its destination. This staging of exclusivity reached its climax in the Throne Room, which was dominated by the ceremonial hearth and offered very limited space to participants<sup>31</sup>.

At the turn of the 13th to the 12th c. BCE the Mycenaean palaces were destroyed and subsequently not rebuilt. Only at Tiryns in the early 12th c. BCE a narrow megaron was integrated into the ruin of the Great Megaron (fig. 4) so as to reuse the place of the throne and also the Great Court as well as a hypethral altar within it were reused<sup>32</sup>. By contrast, the rest of the palace was not rebuilt and left as a ruin which shows that the activities of the Post-palatial period aimed at reclaiming only such points that had been of the highest political and religious significance in the former palace. The way how the inhabitants intervened into the ruin of the destroyed palace established a new tradition of exalting the past and using it as a source for gaining legitimacy under new political and social circumstances that lacked the pronounced hierarchies of the Palatial period.

*Joseph Maran - Ulrich Thaler*

We would like to express our deepest gratitude to A. Papadimitriou, who kindly provided the aerial photographs from the Photographic Archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Argolis, and to M. Kostoula for the faithful translation from German into Greek of the text and the digital processing of the figs. 2 and 4.

30. Stavrianopoulou 1995.

31. Thaler 2012.

32. Maran 2000. Maran 2001a. Maran 2001b.

### Photographic Acknowledgements

Fig. 1: picture composition by U. Thaler. Fig. 1a-d: Müller 1930, pl. 1, 72, fig. 47, 194, fig. 91, pl. 42. Fig. 1e: Παπαδημητρίου 2001, 4.

Fig. 2: picture composition by M. Kostoula. Fig. 2a: Archive of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens (Number of negative D-DAI-ATH-Mykene-6, photo: anonymous). Fig. 2b-c: Photographic Archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Argolis (photo: C. Xenakis).

Fig. 3: Digital 3D model A. Wand.

Fig. 4: picture composition by M. Kostoula. Model of the Citadel of Tiryns: photo. Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe / J. Maran. Surrounding area (Google Earth).

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

---

- Αδρύμη-Σισμάνη, Β. 1999-2001. Μυκηναϊκή Ιωλκός, *AAA* 32-34, 1999-2001, 71-100.
- Adrymi-Sismani, V. 2004/2005. Le palais de Iolkos et sa destruction, *BCH*, 128/129, 1-54.
- Barber, R. L. N. 1992. The Origins of the Mycenaean Palace, in J. M. Sanders (ed.), *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ: Lakonian Studies in the Honour of Hector Catling*, London, 11-23.
- Βασιλογάμβρου, Α. 2010. Ανασκαφή στον Άγιο Βασίλειο Λακωνίας, *ΠΑΕ* 165, 65-80.
- Βασιλογάμβρου, Α. 2011. Ανασκαφή στον Άγιο Βασίλειο Λακωνίας, *ΠΑΕ* 166, 59-68.
- Βασιλογάμβρου, Α. 2012. Ανασκαφή στον Άγιο Βασίλειο Λακωνίας, *ΠΑΕ* 167, 63-76.
- Bendall, L. 2004. Fit for a King? Hierarchy, Exclusion, Aspiration, and Desire in the Social Structure of Mycenaean Banqueting, in P. Halstead - J. C. Barrett (eds.), *Food, Cuisine, and Society in Prehistoric Greece, Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology* 5, 105-135.
- Blegen, C. W. - M. Rawson 1966. *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia: The Buildings and their Contents*, Princeton.
- Catling, H. W. 2009. *Sparta: Menelaion I, The Bronze Age*, BSA Suppl. Vol. 45, London.
- Dabney, M. K. - J. C. Wright 1990. Mortuary Customs, Palatial Society and State Formation in the Aegean Area, in R. Hägg - G. C. Nordquist (eds.), *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11-13 June, 1988*, Stockholm, 45-53.
- Dörpfeld, W. 1886. Die Bauwerke von Tiryns, in Schliemann 1886, 200-352.
- Hope Simpson, R. - D. K. Hagel 2006. *Mycenaean Fortifications, Highways, Dams and Canals*, SIMA 133, Sävedalen.
- Iakovides, S. E. 1983. Late Helladic Citadels on Mainland Greece, *Monumenta Graeca et Romana* 4, Leiden.
- Kilian, K. 1987a. L'architecture des résidences mycéniennes: Origine et extension d'une structure du pouvoir politique pendant l'âge du bronze récent, in E. Lévy (ed.), *Le système palatial en Orient, en Grèce et à Rome: Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 1985*, Strasbourg, 203-217.
- Kilian, K. 1987b. Zur Funktion der mykenischen Residenzen auf dem griechischen Festland, in R. Hägg - N. Marinatos (eds.), *The Function of the Minoan Palaces. Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 10-16 June 1984*, Stockholm, 21-38.
- Kilian, K. 1987c. Ältere mykenische Residenzen, *Kolloquium zur ägäischen Vorgeschichte, Mannheim 20.-22.2.1986*, Schriften des Deutschen Archäologen-Verbandes 9, Mannheim, 120-124.
- Kilian, K. 1989. Μυκηναϊκά ανάκτορα της Αργολίδας, Αρχιτεκτονική εξέλιξη από την οικία του αρχηγού στο ανάκτορο του WA-NAX, *Πρακτικά του Β' τοπικού συνεδρίου Αργολικών σπουδών, Άργος 30 Μαΐου-1 Ιουνίου 1986*, Αθήνα, 36-40.
- Küpper, M. 1996. *Mykenische Architektur: Material, Bearbeitungstechnik, Konstruktion und Erscheinungsbild*, Internationale Archäologie 25, Rahden.
- Maran, J. 2000. Das Megaron im Megaron. Zur Datierung und Funktion des Antenbaus im mykenischen Palast von Tiryns, *AA*, 1-16.
- Maran, J. 2001a. Zur Frage des Vorgängers des ersten Doppelpalastes von Tiryns, in S. Böhm - K.-V. von Eickstedt (eds.), *IÖAKH: Festschrift für Jörg Schäfer zum 75. Geburtstag am 25. April 2001*, Würzburg, 23-29.

- Maran, J. 2001b. Political and Religious Aspects of Architectural Change on the Upper Citadel of Tiryns. The Case of Building T, in R. Laffineur - R. Hägg (eds.), *POTNIA: Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 8th International Aegean Conference, Göteborg 12-15 April 2000, Aegaeum 22*, Liège, 113-122.
- Maran, J. 2006. Mycenaean Citadels as Performative Space, in J. Maran - C. Juwig - H. Schwengel - U. Thaler (eds.), *Constructing Power: Architecture, Ideology and Social Practice, Geschichte: Forschung und Wissenschaft 19*, Hamburg, 75-92.
- Maran, J. 2012. Architektonischer Raum und soziale Kommunikation auf der Oberburg von Tiryns. Der Wandel von der mykenischen Palastzeit zur Nachpalastzeit, in F. Arnold - A. Busch - R. Haensch - U. Wulf-Rheidt (eds.), *Orte der Herrschaft. Charakteristika von antiken Machtzentren, Menschen - Kulturen - Traditionen 3*, Rahden, 149-162.
- Maran, J. 2015. Tiryns and the Argolid in Mycenaean Times: New Clues and Interpretations, in A.-L. Schallin - I. Tournavitu (eds.), *Mycenaeans Up To Date. The Archaeology of the Northeastern Peloponnese - Current Concepts and New Directions*, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 4°, 56, Stockholm, 277-293.
- Maran, J. 2016. The Persistence of Place and Memory: The Case of the Early Helladic Rundbau and the Mycenaean Palatial Megara of Tiryns, in M. Bartelheim - B. Horejs - R. Krauß - B. Horejs (eds.), *Von Baden bis Troia: Ressourcennutzung, Metallurgie und Wissenstransfer - Eine Jubiläumsschrift für Ernst Pernicka, Oriental and European Archaeology 3*, Rahden, 153-173.
- Maran, J. - E. Stavrianopoulou 2007. Πότνιος Ανήρ - Reflections on the Ideology of Mycenaean Kingship, in E. Alram-Stern - G. Nightingale (eds.), *KEIMELION. The Formation of Elites and Elitist Lifestyles from Mycenaean Palatial Times to the Homeric Period. Akten des internationalen Kongresses vom 3. bis 5. Februar 2005 in Salzburg*, Vienna, 285-298.
- Maran, J. - A. Papadimitriou - U. Thaler 2015. Palatial Wall-Paintings from Tiryns. New Finds and New Perspectives, in A.-L. Schallin - I. Tournavitu (eds.), *Mycenaeans Up To Date. The Archaeology of the Northeastern Peloponnese - Current Concepts and New Directions*, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 4°, 56, Stockholm, 99-116.
- Müller, K. 1930. *Die Architektur der Burg und des Palastes, Tiryns 3*, Augsburg.
- Nakassis, D. 2012. Prestige and Interest: Feasting and the King at Mycenaean Pylos, *Hesperia 81*, 1-30.
- Nelson, M. C. 2001. *The Architecture of Epáno Englianos, Greece*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto.
- Nelson, M. C. 2007. Pylos, Block Masonry and Monumental Architecture in the Late Bronze Age Peloponnese, in J. Bretschneider - J. Driessen - K. van Lerberghe (eds.), *Power and Architecture: Monumental Public Architecture in the Bronze Age Near East and Aegean, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 156*, Leuven, 143-159.
- Παπαδημητρίου, Ά. 2001. *Τίρυνς*, Αθήνα.
- Rodenwaldt, G. 1912. *Die Fresken des Palastes, Tiryns 2*, Athen.
- Schliemann, H. 1886. *Tiryns - Der prähistorische Palast der Könige von Tiryns*, Leipzig.
- Shelmerdine, C. W. 2008. Mycenaean Society, in Y. Duhoux - A. Morpurgo Davies (eds.), *A Companion to Linear B: Mycenaean Greek Texts and Their World*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers de l'Institut de linguistique de Louvain. Antiquité 120, Louvain-la-Neuve, 115-158.
- Shelmerdine, C. W. - J. Bennet 2008. Economy and Administration, in C. W. Shelmerdine (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, Cambridge, 289-309.
- Stavrianopoulou, E. 1995. Die Verflechtung des Politischen mit dem Religiösen im mykenischen Pylos, in R. Laffineur - W.-D. Niemeier (eds.), *POLITEIA: Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 5th International Aegean Conference, University of Heidelberg, Archäologisches Institut, 10-13 April 1994, Aegaeum 12*, Liège and Austin, 423-433.
- Stocker, S. R. - J. L. Davis 2004. Animal Sacrifice, Archives, and Feasting at the Palace of Nestor, in J. C. Wright (ed.), *The Mycenaean Feast, Hesperia 73*, Princeton, 59-75.
- Thaler, U. 2006. Constructing and Reconstructing Power: The Palace of Pylos, in J. Maran - C. Juwig - H. Schwengel - U. Thaler (eds.), *Constructing Power: Architecture, Ideology and Social Practice, Geschichte: Forschung und Wissenschaft 19*, Hamburg, 93-111.
- Thaler, U. 2012. "Going Round in Circles": Anmerkungen zur Bewegungsrichtung in mykenischen Palastmegara, in O. Dally - S. Moraw - H. Ziemssen (eds.), *Bild - Raum - Handlung: Perspektiven der Archäologie*, Berlin - Boston, 189-214.

- Thaler, U. 2015. Movement in between, into and inside Mycenaean Palatial Megara, in A.-L. Schallin - I. Tournavitou (eds.), *Mycenaeans Up To Date. The Archaeology of the Northeastern Peloponnese - Current Concepts and New Directions*, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 4°, 56, Stockholm, 339-360.
- Thaler, U. (forthcoming). Eventful Architecture: Activating Potentials for Movement and Segregation in Mycenaean Palaces, in S. Schmidt-Hofner (ed.), *Normative Raumordnungen in den Kulturen des Altertums* (forthcoming).
- Τσούντας, Χ. 1888. Ανασκαφαί Μυκηνών του 1886, ΠΑΕ 59-79.
- Tsountas, C. - I. Manatt 1897. *The Mycenaean Age: A Study of the Monuments and Culture of Pre-Homeric Greece*, London.
- Wardle, K. A. 2003. The "Cult Centre" at Mycenae and other Sanctuaries in the Argosaronic Gulf and the NE Peloponnese: Location and Status, in E. Κονσολάκη-Γιαννοπούλου (ed.), *ΑΡΓΟΣΑΡΩΝΙΚΟΣ. Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας του Αργοσαρωνικού, Πόρος, 26-29 Ιουνίου 1998*, Αθήνα, 320-325.
- Wardle, K. A. 2015. Reshaping the Past: Where was the "Cult Centre" at Mycenae?, in A.-L. Schallin - I. Tournavitou (eds.), *Mycenaeans Up To Date. The Archaeology of the Northeastern Peloponnese - Current Concepts and New Directions*, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 4°, 56, Stockholm, 577-596.
- Weilhartner, J. 2013. Textual Evidence for Aegean Late Bronze Age Ritual Processions, *Opuscula* 6, 151-173.
- Wright, J. C. 1994. The Spatial Configuration of Belief: The Archaeology of Mycenaean Religion, in S. E. Alcock - R. Osborne (eds.), *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece*, Oxford, 37-78.
- Wright, J. C. 2006. The Social Production of Space and the Architectural Reproduction of Society in the Bronze Age Aegean during the 2nd millennium B.C.E, in J. Maran - C. Juwig - H. Schwengel - U. Thaler (eds.), *Constructing Power: Architecture, Ideology and Social Practice, Geschichte: Forschung und Wissenschaft* 19, Hamburg, 49-74.
- Wright, J. C. 2008. Early Mycenaean Greece, in C. W. Shelmerdine (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, Cambridge, 230-257.

## THE LINEAR B TABLETS FROM PYLOS

4th April 1939, the first day of excavations at Ano Englianos, was one of the turning points in the study of Greek archaeology<sup>1</sup>. In addition to revealing the Mycenaean Palace of Nestor, the first test trenches were placed immediately above the two-room Archives Complex, where the vast majority of the administrative documents of the palace had been stored when it was destroyed and burned ca. 1180 BC. These documents, mostly clay tablets, were written in the Linear B script. For as long as the script was undeciphered, it was thought by many scholars to record a “Minoan” language from Crete. The preliminary publication of the transcriptions of the Pylos tablets by Emmett L. Bennett, Jr. in 1951 provided the critical mass of data on the script that led to the decipherment of Linear B by Michael Ventris the following year<sup>2</sup>. Ventris showed that Linear B was used to write an early form of the Greek language.

The decipherment of Linear B shed light on virtually all aspects of Mycenaean Greece, from social structure to the organization of the economy, from the naming practices of Bronze Age Greek-speakers to the scribal practices of palatial administrators<sup>3</sup>. The Pylos tablets have played an especially prominent role in reconstructing this Late Bronze Age world, because of the number of the tablets found at the palace, which is second only to those from Knossos, and their length and state of preservation. Whereas three-quarters of the Knossos documents are incomplete, only half at Pylos are, and whereas 5% of the Knossos tablets are of the larger, page-shaped variety, some 15% of the Pylos tablets are page-shaped (fig. 1).

Despite their importance, however, no comprehensive edition of the documents from Pylos – which include not only tablets, but also labels and sealings, inscribed and unscribed – has yet been published, more than 75 years after the Pylos tablets were first excavated and almost 65 years since Bennett’s preliminary publication that spurred the decipherment. The authors, in collaboration with a small team of scholars, are currently in the process of studying these important documents for publication, using traditional methods as well as newer digital technologies. In this chapter we briefly discuss our ongoing work on the tablets and conclude with a discussion of their importance to Greek archaeology and history.

Full scholarly editions of Linear B tablets traditionally include line drawings, photographs and transliterations, along with basic information about their size, colour, number of fragments, and publication history.

---

1. We cannot thank enough the National Archaeological Museum, and especially the curators of the Department of Prehistoric, Egyptian, and Anatolian Antiquities, for their enthusiastic support of our research project, which takes place under the auspices of the University of Cincinnati and in affiliation with the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. We gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP), Loeb Classical Library Foundation, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, and the Institute of Classical Studies.

2. E. L. Bennett, Jr., *The Pylos Tablets, A Preliminary Transcription*, Princeton, Princeton University Press 1951. On the decipherment, see J. Chadwick, *The Decipherment of Linear B*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1958, and more recently, M. Fox, *The Riddle of the Labyrinth: The Quest to Crack an Ancient Code*, New York 2013.

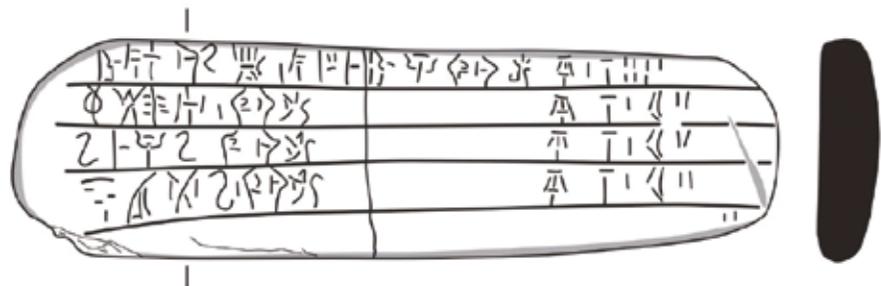
3. An excellent general introduction to the world of the tablets is provided by J. Chadwick, *The Mycenaean World*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1976.

Fig. 1. Page-shaped tablet NAM Tn 316 from Pylos. This tablet records offerings to several divinities, including Zeus, Hera and Hermes.



These methods of documentation are all critical to interpretation, and our project will continue this tradition. Yannis Nakas, an archaeologist and illustrator, is currently illustrating the tablets using established standards in the field, as well as introducing some new ways to represent the complexities of these artefacts. We have chosen to include, for example, cross-sections to indicate the shape of the tablets and shading to show the slopes on the sides around the flat writing surface (fig. 2). Illustrations of Linear B texts are generally focused on the incised Linear B signs, to the virtual exclusion of the physical properties of the tablet. Certainly the virtue of line drawings is that they guide the user to view the document through the eyes of an expert, for whom the smallest differences are significant in determining the value of any given sign. Yet we consider it important that our illustrations represent these documents not only as texts, but also as archaeological artefacts.

Fig. 2. Tablet NAM PY Es 657, illustrated by Yannis Nakas. Note the cross-section on the right, as well as the contour shading on the writing surface.



The Linear B records are archaeological artefacts and need to be studied as such; this is a guiding principle of our work that manifests itself in our project through three modes of analysis.

First, we are studying the physical properties of the Linear B documents from Pylos. Drs. Julie Hruby and Joann Gulizio have been analyzing the clay and fabric of the tablets using standard macroscopic protocols. The result of their analysis will be a typology of the clay fabrics used to make the Pylos tablets, comprised of standardized descriptions of the colour of the clay and the colour, size, composition, and commonness of inclusions, as well as noting whether the tablet was broken before or after firing. This last detail, in combination with new work on the archaeology of the Palace of Nestor, is contributing to our understanding of how the palace was destroyed and the processes that shaped the preservation not only of these texts, but also the entirety of the archaeological record from the site<sup>4</sup>. Although our work is still preliminary, we can already say that the fabrics of the tablets are heterogeneous and over twenty different fabrics have been tentatively identified, although that number will likely be reduced as seemingly distinct fabrics prove to be identical.

Second, we are using X-Ray Fluorescence (XRF) to examine the elemental composition of the clay of the administrative documents from Pylos. This analysis is being conducted by Billy Wilemon under the supervision of Dr. Michael Galaty<sup>5</sup>. This non-destructive scientific technique creates an X-Ray beam that displaces electrons from their orbital shells and, by measuring the energy that is shed in the process, identifies the element of each atom affected by the beam. Although our analysis has just begun, we can already note that there is significant variability among the tablets and sealings. It is unlikely that we will be able to identify specific sources of clay based on these elemental data, especially considering that much of the clay used to manufacture tablets was likely mixed. On the other hand, we may be able to identify outliers – i.e., tablets whose composition varies significantly from the corpus as a whole, or from subsets of that corpus. Of course it will be especially meaningful if outliers are internally consistent in other respects, such as common findspot, subject matter, or scribal hand.

Third, we have been using structured light scanning to produce three-dimensional models of each document from Pylos. This work has been undertaken by Dr. Jim Newhard and Benjamin Rennison. While our 3D process produces a highly accurate digital model of the surface and shape of the tablets, it is not well suited to accurately record the inscriptions. Instead these models help us to understand the manufacture of the documents, subsequent modifications by scribes, and damage to the tablet both during and after the destruction of the palace.

The final aspect of our project involves improving on traditional photography. Linear B tablets do not photograph well. The incisions can be shallow and the tablets are sometimes not well preserved. Consequently raking light is crucially important to viewing the tablets, for both autopsy and photography. However, light from any one angle clarifies some details while obscuring others. Our solution is to make use of Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI, also known as Polynomial Texture Mapping,

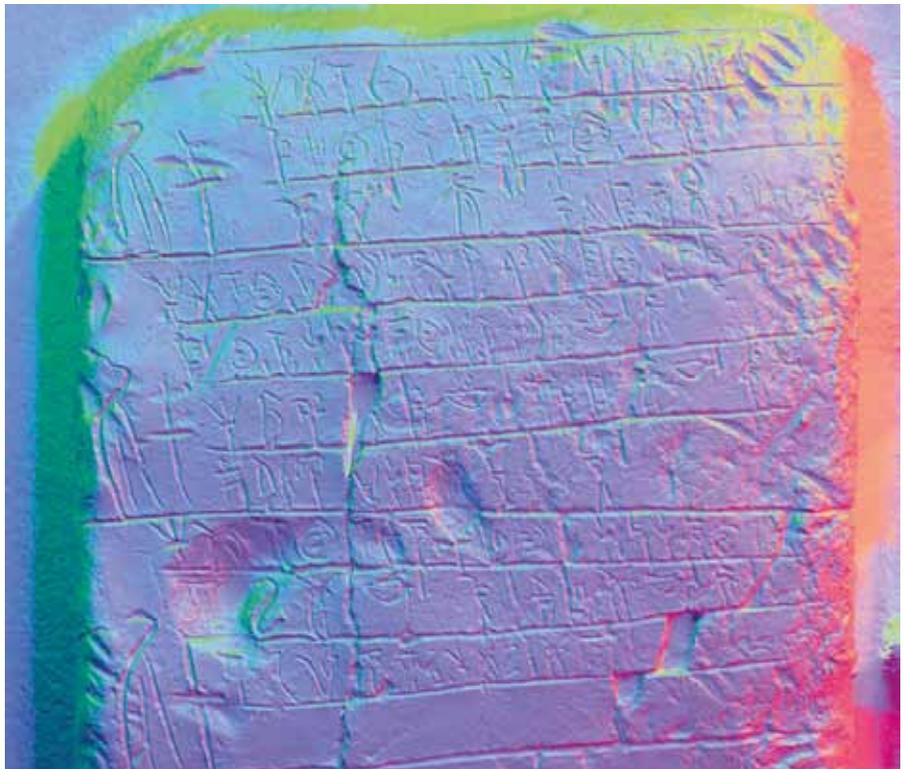
---

4. J. Hruby, *Burning Down the House: Arson, Accident, or Natural Disaster?*, Lecture, *117th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America*, 6-9 January, San Francisco 2016.

5. B. B. Wilemon, Jr., *Portable X-Ray Fluorescence Spectrometer Analysis of the Pylos Linear B Tablets*, Poster, *117th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America*, 6-9 January, San Francisco 2016.

or PTM). This is a form of computational photography in which multiple photographs of the same artefact are taken, with the direction or angle of the flash modified for each photograph. In our case, we took 54 high-resolution images of each inscribed surface. These images are stitched together into a single file, using a protocol developed by Tom Malzbender in 2001 that is freely available online<sup>6</sup>. This composite file can be manipulated in a digital environment to adjust lighting of the object in an interactive virtual environment.

In addition to manipulating the direction of the light, a number of visualization modes are also possible. For instance, the reflectivity of the surface can be enhanced, reducing surface noise; or, incisions can be made to appear darker and deeper through various image-sharpening techniques, such as unsharp masking. Moreover, because RTI uses the way that the artefact responds to light to calculate its surface normals (a surface normal is a vector perpendicular to tangent plane of the surface at a given point), RTI can display a tablet's topography, stripped of all colour. The rendering mode of "normals visualization" replaces the colour data of the images with blue, green and red to represent the surface normals of the tablet. This rendering mode eliminates several hindrances to legibility, enhancing reading by removing shadows from surface irregularities, removing mottled surface colouring, and clarifying faint or shallow incisions (fig. 3).



*Fig. 3. Tablet PY Tn 316, with Normals Visualization rendering.*

The goal of our project, which has many parts, is not only to produce a standard edition of the Linear B texts from Pylos, something that is urgently needed, but also to augment the research tools at the disposal of

<sup>6</sup> For more information on RTI, see the website of Cultural Heritage Imaging: <http://culturalheritageimaging.org/Technologies/RTI/>

archaeologists and scholars of Linear B. Standard editions, while they are useful tools, are also limited by the print medium for which they were designed: they turn three-dimensional artefacts into two-dimensional texts and force the user to rely on a variety of editorial decisions for interpretation and reading. Digital editions, on the other hand, allow us to put more data into the hands of users, who can work interactively with the texts in a digital environment that provides accurate renditions of the colour, shape, topography, and texture of the texts. That is, it allows them to work with the Linear B texts at something approximating autopsy. These data, moreover, can be linked to metadata, like findspot, publication histories and scholarly interpretations. We can perhaps begin to think about and plan digital corpora of Aegean documents for a new generation of scholars.

The Linear B texts provide a unique window into early Greek history and archaeology. They provide information at an extraordinary level of specificity in an essentially prehistoric world. We cannot name any Mycenaean kings or narrate the events of their reigns, but we can identify the handwriting of some 26 scribes at Pylos and we know the names and activities of some 900 shepherds, smiths, workers, landowners, and officials<sup>7</sup>. Although the main purpose of the tablets is to track goods and services in and out of the palace, the tablets unintentionally shed light on much more than taxation. For example, we are told that a man named *Opheltreus*/*Οφελτρεύς* (Linear B *o-pe-te-re-u*, also written *o-pe-to-re-u*; no exact alphabetic Greek equivalent is attested, but cf. *Ὀφέλιτας*) holds one plot of land “because of manslaughter” (Linear B *e-ne-ka a-no-qa-si-ja*; the alphabetic equivalent would be *ἐνεκα ἀνδροκτασίας*) and another plot of land “having exacted satisfaction” (Linear B *qe-ja-me-no*; cf. alphabetic *τεισάμενος*). We may legitimately infer that some member of Opheltreus’ family was murdered and Opheltreus was given (or perhaps took) compensation in the form of access to land. How exactly this decision was made cannot be known, although it seems likely that it was the collective body known as the *damos* (Linear B *da-mo*, alphabetic *δᾶμος*) that ratified and legitimated it<sup>8</sup>. It is through careful study of such windows into Mycenaean life that we can begin to appreciate some of the social practices that gave texture and meaning to life in Greece during the Late Bronze Age. Without the Linear B tablets, we could imagine such scenarios, perhaps through reference to similar situations the Homeric epics, but we would not have any evidence for them.

On the other hand, the Linear B tablets are silent on a great many issues. They do not tell us how the Mycenaean palaces came into existence, nor about much that lay beyond palatial control, including the lives of most Mycenaeans, nor about the brisk international exchange that we know from archaeology was such an important part of the

---

7. On the scribes of Pylos, see T. G. Palaima, *Scribes, Scribal Hands and Palaeography*, in Y. Duhoux - A. Morpurgo Davies (eds.), *A Companion to Linear B. Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World*, vol. 2, Peeters, Leuven 2011, 33-136. On named individuals, see D. Nakassis, *Individuals and Society in Mycenaean Pylos*, Leiden 2013.

8. See S. Lupack, *A View from Outside the Palace: The Sanctuary and the Damos in Mycenaean Economy and Society*, *American Journal of Archaeology* 115 (2011), 207-217.

Late Bronze Age system<sup>9</sup>. It is consequently crucial that Linear B studies maintain its intimate connection to Mycenaean archaeology, for each one complements and illuminates the other. And this is comprehensible nowhere more so than in the Prehistoric Collection of the National Archaeological Museum.

*Dimitri Nakassis - Kevin Pluta*

---

<sup>9</sup> See, e.g., J. Aruz - K. Benzel - J. M. Evans (eds.), *Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.*, New Haven, Yale University Press 2008.

## THE ODYSSEY OF VIOLENCE AND POWER. TIMES OF WAR AND DOMINANCE IN THE EARLY GREEK WORLD

### The emergence of the *warrior-king*

The establishment of a safe political dominion and the necessity to preserve it has been the purpose of organized human societies ever since these were born. The innate need of man to survive and reproduce (*be fertile and multiply*), to subdue the land where he lives and expand it (*fill the earth*) has drawn up the eternal and recurrent narrative of violence and the predominance of the strong over the weak, across the world (*and master it, Genesis 1, 28. 9.1-2*).



The assertion of a place and its expansion that would assure a better and more prosperous life for the entire community is a distinct element of societies with dynamic hierarchical structures. The earliest evidence of such social stratification in the early Greek-speaking world dates back to the end of the Middle Helladic II period (ca. 1700 BC) and is confirmed archaeologically by the unearthing of the first impressive Warrior's Grave near the wall of Kolona IX on Aegina. The deceased, who is identified as a ruler, was buried with his precious sword, the spear, the rich dagger, and the boar's tusk helmet next to the monumental wall and not in some ordinary burial site, as he was now a heroized warrior defender who once determined the collective destiny of the settlement. Similar burials of the same time period excavated in Boeotia manifest the contemporaneous presence of warrior-kings in Mainland Greece, a phenomenon without precedent in the Middle

*Figs. 1-2 The "mask of Agamemnon" (cat. no. 169).*

Bronze Age, which nonetheless was meant to instigate a new, turbulent and glorious era, an *odyssey of violence and power* that established the first major Greek civilization, the Mycenaean. This double capacity encapsulated in the warrior-king will define power in antiquity. This concept will be identified for centuries with the violent imposition of power, well before it was replaced by the persuasion of reasoning.

### **The first Greek-speaking rulers of the Aegean**

The establishment of the first local kingdoms and the concentration of power in a single warrior-king became widespread in the Middle Helladic III period (17th c. BC), as evidenced by the multitude of monumental royal tombs unearthed. In Mycenae (Grave Circle B) a new dynasty of rulers emerged who lived at the end of that century as mighty warriors and wealthy sovereigns. They were interred with full honours together with their long swords of type A, boar's tusk helmets, as well as a large number of stupendous grave goods that included a gold and silver death mask (cat. no. 174), cups made of precious metals, jewels made of gold, amber, glass, rock crystal, and semiprecious stones, and Minoan seal-stones (cat. no. 174). Alongside the warrior-kings, their consorts, women who personified beauty and refinement, were buried with luxury. At that time, in south-western Messenia tumuli as well as the first beehive tombs (*tholoi*) were built by Cretan builders to shelter the eternal sleep of the new rulers of the region. The birth of the monumental architecture of death that imitates the earth's relief (*tumulus*) and the dome of the sky (*tholos*) reflects the ambition of the emerging dynamic people who acquired their riches by trading precious materials between the Adriatic Sea and Minoan Crete and claimed their land and destiny by force and with the art of war.

Even so, in the ensuing period, the Late Helladic I (16th c. BC), the wealth of the deceased becomes unparalleled. The men of Grave Circle A were literally covered in gold. Three out of the five gold death masks of the cemetery had been placed over the face of an equal number of rulers whose grave goods attest beyond any doubt to their administrative and military rank. They were all accompanied by a large number of cutting and thrusting swords, knives and daggers. The case of the "Ruler" of Shaft Grave IV (interment Π) is the most revealing. Behind the golden mask lay the face of a thirty-year old man who held a sceptre in his right hand (cat. no. 170). The golden plate on his chest (cat. no. 170) replaced symbolically his thorax and the several swords, knives and daggers which he owned signified his superiority when he was alive.

The remains of the settlements, the monumental tumuli, and the tholos tombs of the same time period in the Greek mainland indicate the existence of other early regional centres. The powerful men of the 16th c. BC controlled either the large agricultural production (Asini, Marathon, Eutresis) or the valuable mineral resources (Thorikos) thereby forging continuously their power.

Their military attire was standardized. It involved long swords, boar's tusk helmets (NAM 6507 and cat. no. 194), bronze and stone arrowheads, spears and daggers (cat. no. 172), known to us by the burial ensembles and also by their depiction in the representational arts of the time. The miniature wall-painting in the West House of Akrotiri on Thera is a case in point. Those who argue that the warriors of that period with the boar's tusk helmets originated exclusively from Mainland Greece and not the Aegean in

general, identify in the famous procession of the helmeted group of people carrying the "tower" shields the first Mycenaean warriors. Their figures are depicted approaching a town in a coordinated manner as if they were an advancing army without being clear whether they come as friend or foe. The silver "Siege Rhyton" (cat. no. 193) unearthed from Shaft Grave IV in Mycenae displays a similar scene. A group of armed men attack a fortified town by sea in a way that foreshadows its conquest. The agony of the defenders appears to reflect vividly the destiny of those who went up against the violence employed by the victors of the early Greek world. The silver



*Fig. 3. Detail of the "silver battle krater" from Mycenae with a depiction of a warrior's boar's tusk helmet (NAM Π 605-607).*

krater from the same grave (NAM Π 605-607) depicts in relief a close combat between two groups of warriors. The distinctiveness of the opponents is accentuated by the different types of shield that serve as some kind of national-military hallmark.

The famous Lion Hunt dagger that also comes from Shaft Grave IV (cat. no. 172) reflects in a unique and highly symbolic manner the iconography of the vigour that marked the determined kings of Mycenae. The main side depicts a compositional representation of a combat, not a hunt, between an ordered army of warriors and a group of lions that run away in a stampede. The leader of the beasts confronts the fighters and gains time so that his galloping companions escape. One man has just been wounded, whereas his comrades have managed to strike the final blow on the flesh of the wild beast. The artist of the dagger has captured the triumph of military tactics of men against the untamed animals, which are shown pitting their wits against the warriors for the sake of the narrative. The composition places emphasis on the victory of the organized society against the beastly nature and its brutal elements in a manner that will recur ten centuries later in the mythical pedimental compositions of the Greek temples. It seems that the concentration of all these exquisite grave goods with the depicted war scenes (namely the silver "Siege Rhyton", the krater and the dagger) of the "prince" of Shaft Grave IV encapsulates the iconographic features of a man of war who was highly expected to rule.

The development of war iconography in the 16th c. BC is often interpreted as a result of the dynamic rise of the first Greek-speaking warrior-kings. As already mentioned, most researchers identify the figures wearing the boar's tusk helmet with the warlike Mycenaean. Nevertheless, their depiction in works of the Minoan Neopalatial world (seals, stone vessels) and also



*Fig. 4. Relief metope of a grave stele from Grave V, Grave Circle A, in Mycenae. (NAM Π 1428).*

on the Frieze of the Fleet has been construed as the representation of their action not as an attacking army, but as mercenaries at the service of other rulers.

The force of arms and the military operations of the Mycenaeans in the ensuing two phases of the Prepalatial period (Late Helladic II and IIIA 1) resulted in the emergence of an even greater number of major administrative centres. Malthi, Peristeria and Englianos were kingdoms of immense wealth in Messenia. In the grave of the Griffin Warrior at Pylos, at Routsis, Messenia (NAM Π 8339), in the pit of the Vapheio tholos tomb (cat. nos. 176 and NAM 1798), in the grave at Stafylos on the island of Skopelos (cat. no. 175) and in the tholos tomb of Midea (cat. no. 177) the deceased, accompanied with their swords, have been luxuriously dressed and are marked by the symbolism of their military readiness. None of these burials, in which objects of refined art abound, lack in long and lethal swords, the spears and the daggers which denote that the authority of the time merged in a self-evident manner the flourishing of the arts and the brutal imposition of the law of the strongest. The suggestion of Axel Persson, who excavated the tholos tomb of Midea, that the deposition of the dead queen into the same pit alongside the interred king was the highest offering in his honour, portrays an era in which the law was identified with the power and will of one person alone.

At that time the majority of tholos tombs are built in the Mycenaean world, from Heraion of Argos and Marathon through Dimini in Volos, and each one marks the place of action and the eternal rest of those who exemplified this violent and absolute power<sup>1</sup>. The famous bronze Dendra panoply, a type of thorax that prevailed in the Mycenaean armour and embodied the prestige and valour of the Mycenaean war machine, dates back to that period.

### **The Mycenaeans on Crete**

The once peaceful and interactive coexistence of the new rulers of the Mycenaean world with the complex and powerful network of Minoan palaces and their satellite states in the Aegean (Cyclades, Dodecanese, towns in Southeastern Asia Minor) ended in the mid-15th c. BC. Prior to that, the catastrophic volcanic eruption of Santorini resulted in the decline of the economic and administrative power of the Minoan world and its influence. From the Late Minoan II period (second half of the 15th c. BC) onwards a dramatic change took place that altered the course of the Cretan history: the fierce destruction of the settlements and the palaces from Chania through Palaikastro on the east coast. The burnt archaeological strata and the indications of extensive violence denote widespread unrest, which if domestic movements had not occurred, then it would have established the original belief of researchers regarding the “invasion” of some Greeks from the mainland on the island as the main cause. The new rock-cut tombs first appear at that same time in the area of Knossos (Zapher Papoura, Katsambas) and at Chania (Dikastiria) which are much different in terms of form and use than the few known tombs of the Neopalatial period and bear suspicious “Mycenaean” qualities. These tombs, which belonged to warrior-kings, increase in number in the ensuing Late

---

1. The finds of the most important beehive tombs of the time period are on display at the National Archaeological Museum.

Minoan IIIA 1 period (early 14th c. BC) and are situated in strategic locations (Knossos, Archanes, Phaistos, Chania).

The architectural form, the grave goods and burial practices encountered in these new carved tombs are comparable to those of the early Mycenaean world. They were created in administrative centres that had poor burial culture in the preceding Neopalatial period. The dramatic change in the funerary practices of Crete that followed during the 14th c. BC and also the recovery of the Linear B records at Knossos provide credible indications of general upheaval which could have resulted from violent political developments. Most researchers see the new burial practices that became widespread and the employment of the Mycenaean Greek language that served the needs of the administration of the only palace that was used again, as an indication of the expansion of the sphere of influence of the warrior-kings in Mainland Greece. The emergence of similar burial practices and the gradual change that took place in the material culture across the great centres of Cyclades (Kea, Milos), Dodecanese (Rhodes, Kos) and Southeastern Asia Minor (Miletus, Iasos) strengthen the image of the overseas domination of the new powerful rulers of the Aegean: the Mycenaeans.

### ***Pax Mycenaica: the era of the palaces***

The *Odyssey of violence and power* of the Mycenaean world went on relentlessly. In the mid-14th c. BC approximately and for reasons which remain unknown to us, the order of things was disturbed once again. Based on the archaeological and epigraphic evidence, the palace of Knossos was violently destroyed in some July and was permanently abandoned. That same time the majority of the tholos tombs of the Peloponnese were sealed while some of them were "disgraced" being used as ossuaries. Major administrative centres, but also smaller settlements declined, were violently destroyed, or disappeared completely, whereas some other sites developed into centres of the new era. This signifies the redistribution of power and the emergence of the Mycenaean palaces that came about as a result of the force of arms and the mastery of the strong over anyone else.

The administrative centre that prevailed on Crete was that of Chania. In the Peloponnese, the new palaces at Pylos, at Agios Vasileios in Laconia, as well as at Mycenae and Tiryns rose, whereas it is unclear whether there were palaces with unchartered administration also in other regions (western Achaea, mountainous Arcadia). It is believed that in Central Greece a similar palace was built on the Athenian Acropolis whereas excavation brought to light the palaces of Thebes, Orchomenos, and Volos (Dimini, Palaea). The entire Thessaly, Euboea, and Miletus were possibly subsumed under the control of the palaces and, according to the Hittite records, some islands also (perhaps Samos and the Dodecanese). The areas that stayed outside the palatial world (Aetolia-Akarnania, western Phocis, islands of the south Ionian Sea, southern Epirus, and possibly the Cyclades) participated in the *Mycenaean Koine*, but not in its system of administration. It seems that during the second half of the 14th c. BC the newly built palace of Agios Vasileios is also destroyed by fire.

The archaeologically established destructions of the 13th c. BC (Late Helladic IIIB 1-2 period) possibly resulted from natural causes and not the human factor (e.g. earthquakes). Some palaces (Mycenae, Tiryns, Athens) as well as some acropolises (Midea, Larissa at Argos, the Dymaeon Wall, Glas, etc.) were enclosed by cyclopean walls, whereas others remained unfortified as

they enjoyed some form of *Pax Mycenaica*. The prevailing iconography of the time as evidenced by wall-paintings, pottery, ivory carving, and jewellery – arts that were controlled by the palaces – consists in processions of women bearing gifts (cat. no. 148), scenes of royal hunting, oared ships, sphinxes (cat. no. 77), griffins, and ritual figure-of-eight shields (cat. nos. 147, 149) and only a few scenes of warfare and violence (wall-paintings of the palace of Pylos). The confidence of power is reflected in the robust symbolism entailed in the cyclopean structures, the Lion Gate at Mycenae, the construction of few, yet monumental tholos tombs (of Atreus and Clytemnestra, at Menidi and Orchomenos) as well as in the small number of burials with swords. The Mycenaean Palatial period gives the impression of a world that has finally engaged in peaceful works. Nevertheless, there is also indirect evidence of deadly conflicts in order to maintain territory as in the case of Miletus which, according to the imperial records of Hattusa, was claimed by the Hittites.

The Mycenaean imperial self-assertion depended on the enforcement of the law and the will of the king and his magistrates as attested by the rich records of Linear B tablets which owe their rescue to the flames of the end of the era. The tablets of Pylos, which constitute the greatest corpus of evidence of its kind, delineate thoroughly the system of production (cat. no. 72), taxation (cat. no. 179), distribution (cat. no. 127), storage (cat. no. 182), and administration of the provinces that belonged to the palace. The integrity of the organization and the emphasis on the recording of the taxable land of the dominion imply that tax evasion must have been extremely difficult and possibly carried an exemplary punishment.

The power of the palace relied on the cleverly organized administrative structure. It was headed by the *anax* (*wa-na-ka*) followed by the *leader of the people* (*ra-wa-ke-ta*, *lawagetes*). The third in rank were the *telestai* (*te-re-ta*), namely cult officials, and then came the *hepetae* (*e-qe-ta*), the followers, and at a lower rank were the *basileis* (*qa-si-re-u*), or labour organizers, who supervised the palace's craft production.

The secret of the defence of the palaces lay in their armoury. The production and the distribution of armament were amongst the top priorities of the upper class as attested by the tablet records. The storage of wheels of chariots and a large number of bronze *thoraxes* (*to-ra-ke*) is reported at Pylos. These weapons consisted of ten large and five smaller bronze plates (*o-pa-wo-ta*), namely attached components, forming a panoply which conforms to the type found at the Dendra tomb (cat. no. 195). The bronze thorax had its own ideogram. Bronze helmets of a type which has not been encountered yet in the archaeological ensembles of the time, composed of four attached components and two cheek guards, are also reported. In the Knossos record bronze spears and thousands of arrowheads (*pa-ta-ja*) are documented, whereas the long swords are distinguished from the numerous *phasgana* (*pa-ka-na*), namely the daggers which are kept in the armoury of the guard of the palace. It is specified that in some cases the daggers had pommels and their grips were covered with ivory or horn (*de-so-mo*). The large quantities of such luxurious weapons have been interpreted as mass production of exportable goods, a hypothesis which agrees with the exchange of lavish gifts and merchandise between the centres of the Eastern Mediterranean. Nevertheless, in the Linear B tablets there is no reference to bows and furthermore shields, greaves, and helmets made of tusks, namely weapons which constitute excavation finds, are nowhere mentioned.

The Mycenaean palatial army was led by members of the nobility who evidently were martial arts experts and bore long swords as evidenced by the tombs (cat. nos. 177), but also by the finds of the shipwreck of Uluburum, a vessel that contained an astoundingly rich cargo in 1300 BC approximately, while two unfortunate Mycenaean officers were on board. Nonetheless, the main body of the army was possibly comprised of reserve soldiers who offered their services in exchange for allocation of land by the *anax*. More information regarding the fleet reserves becomes available in the records of Pylos. During the last days of the palace it was recorded that thirty oarsmen from across the dominion were heading towards Plevronea to report possibly in an emergency. Their number approaches the capacity of a warship of the time, the *penteconter*, which was rowed by fifty oarsmen.

As furnished by the evidence the main defensive configuration of Pylos consisted of land units. The basic unit of the Mycenaean military machine was the *dekas*, which consisted of ten men, with the recorded forces being its multiples. The companies are named *orchoi* (*o-ka*) commanded by Pylian officers. The tablets also mention the locations where the companies are stationed, which seem to be demarcated by the rivers Neda and Cyparissos. The guard units of the palace of Pylos and also the sites that were left unattended as they were considered safe are also reported. And so, we are informed that six out of the eleven divisions were near the palace, offering protection from a potential invasion from Navarino. Nonetheless, despite the seemingly excellent preparation, the defensive organization could not avert the final disaster which appears to have been caused by enemy incur-



Fig. 5. Depiction of a rowing warship on a vase from Tragana, Messenia (cat. no. 7).

sion and turned the palace and the settlement into an inferno. The palatial guard only succeeded in delaying the assailants so as for the inhabitants to abandon the palace in good time taking with them the most valuable objects and possibly seek refuge in safer destinations. Since the Pylos tablets record the activities of the first three months of the new year, it is estimated that the destruction of the palace occurred either in March or April of some year around 1200 BC.

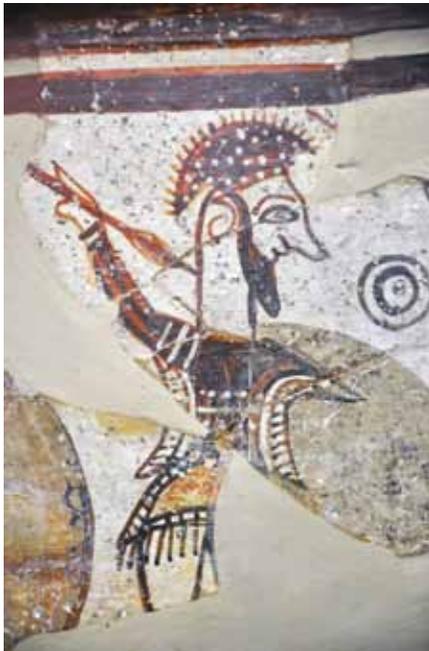
Most palaces and major settlements of the Mycenaean world suffered the same violent demise putting a dramatic end to a glorious historical period, but also rescuing the priceless epigraphic attestations from the flames. The administrative centres that were deserted without being burnt (Athens

Acropolis, Dimini) were better preserved, but this did not appertain to the tablets which they possibly maintained.

Evidently, the devastation of the Mycenaean centres stemmed from a chain reaction that hit the kingdoms and the empires of the Eastern Mediterranean. The alternative economy of this network and the high level of specialization of production in the Mycenaean palatial world could not absorb the crisis that brought about the collapse of the economic system. The agricultural production must have been decreased causing famine, plagues, and civil strife in the Mycenaean states that possibly turned against each other. Perhaps subordinate segments of the population that saw themselves as oppressed, took the opportunity to augment instability and accelerate violence. Some researchers identify amongst them the *Dorians*, a population which according to them was present in the Peloponnese already before its famous "Invasion" took place at the end of the Mycenaean era. The prevalent insecurity of the final Palatial years is confirmed by the "hoards", namely the concealments of precious metal artefacts possessed by some wealthy families at the end of the period (NAM 6214, 6225) which they were forced to bury not knowing what lies ahead.

#### **The Postpalatial world: the rise of the new order of *warriors***

The next day found the Mycenaean populations in great confusion. Some palatial sites continued to exist for a short period of time (Chania, Mycenae, Athenian Acropolis) or were reinforced, thereby turning into new, major centres (Tiryns). Entire dominions, such as Messenia, were literally deserted while other regions, which until then formed part of the periphery of the palatial world, experienced a significant increase in population (Achaea, Locris, eastern Crete, Rhodes). The organization of new, postpalatial societies of the Late Helladic IIIc period (12th-first half of the 11th c. BC) brought forth new regional centres which consisted in a plain settlement surrounded by a few kilometers of limited territory. The settlements of the time period were self-sufficient villages whose wealth could fit a large storage facility. Once again their overlords were the *warriors*, namely the deceased found in the tombs accompanied by swords, spears, greaves, shield accessories, and tools, being distinguished from the rest of the community as they cover the entire time period. The largest concentrations of such warrior's graves were located in Achaea, Eleia and mountainous Arcadia, and also on the north mountainsides of eastern Crete. In the north-western Peloponnese, which is better excavated, it seems that there were no more than one warrior in each generation of men of the settlement. In fact four of these (at Claus, Krini-Drimaleika, Spaliareika, Portes) had been interred together with their consorts, a phenomenon which if it is not a coincidence, it should be further elucidated. Their military attire varies, yet the lethal sword of Naue II type (cat. no. 183), which first appeared at the end of the Palatial period imitating evidently a type encountered in Central Europe, is indispensable. Most swords of this kind were locally produced, made of bronze which continued to be imported from Cyprus or the metalliferous sites of Northern Italy directly to the new markets of the Peloponnese and the Aegean. The fall of the old palatial world resulted in the unimpeded development of bilateral trade relations between the postpalatial societies and the overseas ports of the West and the East. The warrior-kings seem to act as mediators in these contacts, since most objects of exotic provenance were located amongst their grave goods.



*Figs. 6-7. Details of the warriors from the homonymous krater from Mycenae (cat. no. 197).*

The fall of the Mycenaean palaces brought about the age of opportunity for the adventurers of the Aegean. The iconography of the time period is full of depictions of warfare, violence and military campaigns, warships (cat. no. 7) and contingents (cat. no. 197 and NAM 3256) which apparently reflect the local undertakings of the warrior-kings or their unrestrained activity as pirates and mercenaries in any sort of venture or scuffle. The new symbols of authority also include the large bronze and clay kalathoi and kraters, which became popular again after several centuries, and were meant to be used at symposia intended for the world of men. Finally, the unearthing in certain cemeteries of two or more warriors' graves that belong to successive generations, but were included in the same family tombs (Spaliareika in Achaea, Moulia in Sitia), denote the hereditary rank of the warrior and recall stimulatingly the Homeric *basileis* and their world of values. After all, if the burning of Troy is something more than a display of fireworks in literature, then it must be traced in the burnt layer of Troy VIIa which is contemporaneous with the Early Postpalatial years of the Mycenaean world.

### **The Homeric legacy at the dawn of the new world**

The dawn of the new millennium inherited from the old postpalatial world the social organization that was now applied to small local communities from which the first cities emanated three centuries later. The warrior-kings at the end of the Late Bronze Age gave their place to the *basileis* of the Protogeometric and Geometric period (10th-8th c. BC) who embarked on the reconstitution of their own dominions so as to secure their survival and prosperity.

Being warriors themselves also, they settled in oblong and arched *megara* (Thermo, Lefkandi, Nichoria, etc.), engaged in the rituals that took place in the *oikos*, reinforced their relations with the other noble members of the community with ceremonial symposia and exchange of gifts and controlled coppersmithing and blacksmithing which were now at the heart of the new economy. The ruler-kings were distinguished in life and were honoured in death with the cremation of their bodies and the fastidious deposition of their relics in bronze urns wrapped in colourful fabrics (Stamna in Aetolia-Akarnania, Lefkandi) in conformity with the Homeric ritual. In fact, the case of the funeral pyre of the hero-warrior of Eleutherna (730-700 BC) that was followed by the sacrifice of a "prisoner" in his honour, reflects the world of the Homeric burials so truthfully that remains unclear whether it inspired or fervently copied the exact verses.

*Kostas Paschalidis*

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

---

- Αλεξίου, Σ. 1967. *Υστερομινωικοί τάφοι Λιμένος Κνωσού (Κατσαμπά)*, Αθήνα.
- Ανδρεαδάκη-Βλαζάκη, Μ. (ed.) 2009. *Χανιά (Κυδωνία). Περιήγηση σε χώρους αρχαίας μνήμης*, Χανιά, 153-165.
- Παννόπουλος, Θ. Γ. 2013. «Πόθεν και Πότε οι Έλληνες». *Οι υπεύθυνες απαντήσεις της επιστήμης και η παρούσα κατάσταση της έρευνας για την πρώτη αρχή του ελληνικού κόσμου*, Ηράκλειο, 261-265.
- Deger-Jalkotzy, S. 2006. Late Mycenaean Warrior Tombs, in S. Deger-Jalkotzy - I. S. Lemos (eds.), *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*, Edinburgh, 151-179.
- Evans, A. J. 1906. *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*. I. *The Cemetery of Zafer Papoura*, II. *The Royal Tomb of Isopata*, London.
- Μαζαράκης-Αινιάν, Α. 2000. *Όμηρος και Αρχαιολογία*, Αθήνα.
- Mazarakis-Ainian, A. 2006. The Archaeology of *Basileis*, in S. Deger-Jalkotzy - I. S. Lemos (eds.), *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*, Edinburgh, 181-211.
- Νικολέντζος, Κ. 2003. Κακόβατος Ένας εμπορικός σταθμός εισαγωγής ηλεκτρου στον πρώιμο μυκηναϊκό κόσμο, in Α. Βλαχόπουλος - Κ. Μπίρταχα (eds.), *Αργοναύτης Τιμητικός τόμος για τον Καθηγητή Χρίστο Γ. Ντούμα από τους μαθητές του στο Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών (1980-2000)*, Αθήνα, 619-631.
- Parazoglou-Manioudaki, L. 2009. Dishonouring the Dead: The Plundering of Tholos Tombs in the Early Palatial Period and the Case of the Tholos Tomb at Mygdalia Hill (Petroto) in Achaea, in H. Cavanagh - W. Cavanagh - J. Roy (eds.), *Honouring the Dead in the Peloponnese, Proceedings of the Conference held at Sparta 23-25 April 2009* (CSPS Online Publication 2 prepared by S. Farnham, 2011), <http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/csps/documents/honoringthedead/parazoglou.pdf>, 501-520.
- Πασχαλίδης, Κ. Π. 2006. Στοιχεία μυκηναϊκού χαρακτήρα στην Ανατολική Κρήτη κατά το τέλος της Εποχής του Χαλκού. Νέα Μέγαρα στο Χαλασμένο Ιεράπετρας, in Θ. Δετοράκης - Α. Καλοκαιρινός (eds.), *Πεπραγμένα του Θ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Ελούντα 1-6 Οκτωβρίου 2001*, vol. Α1, *Προϊστορική Περίοδος, Ανασκαφικά Δεδομένα*, Ηράκλειο, 219-232.
- Paschalidis, C. - P. J. P. McGeorge 2009. Life and Death in the Periphery of the Mycenaean World at the End of the Late Bronze Age: The Case of the Achaea Klauss Cemetery, in E. Borgna - P. Càssola Guida (eds.), *From the Aegean to the Adriatic, Social Organizations Modes of Exchange and Interaction in the Postpalatial Times (12th-11th c. BC), Acts of the International Seminar, Udine 1-2 December 2006*, Roma 2009, 79-113.
- Persson, A. W. 1931. *The Royal Tombs at Dendra near Midea*, Lund, 68-70.
- Ruípérez, M. S. - J. L. Melena 1996. *Οι Μυκηναίοι Έλληνες* (μτφρ. Μ. Παναγιωτίδου), Αθήνα, 199-217, 257.
- Shelmerdine, C. W. 2008. *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, Cambridge, 242-252, 292-295, 372-374.

## THE ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY: THE TIMELESS JOURNEY OF A COLLECTIVE PURSUIT

*and a constitution is a form of organization  
of the inhabitants of a state*

*Aristotle, Politics, 1274B*

The essence of *politeia* as a form of institutional organization of the city has been a fundamental issue for the ancient Greek scholars. From the elegies of Solon to the *Republic* and the *Laws* of Plato and Aristotle's *Politics* (fig. 1), the concepts of justice, good order (*eunomia*), decorum (*eucosmia*), education, and virtue have been ingrained as core ingredients of the ideal form of government. The great significance of *politeia*, as an ontological trait of human nature, is reflected in Aristotle's premise. According to the great philosopher and naturalist (384-322 BC), man is "by nature a political animal" (Aristot. *Pol.* 1253), which means that he is inherently drawn to congregate and form organized societies. Indeed, from the outset of their history the Greeks were grouped in tribal divisions with a ruler (or king), an advisory body of seniors (the subsequent council of the *Boule*) and the assembly of the citizens who bore arms (the later *Ecclesia tou Demou*).

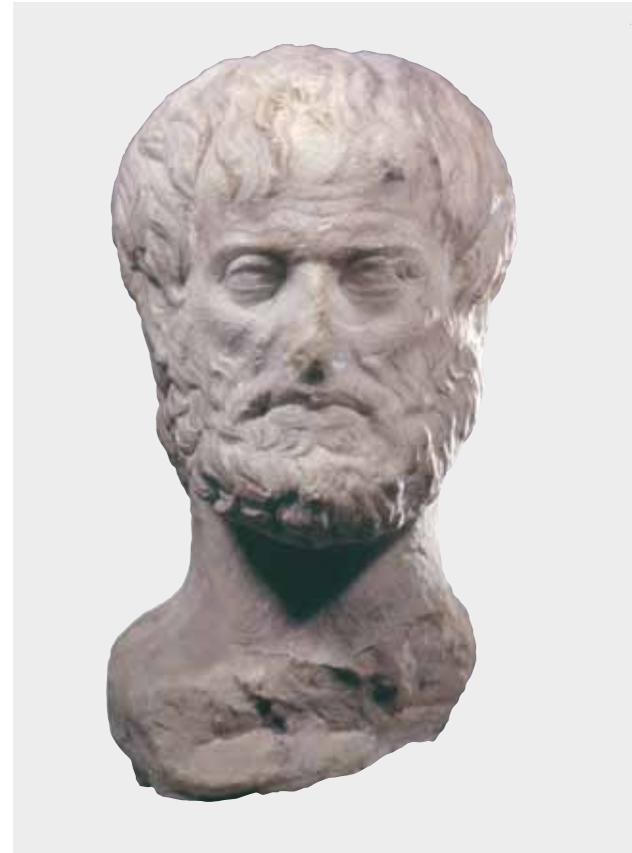
### Forms of state organization of the Greek cities

During the 8th c. BC many Greek tribal states such as Corinth, Aegina, Athens, Samos, and the cities on the Ionian coast are organized into city-states. The development of the economy of the sea and trade coincides with the abolishment of kingship and the growing influence of the nobles who assume power retaining the *Ecclesia*, the *Boule* (Council), and one or more magistrates (archons). During the 7th and the 6th c. BC the social changes and the upheaval, which most Greek cities experience, result in the overthrow of aristocracy and the establishment of timocracy or tyranny. At the end of the 6th c. BC the institution of monarchy lives on only in Sparta, Macedonia, Epirus, and Cyprus.

Aristotle, who analysed and classified the various forms of constitution of the ancient Greek cities, distinguishes two principal regimes, democracy and oligarchy, whereas in his view any other system comprises a deviation from the main schemes. The philosopher denotes the diametrically opposed nature of the two systems as he compares them with the two winds, the north and the south (Aristot. *Pol.* 1290). It is true that throughout the history of the Greeks these two systems have been repeatedly set against one another, with the catalytic interventions of the Spartan oligarchy and later of the kingdom of Macedon in the political affairs of the Athenian democracy being the most prominent examples.

### The fascinating journey towards the Athenian democracy

At times, democracy emerged in several Greek cities. Elements of democratic government have been traced already since the mid-7th c. BC in the state organization of Sparta and a little later, in the second quarter of the 6th c. BC, on the Aegean island Chios, yet without being further developed. In Athens, on the contrary, democracy will evolve in a unique manner and stand out in the Greek world as the longest-lived paradigm of civil polity that reinforces institutionally the concept of the citizen, his rights and obligations, his liberties, and mainly his value as an individual.



*Fig. 1. Double-sided portrait head of Aristotle (cat. no. 253).*

To the evolution, the structure, and the systematic organization of the Athenian democracy Aristotle of Stageira, a true polymath, devoted his work *Athenian Constitution*, having chosen to live from the age of seventeen and for the largest part of his life in Athens, the admirable city of intellectual creation and free flow of ideas. A metic (resident without full civic rights) himself, he was a student of the Athenian Plato and member of Plato's Academy to subsequently found his own philosophical school, the renowned Peripatetic School at the Lyceum of the city that gave birth to democracy and advanced rational thought.

According to Aristotle's attestation, which is consonant with other historical sources, the Athenian democracy did not occur unexpectedly, but was gradually established as a result of socio-economic conflicts, political reforms, and institutional innovations. In terms of its fundamental principles, today we realize that the notion of justice made an impact on the early stages of the Athenian state, being a catalyst for those decisions that alleviated the contrasts between social classes, judged political practices, and formulated institutions. Hence, at the end of the 7th c. BC, Dracon, with the compilation of the first penal code, put an end to the arbitrary actions of the nobles as regards the attribution of justice – nonetheless it did not succeed in averting the growing feeling of social injustice and the discontent of the public directed at the few who were in possession of power and wealth (Aristot. *Const. Ath.* II-IV).

At the beginning of the 6th c. BC Solon managed to terminate social conflict by determining as backbone of his political thought the virtue of *eunomia*, a concept that is analysed in his poems and is associated with the proper, wise, prudent, and sound administration of the city, which rectifies the contrasts of social injustice and ends civil strife caused by *dysnomia* (disorder). The granting of citizen rights to the *thetai*, the lowest social class of Athens, and the liberation of all those who had become slaves through debt (*seisachtheia*) were essential political acts within the context of the Solonian *eunomia* (Aristot. *Const. Ath.* V-XII). Undeniably, Solon paved the way for the reforms introduced by Kleisthenes who restructured the tribes of Attica, diminished the political power of the aristocrats, and strengthened the democrats in exercising power (late 6th c. BC).

At the end of the 6th-beginning of the 5th c. BC, the development of the Athenian democracy was affected by a decisive external factor: the clash with a different cultural entity and an opposing political worldview, the Persian Empire, that was friendly disposed towards the exiled tyrant of Athens. Through the assessment of the ground-shaking events, which the Greeks experienced in the successive combats with the Persians, we reach the conclusion that for the Athenians the victory in the battle of Marathon signified primarily a victory against tyranny. Of vital importance in those crucial times were the measures which Themistocles took to reinforce the Athenian fleet with new triremes (cat. no. 230) and also his political decision to support the landless *thetai* by giving them the opportunity to man the fleet as members of the crew. The glorious victory at the naval battle of Salamis (480 BC) is acknowledged to be a result of these measures and, according to Aristotle (*Pol.* 1304), solidified the hegemony of Athens at sea and at the same time forged the constitution since the triumph was credited to a large extent to the high morale and democratic beliefs of the *thetai*.

The Athenian democracy was fully established in 462 BC when Ephialtes deprived the aristocratic Council of the Areopagus of its political powers and assigned them to the *Ecclesia tou Demou* (Popular Assembly) and the Council of the Five Hundred (Aristot. *Const. Ath.* 25). A year later, Pericles introduced

populist measures of stately, educational and cultural content. The institution of *misthos* (compensation) for the participation of the financially weaker citizens in public affairs ensured the collectiveness of democracy, whereas the *theorika*, namely funding of the admission fees to the theatre for the weaker classes, secured its true essence. The city that had given birth to democracy and theatre enabled all Athenian citizens to attend dramatic competitions, thereby cultivating their mind and aesthetic taste with the celebrated works of the great playwrights.

### **Isonomia, isegoria, isotimia**

The Athenian democracy of the Classical period (462-322BC) was dictated, led, and conveyed by three core principles: *isonomia*, *isegoria* and *isotimia*. The citizens of Athens knew that they were equal before the law, that they had equal right of speech and equal right of access to the honours awarded to them by the state. Presiding over all the issues of public life was the *Ecclesia tou Demou*, namely the Popular Assembly in which participated the male Athenian citizens who had performed their military service (as adolescents), from the age of twenty and upward. As the predominant legislative body of the Athenian state, the Ecclesia had acquired the right to issue decrees, that is, decisions about matters of religion, economy, organization of the city, internal and foreign policies that were taken by vote.

During the 5th and the 4th c. BC the Ecclesia convened on the Pnyx and from the end of the 4th c. BC onwards at the theatre of Dionysos (fig. 2). The meetings of the assembly – four regular ones in each prytany and extraordinary ones when necessary – began at sunrise and ended at sunset. Apart from the politicians, the orators, the magistrates, and the rest of the public officials, every citizen had the right to speak at them too. A proposal was either approved or rejected by a show of hands and, in special circumstances, voting was conducted by secret ballot. At the end of each meeting the secretary of the Boule was responsible for recording in writing and promulgating the decrees through their inscription onto whitened wooden tablets or stelae made of stone that were installed in central and busy spots of the city.

Fig. 2. The theatre of Dionysos.



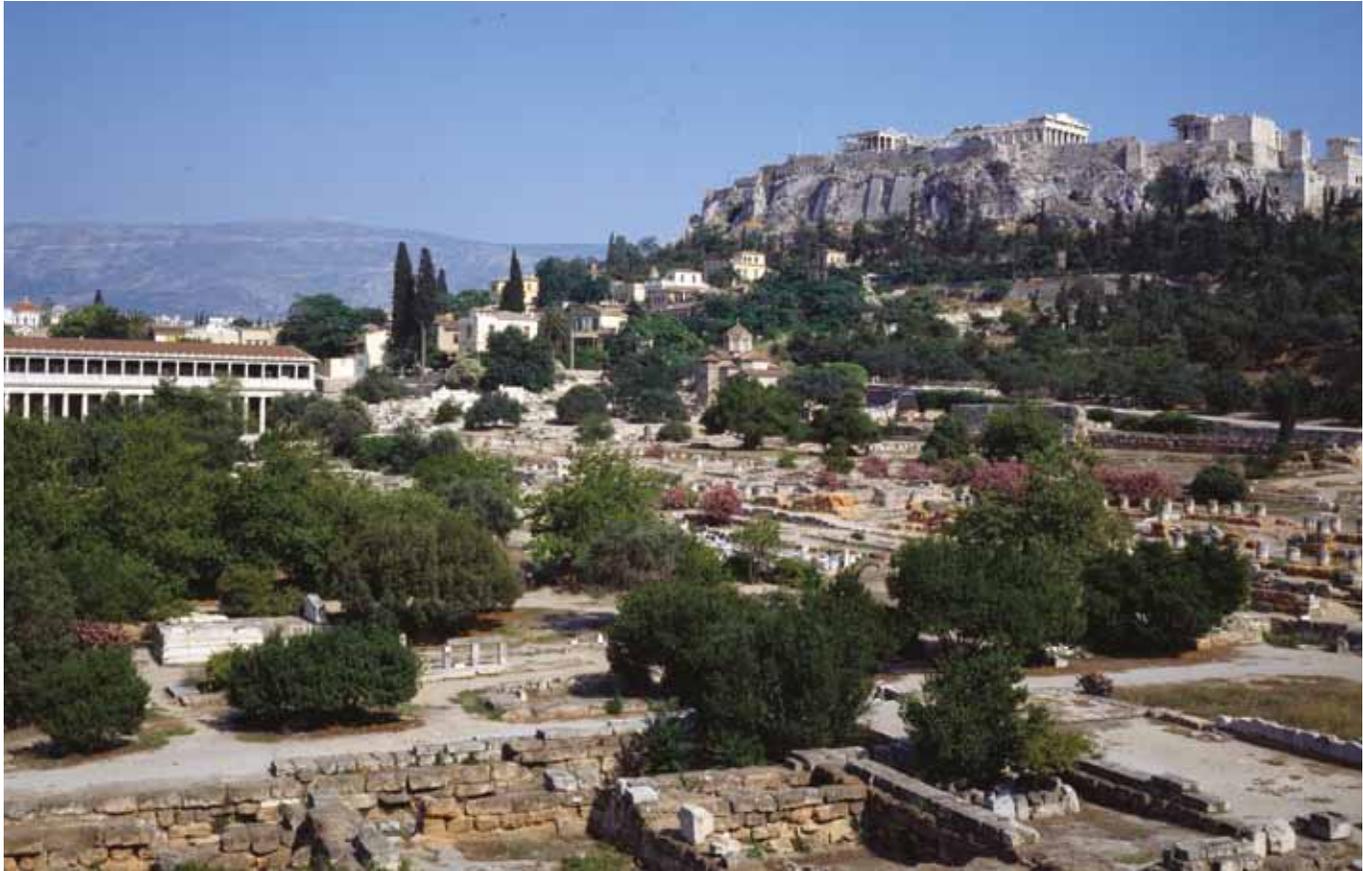


Fig. 3. The Ancient Agora of Athens.

Stelae with laws, decisions on economic issues, treaties of alliance, honorific decrees, and other written documents of the Athenian state were mounted in sanctuaries and public spaces where they could be easily seen and accessed by the citizens who had to be immediately informed. The original texts of all those decrees were housed as official archives in a specially designated building of the Agora (fig. 3), the Metroon.

A representative of the Assembly body was the Boule (Council) of the Five Hundred, which consisted of five hundred Athenian citizens (fifty from each of the ten tribes) who served for a year. A most important task of the Boule of the Five Hundred was to compose the resolutions (*probouleumata*) that were to be submitted for voting to the Ecclesia. At the same time, the Boule oversaw the implementation of the decisions taken by the Ecclesia and the observance of the laws, scrutinized the work of the magistrates, the administration of public finances, the handling of foreign affairs, being vested with some judicial powers too. Presiding over the daily meetings of the Boule held in a special building, the so-called Bouleuterion to the south side of the Agora, were the *prytaneis*, namely the fifty *bouleutai* (councillors) per tribe, who served for one tenth of the year and conducted by alternation the state administration, summoned the meetings of the Boule and drew up the agenda. The *prytaneis* resided in the Tholos of the Agora. There also lived the *epistates* (chairman) of the *prytaneis* who was chosen by lot and exercised the duties of the supreme state authority for twenty-four hours: he chaired the meetings of the Boule and the Ecclesia and was responsible for safeguarding the seal of the state, the official weights and measures of the city, and the keys to the temples where the public money and the valuable offerings were deposited.

Aside from the Boule and the Ecclesia, the Athenian state had a large number of individual and collective bodies of authority in which every

Athenian citizen had the right to participate. The representation of all social classes across the numerous public offices of the Athenian state was further enhanced by the way in which magistrates were chosen, through the procedure of allotment that became prevalent during the 4th c. BC. The only exception to the rule, as to the participation of all social classes to public life, appears in the case of the ten *strategoí* and of those who were appointed to posts of handling public funds, offices to which only citizens of the highest property class, the *pentakosiomedimnoi* (500-bushel men), could be elected. However, all public officials during their term were subject to scrutiny and at the end of their tenure were answerable to the people, while they could even be deposed from office.

### **The Athenian naval supremacy**

The power, the glory and the magnificence of the Athenian democracy have been entwined with the hegemonic policy and the supremacy of the city at sea. Following the victorious outcome of the Greco-Persian Wars (478/7 BC), the Athenians succeeded in forming a maritime confederation of a large number of Greek cities that aimed at securing their freedom and independence from the expansionism of the foreign empire. The impressive for its size Greek league included the coastal cities of Macedonia and Thrace, the cities of the Hellespont, the Propontis and Bosphorus, all the cities of the west coast of Asia Minor (Abydos, Erythrae, Ephesos, Miletus, and more), the large islands of the Aegean Archipelago, from Thasos and Lesbos to Icaria and Rhodes as well as many of the Cycladic islands.

The transfer of the Delian League flourishing treasury from Delos to Athens (454 BC) marked the most brilliant period of the Athenian democracy and the onset of the city's embellishment partly funded by the funds of the alliance. With the erection of magnificent buildings (fig. 4), such as the Parthenon, the Propylaea, the Erechtheion, and the Temple of Athena Nike, Pericles achieved his vision for the unique city, the city-school of the Hellenic world, since, through all this, the cradle of democracy acquired an image befitting its character as a great economic, political and cultural centre.

*Fig. 4. The Acropolis of Athens.*





Fig. 5. The stele of Democracy. The enthroned Demos is crowned by the Democracy (Museum of Ancient Agora inv. no. I 6524).

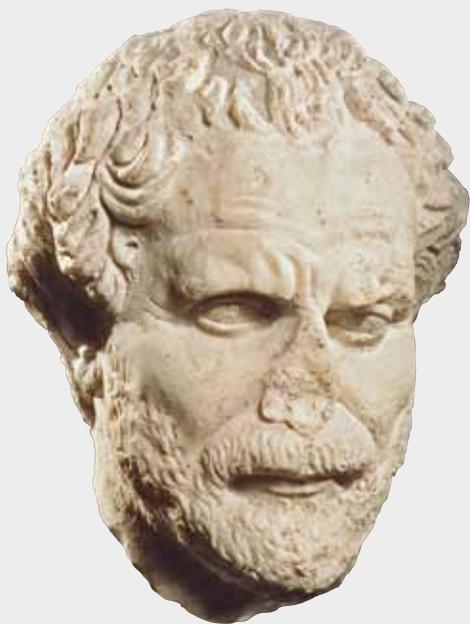


Fig. 6. Portrait head of the orator Demosthenes (cat. no. 254).

Nevertheless, the splendour of democratic Athens was often a source of scepticism and a reason for concern amongst the oligarchic rival powers. It is certain that within the framework of the Athenian League the fear about democratic ideas spreading across cities with oligarchic regime stands as the main cause for defection, whereas the violently enforced return of these cities to the League and the establishment of democratic regime in them accentuated the discontent of the oligarchs. This policy, in conjunction with the provocative expansion of the influence of Athens over the Greek cities of South Italy and Sicily, were the main causes for the outbreak of the fratricidal war with the oligarchic Sparta. The end of the long and devastating war (431-404 BC) between the coalitions of the two great cities, Athens and Sparta, signalled the abolition of democracy and the rise to power of the Thirty Tyrants (404 BC), a disgraceful occurrence of inevitably brief duration for such a deeply rooted system. The restoration of the full Athenian democracy, a year later (403 BC), manifested its remarkable resilience against any attempt to eliminate it, giving furthermore a fresh impetus to the Athenians to reinstate their hegemony by forming in 378/7 BC an alliance of the Greek cities, this time making provisions for the maintenance of their freedom and independence against the expansionism of oligarchic Sparta. The craving of the oligarchs to take over power in the allied cities was meant to be once again the cause for the crisis of the second Athenian Confederacy, whereas the confrontation with the Greek kingdom of the north at the battle of Chaeronea (338 BC) resulted in its utter demise.

#### The end of the collective pursuit

Despite the fact that Philip II of Macedon respected the constitutional organization of Athens, the participation of the democratic Athenians in the Hellenic League under the leadership of a king could not have been "cloudless". It is no accident that, two years after the defeat at Chaeronea, the Athenians voted the law against tyranny which was proposed by Eukrates, son of Aristotimos of Piraeus (337/6 BC), in order to prevent any attempt against democracy (fig. 5). As part of the conflict between the two political systems, democracy and monarchy, we should consider the decision taken by the Athenian democrats, right after the announcement of Alexander's death (323 BC), to bring to trial Aristotle on the grounds that he maintained personal relationships with the Macedonian kings.

The events that took place in the ensuing year (322 BC) reflect a dramatic escalation for the protagonists and mark the tragic end of the Athenian democracy. Aristotle flees the city and seeks refuge at Chalcis in Euboea where he falls ill and eventually dies. The Athenians are defeated in the Lamian War and Antipater installs a Macedonian garrison in Piraeus. Demosthenes, the last orator of democracy (fig. 6), was tragically forced to commit suicide. The Law of Eukrates against tyranny is abolished and the stelae with its inscription that had been erected on Pnyx and Areopagus are removed. A large segment of the Athenian citizens lose their right to take part in public affairs. Only those who own a minimum estate of 2,000 drachmas are allowed to participate. The institution of *ephebeia* (a state-funded programme of military service) is suspended. The beneficial measures of Pericles, the *misthos* of the Ecclesia and the *theorika*, are revoked. The Athenian democracy is abolished, although it retains, through the following centuries, glimpses of its core institutions and continues to coexist with the Hellenistic rulers as well as the Roman conquerors as a form of self-administration at city level.

## The resurgence of an idea

“Consigned to oblivion” for many centuries, the values of the Athenian democracy were discovered anew by the Europeans of the Renaissance in the manuscripts of the ancient Greek literature and rekindled the interest in Classical antiquity providing a source of inspiration for many styles in art and generating progressive ideas and movements such as Humanism and the Enlightenment.

Nowadays, the cultural achievements and conquests of the Athenian democracy have been revived in western art, theatre, philosophy, political thought, and modern forms of state organization. The word “democracy” has been integrated, unaltered, into the languages of western civilization, together with countless other words and concepts of the value system of democracy, while it continues to produce a dynamic effect and evoke inspiration for the collective pursuits of our times.

Maria Lagogianni-Georgakarakos

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

---

- Birgalias, N. Organization and competencies of magistracies of the Athenian state down to the end of the Classical period, in Lagogianni-Georgakarakos - Buraselis (eds.), 2009, 25-30.
- Bleicken, J. 1994. *Die athenische Demokratie*, Paderborn.
- Brenne, S. 2001. *Ostrakismos und Prominenz in Athen. Attische Bürger des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. auf den Ostraka*, Wien.
- Buraselis, K. 2007. Athenian Democracy struggling, restricted and adaptable: From the confrontation with the Macedonian Kingdom down to Roman times, in Lagogianni-Georgakarakos - Buraselis 2007, 111-114.
- Burkert, W. 1993. *Αρχαία Ελληνική Θρησκεία* (μτφρ. Ν. Π. Μπεζαντάκος - Α. Αβαγιανού), Αθήνα.
- Cargill, J. 1981. *The Second Athenian League. Empire or Free Alliance?*, Berkeley.
- Davies, J. K. 1993. *Democracy and Classical Greece*, New Jersey.
- Deubner, L. (1932) 1969. *Attische Feste*, Berlin.
- Forsdyke, S. 2005. *Exile, Ostracism, and Democracy. The Politics of Expulsion in Ancient Greece*, Princeton.
- Hansen, M.H. 1983. *The Athenian Ecclesia. A Collection of Articles 1976-1983*, Copenhagen.
- Hansen, M.H. 1989. *The Athenian Ecclesia. A Collection of Articles 1983-1989*, Copenhagen.
- Hignett, C. 1963. *Xerxes' Invasion of Greece*, Oxford.
- Jones, A. H. M. 1957. *Athenian Democracy*, Oxford.
- Jones, L. A. 1987. The Role of Ephialtes in the Rise of Athenian Democracy, *Classical Antiquity* 6, 53-76.
- Λαγογιάννη-Γεωργακάρκου, Μ. - Κ. Μπουραζέλης (eds.) 2007. *Έδοξεν τη βουλήι και τω δήμωι. Η Αθηναϊκή Δημοκρατία μιλάει με τις επιγραφές της*, Αθήνα.
- Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, M. - K. Buraselis (eds.) 2009. *Athenian Democracy Speaking through its Inscriptions*, Catalogue of the Exhibition of Inscriptions from the Epigraphic Museum, Athens.
- Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, M. 2014. La democracia ateniense: un ejemplo político, in P. Azara (ed.), *Mediterráneo. Del mito a la razón*, 158-165.
- Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, M. 2014. Athenian Democracy and the Sea, in M.-X. Gareizou - M. Lagogianni-Georgakarakos - S. Makkas - S. Petrounakos (eds.), *Nautilus: Navigating Greece*, Exhibition Catalogue, Brussels, Centre for Fine Arts (Bozar), Brussels 23/1-27/4/2014, 175-183.
- Lambert, S. D. 1993. *The Phratries of Attica*, Ann Arbor.
- Mattingly, H. B. 1996. Athenian Imperialism and the Foundation of Brea, *CQ (Classical Quarterly)* 16, 172-192.

- Meiggs, R. 1972. *The Athenian Empire*, Oxford.
- Meiggs, R. - D. Lewis 1998<sup>2</sup>. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford.
- Morrison, J. S. 1987. Athenian Sea-Power in 323/2 BC: Dream and Reality, *JHS* 107, 88-97.
- Mossé, Cl. 2005. *Périclès*, Paris.
- Nilsson, M. P. 1955. *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I, München.
- Ober, J. - C. Hedrick (eds.) 1993. *The Birth of Democracy*, Washington.
- Ober, J. - C. Hedrick (eds.) 1996. *Demokratia*, Princeton.
- Ostwald, M. 1968. *Nomos and the Beginnings of the Athenian Democracy*, Oxford.
- Parke, H. W. 1997. *Festivals of the Athenians*, London.
- Raaflaub, K. A. - J. Ober - R. W. Wallace 2007. *Origins of Democracy in Ancient Greece*, Berkeley.
- Ραμού-Χαψιάδη, Α. 1994. Σωτήρες της Ελλάδας (Ηρόδ. VII. 139.5). *Ναυκράτορες* (Θουκ. V.97, 109, VI. 18.5), Αθήνα.
- Ramou-Chapsiadi, A. 2009. The Birth of Democracy and Decrees, in Lagogianni-Georgakarakos - Burselis (eds.), 2009, 17-22.
- Ramou-Chapsiadi, A. 2009. Athenian Democracy and Foreign Policy (Athenian Hegemony, Treaties and Alliances, Defence, Military Operations, Foundation of Colonies and Cleruchies), in Lagogianni-Georgakarakos - Burselis (eds.) 2009, 55-59.
- Reiter, H. A. 1991. *Athen und die Poleis des Delisch-Attischen Seebundes*, Regensburg.
- Rhodes, P. J. 1972, 1985. *The Athenian Boule*, Oxford.
- Rhodes, P. J. 1981. *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, Oxford.
- Rhodes, P. J. 2003. *Ancient Democracy and Modern Ideology*, London.
- Schuller, W. 1974. *Die Herrschaft der Athener im Ersten Attischen Seebund*, Berlin - New York.
- Siewert, P. 1982. *Die Trittyen Attikas und die Heeresreform des Kleisthenes*, München.
- Sinclair, R. K. 1988. *Democracy and Participation in Athens*, Cambridge.
- Simon, E. 1983. *Festivals of Attica. An Archaeological Commentary*, Madison.
- Τουλουμάκος, Ι. Σ. 1979. Η θεωρητική θεμελίωση της δημοκρατίας στην αρχαία Ελλάδα, Αθήνα.
- Traill, J. S. 1975. *The Political Organization of Attica. A Study of the Demes, Trittyes and Phylai, and their Representation in the Athenian Council*, Princeton.

## EROS FROM HESIOD'S THEOGONY TO LATE ANTIQUITY

*I call great (Eros), source of sweet delight, holy and pure, and lovely to the sight;*

*Darting, and wing'd, impetuous fierce desire, with Gods and mortals playing, wand'ring fire:*

*Cautious, and two-fold, keeper of the keys of heav'n and earth, the air, and spreading seas ...*

*The Hymns of Orpheus, LVII, to Cupid, or Love (Eros) (translation Th. Taylor)*

This excerpt from the Orphic Hymn to Eros is only one of numerous references in Greek literature to the god and daemon that the human mind strived to define by so many surnames. But how can words contain the uncontainable?

The present text is, therefore, necessarily only a brief, succinct presentation of the god with more surnames than any other: *accomplice, all-tamer, anonymous, arch-rogue, archer, avenging, baseborn, bitter, bittersweet, boisterous, bold, boy, charming, childish, coarse, common, companion, concealed, conniving, dark, deceiving, delicate, daemon, despot, ephemeral, exalted, exceedingly jealous, fairest, fake, famous, fearless, female, fire-bearing, forceful, friend, genuine, glorious, godly, gold-shining, golden-haired, gracious, harsh, healer, heavenly, holder of reins, hunter, immortal, imperious, insightful, invincible, key-holder, kindly, king, languishing, laughing, leader of souls, limb-loosener, master, marital, mystic, naked, natural, prisoner, robber of the mind, ruler, sacred, savage, saviour, senseless, sharpener of the soul, slaughterer of the soul, smiling, soft-sandaled, sun, sweet, swift, tender, transoceanic, treacherous, true, tyrant, unattended, uncertain, uncompromising, undefeated, unshaken, unwavering, violent, voracious,*

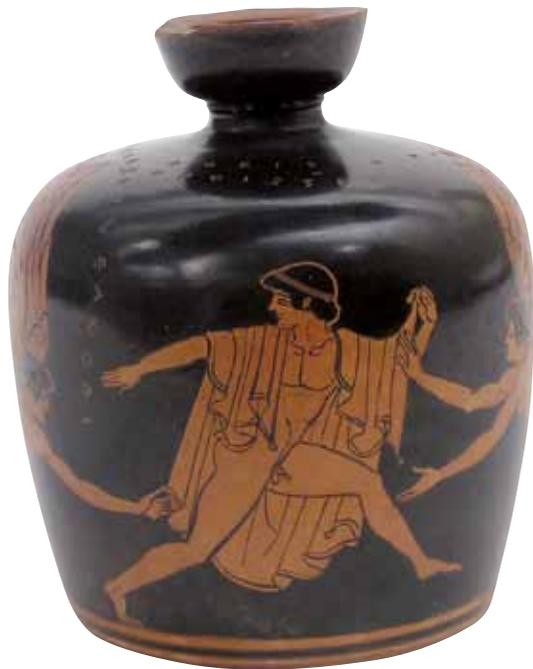


Fig. 1. Attic red-figure squat lekythos depicting a youth flanked by Eros figures. From Athens. Attributed to Douris. 480-470 BC (cat. no. 264).

wandering, warm, watchful, wild, winged, wise, with wings of changeable hue, without envy... Far from complete, this list of some of Eros' numerous surnames shows the endlessness, the uncontainable quality of the winged daemon and god, ruler of gods and men.

Our family tree, our ancestral composition, our existence, ourselves, are nothing but the products of Eros. In order to avoid any misunderstanding, I should clarify that I am not referring here to the complex and fascinating world of biology, hormones, and chemical compounds that can explain to some extent the birth of desire in the human brain. I should also add an indispensable semantic interpretation, which supports this paragraph's necessarily sententious opening sentence: in ancient Greek, the word *eros* always kept its primary meaning, which is sexual attraction. It does not describe a situation or feeling, but a drive, a motion towards the object of desire. And this drive does not necessarily require reciprocity in its human, divine, or philosophical version. The roles of the lover and the beloved normally remain distinct.

I will therefore mention hereinafter only the most eloquent – in my opinion – testimonies of the way the Greeks, and to some extent the Romans, conceived Eros: as a force of attraction, as a deity, but also as a human value and daily practice.

Contrary to what most ancient Greeks believed, Eros did not start out as the son of Aphrodite, but as a primordial force. In approximately 700 BC, Hesiod states that Eros existed before the gods and humans. Eros was one of the three primordial and unborn entities, together with Chaos and Earth (Ge). He was the unifying force that ensured even the gods' capacity to reproduce. Born from Chaos were Erebus (Darkness) and Nyx (Night), and from their erotic union Aether (Ether) and Hemera (Day), that is, light. This is why in Classical iconography this primordial deity, Eros, is present at the birth of Aphrodite, who emerged from the sea foam after Kronos castrated his father Ouranos and the severed penis fell into the sea and fecundated it. This union produced Aphrodite (ancient Greek *aphro-dite* = she who emerges from the foam). And whereas one would think that Hesiod's basic cosmogonic scheme is strict and that Eros is an impersonal cosmogonic force that has little to do with human erotic passion (the main inspiration in Archaic lyric poetry and one of the key elements in Greek tragedy), shortly after



Fig. 2. Silver stater of Thasos depicting a Silenus abducting a Nymph. Ca. 435-411 BC. Athens, Numismatic Museum (inv. no. 1159).

Hesiod's introduction, Eros is presented as the "fairest among the deathless gods, who unnerves the limbs and overcomes the mind and wise counsels of all gods and all men within them" (Hesiod, *Theogony*, 116ff., transl. H. G. Evelyn-White, Cambridge, MA. / London 1914).

Homer does not mention the god, but strongly accentuates the sensual element of sexual intercourse, as do the representation of intercourse on the Late Geometric krater from Euboea and the encounters of couples on clay vases and a brazier of similar (?) date from the Inatos cave in Crete. Most noteworthy is the scene from the *Iliad* (XIV, 314ff.) where Hera seduces Zeus in order to remove him from the battlefield of the Trojan War (the modern equivalent would be the hippie mantra "Make love, not war"). Beguiled, the father of the gods falls into Hera's web, and all of nature's forces conspire in this divine union: "let us take our joy couched together in love; for never yet did desire for goddess or mortal woman so shed itself about me and overmaster the heart within my breast (...). Therewith the son of Cronus clasped his wife in his arms, and beneath them the divine earth made fresh-sprung grass to grow, and dewy lotus, and crocus, and hyacinth, thick and soft, that upbare them from the ground. Therein lay the twain, and were clothed about with a cloud, fair and golden, wherefrom fell drops of glistering dew." (transl. A. T. Murray, Cambridge, MA. / London 1924).

It is only in the late 7th c. BC that Sappho, in particular, who refers to Eros as "bittersweet, irresistible, a crawling beast", creates the myth of Eros' birth from Aphrodite, and a little later that Attic black-figure vase painting depicts Aphrodite with her twins sons in her arms, Eros on the right and Imeros (sweet desire) on the left, in the famous fragmentary panel from the Acropolis.

Greek literature and iconography depict the otherwise dangerous god as a nursing infant in his mother's arms: "Thus quickly Eros leapt into his mother's gleaming arms, and pounced at once upon her firm breasts spreading himself over that nursing bosom (...) and greedily drank all the milk of those breasts swollen with the pressure of life-giving drops." (Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, 41, 128ff., transl. W. H. D. Rouse, Cambridge, MA. / London 1942). A naughty, mischievous child, he is reprimanded in traditional ways, as in Lucian's *Dialogues of the Gods* (Aphrodite and Selene, transl. H. W. and F. G. Fowler, Oxford 1905): "Well now, what a naughty boy! He gets his own mother into all sorts of scrapes (...). I have told him many a time that if he would not behave himself I would break his artillery for him, and clip his wings; and before now I have smacked his little behind with my slipper". Occasionally, less traditional forms of punishment are called for: a ball and chain around his leg or the pickaxe of forced labour in his hand, as on numerous Hellenistic sealings from Delos.

Fecundating youth, tamer of animals with properties similar to those of the animals he rides, trainee archer, expert archer, musician, actor, presiding over contests, performing rituals, and above all loosener of the limbs, a quality he shares with Hypnos (Sleep). Early representations, perhaps as early as the late 4th c. BC and the Hellenistic period, show him sleeping on an open flower calyx, a reference to Plato's description in the *Symposium*.

His numerous surnames include "all-tamer" and "despot", ruler of gods and men. And how could it be otherwise, if he is the only one daring to defy and tame Zeus, father of the Olympian gods, by breaking his thunderbolt, his symbol of power, over his knee, as on the cheek-guards of Alcibiades' helmet and on Hellenistic sealings from Delos?

Fig. 3. Folding mirror. It depicts Aphrodite sitting on a rock holding Eros in her arms. Produced by an Euboean, possibly a Chalcidean, workshop. From Eretria. Ca. 390 BC (cat. no. 280).





Fig. 4. Red-figure pyxis depicting Poseidon chasing after Amphitrite. Attributed to the Amphitrite Painter. From Aegina. 470-460 BC (cat. no. 266).

The love affairs of gods and heroes are among the most interesting elements of ancient Greek literature and iconography. Of course, I will not deal here with all the gods and all the heroes.

I will begin with Zeus and his multiple transformations into exquisite animals, whose symbolism activates different interpretative keys each time. As a white bull he seduces Europa. As a swan, with latent aggression, he subdues Leda. As an eagle or adult lover, strong and human, he ravishes Ganymedes.

Even Aphrodite, Eros' own mother, wounded by his arrows, shelters the beautiful Adonis in her arms, near her heart. In the *Song of Songs* (*Shir Hashirim*) similar scenes between lovers are described as follows: "Place me like a seal on your heart, liked a seal on your arm, for love is as strong as death, zeal is as strong as the grave".

Jealous, as death is jealous of life, Eros dominates not only the hearts of gods but also those of heroes. Medea's passionate love for the Argonaut Jason slowly and painfully transforms into the thorn of jealousy, when "the Love-god, golden-haired, stretches his charmed bow with twin arrows, and one is aimed at happiness, the other at life's confusion" (Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, 549ff., transl. E. P. Coleridge, London 1891). Love blurs her judgment and becomes the madness that will arm her hand to kill her children, because they are his own blood: "Loves that come to us in excess bring no good name or goodness to men. If Aphrodite comes in moderation, no other goddess brings such happiness. Never, o goddess, may you smear with desire one of your ineluctable arrows and let it fly against my heart from your golden bow!" (Euripides, *Medea*, 627-634, transl. D. Kovacs, Cambridge MA. 1994).

Eros, the robber god, hovering behind the stolen Helen of Sparta, who became Helen of Troy, she who glows (ancient Greek *selas* = light), Selana = Selene = Helen.

Eros, the comforter god, at Penelope's loom, the first and last glance in Achilles eyes when he falls for the queen of the Amazons Penthesileia at the exact instant that he kills her in one of the finest works of ancient Greek art by the famous Exekias. "Love shook my heart like the mountain wind falls upon the oaks" (Sappho, frag. 47).

And from the love adventures of gods and heroes, let us now turn to the sexual desire of humans, in their yearning to attain, experience, and even repel and curse Eros. The note, full of erotic longing, scribbled on a pottery fragment addressed by the young lover to his mistress is the ancestor of the modern SMS exchanged by young people: "Eumelis, come as fast as you can. Arkesimos". Later, when the winged god has flown away or when the object of desire does not succumb, sexual desire can turn into a curse. A lead sheet contains a lover's curses against the young Hermias and doodles of him dragged by a daemon-god: "may you die of a febrile illness", a curse that even today is on the lips of desperate lovers: "may you melt like my love for you makes me melt".

Of course, there are also happy endings: the sweet and tender encounter of two lovers on their wedding bed, the religiously and socially desirable weddings, where the finite Eros is perpetuated and becomes immortal through legitimate reproduction, the survival of the group, the sustentation of society, the vitality of the ancient city itself.

For the balance, however, of married life to last and for the impulses of youth to be tamed, men in antiquity had other means of entertainment. From the abduction of beautiful and desirable women as a means to satisfy the animalistic instinct of possession and domination, as reflected on



Fig. 5. Attic red-figure pyxis. It represents a couple and the nymphethria (bride helper) surrounded by young men, women and Eros figures. From Eretria, 370-360 BC (cat. no. 273).

the coins of Thasos depicting Satyr, which could symbolize any rapture and ensuing sexual excitement and action, to the tender embrace of courtesans during symposia, where special phallus-shaped vases were used, even if sometimes such excesses had their downside, at least according to one interpretation of the representation of an aroused symposiast on a Late Archaic relief from Kos. From the delicious carnal encounters, those which archaeologists call "scenes of infinite beauty", to the delirium of orgies and ritualistic processions (*komoï*) with phallus-shaped dildos (*olisboi*), similar to those celebrated nowadays at Bourani in Thessaly. Or the lusting of adult lovers (*erastai*) for young lovers (*eromenoi*), for bodies made of Spring, beautiful bodies, indestructible bodies, which time makes all the more desirable: "He who is fourteen is a still sweeter flower of the Loves, and one who is just beginning his fifteenth year is yet more delightful. The sixteenth year is that of the gods, and as for the seventeenth it is not for me, but for Zeus, to seek it." (*Palatine Anthology*, XII, 4, transl. W. R. Paton, London / New York 1916). Of course, it should be clarified here that in antiquity age groups differed from nowadays in many respects. For example, young girls of the age of 13-14 were already married, and when the ancient Greeks spoke of *paides* they referred to teenagers, for whom sexual education was necessary, as nature itself commanded.

I should also mention erotic scenes of a different type, such as those of women caring for each other by shaving each other's pubis or preparing and paying for a prostitute (*pornos* and *porne* from the verb *pernymi* = to sell): "Love's well-trained steeds (...) those sweet-singing decoy-birds (...) who stand in fine-spun shifts and serried ranks..." (Eubulus, *Pannychis*, frag. 84). In fact there were different types of prostitutes in antiquity: the *deikteriades* (who were pointed out), the *chamaitypes* (unimportant prostitutes), the

*spodisilabres* (whom one met in alleys), the *leophoroi* (who worked on the streets), but also the fine *hetairai* (concubines), often educated and influential, like Pericles' Aspasia of Miletus or Praxiteles' Phryne, his model for the goddess Aphrodite, according to ancient written sources, or Lais...

I should not fail to mention here the rooms used for this purpose in Pompeii, the famous *lupanaria* (*lupa* = she-wolf, prostitute), dimly lit, appropriately decorated with trademark love scenes, simply furnished with a bed, on which hundreds of bodies lay in erotic poses, echoing those depicted in the wall-paintings, which in no way lack in originality as compared to similar modern images. In Hellenistic Delos, a free port from 166 BC onwards, near the temple of Apollo, the ground-floor tavern probably housed a brothel on the first floor, as archaeological evidence suggests – face powders and coins from throughout the Mediterranean. In fact, what applied in the late 6th c. BC continued unabated in the 3rd c. AD, as dem-



Fig. 6. Head of Aphrodite. Copy from the 1st c. AD of an original work by Praxiteles dated between 370 and 360 BC. From the Roman Agora in Athens (cat. no. 294).

onstrated by the surviving imagery from early red figure vase painting to the relief decoration on the discs of oil lamps.

Nor should I fail to mention the inscription in which Glykera, probably a courtesan from Samos (Samos was famous in antiquity for the beauty of its courtesans, whereas Glykera was the name of the notorious New Comedy poet Menander's mistress), weary from the "bittersweet cares of Eros", announces her withdrawal from dissolute life and the dedication of a votive panel, similar, I suppose, to the one dedicated by Ninnion and now in the National Archaeological Museum.

You see, people age, and change, and deteriorate. Eros, however, does not change; he did not and does not grow old. A winged archer, he is still slipping, still escaping time, since he was born of Kronos, who as time (ancient Greek *chronos* = time) devours his children, like time devours us. The

only way to escape from the madness of Eros is for him to transform into friendship and love, which endures and grows with time. To illustrate this, I will use the verb, which, like in no other language except in Greek, begins and ends with the first and last letters of the alphabet: the Greek *agapo* (Ἀγαπᾶ = to love), which begins with an *alpha* and ends with an *omega*. This verb contains all of the power of the world of emotions, the cycle of the beginning and the end.

Equally fascinating are the love affairs that changed the course of history. Impressed on ancient coins for daily transactions, the busts of Cleopatra, Antony and Julius Caesar, remind us of a passion that marked their fate and brought the fall of the last Hellenistic kingdom of Alexander the Great, Egypt, and allowed Rome to emerge as the only ruler of the ancient world. And it's with two simple words that Thucydides explains the change from the Peisistratid tyranny to the Athenian democracy of Kleisthenes: ancient Greek: *δι' ἐρωτικὴν ξυντυχίαν* (out of erotic circumstance), for the Peisistratid tyrant Hipparchos was killed by Harmodios, whom he courted, and Aristogeiton, Harmodios' lover, whose famous statues the Athenians erected in their agora.

I left for the end two important aspects of Eros: the philosophical and the mortuary Eros. I will not elaborate here on the cosmogonic concepts of the pre-Socratic philosophers, a major issue, which is not fitting for the present summary.

The function that Eros might have had in pre-Socratic thought is the personification of strength or cause of the motion of universal beings. In Platonic philosophy, however, this function is carried out by the soul. The cosmic Soul directs and moves everything in the universe, like the human soul controls and mobilizes the body. Plato, in both the *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*, assigns Eros an unprecedented role. The strongest and most complex human desire functions as an unexpected ally on the way to desire, an unexpected ally on the road to true philosophy. Plato presents a scale of erotic ascent starting from attraction to a beautiful body, then to all beautiful bodies, then to beautiful souls, then to beautiful learning and the finest creations before reaching the true objective, which is ideal beauty, the Idea of beauty – the perpetual pursuit of the ideal, as Emmanouil Kriaras puts it.

All of the phases in the story of Cupid and Psyche (Soul) from the Hellenistic and Roman novel are illustrated in a series of sealings from Late Hellenistic Delos, which I have studied extensively, and a number of terracotta figurines and marble statues. Psyche, whether in the form of a butterfly or a beautiful woman, is pulled by the hair; Eros captures her, pricks her, and slowly roasts her on the fire: "Did I not cry aloud to thee, O Soul, 'Beware!' | Thou wilt be caught, poor lover, in the lime-twig's snare, | (By Kypris this I swear) if thou fly near again. | Did I not cry aloud? Now thee the snare has ta'en. | Why dost thou vainly gasp in bonds? Since Love has bound thy wings | and set thy heart on fire..." (*Palatine Anthology*, XII, 132, Meleager, transl. S. Oswald, London 1914).

Or he catches her like a fish, or harnesses her to a chariot like a horse ("I search for you but you do not hear and do not know that you hold the reins of my soul (Anakreon, frag. 378)) and whips her. Occasionally it is she who denies him and ties him to a column as her hostage: "Who fettered thee, the winged boy? Who laid his hand on Love's burning quiver and made fast behind his back those hands swift to shoot, tying them to a sturdy pillar?" (*Palatine Anthology*, XVI, 195, Satyr, transl. W. R. Paton, New York 1916). In the end, after all of the suffering and difficulties they endure, the couple is



Fig. 7. Statuette of Eros. Copy of the 3rd c. AD of an original work dated to the late 5th-early 4th c. BC or the Late Hellenistic period. From Palaia Epidauros (cat. no. 300).

reunited, and their kiss immortalized in a series of representations, such as the sculptural group of Cupid and Psyche now in the Musei Capitolini.

Finally, in the same period, as in Roman Imperial times, Eros is represented as a cupid, naked, holding a lit torch upside down. Scholarly *communis opinio* regards these images as depictions of daemons representing the spirit of the dead, the spirit that accompanied them in all the pleasant, hedonic moments of their lifetime.

Now, the extinguished flame and the tired, lifeless or sleeping body transform these cupids into harbingers of death. Perhaps, this capacity of theirs, together with the other, primary capacity of creator of life, demonstrate in the most telling manner the eternal nature of Eros, since this irresistible daemon represents both the beginning and the end of the world.

*Nikolaos Chr. Stampolidis*

## **THE CONCEPT OF DEATH IN THE PREHISTORIC SOCIETIES OF MAINLAND GREECE AND THE CYCLADES**

Death, the “final journey” of each living person, is in itself an Odyssey, perhaps even the greatest for the human race. The inevitability of death, the sense of loss, the pain of the survivors, the awe at the world of shadows, the hope of eternal life, the rituals, the religious beliefs, and the memory of the deceased, all compose a mosaic that perhaps better than anything else provides us information regarding the daily life of the individual, the family, and the society, and is essentially a motivating power for the development of civilization, of art, transforming gloom to light.

It may seem an oxymoron, but the archaeologist reconstructs aspects of the ancient life mainly through finds associated with death. As a grave has greater chances of surviving time unmodified, in contrast to a settlement that is exposed to damage caused by natural phenomena, destructive events such as raids and fires, or simply abandonment and gradual decay, the moments of time frozen in the gloomy environment of a grave truly become guides to the reconstruction of ancient life. Moreover, graves preserve the human remains themselves, the study of which, today through natural sciences, gives valuable information regarding the health, the diet, the daily activities, and even the origin of the dead.

Through the manner of burial, societies choose to emphasize one or several characteristics of the deceased: age, gender, social and financial status, familial power. Abundant and luxurious grave offerings accompanied kings, noblemen, and the powerful to their last abode, while those who were poorer were buried with just some simple vessel, a tool, a worthless bead, or even without any object that survives through time. The objects placed in the grave perhaps contributed to the safe journey to the Beyond or were an effort to impress those present at the burial of an important person with a display of wealth. Or even perhaps it was an attempt to propitiate the soul of the deceased, or simply a family’s loving gesture. The grave gifts at times indicated the gender of the deceased, such as weapons that as a rule accompanied male burials, or his age, such as the microscopic vessels and the shells that commonly were intended for children.

### **The concept of “death” for people of the Neolithic period**

The Neolithic period, characterized by the inception of the food-producing “stage”, permanent settlements, the domestication of animals and plants, and the use of pottery, is for the evolutionary course of mankind a transformation of revolutionary significance but the radical changes described above were not adopted collectively or contemporaneously. Thus the Neolithic period began around 10,000 BC in the area of the Middle East, 5500 BC in Central Europe, and around 7000 BC in Greece.

Permanent settlements led to the standardization of burial practices and rituals. In Mainland Greece, few burial complexes of the Neolithic period have been excavated. The long-term habitation of the same sites, the cultivation, and the erosion have caused the loss of valuable data which would critically aid our understanding of the type of graves, the burial practices-rituals and burial customs. The National Archaeological Museum’s collection of Neolithic antiquities does not include items from excavated burial com-



*Figs. 1-2 Neolithic man settles into permanent residences. Everyday activities are presented in the display cases of the National Archaeological Museum's permanent exhibition.*

plexes; nevertheless, we shall attempt a brief overview of burial architecture and practices during this period.

### **Early and Middle Neolithic periods**

For the Early and Middle Neolithic period the excavated burial contexts are limited to the Argolis (Prosymna and Franchthi Cave), Attica (Kitsos Cave), Boeotia (Chaeronea), Thessaly (Soufli Magoula), and Macedonia (Nea Nikomedeia).

The repository of the dead might be a cave<sup>1</sup> (Franchthi, Kitsos), a rock shelter (Prosymna), a burial pit near a settlement (Soufli Magoula), or an inhumation inside the settlement (Nea Nikomedeia).

Burial practices vary as both cremation and interment in simple pits, sometimes covered and sometimes not, are used. In addition, both primary and secondary burials have been found (the latter particularly increase in number in the Late Neolithic period).

<sup>1</sup> Caves have diachronically been associated with chthonic rituals, the unknown and the metaphysical. In Classical times in particular, caves are frequently used as places of worship.

The manner of constructing the burial pits – with or without covering stones – is likely associated with the age of the deceased (at Franchthi the burial pits containing children are covered), while the quantity and quality of grave gifts correspond to age and gender; the richest graves were those of adult females.

The practice of cremating the human body first appears in Greece in the Mesolithic period (Franchthi cave), but the first organized cremation cemetery is organized at the site of Soufli Magoula in Thessaly. This is an exceptionally rare practice both for Greece as well as for the rest of the Balkans and Anatolia, which among other things requires that high temperatures should be attained, thus consuming valuable fuels (i.e. wood).

At the site of Soufli Magoula it appears that the deceased were brought to the cremation area that was near but outside the boundaries of the settlement. Afterwards, the skeletal remains were placed in a vessel and buried in a pit. The entire process appears standardized and was employed for all the dead. The only differentiation is in the quantity and variety of grave offerings that accompany the deceased, as it was found that adults were given more than one vessel, usually of a specific shape (for example, skyphoi).

The spatial arrangement of graves inside, outside, or near the boundaries of the settlement is clearly linked with the location of the “community of the dead”, which in turn reflects how a community of the living deals with or incorporates their ancestors.

The re-deposition of bones and ash in vessels appears to blend with the symbolization of the vessel as a “body”, as is clearly shown by the terms used to describe its parts (neck, shoulder, belly, etc.).

Indications of cremation are observed in particular burial pits at Prosymna, where the deceased were placed in shallow cavities inside a small cave-rock shelter.

In contrast, in Emathia (site of Nea Nikomedeia) 105 burials are mentioned but we only have evidence for 87. The deceased are buried in a more or less contracted position inside irregular pits near or inside abandoned houses.

### **Late Neolithic period**

The geographical spread of Late Neolithic cemeteries is more extensive. Indicatively: Alepotrypa - Diros Cave (Laconia), Skoteini at Tharrounia (Euboea), Agia Sophia Magoula, Platia Magoula at Zarkos, Dimini (Thessaly), Kea (site of Kephala), Giali (Dodecanese).

Also for this period there are both burials – inhumations (for example at Tharrounia Cave) and cremations, especially in the area of Thessaly. In particular at Platia Magoula at Zarkos<sup>2</sup> the only organized cemetery of cremation urns of this period (67 in total) was investigated, comparable to that of Soufli Magoula. The lifeless bodies of the dead were first decomposed and then given to the flames along with live or dead animals. Afterwards they were placed in cremation urns and finally buried in small pits that might have had some kind of marker, as they were found undisturbed. Apart from the vessels, the dead might be accompanied by figurines as a common grave offerings.

---

2. <http://larisa.culture.gr/siteapps/joomla-20418/htdocs/index.php/mouseia-kai-ekthesiakoi-xoroi/98-ta-ekthemata-tou-mouseiou/156-enotita-2-neolithiki-epoxi>

In one case a model of a house or room came to light, into which human figures and miniature objects of household equipment had been placed. The symbolism of the concept of the house-household and its correspondence to the space, or better yet, the community of the dead is clear and unmistakable. It is likely that the human figures on the inside of a house indicate the coexistence of the living and dead ancestors under the same roof. It should not be forgotten that the Neolithic period is directly associated with the abandonment of a nomadic way of life in favour of a permanent and stable roof-residence.

In this case as well specific shapes of vessels were placed exclusively in the graves of adults. A corresponding link between the house and the dead is reflected in the case of eight infant burials made under house floors at Dimini.

At Lerna some burials were made inside the boundaries of the settlement but outside the houses. The case of Alepotrypa Cave in Mani, towards the end of the Neolithic period, is of particular interest. Here primary burials took place outside the cave (which was inhabited) while the secondary storing of the remains was inside the cave, but in a space that was clearly segregated from the residential habitats. In any case the most extensive cemetery of the Neolithic period in Southern Greece was organized at the cape of Kephala on the island of Kea. The circular or rectangular graves (with variations in shape) were spatially arranged on two flats, clearly removed from the adjacent settlement group. In terms of construction, they are pits with built or stone-lined walls. All the grave monuments are covered with slabs corresponding to the size of the tombs. The majority held one body but there are also monuments with multiple burials (even more than three). The grave offerings are poor, mostly from materials produced on the island, with the exception of obsidian blades that had been imported from Melos. Particular graves held figurines potentially associated with some kind of worship (i.e. of ancestors). The burials of infants and children inside large pots without grave offerings are interesting; this tradition might be linked to the cause of death.

The majority of adults are buried in a contracted position and indeed on their right side. It is likely that this particular orientation is associated with the placement of the deceased in such a position as to "gaze upon" either the sea or Mainland Greece, from whence the inhabitants of Kea came.

### **Early Bronze Age**

The transition from the Neolithic period to the Early Bronze Age at the end of the 4th millennium BC is characterized by radical changes to all aspects of human life. The most important was the acquisition of mining expertise and eventually skill in processing copper, which enabled the making of higher quality tools for agriculture, logging, architecture, and seafaring; parallel to this, more effective weapons transformed war tactics. At the same time new crops were imported, such as olives and grapes, marine contacts intensified and commercial exchanges expanded.

This shift in technology and knowledge brought about deep socio-political changes. Populations increased, settlements with early urban organization appeared (Poliochni, Thermi, Troy, Manika, Aegina, Lerna), and deeply stratified societies emerged, evident in the burial practices.

Within this socio-political context, four parallel and distinguished Aegean "civilizations" develop: Early Minoan on Crete, Early Helladic in Mainland Greece, Early Cycladic in the Cyclades, and the civilization of the islands of the Northeastern Aegean.

Innumerable finds from legitimate and scientifically-conducted excavations of burial assemblages from the Cyclades (Syros, Amorgos, Naxos, Paros)<sup>3</sup> as well as from Mainland Greece (cemetery of Agios Kosmas in Attica) are exhibited in the National Archaeological Museum. A small portion of the collection is dedicated to the civilization of the Northeastern Aegean for which explored cemeteries are lacking and our knowledge comes exclusively from excavated settlements.

In the early 3rd millennium burials in the Cyclades are organized in small clusters of cist-graves, usually trapezoidal in plan lined with stone slabs. They commonly are of small size and the deceased was buried in a strongly contracted position, with the knees gathered to the abdomen and the upper limbs to the face. The strictly standardized treatment of the dead indicates homogeneity in burial practice and likely common traditions and religious perceptions, possibly arising from the belief that the placement of the deceased in such a narrow space would ensure his eternal immobility thus protecting the living from the dead.

Shortly before 2500 BC, the Cycladic economy flourishes as islanders engage in trade and seafaring; an increase in population results. As a consequence, extensive cemeteries were organized and two- and three-story tombs were constructed for multiple successive burials. Indeed, the lower sections functioned as ossuaries to store the remains of previous burials.



Fig. 3. Gold pin from Poliochni on Lemnos (NAM Π 7185).



Fig. 4. National Archaeological Museum. Display of grave gifts from the cemetery of Agios Kosmas in Attica.

3. The effort to protect the cemeteries of the so-called Cycladic civilization, which had been targeted by antiquities thieves in the 1960s, led to an intensification of excavations and study of the burial complexes, but the everyday life of the Cycladic islanders was overlooked (at least until the beginning of the 1990s).

In the same period the economic development that led to prosperity also resulted in the accumulation of wealth and surplus by the few, who comprised the upper or ruling class. Thus exceptional care was taken in the construction of tombs that held a distinguished place in the cemetery. In one such tomb, "among the most eminent" of the Aphetika cemetery on Naxos, a seated statuette of a musician was found confirming the prominent position of the deceased in the social hierarchy.

Next to the deceased were placed figurines, frying pans, marble vessels ("kandiles"), kernoi, as well as clay vessels commonly decorated with incisions. The figurines, a key feature of Cycladic civilization, are sometimes rendered schematically and others naturalistically, and various theories have been proposed regarding their function and symbolism. What is certain is that before they were placed in the graves, they lingered in the hands of the living, representing the Cycladic islanders' anthropomorphic conception of the basic cosmic forces of creation and renewal. Regarding their use it has been argued that they were dolls or toys, psychopomps, substitutes for erotic partners, depictions of a deity, or apotropaic or magic symbols.



*Fig. 5. Multiple vessel-kernos from Syros (NAM Π 6185).*



*Fig. 6. Marble collared jar ("kandila") (NAM Π 4791).*

The islet of Keros, between the Kouphonisia islands and Amorgos, appears to have played a significant role in the formation and celebration of ritual practices in the 3rd millennium BC. The discovery of thousands of frag-

ments of figurines and marble vessels, as well as the fact that two unique figurines, the harpist and flutist, came from Keros, possibly indicates that Keros was a highly symbolic cult center with Pan-Cycladic eminence, similar to Delos in historical times.

The use of the so-called "frying pans" (made of clay and more rarely marble) also remains illusive. Suggestions include both a practical (as dishes, mirrors, astrolabes, for the transport of particular materials) as well as a ritual function. The depiction of the sea through the spiral motif, the sun or the stars is likely an attempt to render divine power, while the female pubic triangle rendered at the end of the vessels is likely associated with aspects of fertility worship.



*Fig. 7. Frying-pan vessel with engraved decoration of linked spirals, the sun and fish (NAM Π 6 140).*

However, the grave gifts not only had a ritual-symbolic but also a functional character. The pyxides (small boxes) were used for storing precious and difficultly procured materials, the obsidian blades functioned as razors or knives, the grinders and plates were used to process pigments which in turn adorned men and women both in everyday life as well as when participating in religious ceremonies.

In Mainland Greece burials were made in pits, cist graves (Tsepi and Agios Kosmas in Attica) or chamber-shaft graves (Kalamaki in Achaia and Manika in Euboea), even in wells (Corinthia, site of Cheliotomylos). Cremations are no longer found as they were in the Neolithic period<sup>4</sup>, while the general rule (there are exceptions) is that burial areas are distinguished from those of habitation. The custom of multiple burials is followed in the cemeteries, while inside the settlement are cases of individual burial, usually

<sup>4</sup> With the possible exception of pot-burials into which partially cremated remains were placed at the tumulus cemetery on Lefkada.

children<sup>5</sup>. Grave offerings are poor and limited to a few vessels and small finds (blades, stone and bronze tools, etc.)

The deceased is placed in a strongly contracted position, frequently on the right side with the face turned towards the entrance of the tomb or its rear wall. The small communities of Mainland Greece had to cope with the news of the death, the parting from a loved-one or relative. But at the same time the process of preparing the deceased began, with the participation of members of the community. The intensely contracted position of the body was achieved either during the first hours following death, before *rigor mortis* set in, or later by breaking the muscles or bones (as has been observed at Manika). Next, employing some of the grave offerings, the lifeless corpse was prepared for its final journey. The face and body were likely painted in a manner similar to the Cycladic figurines, while obsidian blades were used to remove body hair.

Many questions remain, but recent excavation data and the systematic re-examination of older studies clarify or answer some of them, and occasionally create new questions.

### **Middle Bronze Age**

The Middle Bronze Age in the Aegean, roughly corresponding to the first half of the 2nd millennium BC, is characterized by a heterogeneity in cultural development, with the palatial system and urbanization appearing on Crete at the same time as Mainland Greece sees a simpler system of social hierarchy and the development of settlements on a smaller scale. As with the preceding phase, the periods have been named according to the geographic region in which they developed: Middle Helladic, Middle Minoan, and Middle Cycladic, respectively.

During this period in the Cyclades the dead were buried individually in a contracted position in built cist-graves, as well as in burial pithoi (Agia Irini on Kea, Ailas on Naxos) nearly always outside the settlements. Grave offerings include jewelry and metal objects with increasing frequency as the period advances. At Agia Irini on Kea one tomb along with its platform were found in a room inside the city and was perhaps the focus of veneration.

During the Middle Helladic period in Mainland Greece burial practices present relative homogeneity. The burials, a large percentage of which remain unfurnished, are individual in simple pits, cist-graves or burial pithoi, as well as in collective tumuli; the deceased is usually, but not always, placed on his side in a contracted position. Burials occur in regular cemeteries as well as in abandoned houses, in cemeteries next to settlements, and in small groups (families) in the fields. Tumuli, or man-made earthen hills, with diameters ranging from 8 to 25 meters ringed by stone enclosures, were used for individual or multiple burials, with the oldest occupying the center of the tumulus. Tumuli appear already by the end of the Early Bronze Age and become more common during the Middle Bronze Age in Mainland Greece, particularly in Messenia, Argolis, Attica, and Phokis, while they remain nearly unknown in the rest of the Aegean. Communal burial in a tumulus appears to have emphasized the sense of bonding and cohesion within an extended family or clan, while nothing indicates that the people buried in tumuli held some special position in

---

5. Occasionally in large vessels.

society. The most common offerings during the Middle Helladic period, when there are any, without counting any that might have been made of perishable material, are drinking and eating vessels. More rarely, jewelry, tools and weapons appear and there are a few impressive instances of "warrior burials", or males with rich armaments. During this period it is also characteristic to bury small children but also adults within the settlement, beneath floors, thresholds and hearths, as well as in the spaces between houses and in desolate settlements, a phenomenon that is open to multiple interpretations.

In the late 17th c. BC in Mainland Greece, at the end of the Middle Bronze Age, the phenomenon of the shaft graves of Grave Circle B at Mycenae makes its appearance. These tombs are characterized by a large shaft divided in half horizontally by a wooden roof. The dead and their grave offerings were buried in the lower half, which was not filled with soil. The upper half of the tomb over the "roof" was filled with soil, and the site of the grave was marked by a tiny tumulus and even a grave stele. Grave Circle B was defined by a stone enclosure and included 24 graves containing the burials of at least 35 individuals, men women and children. They were buried with particularly rich offerings for the era, many of which had been imported from Minoan Crete, which had reached its apogee at the time. The most impressive and important finds from Grave Circle B are exhibited in the galleries of the Collection of Prehistoric Antiquities at the National Archaeological Museum, giving an eloquent image of the period of fermentation that led to the creation of Mycenaean civilization.



*Fig. 8. Grave Circle B. Tomb Omicron. Rock crystal vessel in the shape of a duck (NAM Π 8638).*

## Late Bronze Age

The dawn of the next period, Late Helladic I, during which the Mycenaean civilization took form, is marked by the exorbitant wealth that had been gathered in the six tombs of Grave Circle A at Mycenae. Brought to light during the historic excavations by Heinrich Schliemann and Panagiotis Stamatakis, the objects inaugurate the exhibition of Mycenaean antiquities at the Museum. These six tombs formed part of the Prehistoric cemetery of Mycenae. Just as Grave Circle B, Grave Circle A was delimited by a stone enclosure and for about 50 years both Grave Circles were in use at the same time. The eminent deceased buried in Grave Circle A were interred with gold death masks, valuable garments decorated with gold, ritual vessels imported from Minoan Crete, elaborate bronze weapons, gold, bronze, and silver vessels, all objects carefully chosen to emphasize their high social standing and their official positions. In the advanced 13th c. BC, during the acme of Mycenaean palatial civilization, the walls of the Acropolis of Mycenae were expanded so as to encompass the graves of Grave Circle A, around which was constructed a monumental enclosure in the form of a



*Fig. 9. National Archaeological Museum. The permanent exhibition of Mycenaean antiquities. General view.*



*Fig. 10. National Archaeological Museum. Mycenae Rich in Gold. Display cases with gold objects from Grave Circle A.*

double ring of upright limestone slabs. In so doing, the Mycenaean *wanax* (king) attempted to associate his dynasty and power with the resplendent and respected ancestors who lay resting in Grave Circle A, whose memory appears to have been kept alive and perhaps mythologized.

Whereas most of the graves of the previous period were used for only one burial, the tombs of the Late Helladic period are usually communal and were reopened when needed. Two types of tombs characterize the Mycenaean period: the tholos tomb and the chamber tomb; although simpler types, such as simple shaft graves, cist-graves and built tombs also survive. In some cases, tholos tombs were constructed near or over tumuli of the previous period, likely in an effort to link the people using the tombs to the ancestors and claim the privileges of power of each clan. Built into the side of a hill, a tholos tomb comprises a stone-built chamber roofed by a corbelled vault, more rarely with a side chamber, and a *dromos*, frequently with stone-lined walls. The *dromos* leads to the chamber through a monumental doorway, sometimes with a “relieving” triangle, an ingenious architectural invention that prevents the door from collapsing under the enormous weight of the dome. Burials were made either directly on the floor of the chamber or in pits dug into it. Tholos tombs vary in size. The most impressive surviving examples are the “Tomb of Minyas” at Orchomenos, Boeotia, with decorated walls and the ceiling of the side chamber, and the “Treasury of Atreus” at Mycenae, as it is known by



*Fig. 11. National Archaeological Museum. Stone half-columns with carved relief decoration from the monumental façade of the “Treasury of Atreus” in the permanent exhibition of Mycenaean antiquities.*



Fig. 12. National Archaeological Museum. Display case presenting luxurious grave gifts from the tholos and chamber tombs of Dendra.

the name given by the ancient traveller Pausanias, with its elaborately decorated façade, sections of which can be admired today in the Mycenaean Gallery at the National Archaeological Museum. The Treasury of Atreus, with the great height of its dome, its anti-seismic foundations, and its huge lintel, is a true achievement of Mycenaean engineering. The tholos tombs of Dendra and Vapheio, the last residences of local kings, preserved rich and unique grave offerings, gold jewelry, gold and silver drinking vessels, bronze utensils and weapons, mirrors with ivory handles, and hundreds of sealstones that occupy a prominent position among the thousands of exhibits of our permanent collection.

Chamber tombs, the most common burial monument of the Mycenaean period, developed in the large Mycenaean centers and later spread to the periphery of the Mycenaean world. The tombs consist of a four-sided chamber hewn from the soft bedrock of a hillside. A long or short descending *dromos* leads to the entrance of the tomb. The burial of the dead was usually made directly on the floor of the tomb, or more rarely in *larnakes* (clay chests), or on benches cut into the sides of the chamber. Sometimes niches were cut into the walls of the *dromos*, used either for the burial of children or as ossuaries. Chamber tombs were in use for many decades, some even for centuries, receiving the members of a family group. When there was no longer space for a new burial, the bones of older burials along with their grave gifts were pushed aside towards the walls of the chamber creating a pile. Traces of fire inside the chambers give an image of the unpleasant procedure of opening the tomb, a process that required the disinfection of the putrid atmosphere through the burning of aromatic herbs and perhaps the performance of small rituals.

Remains of wooden coffins or biers upon which the dead rested are preserved in chamber tombs. The deceased was buried lying on his back and dressed, perhaps shrouded, with his grave gifts that included jewelry, weapons, tools, vessels with aromatic oils, food and drink. In some rare cases, horses and dogs were sacrificed and buried in the *dromos* of the tomb at the same time as the funerary rites for the dead.

Immediately following the burial and perhaps also during the period of mourning, the family organized memorial feasts outside the tomb at regular intervals, at which the drinking vessels used were evidently ritually broken. This gesture, underlining the final parting, appears at the peak of Mycenaean civilization. During the burial and funerary rites the ritualized mourning by lamenters<sup>6</sup> appears to have been the purview of women as is eloquently represented on the famous *Iarnakes* from Tanagra and on the "Mourners Vase" from Perati.



Fig. 13. "Mourners Vase". Perati cemetery, Attica (cat. no. 305).

A few burials of the Late Cycladic period are known from Ailas on Naxos (cist-graves), Phylakopi on Melos (chamber tombs) and Agia Irini on Kea (carefully built tombs outside the settlement and pot burials inside the settlement). In the mature Late Cycladic period, Mycenaean civilization is established in the Cyclades as well, and with it came Mycenaean burial customs. Thus, the tombs of this period are chamber tombs cut from the bedrock (Aplomata and Kamini on Naxos, Phylakopi and Lagada on Melos), although a type of chamber tomb existed in the Cyclades already by the end of the Early Bronze Age. There are also tholos tombs (Agia Thekla on Tinos, Komiaki on Naxos), and during the same period shaft graves appear at Phylakopi while cist-graves disappear. The deceased were buried dressed in rich garments and jewelry and the most common grave offerings were vessels and even weapons.

At the end of the Late Bronze Age, after the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial system and the return to diverse, simpler social structures, the communal, family chamber tombs cease to be used and the custom

---

<sup>6</sup> Scenes depicting the laying out of the dead and funerary processions are also found on vessels of the LH III C period from the cemeteries of the West Peloponnese, accurately rendering the moments of funerary lamentation.

of individual burial, commonly in a cist-grave with few gifts, reemerges, a clear indication of the sweeping change that took place throughout the Aegean. Sporadically, the foreign practice of cremation begins to be used, becoming more widespread during the following Proto-Geometric period.

*Katerina Kostanti - Konstantinos Nikolentzos*

#### **SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY**

---

- Barber, R. L. N. 1994. *Οι Κυκλάδες στην Εποχή του Χαλκού*, Εμπορική Τράπεζα της Ελλάδος, Αθήνα.
- Cavanagh, W. - C. Mee 1998. *A Private Place: Death in Prehistoric Greece*, SIMA CXXV, Paul Aströms Förlag, Göteborg.
- Fowler, K. D. 2004. *Neolithic Mortuary Practices in Greece*, BAR International Series 1314.
- Treuil, R. - P. Darcque - J.-C. Poursat - G. Touchais 1996. *Οι πολιτισμοί του Αιγαίου κατά τη Νεολιθική και την Εποχή του Χαλκού*, Ινστιτούτο του Βιβλίου - Μ. Καρδαμίτσα, Αθήνα.
- Weilberg, E. 2007. *Thinking the Bronze Age - Life and Death in Early Helladic Greece*, *Boreas* 29, Uppsala.

## PHRASIKLEIA: THE KORE FROM MYRRHINOUS AN ARCHAIC GRAVE STATUE

*to see the shores of Acheron,  
lotus-grown bedewed*  
Sappho<sup>1</sup>

Shortly after the mid-6th c. BC, a time during which the tyrant Peisistratos<sup>2</sup> assumes leadership of Athens again, following the death of his cousin, the archon, lawmaker and political opponent Solon<sup>3</sup>, the maiden Phrasikleia passes away in the locality of Myrrhinous, at today's Merenda in Markopoulo<sup>4</sup>. Her inconsolable parents, members of a respected family, assign to the renowned sculptor Aristion of Paros<sup>5</sup> the making of her statue, which will be erected over the grave as a constant reminder of her appearance<sup>6</sup> (fig. 1). Yet, it is not just her youth that will ensure her immortality. According to what Phrasikleia in person tells to us by means of the engraved inscription on the pedestal of her monument, she thenceforth shall be called kore (maiden) for ever since the gods, instead of marriage, decided that name for her. The cruel fate of death before the marriage is expressed here for the first time in a grave inscription of the 6th c. BC, particularly in the first person<sup>7</sup>. Similar references are found already in Homer<sup>8</sup>. The contrast of the joy of marriage to the sorrow of death, which in the case of Phrasikleia is not specified, but is alluded, will be equally emphasized in many other funerary inscriptions.

This joy that the maiden was deprived of while she was alive, will be offered to her in a symbolic manner by the parents for her last journey to the Underworld, where Hermes "Psychopompos" (the conductor of souls) will also lead the young Myrrhine holding her hand, on an oversized marble grave lekythos of the 5th c. BC, in the National Archaeological Museum<sup>9</sup> (fig. 2). The choice of this rare subject to be represented on a grave relief of the Classical period, emphasizes the grief for the loss by the relatives who, depicted in the same scene, send their last farewell to the young woman as she follows walking slowly, her head bent, the young god towards Hades.

Phrasikleia, dressed like a bride, is standing before us, smiling, the hair set with a garland of flowers. With the right hand she gracefully lifts the chiton at her side, whereas in her left hand she holds a bud in front of her chest. A

1. L. Versényi, *Man's Measure. A Study of the Greek Image of Man from Homer to Sophocles*, Albany 1974, 79. Treu 1984, 76-77. Ο. Ελύτη, *Σαπφώ. Ανασύνθεση και απόδοση*, Αθήνα 2004, 66-67.

2. On Peisistratos and his family, see Davies 1971, 444-455, no. 11793 and 11792. Peisistratos was a member of the *genos* Philaidai, which later gave its name to the homonymous deme, situated by Brauron. See Traill 1986, 127. Miltiades and his son Kimon came from the same deme.

3. Davies 1971, 490, no. 12806 and 323-324, no. 8792, II. The mothers of Solon and Peisistratos were cousins. According to tradition, Solon who belonged to the ancient *genos* of Medontidai, had a son.

4. The deme is located 3 km to the south-east of Markopoulo, Mesogaia. See Traill 1986, 129. Καβαβογιάννη 2003. Βιβλιοδέτης 2005.

5. Vollkommer 2001, 83-85, s.v. Aristion (E. Walter-Karydi).

6. NAM, inv. no. 4889. Μαστροκώστας 1972. Καλτσάς 2001, 48-49, no. 45. Kaltsas 2002. Δεσπίνης - Καλτσάς 2014, 46-51, no. I.1. 15, figs. 78-89 (N. Καλτσάς). On Phrasikleia's garment, see Schmaltz 1998, 49.

7. IG<sup>13</sup> 1261. Σκιαδάς 1967, 43-45. See also Griessmair 1966, 63ff. Also Βιβλιοδέτης 2005, 58-59 and 172-176, with dr. fig. 54.

8. Σκιαδάς 1967, 43, note 3, 44, note 2. Σκιαδάς 1989.

9. NAM, inv. no. 4485. Καλτσάς 2001, 148. 150, no. 289. The work dates back to ca. 420 BC.



Fig. 1. The Phrasikleia grave statue  
(cat. no. 310).

riot of colours and ornaments enhance her figure. Rosettes with yellow and black petals<sup>10</sup>, meander crosses, stars, and wide meander bands adorn the precious purple chiton<sup>11</sup> which ends in a hemline decorated with tongue-shaped leaves. The headband with the meander that ties her curly hair in a crisscross bow, the “Hercules’ Knot”, the earrings, and the necklace with the dangling pomegranates on her neck, the girdle that is fastened around her waist, the bracelets on her wrist, and the high-soled sandals complete the beautiful picture of the maiden<sup>12</sup>.

Despite the red colour, the colour of joy<sup>13</sup>, and the richness of the jewels and the garment that connect the young woman with the marriage ceremony, the flowers that adorn her emit a different message. What she wears on her beautiful hair is not a wreath of a worldly wedding. They are lotus flowers and buds from the banks of the Acheron, the river of the Underworld, as the poetess Sappho sings to us. The unopened flower which Phrasikleia holds in front of her chest is also lotus<sup>14</sup>.

The same flowers adorn the hair of another grave statue of a kore, found at Keratea in Attica, now in Berlin<sup>15</sup>. The paint and incised lines which denote them are still visible on the external side of the *polos* crown which she wears on her head<sup>16</sup>. That kore is depicted holding a pomegranate instead of a lotus – a symbol of fertility but also of death<sup>17</sup>, that associates her with Persephone, the goddess of the Underworld and the wife of Hades<sup>18</sup>. Six



Fig. 2. The grave lekythos of Myrrhine (NAM, inv. no. 4485).

10. A large rosette under the right hand is also preserved on the chiton of Artemis, on a stone block, dated to the first half of the 6th c. BC, Archaeological Museum of Paros, inv. no. A 1289. See E. Andriku - Ch. Lanara (eds.), *Ancient Greece: Mortals and Immortals*, The National Museum of China, Hellenic Republic, Ministry of Culture, Beijing 2004, 108-109, no. 32, with figures and drawing (S. De-toratu - G. Kouragios); Kouragios 2008, 102-104, figs. 35-36. On the affinity between Phrasikleia and Parian creations, see Δεσπίνης - Καλιτσάς 2014, 50-51.

11. The presence of cinnabar and purple (*murex brandaris*), an exceptionally valuable dye produced from marine shells, has been confirmed on the red chiton of Phrasikleia. See related research in the present volume, B. Schmaltz, The statue of Phrasikleia – On the polychromy of Greek sculpture, pp. 151-156. On ancient pigments, see A. Κατερινοπούλου, *Θεοφράστου «Περί Λιθων»*, Αθήνα 1993. Also T. Ρούσσος - Α. Λεβίδης, *Πλίνιος ο Πρεσβύτερος «Περί της Αρχαίας Ελληνικής Ζωγραφικής», 35ο Βιβλίο της «Φυσικής Ιστορίας»*, Αθήνα 1994.

12. For the meaning of polychromy in Greek female statues, see Schmaltz 2009.

13. By contrast, some academics considered that this colour is associated with death. Related references in Kaltsas 2002, 12, note 38. Nevertheless, it is established that in antiquity people that died unmarried or newly wedded were clad in bridal clothes. In Greek tradition wedding and funeral share parallel rites that have consciously fused together, such as the ritual cleansing of the deceased, the anointment of the body of the dead with aromatic oils, the formal garments, the wreaths, and the candles. See Alexiou 2002, 33 and 206. See also the relevant quote of Artemidoros, *Oneirokritikon* II, 49. Παπαδοπούλου-Κανελλοπούλου 1997, 16, note 1.

14. For the lotus flowers on the statue of Phrasikleia in particular, see Stieber 1996; Stieber 2004, esp. 141-178, fig. 46.

15. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. Antikensammlung, inv. no. Sk 1800. Wiegand 1928. Lullies - Hirmer 1956, pls. 20-21. Blümel 1963, 7-10, no. 1. Kunze 1968. Richter 1968, no. 42, figs. 139-146. Floren 1987, 264, pl. 21.1. Martini 1990, 76, 149, fig. 23.44. Stieber 1996, 74, note 14. Stieber 2004, 148, 173, fig. 40. The kore was discovered in 1923, a difficult period Greece endured, in the locality of Olympos at Keratea. It came into the possession of the Berlin Museums through the art market, J. Hirsch/Geneva, in 1924. From Keratea comes also the inscribed base of a stele or a kore statue, for Myrrhine, *IG*<sup>13</sup> 1248, dated in the last decades of the 6th c. BC. See L. H. Jeffery, *BSA* 57 (1962), 142, no. 54; Walter-Karydi 2001, 221, no. 8. Cf. Davies 1971, no. 10485.

16. The deceased woman on the terracotta plaque of the Metropolitan Museum of Art 14.146.3A, also from Keratea, is depicted wearing a similar headdress. J. Boardman, *BSA* 50 (1955), 58, no. 1. Buchholz 1963, col. 456, n. 5. Walter-Karydi 2001, 218, fig. 4.

17. Until recently it was customary to place during the funeral a pomegranate in the hands of a deceased person, a tradition that lives on in modern Greece. It symbolizes the seeds of hope that sprout, the renewal of life. In contrast, the pomegranate which the mother-in-law offers to her daughter-in-law upon arrival at her new home is considered a symbol of fertility and prosperity.

18. According to G. Neumann (1979), the reference to the characterization maiden on the inscrip-

months Persephone spends on earth and everything blooms and bears fruit, six months the goddess lives in the Underworld and the earth withers and dies. But the lotus, that springs up from the water every day afresh reaching for the sun, also dies at night and sinks into the depths beneath the water surface, only to be born again under the sun's first rays.

Only a few Attic grave korei statues are preserved. It seems though that even in antiquity they were outnumbered by the statues of youths that were erected over the graves<sup>19</sup>. The statue of Kroisos, a young man who died in battle, was one of them<sup>20</sup> (fig. 3). He must have been of great descent, possibly from the Alkmaeonidai, a powerful noble family who lived on the coast of Attica, in today's Anavyssos, where his grave monument was unearthed<sup>21</sup>. His unusual for Athens name recalls Kroisos, the immensely rich king of Lydia, with whom his parents would have maintained good relations<sup>22</sup>. Herodotus (6.125) describes how the celebrated Alkmaeonidai became even more illustrious when Alkmaeon was hosted by Kroisos in Sardis. In return for his assistance to the Lydian envoys at Delphi he received as much gold as he could carry, but when Kroisos realized in amusement how inclined to opulence Alkmaeon was, he gave him much more than the gold he was able to carry<sup>23</sup>. And thus Herodotus concludes that the family became extremely wealthy and Alkmaeon, who maintained a chariot, won some chariot races at Olympia. The inscribed base of a bronze votive offering, a tripod or a cauldron, dated to the mid-6th c. BC (NAM 6222) was found on the Acropolis, a dedication following the equestrian victory of another member of this family, whose name is restored as Kroisos Alkmaeonides<sup>24</sup>. It does not come as a surprise that he was given that name<sup>25</sup>. The

tion of the statue of Phrasikleia as well as the entire appearance of the girl associate it with the daughter of Demeter and Queen of the Underworld. The extent to which the maiden is invested with divine quality elevates her and differentiates her from the world of the living. It should be stressed though that this transcendence does not imply that the deceased is identified with the specific goddess. Such a thing would be seen as sacrilege in Athens during that period.

19. On the differences in burial practices and funerary monuments in Attica based on gender, see Schmaltz 1983, 164ff.; Walter-Karydi 2001, 215-232. See also H. Mommsen, *Exekias I. Die Grabtafeln*, Mainz am Rhein 1997. During the 6th c. BC clay loutrophoroi decorated with funerary subject matter would serve as markers in many graves of maidens instead of marble monuments. Cf. black-figure loutrophoros of the NAM, inv. no. 450 with depiction of women as mourners next to a tumulus surmounted by a loutrophoros. Kurtz - Boardman 1985, 181ff., pl. 55a,b.

20. NAM, inv. no. 3851, 4754, 3851a-γ. Δεσπίνης - Καλιτσάς 2014, 202-211, no. I. 1. 185, figs. 650-657 (the statue - Π. Καρναστιάση) and no. I. 1. 185a, figs. 658-663 (the plinth - Π. Καρναστιάση). See also Martini 2008, 275ff. The kouros dates from around 530 BC. The top part of the plinth with the feet of the kouros has not been recovered, and therefore some researchers questioned the fact that the statue and the plinth belonged together. Originally the monument was erected in the locality of Phoinikia at Anavyssos, on the road that links Kalyvia and Anavyssos where an ancient road lay.

21. C. W. J. Eliot, *Historia* 16 (1967), 279ff. The author Elias Venezis made extensive use of evidence concerning the activity of antiquities smugglers in Koropi and Kalyvia and also incorporated the discovery of the kouros (it was returned to Greece in 1937 following a legal battle) in his novel *Γαλήνη*. See Δαλάκογλου 2008. In 1944 the Aristodikos kouros was discovered in the area, NAM, inv. no. 3938. Καρούζος 1961. Καλιτσάς 2001, 66, no. 94. Δεσπίνης - Καλιτσάς 2014, 241-245, no. I.1.227, figs. 795-803 (A. Δεληβορριάς).

22. See also Fuchs 1979, 34-37, figs. 20-21.

23. Ηροδότου *Ιστορία*. Εισαγωγή - μετάφραση - σχόλια Αδ. Θεοφίλου, εκδ. Πάπυρος, Αθήνα 1953, 370-371. For the relations between the Greeks and the rulers of the East during the Archaic period through the Persian Wars, see Shapiro 2009, 1-30, esp. 16ff.

24. *JG* 1<sup>3</sup> 597. Raubitschek 1949, 338ff., no. 317 with fig. Schäfer 1999, 300, no. V 6 (with assembled bibliography).

25. There is no reason to assume that the youth, which the kouros from Anavyssos depicts, was of eastern origin or that it represents one of the commanders of the tyrants of Athens, also of eastern origin, who died defending his masters, as some scholars maintained; see Δεσπίνης - Καλιτσάς 2014, 206-207, note 20. The provenance of the statue, the content of the inscription, presuming that it

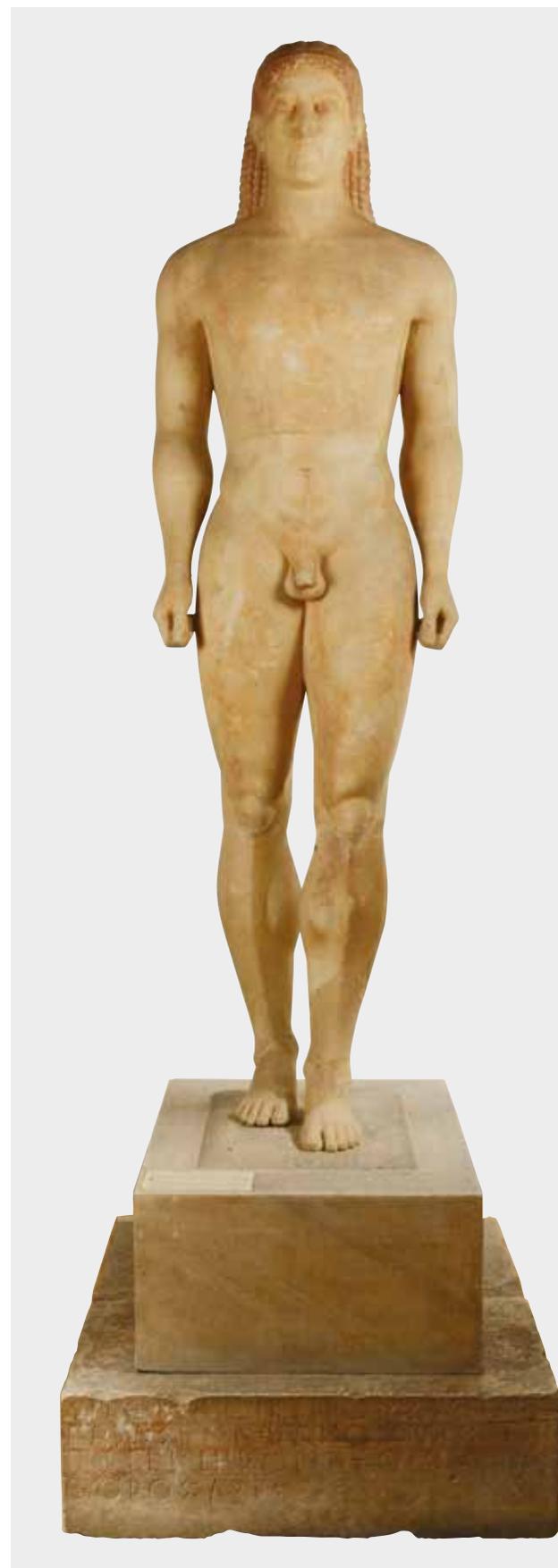


Fig. 3. The Kroisos grave statue (cat. no. 314).



Fig. 4. The grave kouros from Merenda (cat. no. 311).

general Themistocles of the neighbouring deme of Phrearrioi<sup>26</sup>, who later established contacts with the Persian Court, had given the name Asia to one of his daughters<sup>27</sup>.

Phrasikleia was discovered in May 1972 during systematic excavation conducted by the 2nd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, led by the archaeologist E. Ch. Kakavogiannis, under the direction of the Ephor E. Mastrokostas<sup>28</sup>. The statue was found in a shallow deposit together with the kouros of the National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 4890 (fig. 4)<sup>29</sup>. Both monuments, which evidently belonged to the same family<sup>30</sup>, had been detached from their pedestals and had been placed into a pit opened at the site of the ancient cemetery for protection against possible damage<sup>31</sup>. The concealment must have taken place a few years after their installation over the graves, as evidenced by the excellent preservation state of their colours. Some academics believe that this incident dates back to 480 BC approximately, right before the Persian invasion in Attica<sup>32</sup>. Nevertheless, this time limit is quite low and contradicts the excellent condition of the statue<sup>33</sup>. Later researchers argued though that the concealment possibly occurred during the 6th c. BC, when the Alkmaeonidai, the family to which the statues belonged, were forced into fleeing Attica<sup>34</sup>. It is believed however that the main geographical location in which the Alkmaeonidai were based was the ancient deme of Anaphlystos, at Anavyssos, which is quite far away from Myrrhinous. In contrast, Brauron, an area where the estates of Peisistratos lay, who died in 527 BC thereby passing his power on to his sons, was in the immediate vicinity<sup>35</sup>. Both Solon and Peisistratos were Neleids<sup>36</sup> and according to the ancient tradition were descended from the family of Kodros, son of Melanthos<sup>37</sup>. As J. Davies stresses, at that time, during which

belongs to the statue, and also the nudity of the youth could not possibly be compatible with the capacity of a deceased mercenary, particularly of eastern origin. G. Neumann (1979) remarks on the unity of the metrical inscription with the image of the robust Kroisos that was amongst the first who died in battle, struck by Ares, the god of war, whereas a similar notion is expressed in the statue of Phrasikleia also in which the dead girl is associated with Kore - Persephone.

26. To the east of Olympos mountain. Traill 1986, 131.

27. Davies 1971, 211ff., no. 6669 *Add.* 598. Salta 1991, 106-107, 186, note 1894. His mother's place of birth was Asia Minor or Thrace. On the names of Themistocles' children and their meaning, see also Svenbro 2002, 120.

28. Κακαβογιάννης 2007, 332-337. The publication delineates eloquently the history of the excavation with the exquisite finds, indeed unique in terms of the circumstances of their unearthing and also their state of preservation.

29. Δεσπίνης - Καλτσάς 2014, 199-202, no. I.1. 184, figs. 637-647 (N. Καλτσάς).

30. Shapiro 1991, 633. Kaltsas 2002, 37. It is believed that they were siblings.

31. The kore from Keratea, today in Berlin, was found wrapped in protective lead sheet; see Blümel 1963, 1. On the concealment of statues, see Donderer 1991/1992.

32. Μαστροκώστας 1972, 314. Kaltsas 2002, 1, note 2.

33. The pottery finds have not been published yet, but they are black-figure vases. Stieber 2004, 141.

34. Svenbro 2002, 28-29, with reference to Isokrates' attestation, *De bigis*, 26. Kaltsas 2002, 1. Stieber 2004, 141.

35. For the seizure of power by Peisistratos, see Herod. 1. 64.3. Tyranny became particularly brutal after the assassination of Peisistratos' son Hipparchos in 514 BC. For the efforts of the Alkmaeonidai to return to Attica, see Herod. 5.55-65.

36. They are descendants of the king of Messenia Neleus and the hero Melanthos who sought refuge in Attica when he was expelled by the Heracleidai of Pylos.

37. Herod. 5. 65.3. See also Plutarch, *Solon*, I. 2. Davies 1971, 322-323. Kodros and Melanthos descended from Poseidon. See Davies 1971, 331, note 1. For the extension of Peisistratos' family domain southwards towards Sounion and the mining area, see Davies 1971, 453. Σαλιώρα-Οικονομάκου 2004, 37. It is interesting that the name Phrasikles occurs in the deme of Sounion too, namely in a 4th c. BC grave inscription, IG II<sup>2</sup> 7448, Salta 1991, 232. For Phrasikles, Themistocles' cousin, see Davies

clans prevailed in Attica, family ties and common ancestry must have entailed political significance and their members were possibly confronted with the native nobility who related to the ancient cults of the city<sup>38</sup>.

The inscribed pedestal of Phrasikleia, which bears the signature of the sculptor, was later incorporated into the masonry of the church of Panagia of Merenda until 1968. In fact the inscription was known already since 1729 and had been cited by many scholars<sup>39</sup>. After the kore was unearthed the pedestal was transferred from the Epigraphic Museum to the National Archaeological Museum where it is displayed today together with the statue it belonged to.

A year later, in September 1973, a fragmentary Archaic statue of a kore, which had been located by the County Police of Anavyssos on the bay across Alykes, was handed over to the Ephorate of Antiquities of Attica<sup>40</sup>. The kore is housed today in the Archaeological Museum of Brauron and constitutes the earliest known female statue of this type found so far in Attica, dated to the first decades of the 6th c. BC (fig. 5). The origin of the statue from Anavyssos or its wider region, and also the large lotus flower with the long stem which the figure holds in her left hand before the chest, support its sepulchral use<sup>41</sup>. As stated by M. Alexiou, the purpose of the adornment of the deceased with flowers, aromatic plants, and branches of evergreen trees is not to decorate but to symbolize rebirth<sup>42</sup>. It is the eternal cycle of life and death that brings us closer to the myth of Persephone. It is the Drama of the Holy Week that re-enacts the Epitaph Lament and the Resurrection.



Fig. 5. The grave kore from Anavyssos. Storerooms of the 3rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, now in the Archaeological Museum of Brauron (inv. no. 1903).

1971, 217. See also H. A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens*, Mainz am Rhein 1989, 73.

38. See also Kolb 1977.

39. Kaltsas 2002, 8, note 10. N. Kontoléon worked extensively on the interpretation of the statue of Phrasikleia before and after its discovery. Assuming that funerary korai served as votive offerings to chthonic deities he interpreted the statues as depictions of these divine beings and identified Phrasikleia with Persephone, a view that today is not anymore retained. See Kontoléon 1970; Κοντολέων 1974; Βιβλιοδέτης 2007, 59.

40. Storerooms of the 3rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, no. 1903. Τζάχου-Αλεξανδρή 2012. According to police testimonies, the statue was discovered during the landscaping of the bay area. However, based on the account of the local guard of antiquities, the statue was found in a boat, covered, where it had been hidden away by unidentified people. Nonetheless, no evidence of salt encrustation has been detected on its surface that would confirm that the statue was recovered from the seabed. See Τζάχου-Αλεξανδρή 2012, 52, note 1. In earlier cases of illicit trade of antiquities, the ancient artefacts were smuggled abroad in boats that transferred salt. On the subject, see Δαλάκογλου 2008, 205ff.

41. Τζάχου-Αλεξανδρή 2012, 66-67. The archaic kore of the Archaeological Museum of Piraeus, inv. no. 2530, possibly held an additional lotus flower. See *op. cit.*, 67. The statue was recovered from a dumpsite at Agios Ioannis Rentis and dates back to 580 BC. It is characteristic that none of the votive korai of Attica is depicted holding this flower as offering to a deity, a fact that possibly indicates its exclusive funerary use in the monumental sculpture of Athens, with similar symbolic meaning. On the contrary, a lotus flower appears in the hand of a kore on a Laconian votive relief of the mid-6th c. BC from the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos in Sparta, Archaeological Museum of Sparta, inv. no. 1030. N. Kaltsas (ed.), *Athens-Sparta*, Exhibition Catalogue, Athens/New York 2007, 98-99, no. 31 (M. Tsouli). It is not known what kind of representation was depicted on the shaft of the grave stele from Marathon, from which only the finial with lotus flower and palmette decoration is preserved, NAM, inv. no. 5237 and 5237a. Δεσπίνης - Καλτσάς 2014, 380-382, no. I.1. 353, figs. 1184-1190 and dr. 5 (N. Καλτσάς), dated to around 560 BC. For the decoration with enormous lotus reliefs of the grave of Montuemhat, high official of pharaoh Psammetichos I and responsible for the Greek mercenaries, see J. N. Coldstream, Knossos and Egypt in the Early Iron Age, in A. Καρέισου (ed.), *Κρήτη-Αίγυπτος, Πολιτισμικοί δεσμοί τριών χιλιετιών*, Αθήνα 2000, 172-173. For the direct relations between the Greeks and Egypt in that time, see Herod. 2.152. About lotus in the Egyptian art, see R. H. Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art*, London 1994, 120-121.

42. Alexiou 2002, 92.

The lotus is not a Greek plant<sup>43</sup>. It comes from Egypt and also the faraway Indies, yet its presence in the Aegean art dates back to the Minoan period and occurs as a motif in painting as well as jewellery<sup>44</sup>. Cyprus stands at a crossroads of civilizations of the Eastern Mediterranean, there where the sea routes traversed by ships in their long journeys meet. The presence of lotus in Cypriot korai has been attributed to the influence exerted by the Egyptian art and the women depicted holding lotus flowers to their chest during the late period<sup>45</sup>. A similar female figurine of the Cypro-Archaic period (8th-7th c. BC) made of faience, which is preserved fragmentary, comes from a sanctuary of Kition on Cyprus. The figure is represented with her left arm bent while holding a lotus flower with long stem and another one in her right hand, obliquely placed across her thigh<sup>46</sup>. It is believed that this figurine as well as a large number of faience objects, which were unearthed together from the same deposit, had been imported from Egypt and it is certain that their presence on Cyprus must have contributed to the assimilation of Egyptian elements into the art of Cyprus in general. An equally large number of imports from Egypt have also been detected in the sanctuaries of Sounion<sup>47</sup>, where the earlier colossal kouros of Attica come from<sup>48</sup>. Of special significance is a miniature kouros made of lead that was recovered from the fill deposit of the precinct of Athena, an area in which during the 7th c. BC a heroon was founded in honour of Phrontis, the helmsman of Menelaus' ship who died in the return journey struck by Apollo<sup>49</sup> and was interred in the sacred Sounion, as Homer testifies (*Odyssey*, III 278)<sup>50</sup>. Perhaps the representation of a ship with the captain and soldiers carrying their shields on a terracotta plaque, from the deposit of the temple of Athena, reflects the Homeric tradition<sup>51</sup>. This early cult is associated with the Dioscuri who are chthonic deities and guardians of seafarers<sup>52</sup>.

In the harbours of Sounion mariners loaded and unloaded goods from different cities and seas. The glorious city of Piraeus, as the ingenious Themistocles envisioned it in the 5th c. BC, with the beautiful urban planning, the markets, the sanctuaries, the harbours, and the robust walls that united it with Athens through a safe route, had not yet been built.

43. For lotus taxonomy, see Stiebel 1996, 76ff.

44. On the hypothesis of the creation of artificial imperial gardens, with a multitude of different flowers and plants in the Aegean, see Shaw 1993. On the flowers and plants of the Aegean representations as archetypal symbols of festivity, associated with cult rituals, and also on the Mycenaean vegetal symbols that relate to the concept of rebirth, as this is also expressed in the Egyptian iconography, see Μπουλώτης 2009, 457-494. For the diadems of lilies or papyrus-waz lily in cult practices and their connection to the royal house, see Marinatos 2007.

45. Τζάκου-Αλεξανδρή 2012, 67, note 105 and bibliography.

46. Pllides-Papadimitriou 2012, 180-181, cat. no. 131 (A. Satraki). The gesture of the right hand of the figure resembles that of Phrasikleia, which was "rendered" in the Greek work as a grip on the chiton at the side, resulting in similar stylization on the back side of the garment also.

47. See the latest publication of Theodoropoulou-Polychroniades 2015. A bronze figurine of the Syrian god Resheph dated at the LH III B period comes from the deposit of the temple of Poseidon. Σαλλιώρα-Οικονομάκου 2004, 33.

48. Παπαθανασόπουλος 1983. Also Δεσπίνης - Καλτσάς 2014, 94-106 (A. Μουστάκα). For the eastern influences on the Dipylon ivory figurines that depict naked females, see Helck 1979, 307-308, note 28, with bibliography. Καλτσάς 2001, 34-36, cat. nos. 1-4.

49. Cf. the pair of Kroisos-Ares in the kouros from Anavyssos.

50. Σαλλιώρα-Οικονομάκου 2004, 116, fig. 108. Theodoropoulou-Polychroniades 2015, 64-65, no. 147 with fig.

51. Σαλλιώρα-Οικονομάκου 2004, 14 and 116. Cf. cat. no. 9.

52. Παπαθανασόπουλος 1983, 96. On the origin of the designation Σούνιο (Sounion) from the verb *σώζω* (*σάω, σώω, σωινύω*), see Σαλλιώρα-Οικονομάκου 2004, 14-15.

According to literary sources, Solon also travelled to faraway lands<sup>53</sup>, such as Egypt, Cyprus, and Asia Minor, where he too met Kroisos, the king of Lydia, just like Alkmaeon<sup>54</sup>. The way the two accounts that associate with Kroisos have been elaborated by Herodotus is revealing of the different attitude of the two Athenians towards the Asian ruler and also of the opinion they had about his fabulous wealth. Solon's philosophy of life is described in a didactic manner, along with his devotion and commitment to immaterial values, because, in his own words, everything in human life is volatile and precarious.

When Solon became archon in Athens in 594/3 BC he invited Epimenides from Crete, philosopher, poet, and seer, to purify the city from Kylon's pollution (*Kyloneion agos*)<sup>55</sup>. As a reward for his mission Epimenides requested only something for his homeland, a branch from the sacred olive tree of Athens on the Acropolis, which he eventually received as a symbol of peace. The Athenians honoured Epimenides by erecting a statue in which he was depicted seated, at the sanctuary of Eleusinion, under the Acropolis, as Pausanias mentions (1.14.4)<sup>56</sup>. In the face of the venerable old man we discern the efforts which the new archon of Athens made to bring peace by means of religious interventions in the Athenian society that was torn apart by civil strife for thirty years. According to Aristotle, following Kylon's coup, the Alkmaeonidai being responsible for the murder of his supporters inside the sanctuaries where they had sought refuge as suppliants, were brought to trial and were condemned for their sacrilege "...and the bodies of the guilty men themselves were cast out of their tombs, and their family was sentenced to everlasting exile"<sup>57</sup>. The severity of the conflict between the mighty that showed no mercy to the suppliants or the deceased is revealed in Aristotle's words. Furthermore, this incident confirms that burials formed part of the political system and explains Solon's initiative to introduce legislation that limited funeral rituals and epitaph lamentation<sup>58</sup>. It is in fact said that similar legislation had been enforced by Epimenides on his homeland Phaistos, and this is the reason why Solon invited him to Athens<sup>59</sup>. But this is not what Epimenides was known for solely. According to tradition, his psyche could depart his body, leaving it in a state that resembled sleep or death, and return afterwards<sup>60</sup>. Later on, the Pythagoreans argued that the human soul is of divine origin and is not subject to death but enters into animal or human bodies until, completed purified, is reinstated in the divine<sup>61</sup>. According to Plutarch's attestation, the new legislation of Solon en-

---

53. Plutarch, *Solon*. Diog. Laertius. 1.2. *Solon*.

54. Herod. 1.30-33.

55. See Aristotle, *Const. Ath.*, I. Kylon's pollution and its consequences are also mentioned by Thucydides, I.126.12. Furthermore, Plato refers to Epimenides' operations in Athens, *Lows*. 642d. According to Diogenes Laertius, at that time (595 BC) Athens suffered from the plague and the Pythia advised the ritual purification of the city which Epimenides was asked to perform. Diog. Laertius. 1, 10, 110ff. Παπαχατζής 1974, 241, note 2.

56. Shapiro 2001, 95. The location of the statue of Epimenides possibly alludes to a contribution of his to a new legislation introduced in Solon's time as regards the Eleusinian mysteries. See also Alexiou 2002, 59. For the connection established between the Athenian hero Epimenides and the Eleusinian mysteries, see Παπαχατζής 1974, 240-241, note 5.

57. Aristotle, *Const. Ath.*, I. See also Svenbro 2002, 204ff.

58. Similar occurrences and regulations are also observed in the wake of Kleisthenes' change of the political organization of the city and throughout the 5th and the 4th c. BC.

59. Alexiou 2002, 50.

60. Svenbro 2002, 207-208. This could only be achieved by means of a special respiratory technique. See Gernet 1968, 424-425; Vernant 1985, 124-125.

61. For the philosophy of the Pythagoreans, see Kranz 1986, 35-48.

tailed special reference to women who played a leading role in burial rituals and religious festivals<sup>62</sup>. The more violent the prevailing political situation was, the less feasible was the continuation of burial practices in a manner complying with the up to then long-existing tradition. Hence, Solon prohibited excessive luxury and the participation of many women in funerals; he also banned the public display of the deceased, the boisterous funeral processions, the performance of lament accompanied by music, and anything that could disturb the peaceful environment and moderation which he aimed to generate in the social and political life of Athens at all costs<sup>63</sup>. Unquestionably these restrictions intended principally to reduce the influence of the aristocratic clans and the worship of their ancestors which in the course of time was replaced by the cult of heroes that had a public character. In parallel with the efforts to downgrade the clan which now acted as a dispersing factor in the society of the city, further emphasis was given to the institution of the family<sup>64</sup>. These developments will be completed by the 5th c. BC, when the society ultimately adjusts to the new structures and institutions of the democratic city<sup>65</sup>. The conveyors of power, namely the legitimate archons as well as its usurpers, who initiated the reforms during the 6th c. BC, each one for different reasons, were descended from the most important clans of Attica. Solon and Peisistratos belonged to the last royal family of Athens, the Medontidai<sup>66</sup>. Medon, the son of king Kodros, either succeeded his father to the throne or became an archon eponymous and gave his name to the Medontidai. Evidently, many settlements in Attica were united with Athens already by the Mycenaean period<sup>67</sup>. The Athenian kings were consumed with fighting hard against the local rulers of Attica in order to remain on the throne<sup>68</sup>. A religious centre of the Medontidai is located in present-day Keratea, an area identified with the ancient deme of Kephale in which the inscription *ἱερὸν Μεδωντιδῶν* (sanctuary of the Medontidai)<sup>69</sup>, that comes from their place of worship, was found<sup>70</sup>. The kore from Keratea in Berlin could be attributed to the same clan. Her statue, which was unearthed wrapped in lead for protection, possibly alludes to the same events that put the statues of Phrasikleia and the Kouros of Merenda in danger. Could this inexplicable so far scraping of the face of the kouros found in Keratea, now at the National Archaeological Museum<sup>71</sup>,

62. Plutarch, *Solon*. Alexiou 2002, 50ff. On Solon's reforms concerning women, see Ξεβίδου-Schild 2001, 251-253. Solon's interest in women mainly aimed at the reinforcement of the *oikos* (family) in his effort to minimize the negative and distorting effects which the absolute power of the clans (genus) exerted.

63. Alexiou 2002, 50-51.

64. In Aristotle's *Politics*, Epimenides describes the members of a household as messmates. See also W. Nestle, *Aristoteles Hauptwerke*, Stuttgart 1977, 287.

65. R. Stupperich, *Staatsbegräbnis und Privatgrabmal im klassischen Athen*, Ph.D. Thesis, Münster 1977.

66. On the conferment of the royal authority to the Medontidai, namely the descendants of Medon, the son of Kodros from 1068 or 1088 through 712 BC, see I. Ζερβού, *Αριστοτέλους Αθηναίων Πολιτεία*, Αθήνα 1970, 28-29, excerpt 1, note 2. Originally their office was for life but it later became decennial. For the Medontidai, see also A. Ραμού-Χαψιάδη 1982, 116-117, 122.

67. Παπαχατζής 1974, 403.

68. M. Sakellariou, La situation politique en Attique et en Eubée de 1100 à 700 avant J.C., *REA* 1976/1977, 11-21. Παπαχατζής 1974, 403.

69. *IG*<sup>13</sup> 1383. Solders 1931, 92. R. J. Hopper, *BSA* 56 (1961), 219. Buchholz 1963, cols. 492-493. Παπαχατζής 1974, 400. The inscription was discovered west of Keratea in the area between the church of Agia Triada and the church of Agia Kyriaki, cf. inserted map by Buchholz 1963, no. 2.

70. Traill 1986, 133. The deme is situated to the north of Lavreatiki and south of Myrrhinous. For the routes which Pausanias follows, see the related map, Παπαχατζής 1974, 72-73.

71. NAM, inv. no. 1904. Δεσπίνης - Καλοσός 2014, 181-183, no. I.1.163, figs. 577-580 (I. Τριάντη). The kouros dates from around 540 BC.

be contemporaneous or does it date to a later period, possibly the Roman times, as Stelios Triantis argued?<sup>72</sup>

Given that Peisistratos was based in Brauron and Philaidai it is reasonable to assume that the area to the south of the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia, which included Myrrhinous too, was under the control of the Medontidai. The rare name Phrasikleia is encountered once more on a grave stele from Athens dated to the Classical period, now on display at the National Archaeological Museum (fig. 6), which possibly belonged to the same family from Myrrhinous<sup>73</sup>. The archons of the years 460/59 and 371 BC bear the name Phrasikles<sup>74</sup>. A Phrasikleides from Myrrhinous who served as trierarch during the first decades of the 4th c. BC is also known. The grave stele of Diopieithes' brother, also a trierarch, has been discovered in the area of the Ancient Agora<sup>75</sup>.

E. Mastrokostas maintained that the inscribed part of a cylindrical base made of Parian marble, which was located in 1972 near the deposit of the two Archaic statues, belongs to the pedestal of the kouros of Merenda<sup>76</sup>. The surviving inscription - - )όντο( are the last letters of a first name or the participle θαν)όντο(ς (deceased) and consisted originally of a second line from which traces of the letters o and v are preserved. On the outer face of the right thigh of the statue there are scratches by a tool (small toothed hammer) and the surface has been scraped. Perhaps there was some painted inscription on this spot which they tried to erase, possibly for political reasons<sup>77</sup>.

The known politicians that come from this area of Attica, regardless of the conflicts among them, particularly during the predominance of the Peisistratidai, frequently opposed during the Archaic as well as the Classical period the political proponents of the powerful clan of the Alkmaeonidai to which the renowned Kleisthenes belonged. The ferocity with which Peisistratos' sons governed, especially following the murder of Hipparchos in 514 BC, might have had an impact on their political adversaries when they took over power in the last decade of the 6th c. BC. It is possible that the graves of all those who had resisted the Alkmaeonidai were put in danger precisely in that period. It has been argued that later also, during the archonship of Themistocles, the imposing Archaic grave monuments at the Athenian Kerameikos were destroyed for political reasons during the construction of the Themistoclean wall<sup>78</sup>.

Obviously there must have been some special reason why the rare and quite extraordinary Archaic female grave statues found in Attica were made. Phrasikleia, in particular, because of her uniqueness and differentia-



Fig. 6. Grave stele of Phrasikleia (NAM, inv. no. 831). Drawing of O. M. v. Stackelberg, *Die Gräber der Hellenen* (1837), pl. I, 2.

72. Δεσπίνης - Καλιτσάς 2014, 183, note 10 (I. Τριάντη).

73. Inv. no. 831. Conze, no. 189, pl. 67. Diepolder 1931, 25, pl. 19. Schmaltz 1983, pl. 11.1. Salta 1991, 24. Δεσπίνης 1991-1992b, 62-70, fig. 70. Clairmont 1993, no. 2750. Καλιτσάς 2001, 160, no. 316.

74. Salta 1991, 24, note 184.

75. On the family, see Davies 1971, 166ff., no. 4435; Salta 1991, 24, note 184. As trierarch is interpreted by G. Despinis the bearded warrior Menes, on a grave stele from Porto-Raffi with three relief figures, see Despinis 1991-1992a, 7-27. The demotic of Menes is not known. G. Despinis believes that, according to the findspot of the stele, he may be from the deme of Steiria. The name of the young central figure of the same monument, Kleobolos, is attested in Myrrhinous. Cf. IG II<sup>2</sup> 6896, 6890.

76. IG I<sup>3</sup> 1262. Μαστροκώστας 1972, 310, dr. 3, fig. 23. Kaltsas 2002, 37. Βιβλοδέτης 2007, 60, no. E 17, fig. 12. It is possible that this pedestal does not belong to the statue, but forms part of the same ensemble.

77. Δεσπίνης - Καλιτσάς 2014, 199-200. See also Walde 2008, 1120, 1123ff., fig. 3. Given the rarity of grave statues for maidens in Attica, noteworthy is the find of two other Archaic marble sculptures, a kore and a female protome, in the necropolis of Myrrhinous. For the two sculptures, see Walter-Karydi 2001, 220ff.

78. Salta 1991, 8-9 (with bibliography).

tion from the numerous kore statues which we have come upon as votive offerings in sanctuaries of Attica, was considered to depict a deity<sup>79</sup>, a heroized figure or heroine<sup>80</sup>, or a dead maiden clad in her bridal gown as a bride of Hades<sup>81</sup>. This last interpretation seems to agree as much with the image of the young maiden, as with the clear statement of the epigram: *κόρη κεκλήσομαι ἀεὶ ἀντὶ γάμου παρὰ θεῶν τοῦτο λαχοῦσ' ὄνομα*.

Real purple dye has been traced on the red residues of her garment, a precious material which could be an indication of her royal ancestry. The lotus flowers<sup>82</sup> accompany her to her death anticipating her rebirth. It remains unknown whether or not she held some religious office that comprised an aspect of veneration to her<sup>83</sup>. Yet, this might be a possibility judging by the very small number of similar female statues<sup>84</sup>. At the same site, during the Classical period, there was a grave enclosure owned by the family of Meidon, son of Epiteles of Myrrhinous<sup>85</sup>, a conservative family who held priestly and military offices and attached great significance to the unity of the family (*oikos*), as evidenced by the names of men and women of six generations listed on the tall palmette-topped grave stele of the enclosure<sup>86</sup>. Amongst these persons are two seers, whereas another member of the family, named Hieroptes (soothsayer), cited on a grave naiskos from the same burial ensemble also refers to a related hieratical capacity<sup>87</sup>.

The selection of the lotus on the funerary statue of the maiden, a plant with symbolic connotations that is widespread across the East, from Egypt through Persia, might not be coincidental. It symbolizes the sun, duration, and renewal of life. In Persepolis, the twelve-petal lotus flower denotes the

79. Kontoleon 1970. Κοντολέων 1974, 11-12. Schefold 1973, 155.

80. Μαστροκώστας 1972. Ridgway 1977.

81. Daux 1973, 382ff. Catling 1972-1973, 7. Clairmont 1974. Stewart 1976. Stewart 1990. Svenbro 2002. Stieber 1996. Kaltsas 2002. Δεσπίνης - Καλιτσάς 2014, 50 (N. Καλιτσάς).

82. In one of her poems Sappho describes the beautiful adornment of a girl's head with a purple headband and half bloom flowers as follows: for (I recall) that at the time of my mother's youth / it was truly a great adornment if a girl held her hair bound with a purple ribbon / but it was better that she who had hair blonder than the torch's fire / wore it adorned with garlands of bright flowers... Ο. Ελύτη, *Σαπφώ*. Ανασύνθεση και απόδοση, Αθήνα 2004, 122-123. Ξεβίδου-Schild 2001, 520-521.

83. A building, erected within a cemetery in the region of Agios Panteleimon at Anavyssos, at the same time as a grave precinct and in constructive relation to it, has been interpreted by P. Themelis as a cultic structure with a chthonic sanctuary. See *ΑΔ* 29 (1973-1974), Χρονικά, 108-110 (with bibliography). The monument to the north of Palaia Phokaia lies within a distance of 3 km from the coast. The three burials that are related with it contained very rich offerings and belonged probably to notable dead of the second half of the 8th c. BC, possibly landlords, politicians, or even generals, as P. Themelis argued.

84. In the ancient deme of Kephale, where the kore of Berlin was unearthed, there was a temple dedicated to Hera Eileithyia and a sanctuary of Aphrodite, as evidenced by ancient authors and the preserved related inscriptions, see Solders 1931, 36, no. 31. Buchholz 1963, cols. 495-496. Παπαχατζής 1974, 400.

85. Μαστροκώστας 1966. Βιβλιοδέτης 2005, 63ff.

86. Salta 1991, 46-50. The name Mnesiptoleme, cited twice in the inscription, is also attested in Themistocles' family, see Davies 1971, 217. His homonymous daughter became priestess of Dindymene in Magnesia. In the Classical precinct of Myrrhinous many names that are compounded of *μειδ-*, *μεδ-*, *μηδ-*, such as *Μειδων* (Meidon), *Μειδοτέλης* (Meidoteles), *Καλλιμέδων* (Kallimedon), *Καλλιμήδης* (Kallimedes) have been encountered. The inscription of the monument of a twelve-year old girl, Kleoptoleme, found in the same precinct ends in two juxtapositions: *...θρήνόν τε ἀντὶ ἀνδρός και τάφον ἀντὶ γάμου*. Μαστροκώστας 1966, 294-295, no. 5: third quarter of the 4th c. BC. From Myrrhinous originated also the general Eurymedon, who married Potone, Plato's sister and relative with the family of Solon, while their son Speusippos became successor of Plato at the Academy. See Davies 1971, 334.

87. Salta 1991, 247. The grave stele of a priest named Simon from Myrrhinous was located in Athens at the ancient cemetery of Syntagma Square, NAM, inv. no. 772. Conze, 920/181. IG II<sup>2</sup> 6902. Salta 1991, 127, 242-243. Clairmont 1993, no. 1.250.

twelve months of the year<sup>88</sup>, namely the *Archon Eniautos* (the Year King), who ensures people's prosperity<sup>89</sup>. The lotus is held as sceptre by the rulers of the East, just like Zeus grasps the thunderbolt. He who holds the lotus is of royal lineage. Love, beauty, fortune, fertility, and good health constitute other aspects of its symbolism<sup>90</sup>. This blend of all these concepts and symbols is a perfect embodiment of the ideology and aesthetics of the widely travelled people of the time with their widened horizons and spiritual aspirations. The Archaic grave korai of Attica with their special character could be compared with the statuettes of scribes found on the Acropolis<sup>91</sup>, who have been interpreted lately as persons with special priestly duties<sup>92</sup>. It is characteristic that these figures too belong to a unique statuary type, reminiscent of Egyptian art. The phrase "the sea of the Greeks" in the inscription of the stele from the commercial city Herakleion-Thonis at the Lower Delta of Nile<sup>93</sup>, constitutes uncontested statement about the flourishing of the Hellenic sea trade and navigation, two sectors which strongly contributed to the development and the expansion of the Greek civilization.

Maria Salta

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

---

- Alexίου, Μ. 2002. *Ο τελετουργικός θρήνος στην ελληνική παράδοση* (επιμ. μτφρ. Δ. Ν. Γιατρομανωλάκης - Π. Α. Ροιλός), Αθήνα.
- Βιβλιοδέτης, Ε. Π. 2005. *Ο δήμος του Μυρρινούντος: Η οργάνωση και η ιστορία του*, *ΑΕ* 144.
- Blümel, C. 1963. *Die archaischen griechischen Skulpturen der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin.
- Buchholz, H.-G. 1963. Ein Friedhof im Gebiet des attischen Demos Kephale, *AA* 1963, cols. 455-498.
- Catling, H. 1972-1973. Archaeology in Greece 1972-1973, *AREpLond*, 3-32.
- Clairmont, Chr. 1974. Gravestone and Epigram, *AA*, 219-238.
- Clairmont, Chr. 1993. *Classical Attic Tombstones*, Kilchberg.
- Conze, A. 1893-1922. *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, I-IV, Berlin.
- Δαλάκογλου, Θ. Δ. 2008. Μύθος και πραγματικότητα στη «Γαλήνη» του Ηλία Βενέζη, *Θ' Επιστημονική Συνάντηση Νοτιοανατολικής Αττικής, Λαύριο 13-16 Απριλίου 2000*, Καλύβια Θεορικού 2008, 199-216.
- Daux, G. 1973. *CRAI*, 382ff.
- Davies, J. K. 1971. *Athenian Propertied Families*, Oxford.
- Δεσπίνης, Γ. 1991-1992a. Επιτύμβια στήλη από το Πόρτο Ράφτη: Αποκατάσταση και σχόλια, *Εγνατία* 3, 7-27.
- Δεσπίνης, Γ. 1991-1992b. Ένα επιτύμβιο ανάγλυφο από τη Μακεδονία στην Αθήνα, *Εγνατία* 3, 57-70.

---

88. I am indebted to Mr. M. Shirazi Nejad for the information from the National Museum of Tehran.

89. Κ. Ρωμαίος, «Ενιαυτός Δαίμων», το αρχέτυπο του ομηρικού μύθου, in his book, *Λαογραφία και Όμηρος, Οδύσσεια*, Αθήνα 1979, 166-189.

90. Koch-Harnack 1989.

91. Τριάντη 1994, 83-86. Τριάντη 1998, 7.12, fig. 15. Also, I. Τριάντη, *Το Μουσείο της Ακροπόλεως*, Αθήνα 1998, 199, 205, fig. 216.

92. "άνδρες σοφοί, μάντεις, χρησμολόγοι", Wise men, seers, and soothsayers. Shapiro 2001, 91-98, esp. 94-96. See also A. Shapiro, Oracle-Mongers in Peisistratid Athens, *Kernos* 3, 1990, 335-345.

93. Alexandria National Museum, SCA 277, 380 BC. See F. Goddio - M. Gerigk, *Ägyptens versunkene Schätze, 5. April bis 27. Januar 2008. Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Bonn 2007, 278-282, 373, no. 116.

- Δεσπίνης, Γ. - Ν. Καλτσάς, 2014. *Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο. Κατάλογος Γλυπτών Ι.1. Γλυπτά των αρχαϊκών χρόνων από τον 7ο αιώνα έως το 480 π.Χ.*, Αθήνα.
- Diepolder, H. 1931. *Die attischen Grabreliefs des 5. und 4. Jh. v. Chr.*, Berlin.
- Donderer, M. 1991/1992. Irreversible Deponierung von Großplastik bei Griechen, Etruskern und Römern, *ÖJh* 61, 1991/1992, cols. 192-275.
- Floren, J. 1987. *Die griechische Plastik I. Die geometrische und archaische Plastik*, München.
- Fuchs, W. 1979. *Die Skulptur der Griechen<sup>2</sup>*, München.
- Gernet, L. 1968. *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique*, Paris.
- Griessmair, E. 1966. *Das Motiv der Mors Immatura in den griechischen metrischen Grabinschriften*, Innsbruck.
- Helck, W. 1979. *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert*, Darmstadt.
- Κακαβογιάννη Ό. (ed.) 2003. *Αρχαιολογικές έρευνες στη Μερέντα Μαρκοπούλου: στον χώρο κατασκευής του νέου Ιπποδρόμου και του Ολυμπιακού Ιππικού Κέντρου*, Αθήνα.
- Κακαβογιάννης, Ε. Χ. 2007. Αναμνήσεις από την Φρασικλεία, in Π. Βαλαβάνης (ed.), *Μεγάλες στιγμές της ελληνικής αρχαιολογίας*, Αθήνα, 332-337.
- Καλτσάς, Ν. 2001. *Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο. Τα Γλυπτά. Κατάλογος*, Αθήνα.
- Kaltsas, N. 2002. Die Kore und der Kuros aus Myrrhinous, *AntPl* 28, 7-37, pls. 1-20.
- Καρούζος, Χ. 1961. *Αριστόδικος. Από την ιστορία της αττικής πλαστικής των υστεροαρχαϊκών χρόνων και του επιτυμβίου αγάλματος*, Αθήνα.
- Koch-Harnack, G. 1989. *Erotische Symbole. Lotosblüte und gemeinsamer Mantel auf antiken Vasen*, Berlin.
- Kolb, F. 1977. Die Bau-, Religions- und Kulturpolitik der Peisistratiden, *Jdl* 92, 99-138.
- Kontoléon, N. M. 1970. *Aspects de la Grèce préclassique*, Paris.
- Κοντολέων, Ν. Μ. 1974. Περί το σήμα της Φρασικλείας, *ΑΕ* 1-12.
- Κουράγιος, Γ. 2008. Η ανασκαφική δραστηριότητα στην Πάρο και το χρονικό της ανακάλυψης των νέων γλυπτών, in Y. Kourayos - Fr. Prost (eds.), *La sculpture des Cyclades à l'époque archaïque. Histoire des ateliers, rayonnement des styles, BCH, Suppl.* 48, 87-129.
- Kranz, W. 1986. *Die griechische Philosophie. Sammlung Dietrich*, Birsfelden - Basel.
- Kunze, E. 1968. Bemerkungen zur Berliner stehenden Göttin, in *Festschrift G. v. Lücken*, 697-705, pls. 18-25.
- Kurtz, D. C. - J. Boardman 1985. *Thanatos. Tod und Jenseits bei den Griechen* (transl. M. Buchholz), Mainz am Rhein.
- Lullies R. - M. Hirmer 1956. *Griechische Plastik*, München.
- Marinatos, N. 2007. Sphinxes, Gods, and Royal Figures, in Ph. P. Betancourt - M. Nelson, C.-H. Williams (eds.), *Krinoi kai Limenes*, Philadelphia, 271-276.
- Martini, W. 1990. *Die archaische Plastik der Griechen*, Darmstadt.
- Martini, W. 2008. Zu den Epigrammen von Kroisos aus Anavysos und Phrasikleia aus Merenda, in E. La Rocca - P. Léon - C. Parisi Pressicce (eds.), *Le due patrie acquisite. Studi di archeologia dedicati a Walter Trillmich*, Roma, 269-276.
- Μαστροκώστας, Ε. Ι. 1966. Επιστήματα εκ Μυρρινούντος, *Χαριστήριον εις Αναστάσιον Κ. Ορλάνδον*, vol. Γ', Αθήναι, 281-299, pls. LXXX-XCII.
- Μαστροκώστας, Ε. Ι. 1972. Η κόρη Φρασικλεία Αριστίωνος του Παρίου και κούρος μαρμάρινος ανεκαλύφθησαν εν Μυρρινούντι, *ΑΑΑ* 5, 298-324.
- Μπουλώτης, Χ. 2009. Από ένα κάτοπτρο του θολωτού τάφου της Κλυταιμνήστρας στον κνωσιακό μήγα των ρόδων (wo-de-wi-jo me-no), in Δ. Δανιηλίδου (ed.), *Δώρον. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Σπύρο Ιακωβίδη*, Αθήνα, 457-494.
- Neumann, G. 1979. Zum Verhältnis von Grabdenkmal und Grabinschrift in der archaischen und klassischen Zeit Griechenlands, in H. Brunner - R. Kanicht - K. Schwager (eds.), *Wort und Bild*, Tübingen, 219-235.
- Ξενίδου-Schild, B. 2001. *Οι γυναίκες στην ελληνική αρχαιότητα. Καταδικη μνήμης*, Αθήνα.
- Παπαδοπούλου-Κανελλοπούλου, Χ. 1997. *Ιερό της Νύμφης. Μελανόμορφες λουτροφόροι*, Αθήνα.
- Παπαθανασόπουλος, Γ. 1983. *Σούνιον Ιρόν. Συμβολή στην εξέταση των Κούρων του Ιερού και στη διερεύνηση του προβλήματος της παλαιότερης υπαίθριας λατρείας στο Σούνιο*, Ph.D. Thesis, Αθήνα.
- Παπαχατζής, Ν. Δ. 1974. *Παυσανίου Ελλάδος Περιήγησις Αττικά*, Αθήνα.

- Pilides, D. - N. Papadimitriou (eds.) 2012. *Chypre ancienne. Le dialogue des cultures. Catalogue de l'exposition, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles 31 octobre 2012-17 février 2013*, Nicosie.
- Ραμού-Χαψιάδη, Α. 1982. *Από τη φυλετική κοινωνία στην πολιτική. Πολιτειακή εξέλιξη της Αθήνας*, Αθήνα.
- Raubitschek, A. E. 1949. *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis. A Catalogue of the Inscriptions of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C.*, Cambridge, Mass.
- Richter, G. M. A. 1968. *Korai. Archaic Greek Maidens. A Study of the Development of the Kore Type in Greek Sculpture*, New York.
- Ridgway, B. S. 1977. *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton.
- Σαλλιώρα-Οικονομάκου, Μ. 2004. *Ο αρχαίος δήμος του Σουνίου. Ιστορική και τοπογραφική επισκόπηση*, Κορωπί.
- Salta, M. 1991. *Attische Grabstelen mit Inschriften. Beiträge zur Topographie und Prosopographie der Nekropolen von Athen, Attika und Salamis vom Peloponnesischen Krieg bis zur Mitte des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.*, Ph.D. Thesis, Tübingen.
- Schäfer, M. 1999. *Zwischen Adelsethos und Demokratie. Archäologische Quellen zu den Hippeis im archaischen und klassischen Athen*, München.
- Schefold, K. 1973. Neue Funde und Forschungen, *AntK* 16, 155-158.
- Schmaltz, B. 1983. *Griechische Grabreliefs*, Darmstadt.
- Schmaltz, B. 1998. Peplos und Chiton - Frühe griechische Tracht und ihre Darstellungskonventionen, *Jdl* 113, 1-30.
- Schmaltz, B. 2009. *Form und Farbe. Eine spätarchaische Mädchenstatue von der Athener Akropolis. Versuch einer Rekonstruktion*, Kiel.
- Shapiro, H. A. 1991. The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art, *AJA* 95, 629-656.
- Shapiro, H. A. 2001. Zum Wandel der attischen Gesellschaft nach den Perserkriegen im Spiegel der Akropolis Weihungen, in D. Papenfuß - V. M. Strocka (eds.), *Gab es das Griechische Wunder? Griechenland zwischen dem Ende des 6. Jhs. und der Mitte des 5. Jhs. v. Chr.*, Freiburg 1999, 91-98.
- Shapiro, A. 2009. *Athenian Identity and the Eastern Other from Kroisos to Xerxes. Athens Dialogues. Identity and Difference*, 1-30 (E-Journal).
- Shaw, M. C. 1993. The Aegean Garden, *AJA* 97, 661-685.
- Σκιαδάς, Α. 1967. *Επί τύμβω. Συμβολή εις την ερμηνείαν των ελληνικών επιτυμβίων εμμέτρων επιγραφών*, Αθήναι.
- Σκιαδάς, Α. 1989. Σέμα Φρασικλείας, Ερμηνευτικός συσχετισμός με τα επιτύμβια επιγράμματα και με τη γενική ποίηση, *Φίλια έπη. Τιμητικός τόμος εις Γ. Ε. Μυλωνάν*, III, 188-193.
- Solders, S. 1931. *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte Attikas*, Lund.
- Stewart, A. F. 1976. Aristion, *AAA* 9, 257-266.
- Stewart, A. F. 1990. *Greek Sculpture. An Exploration*, New Haven/London.
- Stieber, M. 1996. Phrasikleia's Lotuses, *Boreas* 19, 69-99.
- Stieber, M. 2004. *The Poetics of Appearance in the Attic Korai*, Austin.
- Svenbro, J. 2002. Φρασίκλεια. *Ανθρωπολογία της ανάγνωσης στην αρχαία Ελλάδα* (μτφρ. Στ. Οικονόμου), Αθήνα.
- Theodoropoulou-Polychroniades, Z. 2015. *Sounion Revisited. The Sanctuaries of Poseidon and Athena at Sounion in Attica*, Oxford.
- Traill, J. S. 1986. *Demos and Trittys. Epigraphical and Topographical Studies in the Organization of Attica*, Toronto.
- Treu, M. (ed.) 1984. *Σαπφούς μέλη. Sappho Lieder, Tusculum*, München - Zürich.
- Τριάντη, Ι. 1994. Παρατηρήσεις σε δύο ομάδες γλυπτών του τέλους του 6ου αι. από την Ακρόπολη, in W. D. E. Coulson et al. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy*, Oxford, 83-91.
- Trianti, I. 1998. La statue 629 de l'Acropole et la tête Ma 2718 du Musée du Louvre, *Mon Piot* 76, 1-33.
- Τριάντη, Ι. 1998. *Το Μουσείο της Ακροπόλεως*, Αθήνα.
- Τζάκου Αλεξανδρή, Ο. Ε. 2012. Πρώιμη Αρχαϊκή Κόρη από την Ανάβυσσο, in G. Kokkorou-Alevras - W.-D. Niemeier (eds.), *Neue Funde archaischer Plastik aus griechischen Heiligtümern und Nekropolen. Νέα ευρήματα αρχαϊκής γλυπτικής από ελληνικά ιερά και νεκροπόλεις Internationales Symposium, Athen 2.-3. November 2007. Διεθνές Συμπόσιο, Αθήνα, 2-3 Νοεμβρίου 2007. Atheniaia* 3, 51-72.

- Vernant, J. P. 1985. *Myth et Pensée chez les Grecs* 4, Paris.
- Vollkommer, R. (ed.) 2001. *Künstlerlexikon der Antike*, München - Leipzig.
- Walde, E. 2008. Schöne Männer. Die Körperkunst der Kouroi, in Chr. Franek *et al.* (eds.), *Thiasos. Festschrift für Erwin Pochmarski zum 65. Geburtstag*, Wien, cols. 1115-1128.
- Walter-Karydi, E. 2001. Den Frauen zu Ehren: Archaische Grabplastik für Athenerinnen, in A. Αλεξανδρή - Ι. Λεβέντη (eds.), *Καλλίστευμα. Μελέτες προς τιμήν της Όλγας Τζάχου-Αλεξανδρή*, Αθήνα.
- Wiegand, Th. 1928. *Die altattische stehende Göttin in Berlin*, *Antike Denkmäler*, vol. 4, 2, Berlin, 15-27, pls. 11-18.
- *Ηροδότου Ιστορία*. Εισαγωγή - μετάφραση - σχόλια Αδ. Θεοφίλου, εκδ. Πάπυρος, Αθήναι 1953.
- *Αριστοτέλους Αθηναίων Πολιτεία*. Αρχαίον Κείμενον. Εισαγωγή - μετάφραση - σημειώσεις Ι. Ζερβού, εκδ. Πάπυρος, Αθήνα 1970.

## THE STATUE OF PHRASIKLEIA – ON THE POLYCHROMY OF GREEK SCULPTURE

Since the founding of the National Archaeological Museum of Athens there was hardly a sculpture to document both the change of our perception of Greek sculpture and the change of scientific approach to it as clearly as the statue of Phrasikleia<sup>1</sup>.

150 years ago in Athens it was the main task to found a protecting museum for all the antiquities, which since the liberation of Greece had been found and stored at different places. As the sculptures were on the whole rather weathered and without any visible colour, it was first of all the form of the statues, their sculptural form to look at, as Winckelmann and his successors had done<sup>2</sup>. This fact is worth mentioning, because in Attica as early as the 1830ies Archaic grave monuments were excavated now and then like that of Lyseas and that of Aristion with relics of colour preserved, which of course were appreciated<sup>3</sup>. And nearly one generation before while excavating the temple of Aphaia and its architectural sculpture at Aegina, paintwork was discovered, while at the same time the French scholar A. Ch. Quatremère de Quincy worked out a colour reconstruction of the famous statue of the Olympian Zeus by means of the descriptions given in antique literature. Therefore the polychromy of Greek sculpture, the use and choice of colours, and the extension of painting were discussed all over Europe, however without convincing purists and classicists. Only the abundant outcome of painted marbles during the Acropolis excavations 1885-1887 dispelled any doubts about that Archaic Greek sculpture too was painted quite intensively. By some samples of colour even the pigments like cinnabar, azurite and malachite could be determined<sup>4</sup>. But on the other hand it seems not to be a coincidence that in these years neither none of the better preserved Acropolis korai was used to reconstruct the painted appearance of these statues: To paint Greek marble sculpture obviously still was considered as rather strange, the priority of the sculptural form still seems to have been the effective heritage of Winckelmann<sup>5</sup>.

---

1. Δεσπίνης - Καλιτσάς 2014, 15.

2. Half a century after Winckelmann the taste and the ideas of that time are well illustrated by some remarks of M. v. Wagner (1815/16). He just had detected colour relics at the Aegina sculptures and wrote: "As to our present taste and our current opinions it may be striking and strange to see statues perfectly executed but in some parts painted too... we are surprised at this apparently bizarre taste, and we consider it as a barbaric custom and a relic of earlier rough times." (cf. Wünsche 2003, 12) – the wording is obviously Winckelmann's.

Primavesi 2011, 17-23, emphasizes that "Winckelmann regarded painted Greek sculpture of early period as a historical fact" and he quotes the 2nd edition of *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (1776), where Winckelmann refers to the painting of statue garment (Artemis of Pompeii) and mentions a passage of Plato concluding that Plato's sentence "could give the impression, that the Greeks too used that" (sc. the painting of garment), a rather reserved remark; to this, cf. Borbein *et al.* 2006, 191. To Winckelmann's opinion in principle, cf. Prater 2003, 257.

3. Cf. Δεσπίνης - Καλιτσάς 2014, 405 and 371.

4. Cf. Lermann 1907, 89ff.

5. We have to remember that already G. Treu presented in 1886 a painted version of the pedimental sculptures of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (scale 1:10) and A. Furtwängler in 1906 a painted version of the pedimental sculptures of Aegina (cf. Elsner - Knoll 1994, 84ff. and Brinkmann 2003, 113). In Athens the well preserved Acropolis korai were used for painted casts, but only to document the preservation when excavated, i.e. the statues being broken, large parts missing, and the colours mostly faded, changed, or oxidised. No reconstruction was done at all.



Fig. 1. Colour reconstruction of the Phrasikleia statue by V. Brinkmann, U. Koch-Brinkmann and H. Piening. Photograph: Liebieghaus Skulpturensammlung (Leibnizpreis O. Primavesi 2007).

During the first half of the 20th century the polychromy of Greek sculpture was treated with reserve. One of the reasons obviously was the necessity at these times to take samples to analyse the colours, but by this the antique objects inevitably were damaged. Only by the 1960ies UV light started to be used, which applied by special techniques could show on the marble surface the different mineral colours as dark or light greyish "shadow" without even touching the surface<sup>6</sup>. Chr. Wolters and V. v. Graeve were the first who examined Greek marbles systematically by this method<sup>7</sup>, which from the 1980ies on was improved, varied, specified, and then combined with X-ray treatment by V. Brinkmann. In 2008/9 he examined neatly the statue of Phrasikleia by these methods and worked out a colour reconstruction of the figure<sup>8</sup>, which shown for the first time in an exhibition at Berlin (2010) gives the pale shimmer of the original colours an impressive new vividness (fig. 1).

Besides the intensive mineral colours of this reconstruction, the splendour of gold and lead tin foil is most fascinating, used alternately for the rosette petals and only as lead tin foil for the borders of the meanders and for the lower hem of the chiton. The use of the lead tin combination was, according to Brinkmann, indicated by the very high concentration of lead revealed by X-ray fluorescence analyses especially at the lower hem of the garment, and for the use of gold leaf he referred to a detail photograph (fig. 2)<sup>9</sup>. Regarding the high content of lead it's rather strange that no tin at all was detected, which should have been expected at least in adequate quantities. Also looking at the photograph of the "reflecting" gold relic<sup>10</sup> it is obvious that it is a dull white area without any yellowish shine of gold, without the characteristic "l'éclat fauve de l'or", well known from numerous Delian sculptures of Hellenistic period<sup>11</sup> and e.g. still visible today at the golden stars of the vault in the Hekatomnos grave at Mylasa/Milas in Asia Minor (4th c. BC) (fig. 3). Furthermore the detail photograph (fig. 2) shows at the left side of the white area a small C shaped shadow, which proves that the surface of this white area is very little deeper than the surrounding area, a fact which hardly fits to a foil lying on the marble surface. Thus it was indicated to have a further neat look to the surface of the statue. And by this we discovered numerous small marks<sup>12</sup>, which are visible only if the light falls in a special way: dull white marks with a thin shadowy edge (fig. 4); changing the light incidence a little bit there was only the marble surface to be seen (fig. 5). As some of these marks were situated in areas recently damaged, it is obvious that the marks are plane broken marble crystals, which reflect the light when it falls in a specific angle.

In view of these discrepancies it seemed appropriate to start a further scientific investigation, to which the staff of the Museum gave all help, and which was carried out by A. G. Karydas and the research institute "Demokritos"<sup>13</sup>. Looking first of all for the proof of gold and lead tin foil, Mr.

6. Cf. Brinkmann 2011, 9.

7. Cf. Wolters 1960, 11ff. v. Graeve 1970, 101.

8. Cf. Brinkmann *et al.* 2010a, 195-208.

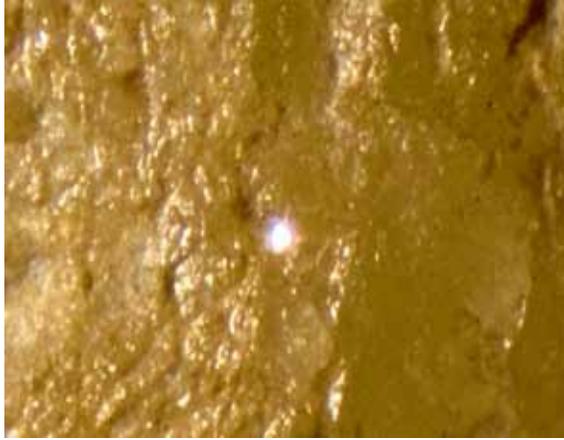
9. Cf. Brinkmann *et al.* 2010a, 199, fig. 145. Brinkmann *et al.* 2010b, 78, fig. 65.

10. Cf. Brinkmann *et al.* 2010b, 78.

11. Cf. Bourgeois - Jockey 2005, 272ff.

12. G. Despinis and N. Kaltsas kindly accompanied this investigation (10.2.2014).

13. The investigation was kindly granted by the Ministry of Culture, most generously supported by the colleagues of the National Archaeological Museum Dr. G. Kakavas and Dr. M. Salta, and carried out by A. Karydas in October 2014.



*Fig. 2. Gold relic at a rosette of the Phrasikleia statue (photograph: V. Brinkmann).*



*Fig. 3. Golden star at the vault of the Hekatomnos grave at Mylasa/Milas (photograph: G. Merzenich).*

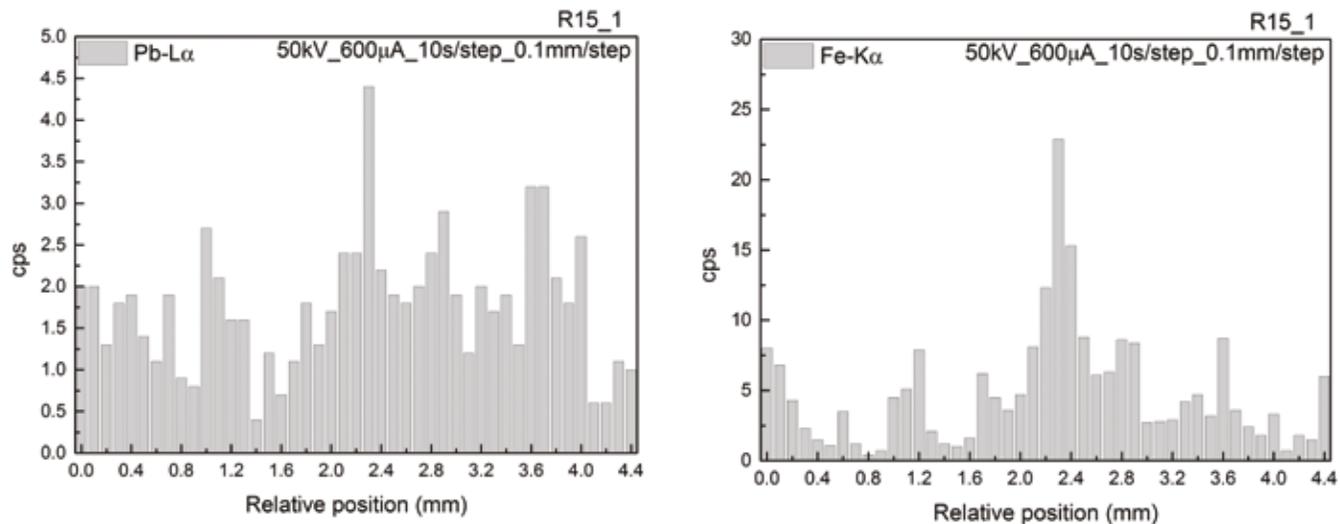


*Figs. 4-5. Part of a rosette petal of the Phrasikleia statue at different lighting (left side of the back at the bottom) (photographs by the author).*

Karydas decided to use the scanning micro X-ray fluorescence analyses, a method which allows to register the content of metal not only at one single point, but by tiny little steps (0.1 to 0.25 mm) adds the measurements at numerous points to short lines (up to 6.5 mm) or small areas (up to 2x2 mm). Drawn up in diagrams we see the presence and the amount of a metal on the statue surface for a particular line or area, e.g. within an ornament<sup>14</sup>. Rather surprising was the result that iron and lead were found at both sides of the grooves which divide and outline the ornaments, and that within the grooves in most cases the content of metal was remarkably high (figs. 6, 7).

As to iron we may suppose that some ochre pigment with a natural proportion of iron was mixed with a matrix and applied by a brush: By

<sup>14</sup> The detailed documentation of Karydas investigation will be published within 2016 in *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*.



Figs. 6-7. Diagram of the content of iron and lead on the surface of the rosette, central fold at the back (A. G. Karydas).

this method of course a little more paint accumulated within the grooves. The same might be true in case of lead, as the diagrams show: Lead seems to have been used as a pigment, mixed with a matrix too and applied by brush being accumulated likewise within the grooves – so lead may have been used as white lead coating all the marble surface to get an even, homogenous cover as preparation layer<sup>15</sup>. This would mean for Brinkmann's reconstruction of the flesh colour that instead of mixing lead white, red ochre and light brown umber the white lead should rather have been considered as grounding<sup>16</sup>.

Karydas' new investigations did reveal neither gold nor tin at all. On the other hand mercury (Hg) was registered within the frontal meander, which leads unambiguously to the conclusion of the use of cinnabar, as well as the detection of bromine (Br) in a rosette is a strong evidence for the use of an organic pigment, most likely of murex-purple. Both these colourants were not registered by Brinkmann. For this of course we have to remember that Brinkmann's measurements were taken from all over the statue, whereas Karydas' investigation was limited to the lower part of the statue, as the spectrometer he used needed to be based upon the solid floor of the Museum. On the other hand, the 23 lines or areas of the new investigations are composed of more than 1,600 point measurements, the validity of each point being assessed by the following next point, whereas Brinkmann's 230 measurements all over the statue are in each case rather isolated, and the result of each being not beyond doubt. Therefore on the whole the doubts about the use of gold and lead tin foil in Brinkmann's Phrasikleia reconstruction are growing considerably, and his colourant assortment has to be extended at least by cinnabar and purple.

Reconstructing the rosette petals as golden and alternately silvery Brinkmann emphasizes "the striking mimetic effect" and altogether he stresses that the polychromy heightens "the lifelike quality of the figure"<sup>17</sup>.

15. To compare: In the Hekatombos grave in Mylasa/Milas the marble surface was coated by lime-water and the Augustus of Prima Porta by a casein layer (cf. Liverani 2005, 201).

16. It is not clear why in the case of 14 RFAT measurements Brinkmann registered only iron oxide, no lead, and vice versa at the hem of the chiton only lead, but no iron at all (cf. Brinkmann *et al.* 2010a, 196) – in this part of the figure Karydas registered iron too.

17. Cf. Brinkmann *et al.* 2010a, 205 and 208 – or he emphasizes the statue's naturalism (208: realism).

But looking for actual preserved rosettes, which might have been imitated in case of Phrasikleia, we will find countless golden rosettes, found in sanctuaries and graves from Mycenaean time on, which often were proved to have been fixed to garments, but never will we find golden and alternately silver petals at these rosettes. So Brinkmann's reconstruction may be fascinating to us, but obviously ignores the reality of this early time. On the whole how man perceived nature or reality like the pale skin of a woman in the 6th c. BC, we don't know for sure. We can only try to draw careful conclusions from the preserved works of art, which may imply that people back then had quite a different view on the nature than we have today.

For a convincing reconstruction of the painted Phrasikleia statue it will be essential to use Karydas' method for the entire figure and equally Brinkmann's meritorious investigations by means of UV light which should be done as micro scanning process too. Only by such a comprehensive and extensive check of small lines and areas by both UV light and X-ray will we be sure about the continuity of the colourant or metal cover on the marble surface and about the validity of the measurements. Such a task of course will require team work of the staff of the Museum, of scientific research institutes like "Demokritos", and of archaeological institutes. As to the statue of Phrasikleia with its exceptional colour relics it could contribute essentially both to the knowledge of Archaic Greek polychromy<sup>18</sup> and to the investigation of the complex relationship of sculptural form and painting as integral components of the statue.

Bernhard Schmaltz

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

---

- Borbein *et al.* 2006. A. Borbein - Th. W. Gaethgens - J. Irmscher - M. Kunze (eds.), *J. J. Winckelmann, Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums 1764/1776*, Katalog der antiken Denkmäler.
- Bourgeois, B. - Ph. Jockey 2005. La dorure des marbres Grecs, *JSav*, 253-316.
- Brinkmann, V. 2003. Kleine Helden und Götter, Farbige Modelle von den Giebeln des Aphaia-Tempels, in V. Brinkmann - R. Wünsche (eds.), *Bunte Götter*, Glyptothek München, München.
- Brinkmann, V. 2011. Die Farben antiker Marmorskulptur, in M. Kunz (ed.), *Die Artemis von Pompeji und die Entdeckung der Farbigkeit griechischer Plastik*, Mainz, 9-15.
- Brinkmann *et al.* 2010a. V. Brinkmann - U. Koch-Brinkmann - H. Piening, The Funerary Monument to Phrasikleia, in V. Brinkmann - O. Primavesi - M. Hollein (eds.), *Circumlitio, The Polychromy of Antique and Mediaeval Sculpture*, Frankfurt, 189-217.
- Brinkmann *et al.* 2010b. V. Brinkmann - U. Koch-Brinkmann - H. Piening, Das Grabmal der Phrasikleia, in V. Brinkmann - A. Scholl (eds.), *Bunte Götter, Die Farbigkeit antiker Skulptur*, Ausstellung Berlin 2010, München, 76-83.
- Δεσπίνης, Γ. - Ν. Καλτσάς (eds.) 2014. *Κατάλογος Γλυπτών* I. 1. *Γλυπτά των αρχαϊκών χρόνων από τον 7ο αιώνα έως το 480 π.Χ.*, Αθήνα.

---

<sup>18</sup> For these investigations the statue has the advantage that the surface has not been restored by means of chemicals to fix the colours. This is most important regarding the proof of a matrix. This information about the state of the surface I owe Mrs. K. Andreadi, who restored the statue in 1972/73 for eight months and who was responsible for the restoration of the Museum sculptures till 1992. I thank her very much for her detailed report on the restoration of the statue.

- Elsner, G. - K. Knoll (eds.) 1994. *Das Albertinum vor 100 Jahren – die Skulpturensammlung Georg Treus*, Staatl. Kunstsammlungen Dresden, 84ff.
- v. Graeve, V. 1970. *Der Alexandersarkophag und seine Werkstatt*, Berlin.
- Kader, I. 2003. "Täuschende Spielereien", Kolorierte Abgüsse im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert, in V. Brinkmann - R. Wünsche (eds.), *Bunte Götter*, Glyptothek München, München, 245-255.
- Lermann, W. 1907. *Altgriechische Plastik*, München.
- Liverani, P. 2005. Der Augustus von Primaporta, in V. Brinkmann - R. Wünsche (eds.), *Bunte Götter*, Ausstellung Basel 2005, 199-203.
- Prater, A. 2003. Die Wiederentdeckung der Polychromie in der griechischen Architektur und Plastik im 18. und 19. Jh., in V. Brinkmann - R. Wünsche (eds.), *Bunte Götter*, Glyptothek München, München, 257-267.
- Primavesi, O. 2011. Das Lächeln der Artemis, in M. Kunze (ed.), *Die Artemis von Pompeji und die Entdeckung der Farbigkeit griechischer Plastik*, Mainz, 17-67.
- Reuterswärd, P. 1960. *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik*, Stockholm.
- Wolters, Chr. 1960. Eine bemalte attische Grabstele unter der Quarzlampe, *MüJb* 11, 11ff.
- Wünsche, R. 2003. Die Farbe kehrt zurück..., in V. Brinkmann - R. Wünsche (eds.), *Bunte Götter*, Glyptothek München, München, 11-23.

# THE ANTIKYTHERA MECHANISM: BASIC FACTS AND RECENT RESULTS

## 1. Introduction

The Antikythera Mechanism is the oldest computer in the history of humanity. It was constructed in the 2nd c. BCE. It was made of bronze and was protected by two bronze covers and a wooden case. One hundred years later it was lost for centuries in a shipwreck in the depths of the sea, just beyond the harbour of Antikythera, a small Greek island between Peloponnese and Crete. It was discovered 2,000 years later, in the spring of 1900. Its enigmatic geared mechanism has been studied by several researchers. During the last ten years, an international and multidisciplinary team of scientists (the *Antikythera Mechanism Research Group*) has deciphered important functions of the Mechanism, with astonishing revelations about the sophisticated astronomical knowledge of ancient Greeks and their excellent mathematical, geometrical, and particularly mechanical engineering skills.

## 2. The discovery of the Mechanism and its first announcement

The shipwreck carrying the Antikythera Mechanism was found by chance, close to the small Greek island of Antikythera (fig. 1), in April 1900, by sponge divers<sup>1-8</sup>. The shipwreck was dated between 85 and 68 BCE (coins from Pergamon and Ephesos<sup>9</sup>). Later the Mechanism was stylistically dated, around the second half of the 2nd c. BCE<sup>10</sup>. Attempts to date it, by analyzing the pattern of eclipses inscribed on the back side of the Antikythera Mechanism, are outlined later (§ 6.5).



Fig. 1. The island of Antikythera is located between the mainland and the island of Crete.

## 2.1. Early newspaper reports

In order to unfold the thread of this unique and interesting story, five contemporary Greek newspapers were thoroughly investigated between the 1st November 1900 and the 31st December 1902. In total about 440 articles were found in: *Εμπρός* (161 articles), *Εστία* (76 articles), *Πρωία* (9 articles), *Σκριπ* (154 articles), and *Σφαίρα* (42 articles).

On Holy Tuesday of 1900 (according to the Julian calendar used at that time) a group of Symiot sponge divers, including six divers and twenty-two rowers in two boats, probably sailing to Africa, were confronted by stormy weather in the passage between the islands of Crete and Kythera. Thus, they were forced to resort in the bay of Potamos in Antikythera where they anchored.

When the storm passed, Elias Lykopandis, a strong and experienced diver, dived not far from the shore. At a depth of about 50 meters, he discovered an ancient shipwreck full of marble and bronze statues and other ancient items, lying on the seabed.

Later the two boats with the sponge divers returned to Symi, where a Symiot professor of Archaeology at the University of Athens, A. Economou, convinced them to report the findings to the Greek Government. On November 6th the captain, Dimitrios Kontos, and Elias Lykopandis went to Athens and presented themselves to the Minister of Education, Spyridon Stais, who was immediately impressed by their report of the discovery<sup>6, 8</sup>.

The troopship "Mykali", assisted occasionally by smaller ships ("Aigialia", "Kissa", and "Syros"), was immediately made available. The ship sailed on November 24th, 1900 from Piraeus. On board were the sponge divers who had discovered the shipwreck. Excavations started soon after and lasted until August 1901, often interrupted for short or longer intervals due to bad weather or prolonged pecuniary negotiations between the government and the divers.

Most of the antiquities were found between November 1900 and February 1901. Among them were: marble and bronze statues, parts of statues (heads, arms, legs, or bodies), sculptures, pottery, bronze vessels, jugs, cups, plates, utensils and food containers, gold jewelry, a sword, parts of a decorated bed, the head of a bronze lion, parts of horses, an anchor, as well as parts of the ancient ship<sup>11</sup>.

On May 21st, 1902 a modest but most important announcement appeared in the newspapers (*Άστυ*, p. 1, *Σκριπ*, p. 4). The former Minister of Education, Spyridon Stais, while visiting the National Archaeological Museum, noticed some inscriptions and part of a small gear in one of the scattered pieces of bronze antiquities. He was able to assemble a few more pieces to form a slab on which the whole gear and a few letters could be distinguished. Stais had discovered the "Antikythera Mechanism" (fig. 2).

## 3. Early studies

It was Pericles Rediadis who first stressed the importance of the finding in an extended article in May 1903<sup>4</sup>. Lieutenant Commander Ioannis Theofanidis attempted then to build a bronze replica but never managed to finish it. It is not until the mid-20th century when Derek de Solla Price was informed about the discovery of the geared mechanism dating to 2nd c. BCE and immediately travels to Greece. After examining the fragmented Mechanism with the help of Charalambos Karakalos (from the Research Centre "Demokritos", Athens) he began his research which would last for 30 years. In 1959, he published his famous article (Price D. de Solla<sup>7</sup>, 1959) entitled "An Ancient Greek Computer" and later, in 1974, the more extended article "Gears from the Greeks" (Price D. de Solla<sup>8</sup>, 1974).

Manos Roumeliotis, from the University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki, built several computer simulations and animations of the Antikythera Mechanism. He was the link between Price and the next generation of researchers<sup>12</sup>.

### ΣΠΟΥΔΑΙΑ ΑΝΑΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ ΕΝ Τῷ ΕΘΝΙΚῷ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚῷ ΜΟΥΣΕΙῳ

Εὑρεσις ἐνεπιγράφου χαλκίνης  
πλακῆς.—Τὰ Ἀντικυθηραϊκὰ

Χθὲς τὴν πρῶταν ὁ πρῶτην ἐπὶ τῆς  
Παιδείας ὑπουργὸς κ. Σ. Στάης μετα-  
βάς μετὰ τῆς κυρίας τῶν καὶ τῆς γυ-  
ναϊκαδέλφου του εἰς τὸ θνικὸν ἀρχαιο-  
λογικὸν Μουσεῖον παρέμεινεν ἐπὶ πολ-  
λὰς ὥρας ἐν αὐτῷ.

Κατὰ τὴν ἐπίσκεψίν του ἐν τῇ αἰ-  
θούσῃ τῶν Κυθηροῦτικῶν ἐβίβασεν ἐπι-  
σταμένως τὰ ἀχρηστὰ τεμῆλια, τὰ το-  
ποθετημένα ἐν τινὶ ἰδιαιτέρῳ χώρῳ.

Μεταξὺ τῶν ἀχρηστων τούτων τε-  
μαχίων παρετήρησε τρία τεμάχια χαλ-  
κίνης πλακῆς κεκαλυμμένα ὑπὸ πυκνοῦ  
στρώματος ὀξειδίων τοῦ χαλκοῦ καὶ  
ἄλλων ξένων οὐσιῶν.

Ἐπὶ τῶν τεμαχίων τῆς χαλκίνης  
πλακῆς ἐφαίνοντο τροχαὶ ἰσοτιῶται  
ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐξαρτώμενοι καὶ ἐν ὅλῳ  
ἀποτελοῦντες.

Ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πλακῆς διέκρινε μα-  
κρὰν ἐπιγραφὴν κανονικῶς γεγραμμέ-  
νην, ἧς ἐφαίνετο ἡ ὀπισθία ὄψις, τῆς  
ἐμπροσθίας ὀλοσχερῶς κεκαλυμμένης  
ὑπὸ ξένων οὐσιῶν.

Ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ταύτης ἰὰ λυθῆ  
πιθανῶς τὸ ζήτημα τῆς ἐποχῆς τοῦ  
ναυαγίου, περὶ τοῦ ὁποίου τόσα ἐγρά-  
φησαν καὶ ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἐν τῇ ξένη,  
πάντοτε ἐπὶ ὑπὸ ὑποθέσεων ετηριζό-  
μενα.

Ἐἶνε περίεργος ἡ σύμπτωσις τῆς  
εὑρέσεως τῆς ἐνεπιγράφου πλακῆς ὑπὸ  
τοῦ κ. Σ. Στάη, ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπουργίας  
τοῦ ὁποίου ἀνεκαλύφθησαν οἱ ἀντικυ-  
θηραϊκαὶ ἀρχαιότητες, αἱ δεκτικῆ-  
του ἀξίας, αἱ κοσμοῦσαι τὸ ἡμέτερον  
Ἐθνικὸν Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Μουσεῖον.

Fig. 2. The announcement of the detection of the Antikythera Mechanism (*Άστυ*, 21 May 1902).

Alan Bromley and Michael Wright X-rayed the fragments and published several important, revealing articles<sup>13-15</sup>.

Wright has continued his studies until today<sup>16-21</sup>. He discovered the spiral structure of the Metonic and Saros Dials (§5.2 and §5.4) on the back side, which was later independently proven by Anastasiou<sup>22</sup> (in 2014) and the “pin-and-slot” arrangement (see §5.5), simulating the orbit of the Moon around the Earth (what we call today “Kepler’s 2nd Law”). He also explained how the Antikythera Mechanism displayed the lunar phases and proposed that it also showed the position of the five planets known in antiquity.

#### **4. New investigations – Techniques used**

In 2001 a thorough research of the Mechanism commenced, which integrated in 2005 the use of innovative technologies (high-resolution imaging systems, multi-light photography, three-dimensional tomography) on behalf of a group of Greek and British researchers from the University of Thessaloniki, the University of Athens, and the University of Cardiff, UK. The research was under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture and was funded by the Leverhulme Trust. The research group included astronomer Mike Edmunds and mathematician Tony Freeth from the University of Cardiff, astronomer John Seiradakis from the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, astronomer Xenophon Moussas, and physicist and historical analyst Yianis Bitsakis from the University of Athens. Chemist Dr. Eleni Magou and archaeologist-museologist Mary Zafeiropoulou from the National Archaeological Museum joined them soon after, with a team of conservators, as well as philologist and palaeographer Agamemnon Tselikas from the National Bank of Greece, Cultural Foundation.

The Hewlett-Packard technical team, headed by Tom Malzbender, who realized the ground-breaking digital imaging technique, *PTM Dome*, played a decisive role<sup>23</sup>. It was this method that rendered the deciphering of the almost erased texts and data on the surface of the Mechanism possible. The data had remained illegible even with the use of the best systems of both conventional and digital photography. In October 2005, a multi-member X-Tek team brought an eight-and-a-half-ton X-ray tomographer (CT), known as “Blade Runner”, to Athens to inspect the Antikythera Mechanism. The three-dimensional images produced from the examination of the ancient mechanism’s fragments by the state-of-the-art tomography revealed unknown aspects of its interior<sup>24</sup>. This method was the first to unveil hidden inscriptions thinner than one tenth of a millimetre and important findings regarding the intricate internal structure of the gears and axes.

#### **5. The basic functions of the Antikythera Mechanism**

The Antikythera Mechanism was a bronze, portable (laptop-size), geared mechanism which calculated and displayed, with good precision, the movement of the Sun and the Moon on the sky and the phase of the Moon for a given epoch. It could also calculate the dates of the four-year cycle of the Olympic Games and predict eclipses!

Its 30 precisely cut gears were driven by a manifold, with which the user could select, with the help of a pointer, any particular date on a dial in the front side. The same pointer showed, simultaneously, the position of the Sun (date/Sun pointer). The fundamental shaft of the Antikythera Mechanism was B1 (fig. 3) which reproduced the movements of the Moon and the Sun among the stars. While cranking the manifold, several pointers were synchronously driven by the gears, to show the above mentioned celestial phenomena on several accurately marked annuli. The exact function of the existing gears has finally been decoded. All are dedicated to the periodic cycles of the Solar System, based on the variable motions of the Sun and the Moon. No clockwork driving mechanism has been found.

# Ο ΜΗΧΑΝΙΣΜΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΤΙΚΥΘΗΡΩΝ

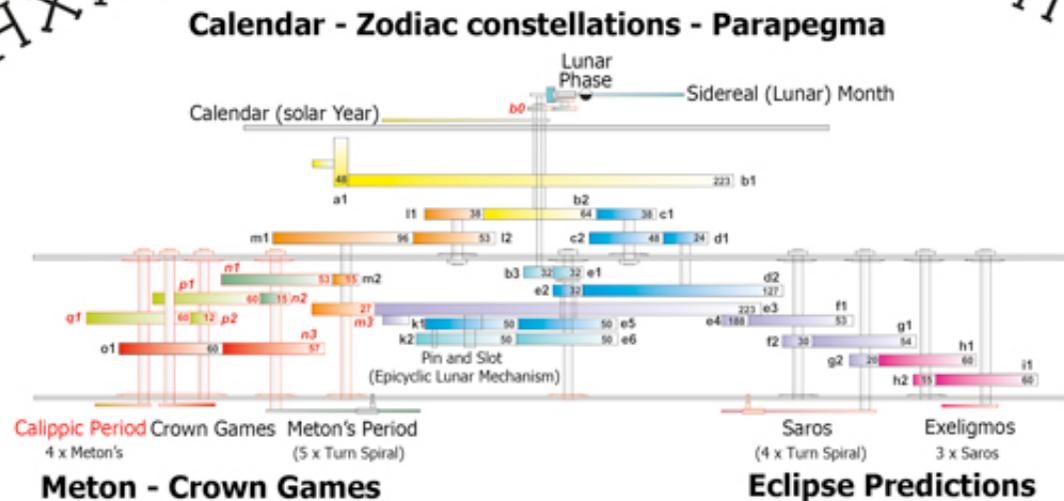


Fig. 3. The gears layout of the Antikythera Mechanism (Anastasiou, Seiradakis. Adapted from T. Freeth).

It contained an extensive user's manual, a very large portion of which (about 3,000 letters, all, without exception, written in the Greek alphabet) has been read after 2,000 years by a major new investigation (2006-2016), using state-of-the-art equipment. The results were published in a major publication<sup>10</sup>.

## 5.1. Calendar – Leap years

In the front side of the Antikythera Mechanism the remnants of two concentric rings can easily be distinguished (fig. 4).

The inner ring had 360 marks divided into 12 sections, bearing the names of the 12 zodiac signs. Two pointers showed the position of the Sun, the Moon, and probably more pointers showed the position of the 5 planets. For every 19 turns of the solar pointer, the lunar pointer made 254 turns. It was well known in ancient Greece that in 19 (tropical) years (of 365.25 days) there are almost exactly 254 sidereal months (of 27.32 days). A full orbit of the Moon around the Earth is called *sidereal month* and it takes 27.32 days.

The detachable outer ring had 365 marks divided into 12 sections of 30 marks each, bearing the names of the Egyptian months (written with Greek letters – similar to contemporary writing Greek words by using the English alphabet, *Greeklish*).

Underneath it, there were 365 little holes (of about 0.8 mm in diameter, each). According to the Egyptian calendar, a year has 12x30 = 360 canonical days and 5 *epagomenae* (επαγόμεναι) days. Every 4 years the user would lift the outer ring, rotate it anticlockwise by one hole and, with the help of a pin, would attach it again to the front side, taking, thus, into account leap years. It is obvious that the Antikythera Mechanism was a calendrical device, demonstrating a fairly accurate calendar, useful for farmers, sailors, etc.

## 5.2. The Metonic period – the ancient Corinthian calendar

With the help of the upper back dial (which is usually referred to as the "Metonic dial"), the user could read the position of the Moon within the *Metonic period* of 19 tropical years, which is almost exactly equal to 235 synodic (lunar) months (of 29.53 days). The Moon needs 29.53 days to re-

turn to the same phase on the sky (e.g. from full Moon to full Moon). The difference between the two periods (of 19 tropical years and 235 synodic months) is only 2 hours. This knowledge allowed the calculation of the exact day of full Moons, a very useful knowledge for agricultural or nautical activities 2,000 years ago, when no ...electricity was available!

The Metonic spiral (fig. 5) contained a full (twelve-month) calendar (repeated 19 times). Comparing this calendar with the known calendars of

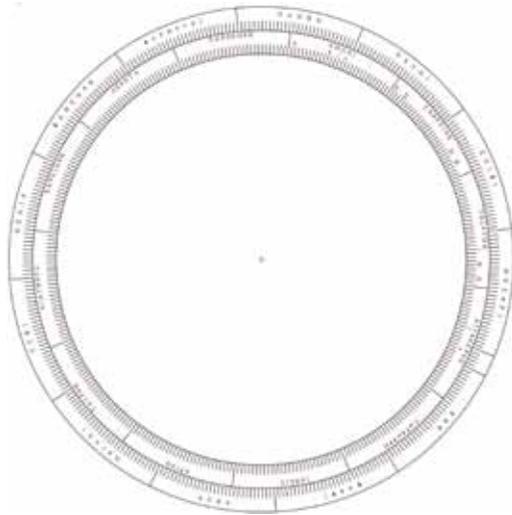


Fig. 4. The front dials  
(Credit: Anastasiou M.22).

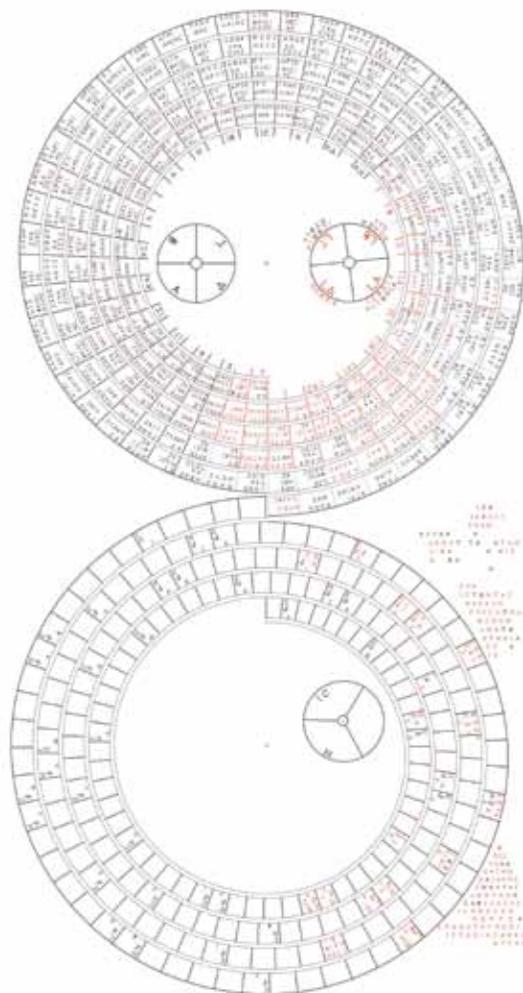


Fig. 5. The Metonic (upper) and the Saros (lower) dials. The Callippic and Olympic subsidiary dials (within the Metonic) and the Exeligmos (within the Saros) dials are also shown (Credit: Anastasiou M.22).

ancient Greek cities, it was found that it coincided with the calendars of the cities of Kerkyra, Bouthrotos, and Dodona (in Northwestern Greece), all of which are Corinthian colonies (table I). No significant coincidence with the survived calendars of other major Greek cities (e.g. Athens, Rhodes, etc.) was found. Could this indicate that the Antikythera Mechanism was used (but not, necessarily, constructed) in northwestern Greece?

Antikythera Mechanism	Kerkyra	Dodona	Bouthrotos	Tauromenion	Athens	Rhodes
ΦΟΙΝΙΚΑΙΟΣ	ΦΟΙΝΙΚΑΙΟΣ	ΦΟΙΝΙΚΑΙΟΣ	ΦΟΙΝΙΚΑΙΟΣ	ΙΤΩΝΙΟΣ	ΜΕΤΑΓΕΙΤΝΙΩΝ	ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΣ
ΚΡΑΝΕΙΟΣ			ΚΡΑΝΕΙΟΣ	ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΣ	ΒΟΗΔΡΟΜΙΩΝ	ΔΑΛΙΟΣ
ΛΑΝΟΤΡΟΠΙΟΣ		ΑΛΙΟΤΡΟΠΙΟΣ		ΛΑΝΟΤΡΟΣ	ΠΥΑΝΟΨΙΩΝ	ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΟΣ
ΜΑΧΑΝΕΥΣ	ΜΑΧΑΝΕΥΣ	ΔΑΤΥΙΟΣ		ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ	ΜΑΙΜΑΚΤΗΡΙΩΝ	ΔΙΟΣΘΥΟΣ
ΔΩΔΕΚΑΤΕΥΣ	ΔΩΔΕΚΑΤΕΥΣ			ΔΥΩ/ΟΔΕΚΑΤΕΥΣ	ΠΟΣΙΔΕΩΝ	ΘΕΥΔΑΙΣΙΟΣ
ΕΥΚΛΕΙΟΣ	ΕΥΚΛΕΙΟΣ		ΕΥΚΛΕΙΟΣ	ΕΥΚΛΕΙΟΣ	ΓΑΜΗΛΙΩΝ	ΠΕΔΑΓΕΙΤΝΙΟΣ
ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΟΣ	ΑΡΤΕΜΙΤΙΟΣ			ΑΡΤΕΜΙΤ/ΣΙΟΣ	ΑΝΘΕΣΤΗΡΙΩΝ	ΒΑΔΡΟΜΙΟΣ
ΨΥΔΡΕΥΣ	ΨΥΔΡΕΥΣ		ΨΥΔΡΕΥΣ	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ	ΕΛΑΦΗΒΟΛΙΩΝ	ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΣ
ΓΑΜΕΛΙΟΣ		ΓΑΜΙΛΙΟΣ	ΓΑΜΙΛΙΟΣ	ΕΛΛΟΚΙΟΣ	ΜΟΥΝΥΧΙΩΝ	ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΣ
ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΣ			ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΣ	ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙΟΣ	ΘΑΡΓΗΛΙΩΝ	ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΣ
ΠΑΝΑΜΟΣ	ΠΑΝΑΜΟΣ	ΠΑΝΑΜΟΣ	ΠΑΝΑΜΟΣ	ΠΑΝΑΜΟΣ	ΣΚΙΡΟΦΟΡΙΩΝ	ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΣ
ΑΠΕΛΛΑΙΟΣ	ΑΠΕΛΛΑΙΟΣ	ΑΠΕΛΛΑΙΟΣ		ΑΠΕΛΛΑΙΟΣ	ΕΚΑΤΟΜΒΑΙΩΝ	ΠΑΝΑΜΟΣ
<b>Coincidence</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>86%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>58%</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>33%</b>

Table I. Comparison of the Antikythera Mechanism calendar with the calendar of several ancient cities. Differences are marked with red letters.

### 5.3. The Olympic Games

On a cultural basis, the Antikythera Mechanism determined the inauguration of the Olympic Games (fig. 5), which occurred on the first Full Moon after the longest day of the year – that is, the summer solstice. It was also used to designate the time for the inauguration of the rest of the *Stefanites* (Crown) Games – games where the prize was the olive, celery, etc. branch and not a pecuniary award. Such games included the Pythian, the Nemean and the Isthmian games, as opposed to the Panathenaic Games, which were *Chrimatites* (monetary awarding) games. Details about the Stefanites Games depicted on the back side of the Antikythera Mechanism were published by Freeth *et al.* (2008)<sup>25</sup>.

### 5.4. The Saros period – An Eclipse-Predictor

Eclipses repeat in an orderly, periodic manner every 223 lunar months – what is known as the *Saros period*. As the user turned the manifold to select a date with a pointer on the front dial, another pointer, on the lower back side of the Antikythera Mechanism, moved along the 223 divisions of the spiral (fig. 5), each representing a month. Some of the divisions were inscribed with code letters and numbers (*glyphs*). “H” represented the word “Helios” (the Sun). “Σ” (the Greek letter Sigma) the word “Selene” (the Moon). An anchor-like symbol (“7”) depicted the first two letters of the word “ΩΡΑ” (hour). The combinations “H\m” and “N\ν” indicated whether the eclipse would take place during daytime “H\m” or nighttime “N\ν”. The rest of the letters represented ancient Greek numbers and symbols. At the bottom of the glyphs, *index letters* were inscribed in alphabetical order.

When the pointer reached a division with inscriptions, the user was warned that, on that month and hour (7), a solar (H) or lunar (Σ) eclipse would take place. The exact date was determined on the front dial, by slowly advancing the date pointer until the Sun and the Moon pointers were either opposite each other (lunar eclipse) or in-line (solar eclipse).

The duration of the Saros period is 18 years, 11 days and 8 hours. This means that, although the characteristic properties of an eclipse repeat every 223 lunar months, an eclipse observed in a certain geographical longitude will be observed again after  $3 \times 223 = 669$  lunar months (54 years). The intermediate two eclipses will be observed 8 hours later, i.e.  $120^\circ$  westward (allowing for Earth's rotation in 24 hours). This periodicity, known as *Exeligmos* in ancient Greece, was displayed in a subsidiary dial, with three divisions, inside the Metonic dial (fig. 5). The inscriptions on it indicated that the user should add 0, 8, or 16 hours to the predicted eclipse, for the eclipse to be visible.

### 5.5. The pin-and-slot mechanism

The accuracy of the position of the Moon was achieved by a *pin-and-slot* mechanism that reconstructed Hipparchus's *first anomaly of the Moon's motion* (due to its elliptical orbit around the Earth). This anomaly is, in fact, what we call today *Kepler's 2nd Law*! The pin-and-slot mechanism<sup>16</sup> consisted of a gear with an off-centre pin, driving a similar (with the same numbers of teeth) gear with a slot. The axes of the two gears were slightly eccentric (by 1.1 mm). As the first gear rotated, it drove the second gear, slower or faster (because the pin of the first gear was engaged – through the slot – either close to the centre or close to the periphery of the second gear) due to the eccentricity of their axes. The variable rotation speed of the second gear simulated the variations in the Moon's angular velocity, as seen from the Earth, to better than 1 part in 200<sup>26</sup>.

## 6. Recent investigations of the Antikythera Mechanism

### 6.1. The *Parapegma* of the Antikythera Mechanism

A small part of a *parapegma*<sup>27</sup>, with six star events and three zodiac statements, is preserved on Fragment C of the Antikythera Mechanism (fig. 6). The sequence of these events and statements depends on the geographical latitude, where they are observed. A thorough astronomical analysis reveals that the *parapegma* inscribed on the Antikythera Mechanism was best working for geographical latitudes between  $33.3^\circ\text{N} - 38.0^\circ\text{N}$ . Several ancient Greek cities lie within or immediately adjacent to this zone. Among these cities, Rhodes (latitude  $36.4^\circ\text{N}$ ) and Syracuse ( $37.1^\circ\text{N}$ ) have often been suggested as places of origin and/or use of the Antikythera Mechanism. The northern cities in Epirus, Kerkyra ( $39.6^\circ\text{N}$ ), Dodona ( $39.5^\circ\text{N}$ ), and Bouthrotos ( $39.7^\circ\text{N}$ ), whose month names well match the luni-solar calendar of the Mechanism (§5.2), seem not to be favoured. Corinth ( $37.9^\circ\text{N}$ ) as well as Tauromenion in Sicily ( $37.8^\circ\text{N}$ ) lie just inside the most likely zone. However, it should be stressed that (a) the limited preserved events and (b) the historical uncertainties do not allow a firm statement about the geographical association of the Antikythera Mechanism. In or-

Fig. 6. Part of the *parapegma* of the Antikythera Mechanism (Credit: M. Anastasiou).

Κ ΕΙΕΣ ΠΕΡΙΑ  
 Λ ΥΑΔΕΣ ΔΥΟΝΤΑΙ ΕΣ ΠΕΡΙΑΙ Κ  
 Μ ΤΑΥΡΟΣ ΑΡΧΕΤΑΙΑΝ ΑΤΕΛΛΕΙΝ Α  
 Ν ΛΥΡΑ ΕΠΙΤΕΛΛΕΙ ΕΣ ΠΕΡΙΑ  
 Ξ ΠΛΕΙΑΣ ΕΠΙΤΕΛΛΕΙ ΕΩΙΑ Ι  
 Ο ΥΑΣ ΕΠΙΤΕΛΛΕΙ ΕΩΙΑ  
 Π ΔΙΔΥΜΟΙ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑΙ ΕΠΙΤΕΛΛΕΙΝ  
 Ρ ΑΕΤΟΣ ΕΠΙΤΕΛΛΕΙ ΕΣ ΠΕΡΙΟΣ  
 Σ ΑΡΚΤΟΥΡΟΣ ΔΥΝΕΙ ΕΩΙΟΣ

der to test and verify the method of analysis, Ptolemy's *parapegma*<sup>28</sup> for Clima 14 (the geographical latitude where the longest day is 14 hours) was analyzed, yielding a geographical latitude range 27.8°N – 31.5°N, in good agreement with the geographical latitude where Ptolemy lived and observed (Alexandria,  $\varphi = +31^{\circ}13'$ ).

## 6.2. The construction of the pointers

The pointers of the Metonic and Saros dials should be freely sliding as they were forced to follow spiral patterns. The pointer of the Metonic dial has partially survived, with a few remains of the mechanism that supported and rotated it. However, there are enough remains that allow for the initial arrangement to be reconstructed and show that the whole pointer actually slid at its hub end.

The reconstruction of the entire pointer mechanism is shown in fig. 7. The cylindrical *rotating shaft* was trimmed to a square-shaped end so that a *head cap* component could fit on it. The head cap was shaped by three cylindrical segments: a narrow end, a wider middle segment, and an even wider disc. The disk bore four quadrant cavities whose use was probably for lubricating the sliding pointer. The circular shape of this disk was cut to two straight parallel vertical surfaces (fig. 7), which fitted to the two sides of a *pointer bracket*. The pointer bracket had the form of an inverse Greek letter "Π", with a rectangular base and two orthogonal sides. Only one side is preserved and at it two holes can be seen. The pointer went through the upper hole which was larger than the lower one. A square shaped *pin* (nowadays lost) went through the bottom hole as well as the head cap, securing the head cap to the pointer bracket. The role of the pin was crucial: it secured the pointer bracket to the head cap in such a position that the pointer (which slid through the upper hole) could freely follow the full Metonic spiral. The pointer mechanism assembly was probably tightly wedged to the square shaped shaft (on the other hand if the broken end of the shaft reached the disk, then the assembly would be easily secured to the shaft by the pin). The Metonic pointer could be reset by slightly bending it and sliding it back to the beginning of the spiral. It was probably calibrated once during the construction of the Mechanism as the whole pointer mechanism does not allow for recalibration<sup>30</sup>.

A similar construction is expected to have existed at the Saros dial.

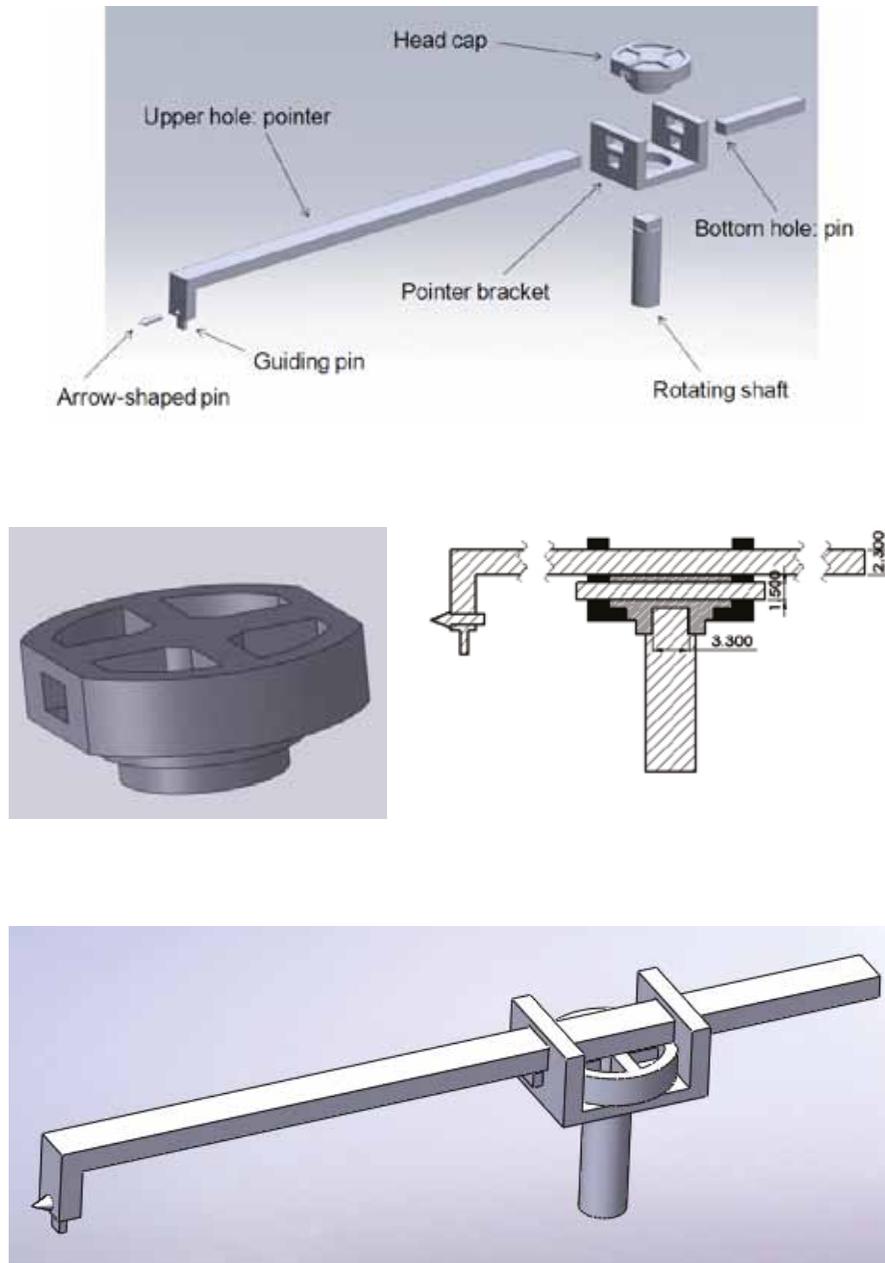


Fig. 7. Top: Exploded view of the reconstruction of the pointer mechanism. Middle: Section of the pointer mechanism (left) and closer view of the head cap component (right) Bottom: Assembled reconstruction of the pointer mechanism (Credit: Anastasiou M.22).

### 6.3. The constructions of the spirals – The eccentricity problem

There are three distinct types of spirals carved on grave stelai and colonnades in ancient Greece. *Archimedean spirals (A-Class)*, *Centres spirals (C-Class)* and *Logarithmic spirals (L-Class)*<sup>31</sup>. As mentioned above on the back side of the Antikythera Mechanism, there are two carefully cut spiral dials<sup>17</sup>. The upper (Metonic) dial and the lower (Saros) dial (fig. 5). A careful analysis of the spirals<sup>22</sup> proved that they were both *C-Class* spirals (fig. 8) with two centres (*half circles spirals*).

Wright<sup>17</sup> correctly postulated that the pointer could only emerge from one of the two centres. It is obvious that this would introduce an *eccentricity* problem to the half circle, whose centre is not the pointer centre. For this *off-centre* half circle, steps of equal angles do not correspond to steps of equal arches. The length of the arches should keep increasing until they reach the arch length of next half circle (whose centre is, of course, the pointer centre). This effect is depicted in fig. 8.

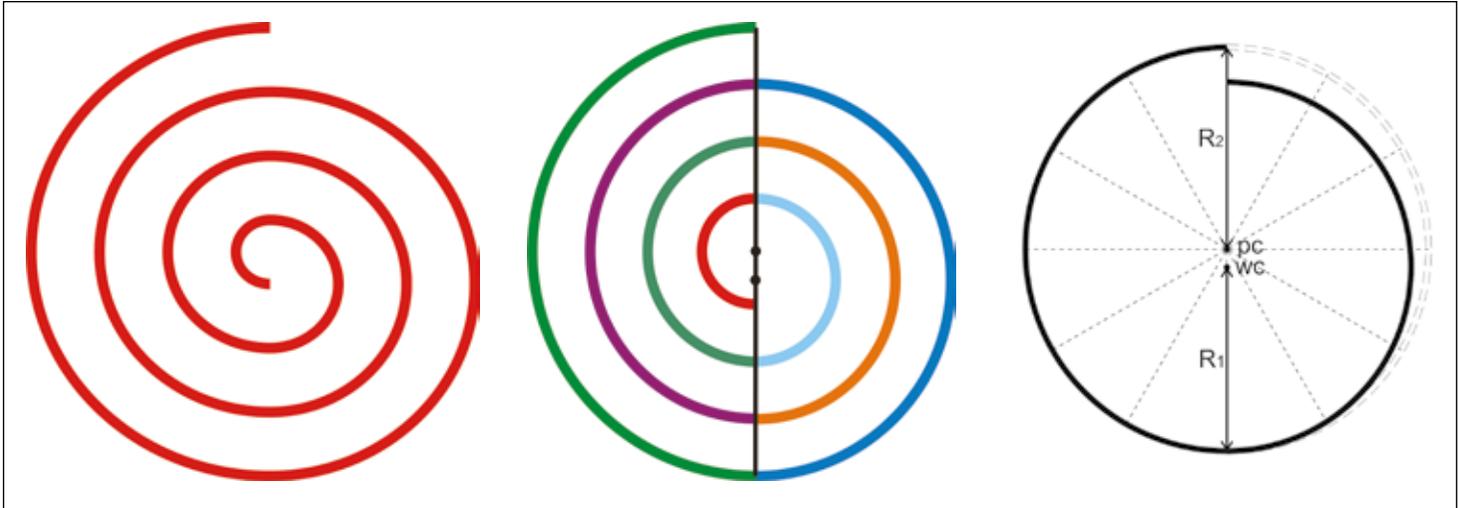


Fig. 8. Left: The Archimedean spiral (A-Class). Centre: The two half circles spiral with two centres (C-Class). Right: The eccentricity problem in the C-Class spirals of the Antikythera Mechanism is shown on the right half circle.

The equal lengths,  $S_2$  of the arcs of the cells of the half circles, drawn from the  $pc$  (i.e. the left semicircle in fig. 8), can be described by the equation:

$$S_2 = \frac{\theta \cdot \pi \cdot R_2}{180} \quad (1)$$

where  $\theta$  (in  $^\circ$ ) is the corresponding central angle of each arc and  $R_2$  is the radius of this circle. The increasing lengths,  $S_1$ , of the arcs of the cells of the right half circles, drawn from the  $wc$  but converging to the  $pc$ , can be described by the equation:

$$S_1 = \int \sqrt{\frac{R_1^2}{R_1^2 - x^2}} dx \Rightarrow S_1 = R_1 \arctan\left(\frac{x}{\sqrt{R_1^2 - x^2}}\right) \quad (2)$$

where  $R_1$  is the radius of the half circle. The above equations describe the *eccentricity* problem. Unequal divisions in every second half circle (whose centre is not the pointer centre) are inscribed in the spirals of the Antikythera Mechanism. In the remaining half circles, the divisions are equal<sup>22</sup>.

Unequal divisions in the front, however, dial have also been reported by Evans<sup>32</sup> (2010).

#### 6.4. Dating the Antikythera Mechanism from the Saros inscriptions

Two important articles were published in 2014 by Freeth<sup>33</sup> (2014) and by Carman and Evans<sup>34</sup> (2014), both investigating the dating of the eclipses on the Saros dial.

Freeth (2014) used the glyphs of the Saros dial and relevant inscriptions on the back side and the grouping and ordering of the glyph *index letters* (see §5.4). He applied two arithmetic models and he came to the conclusion that the design of the Saros period of the Antikythera Mechanism is consistent with the year 205 BCE.

Carman and Evans (2014) used an iterative method, in order to eliminate possible dates of the epoch of the eclipses depicted on the Saros dial. They came to the conclusion that the solar eclipse of month 13 of the Saros dial almost certainly belongs to solar Saros series 44<sup>35</sup>. And the eclipse predictor would work best if the full Moon of month 1 of the Saros dial corresponds to May 12, 205 BCE, with the *Exeligmos* dial set at 0.

It is interesting that both methods, using completely different approaches, came to the same conclusion.

## 6.5. The Equation of time

Until recently in all modern studies<sup>1-21, 26, 36, 37</sup> fragment D, with its well preserved gear with 63 teeth and a strange, bean-shaped bronze piece, is either ignored or considered as a lone fragment and it does not exist in any reconstruction. Seeking an explanation for the gear and the bean-shaped piece, Efstathiou *et al.* (2016)<sup>38</sup> designed a mechanical arrangement, including the bean-shaped piece (which turned out to be a mechanical *cam*). They came to an astonishing conclusion: the Antikythera Mechanism had built-in the *equation of time*, which gives the time corrections commonly found in contemporary sundials (of the order of minutes) in order to conform to regular time, shown by clocks.

The cam was firmly wedged to the rotating gear, which was driven by a second gear (now missing) with similar number of teeth (63). The two-gear train was driven by the major shaft, B1, of the Mechanism, completing a full circle in a year. The distance,  $r_{cam}(\omega)$ , of the outer perimeter of the cam from the centre of the gear, describes a curve with two minima and two maxima during each full rotation (365 days), exactly like the equation of time! When this curve was compared with the equation of time described by Ptolemy<sup>39-41</sup>, an undisputable fit was found (fig. 9).

Attaching a vertical pointer to the perimeter of the cam the correction of the equation of time can be read on a vertical scale, probably in the front side of the Mechanism.

It is remarkable that in the 2nd c. BCE a cam was used to reproduce the equation of time.

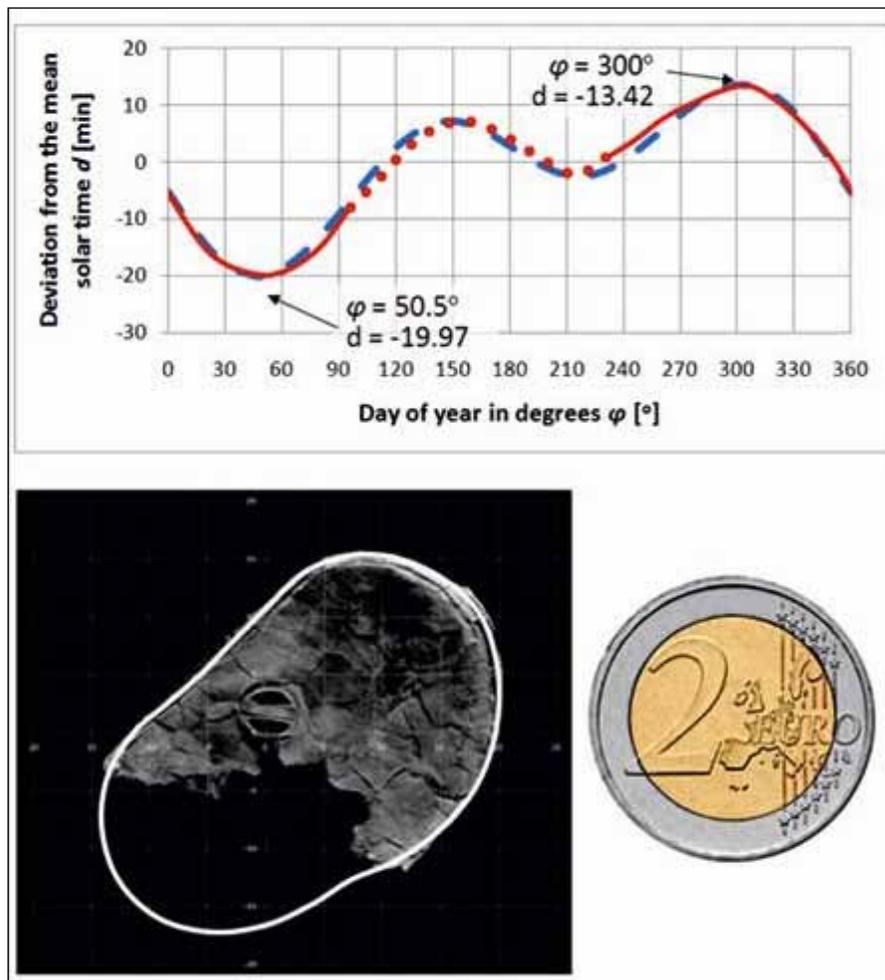


Fig. 9. (Top): The curve described by the cam of Fragment D, simulates the Equation of Time calculated for the epoch of Ptolemy. (Bottom left): The cam of Fragment D. (Bottom right): Comparison with the map impressed on a 2-euro coin (Credit: K. Efstathiou).

## Epilogue

The Antikythera Mechanism opens a unique window into the sophisticated astronomical knowledge of ancient Greeks. It is also a testimony to their excellent mathematical, geometrical, and mechanical engineering skills. The Antikythera Mechanism bears witness to the ability of ancient Greeks to deal with technologically advanced problems and come up with innovative solutions. Even in today's world of advanced technology we stand in awe of the device and what it tells us of the civilization that devised it.

John H. Seiradakis

## REFERENCES AND NOTES

---

1. On November 6th, 1900 several newspapers announced the discovery of the Antikythera shipwreck: *Ακρόπολις*, p. 2, *Άστυ*, p. 1, *Εμπρός*, p. 2, *Καιροί*, p. 2, *Σφαίρα*, p. 2, *Σκριπ*, p. 2.
2. About the Statues off the Sea of Antikythera (in greek), *Proceedings of the Archaeological Ephemeris* (1900), 95-102.
3. G. P. Vyzantinos, At the Depths of the Sea of Antikythera, *Panatheneia A*, 1901 (in greek), 224-227.
4. P. Rediadis, The Astrolabe of Antikythera (in greek), in I. N. Svoronos (ed.), *The Treasure of Antikythera*, publishers Beck and Beck, Athens 1903, 46-52.
5. E. S. Lykoudis, The Archaeological Treasures of Antikythera (in greek), *Selides* (1921), 3-60. This is known as *Lykoudis diary*.
6. E. S. Lykoudis, The Famous Treasure of the Island of Antikythera (in greek), *Epitheorisi Helios* (1950-1951), six articles between volumes 343 and 355.
7. D. de S. Price, An Ancient Greek Computer, *Scientific American* 200 (1959), 60-67).
8. D. de S. Price, Gears from the Greeks: The Antikythera Mechanism – A Calendar Computer from ca. 80 BCE, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, 64, no. 7 (1974), 1-70 (reprinted New York, 1975).
9. P. Tselekas, The Coins, in N. Kaltsas - E. Vlachogianni - P. Bouyia (eds.), *The Antikythera Shipwreck: The Ship - the Treasures - the Mechanism*, Catalogue of the Archaeological Exhibition, April 2012-April 2013, Athens 2012, 216-226.
10. T. Freeth - Y. Bitsakis - X. Moussas - J. H. Seiradakis - A. Tselikas - H. Mangou - M. Zafeiropoulou - R. Hadland - D. Bate - A. Ramsey - M. Allen - A. Crawley - P. Hockley - T. Malzbender - D. Gelb - W. Ambrisco - M. G. Edmunds, Decoding the Ancient Greek Astronomical Calculator Known as the Antikythera Mechanism, *Nature* 444 (2006), 587-591. For this publication there is substantial "Supplementary information" available at <http://www.nature.com/nature/journal/v444/n7119/supinfo/nature05357.html>
11. V. Fragkou, *The Antikythera Mechanism: Historical Reference and Astronomical Extensions*, Diploma Thesis, Department of Physics, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2010. Also available at: [http://www.astro.auth.gr/documents/diplomas/2010\\_Fragkou-Antikythera-en.pdf](http://www.astro.auth.gr/documents/diplomas/2010_Fragkou-Antikythera-en.pdf)
12. M. Roumeliotis, *Antikythera Mechanism Simulation* (1998), available at: <http://www.etl.uom.gr/mr/index.php?mypage=antikythera>
13. A. G. Bromley, The Antikythera Mechanism, *Horological Journal* 132 (1990), 412-415.
14. A. G. Bromley, The Antikythera Mechanism: A Reconstruction, *Horological Journal*, 133, Issue 1 (1990), 28-31.

15. M. T. Wright - A. G. Bromley - E. Magkou, Simple X-Ray Tomography and the Antikythera Mechanism, *PACT* 45 (1995), 531-543.
16. M. T. Wright, Epicyclic Gearing and the Antikythera Mechanism, Part I, *Antiquarian Horology* 27 (2003), 270-279.
17. M. T. Wright, The Scholar, the Mechanic and the Antikythera Mechanism, *Bulletin of the Scientific Instrument Society* 80 (2003), 4-11.
18. M. T. Wright, The Antikythera Mechanism and the Early History of the Moonphase Display, *Antiquarian Horology* 29 (2006), 319-329.
19. M. T. Wright, The Antikythera Mechanism Reconsidered, *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews* 32 (2007), 27-43.
20. M. T. Wright, The Front Dial of the Antikythera Mechanism, *Explorations in the History of Machines and Mechanisms - Proceedings of HMM2012*, no. 15, 279-292.
21. M. T. Wright, The Antikythera Mechanism: Compound Gear-Trains for Planetary Indications, *Almagest*, IV, Issue 2 (2013).
22. M. Anastasiou - J. H. Seiradakis - C. C. Carman - K. Efstathiou, The Antikythera Mechanism: The Construction of the Back Plate Spirals, *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 45 (2014), 418-441.
23. T. Malzbender - D. Gelb - H. Wolters, *Polynomial Texture Maps* (2001), available at: <http://www.hpl.hp.com/research/ptm/papers/ptm.pdf>
24. A. T. Ramsey, The Latest Techniques Reveal the Earliest Technology – A New Inspection of the Antikythera Mechanism, *International Symposium on Digital Industrial Radiology and Computed Tomography*, June 25-27, Lyon, France 2007.
25. T. Freeth - A. Jones - J. M. Steele - Y. Bitsakis, Calendars with Olympiad Display and Eclipse Prediction on the Antikythera Mechanism, *Nature* 454 (2008), 614-617.
26. E. Gourtsoyannis, Hipparchus vs. Ptolemy and the Antikythera Mechanism: Pin-Slot Device Models Lunar Motions, *Advances in Space Research* 46 (2010), 540-544.
27. The *parapegmata* were inscribed marble slabs (usually posted in the Agora) bearing annual astronomical phenomena, e.g. the Rising or Setting of a star just before or just after the Sun (Heliacal rising or Setting – *Epitoles*). They were used as calendars in ancient times, as the astronomical phenomena always took place at the same day of the year.
28. A. Jones, *Provisional Translation of Ptolemy's Phaseis* (2004), available at: <http://www.classicalastrologer.com/Phaseis.pdf>
29. M. Anastasiou, *The Antikythera Mechanism: Astronomy and Technology in Ancient Greece*, Ph.D. Thesis (in greek), Aristotle University of Thessaloniki 2014, available at: <http://ikee.lib.auth.gr/record/135226/files/GRI-2014-13217.pdf>
30. So far, none of the survived parts of the Mechanism seem to allow for recalibration.
31. H. Möbius, *Die Ornamente der griechischen Grabstelen klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit*, Keller, Berlin 1929; 2. um Nachträge und Register vermehrte Auflage, München 1968.
32. J. Evans - C. C. Carman - A. S. Thorndike, Solar Anomaly and Planetary Displays in the Antikythera Mechanism, *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 41, no. 1 (2010), 1-39.
33. T. Freeth, Eclipse Prediction of the Ancient Greek Astronomical Calculating Machine known as the Antikythera Mechanism, *Plos One* (2014), <http://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0103275>
34. C. Carman - J. Evans, On the Epoch of the Antikythera Mechanism and its Eclipse Predictor, *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* (2014), 1-82.
35. F. Espenak (2008), NASA eclipse web site at <http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/eclipse.htm>
36. K. Efstathiou - A. Basiakoulis - M. Efstathiou - M. Anastasiou - J. H. Seiradakis, Determination of the Gears Geometrical Parameters Necessary for the Construction of an Operational Model of the Antikythera Mechanism, *Mechanism and Machine Theory* 52 (2012), 219-231.

37. T. Freeth - A. Jones, The Cosmos in the Antikythera Mechanism, *ISAW Papers* 4 (2012).
38. K. Efstathiou - A. Basiakoulis - M. Efstathiou - M. Anastasiou - J. H. Seiradakis (2016), *JHA* (to be submitted).
39. Claudius Ptolemy (ca. 150 CE), *Almagest*, Book 3, Sect. 9.
40. J. Evans, *History and Practice of Ancient Astronomy*, Cambridge University Press, New York 1998.
41. W. D. Stahlman, *The Astronomical Tables of Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1291*, Ph. D. Thesis, Brown University 1960.

## **“ODYSSEYS”: THE EXHIBITION EXPERIENCE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF MUSEOLOGY**

The exhibition “Odysseys” constitutes a concept-oriented approach to the amazing antiquities of the National Archaeological Museum. One hundred and eighty-four works that come either from the permanent exhibition or the rich in archaeological material storerooms of the Museum’s Collections and six loans, three from the Epigraphic - Numismatic Museum and three from the Acropolis Museum, have been selected based on very specific criteria to create and document comprehensively the narrative of the exhibition.

“Odysseys”, the small and great adventures of people who lived in the Helladic region from the 5th millennium BC through the Roman times, take us back in time establishing a link between universal values and the thread of timelessness. “Man”, who inevitably leaves a trail of his struggle and puts forth his greatness, has the leading role.

The overarching purpose of the exhibition, which is the main commemorative event on the occasion of the anniversary of 150 years since the foundation of the Museum, is to articulate a multi-level narrative in which objects from all the Collections of the Museum and all time periods are entwined in order to tell the story of the “journey of life”: the incessant endeavour of man to tame his environment, discover new places, broaden his horizons, establish well-governed societies, and fight against the perishable nature of his existence with the aid of love and creative act.

The ultimate goal is to make visitors feel that the exhibition is about them, as they discover elements that associate with their own personal experiences in today’s world. Simultaneously, this special network of symbolisms and meanings with which the ancient works are “invested” aims to manifest that the completeness of human experience remains inextricably linked with the past, fuelling unremittingly the “journey” to the present and the future and reinforcing the process of personal and collective self-fulfilment.

### **The museological framework of the exhibition planning**

The narrative of the exhibition<sup>1</sup>, fascinating in terms of its content and at the same time demanding as regards its implementation and comprehension by the visitors, dictated the development of a museological and museographical framework, capable of serving the core idea and illuminating the individual aspects with which the exhibits are associated. The presentation of the exhibits, their interpretation and the connection which the exhibition ought to establish with the visitors have been the main topics for discussion and painstaking research in every stage of the preparation of the exhibition material. The key principles that have been employed in the exhibition in its entirety are the emphasis on *diachrony*, the *semiological dimension* of the works and the *interpretation* of their symbolic connotations also *through poetry*.

---

1. See in present volume, M. Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, “Odysseys”, A timeless and human narrative, because..., pp. 19-35.

## The interpretative approach

*The most perspicacious of the modern archaeologists have come to terms with the idea that archaeology is semiology, that the recovered artefacts are identified as signs of something that has long gone.*

*Umberto Eco, Observations on the Notion of Cultural Deposit*

The exhibits constitute and are presented in the exhibition as irrefutable evidence of a bygone era, but also as living testimonies that have survived through space and time. They are inscribed within their context as symbols-signs that encapsulate meanings and ideas. Their physicality, their pragmatistic and symbolic significance within the value code of the society that produced them and handled them, and also their ability to function as signs of "something that has perished" are valuable perspectives and the raw material for setting forth a new reading which the exhibition propounds.

Simultaneously, the dimension of diachrony enriches their conceptual load: objects of different time periods and cultural strata are interconnected within the exhibition unities without strict adherence to the linear narrative through historical time. This juxtaposition allows a clearer delineation, in the eyes of the spectator, of concepts that have always been associated with objects of similar function or with the representations depicted on their material.

The visitors are led to associations, discover missing links, and construe the enduring influences exerted between civilizations through time, but also the common elements with which mankind records its course in the world, the short or long journeys it embarked on, the thousands of *Odysseys* and a myriad of *Ithacas* that existed and are still present. Leaps, sequences, and boundless conceptual navigations may come as a surprise to visitors, nonetheless they enable them, on the one hand, to apprehend the topic in an intelligible and lively manner and, on the other, to critically observe and make their own direct references to the world of today.

The interpretation of the ancient works through their timeless symbolisms is not the sole departure in the exhibition. The symbolically charged poetry of C. P. Cavafy, G. Seferis, O. Elytis, and Y. Ritsos that often converses with Homer's *Odyssey* imparts to the exhibits perhaps the most astute, deep, and exciting meaning, creating simultaneously a bridge with today through the modern poetic language.

*When we discover the secret relationships of meanings and traverse them deeply*

*we'll emerge in another sort of clearing that is Poetry.*

*And Poetry is always single as the sky. The question is from where one sees the sky.*

*I have seen it from midsea.*

*O. Elytis, The Little Seafarer*

## The relationship with the visitor

The visitor is the insightful fellow traveller in a story that was put together with the aid of the Museum's Collections in order to speak for each and every one of us. The storyline unfolds in three episodes and each one is im-

bued with a different style and atmosphere. Sometimes they enthrall visitors more dynamically within an abstract, yet imposing setting and sometimes tones become more subtle, inviting the visitor to conjoin elements that make societies flourish and help man thrive.

The interpretative labels and texts of the exhibition assist visitors in finding out the narrative thread, as they indicate the conceptual associations of the objects and offer the necessary cognitive information that will help them set the exhibits within their context and understand them accordingly. At the same time, the poets' verses highlight the symbolic dimensions of objects since they serve as an "open" interpretative medium that is not definitive but implicit, thereby making room for different nuances and intensities in the meaning-making process. Within this framework the visitors act as the ultimate orchestrators since the way in which each one wanders about the museum environment and combines the given elements is unique, leading to as many interpretations as the number of the exhibition visitors.

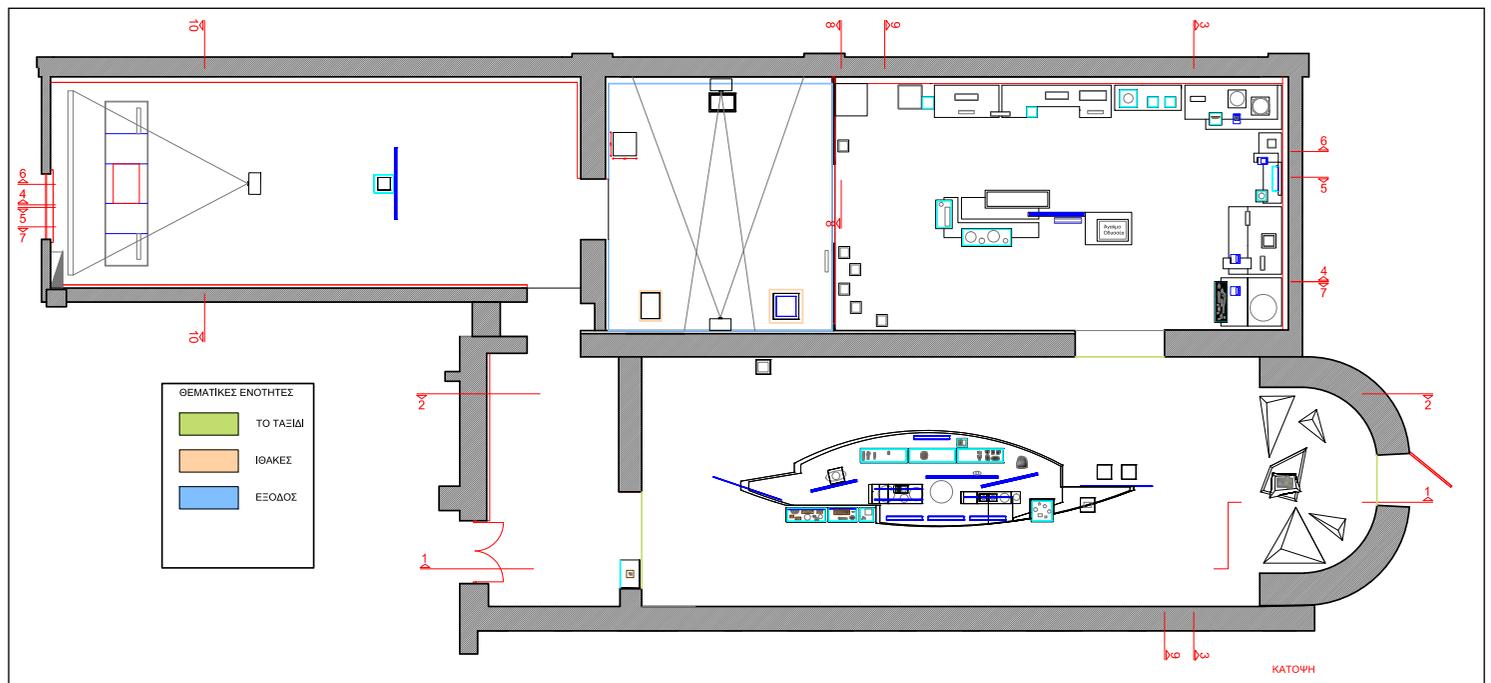
The last part of the exhibition urges for active participation, beyond the limits of the display, by conveying the hopeful message entailed in human experience and all those which man can accomplish in his daily life, as visitors embark on their search for their own Ithaca following their departure from the museum space.

### The presentation

As already stated, the juxtaposition of objects interrelated conceptually, but not necessarily chronologically or culturally, is the patently obvious mode that accentuates the dimension of timelessness. Simultaneously, an attempt is made to present the meanings with which the objects are infused in an experiential fashion with the aid of the museographical design in order to facilitate the visitor in the challenging realm of mental journeys which the exhibition encourages.

The main criterion for the arrangement of space has been the central islets that function in an integrative manner, since they do not keep up with a

*Plan 1. Plan of the temporary exhibition "Odysseys".  
Museological design: Dr. Maria Lagogianni-Georgakarakos,  
Sappho Athanasopoulou, Dr. Despina Kalessopoulou.  
Museographic design: Pantelis Feleris.*



strict linear articulation and permit an ample viewing of the exhibits which are installed at different levels (plan 1). Thus the visitor is invited to follow a circular movement in space that helps him construe the presented theme in a comprehensive way.

The audiovisual material further reinforced the scenographic atmosphere of each axis, whereas in prominent places it emphasized the different or more conceptual dimensions of the presented themes.

## THE EXHIBITION STRUCTURE

Three thematic axes (The Journey - *Ithacas* - Exodus) comprise the exhibition narrative (plan 1). The small introductory part that precedes sets the tone of the exhibition, which places emphasis on man and the mediatory function of poetry.

### Introduction

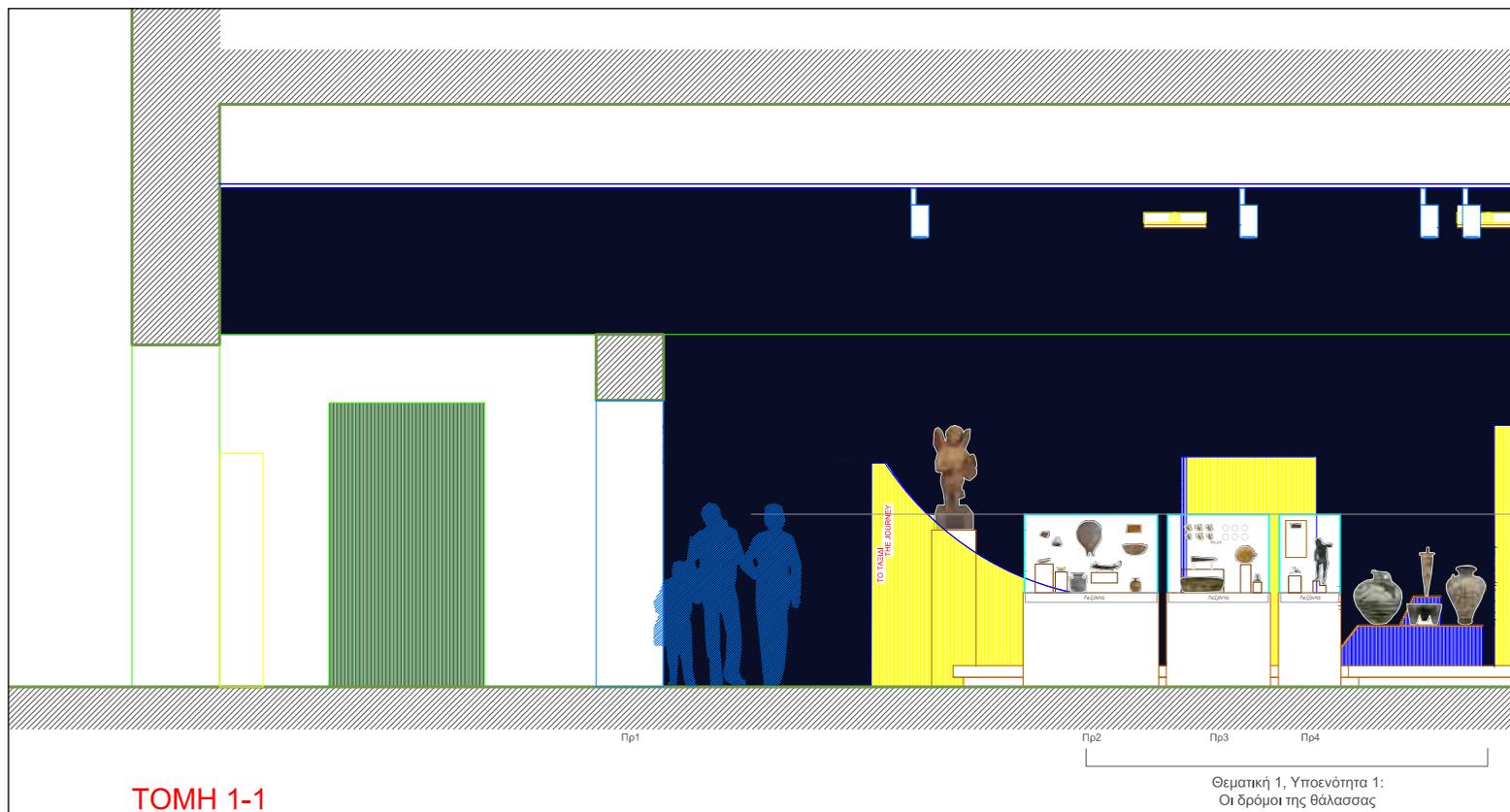
*I said I'll leave. Now (...)*

*Deep into the earth and deep into my body I shall go*

*to find out who I am.*

*O. Elytis, The Little Seafarer*

In the introduction of the exhibition a tiny display that bears symbolic reference welcomes the visitors. A stylized human figure on a vase fragment of the Late Neolithic period is depicted frontally, with raised arms possibly in a posture that indicates worship (cat. no. 137). This is one of the earliest painted representations of the human figure, something that turns this small potsherd into a valuable witness of the perennial need of man to commu-



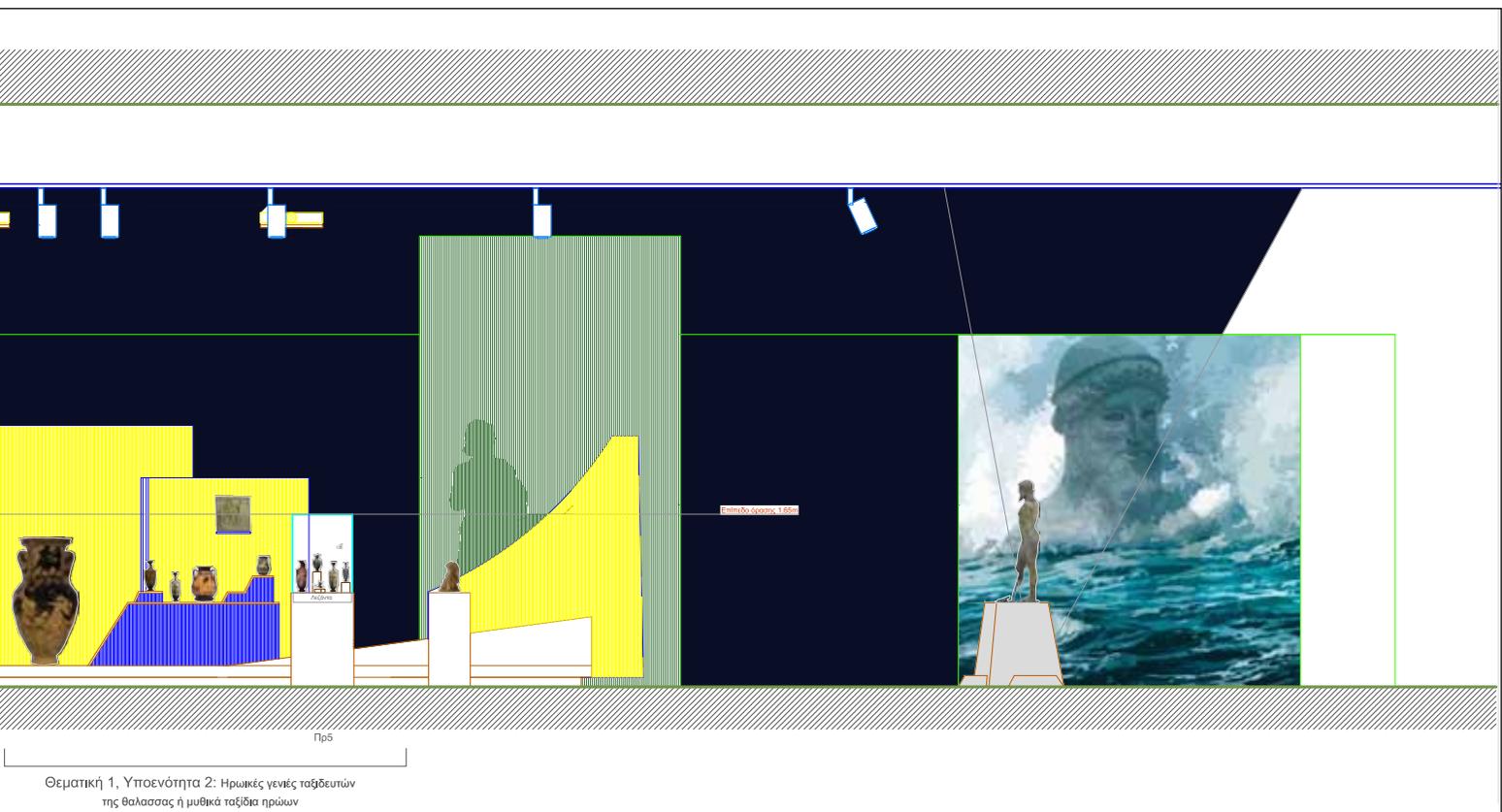
nicate with others and reflection his own existence. The exhibit stresses that the protagonist of the exhibition is man and his adventures in the long journey of life from the farthest past to perpetuity. Together with the verses of O. Elytis from the *Little Seafarer* and C. P. Cavafy from *Ithaca* it invites the visitor to set off on a journey of self-awareness accompanied by the Collections of the National Archaeological Museum and the tangible evidence of the human experience which they provide.

## FIRST THEMATIC AXIS THE JOURNEY OR NOSTOS

In this axis, in a setting that alludes to sea travel, the visitor encounters the enduring evidence of the voyages of the ancients, the myths and the beliefs they encompassed, the material prosperity and spiritual benefits that these offered. The axis acts in a symbolic manner and implies the incessant search of man for raw materials, knowledge, ideas, the fascination with the challenge of the unknown, the resourcefulness and the strengthening of the soul which results from the struggle against nature and the risks it entails. It consists of three thematic units: I. Sea routes, II. Gods and daemons - Heroic generations and legendary journeys, and III. Valuable cargoes: testimonies of civilizations (plan 2).

Even though man's travels are certainly not restricted at sea, the maritime environment was selected for rendering the scenery of the first axis, given that in the Greek world the sea routes held a dominant position and with their wide horizons formulated the temperament of those who reside this land.

*Plan 2 Cross-section of the first thematic axis "The Journey": Units: "Sea routes", "Gods and daemons - Heroic generations and legendary journeys".  
Museological design: Dr. Maria Lagogianni Georgakarakos, Sappho Athanasopoulou, Dr. Despina Kalessopoulou.  
Museographic design: Pantelis Feleris.*



## Unit I Sea routes



*First thematic axis: The Journey.  
Unit I: Sea routes.*



*First thematic axis: The Journey.  
Unit II: The bronze statue of Poseidon from  
Livadostra, Boeotia.*

Representations and models of ships from the Prehistoric period and historical times recall the constant need of man to move and travel in order to find new lands and resources through warfare and peaceful undertakings or to satisfy his inquisitive spirit. The depiction of the marine environment on ancient works conveys vividly the image of the Mediterranean landscape and the inextricable relationship of the people of this country and the sea world.

## Unit II Gods and daemons - Heroic generations and legendary journeys

Sea travelling and the hazards it involved were transfigured in popular imagination into fantasy creatures and divine forces capable of affecting the conditions of travel. The earth-shaker Poseidon dominates the rough sea in the back of the gallery as the absolute ruler of the marine world and the tempests, recalling the often unequal struggle of man to tame nature, and also the inventiveness, the faith, and the perseverance that is necessary for overcoming difficulties. This counterpoint between the adversities and the strength of mind with which we get by are stressed in the verses of Homer and O. Elytis<sup>2</sup> that frame the bronze statue of Poseidon (cat. no. 27), an original work of the 5th c. BC that was retrieved from the sea of the Livadostra bay in Boeotia.

The pioneer seafarers and the predicaments they were confronted with took on the form of mythical heroes in the stories that passed down from one generation to another and talked about their adventures and feats in

<sup>2</sup> See M. Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.



*First thematic axis: The Journey.  
Unit II: Gods and daemons - Heroic generations and legendary journeys.*

faraway lands. The heroic generations of Jason and the Argonauts that set about travelling to the far-flung Colchis in the Black Sea in search of the Golden Fleece are represented in the pelike that portrays Phrixos and the ram with the precious coat. The vicissitudes of the Argonauts reflect the endeavour to colonize the coast of Black Sea (Euxeinus Pontos) and incorporate numerous sea tales and nautical stories, which we come upon in other myths as well, such as the alluring Sirens, the island of Circe, Scylla and Charybdis, and the protecting presence of Nereids. The visitor will encounter some of these fairy tale figures or similar creatures, such as the Tritonides (cat. no. 48), emerging from the scenographic environment of the first thematic axis, which contributes to the mythological contextualization of the "Journey".

Amongst the Argonauts were the Dioscuroi, the twin brothers of Helen of Troy, who were regarded as protectors of seafarers. The exhibited votive relief from Piraeus (cat. no. 36) depicts them as such with a worshipper standing on the prow of their ship. Heracles, the most popular ancient hero, followed the Argonauts, although he was forced into abandoning them before they reached their destination, as he had to search for his lost friend Hylas. The figure of Heracles is introduced in the exhibition with the large amphora, whose neck displays his combat with the Centaur Nessos (cat. no. 31), yet the main subject of the vase is the decapitation of Medusa by the hero Perseus, the great grandfather of Heracles, who is not pictured in the scene. The gorgon Medusa and her two sisters signify the forces of darkness that lived on the edge of the world, in the primordial Oceanos, who is indicated by the dolphins that are shown swimming on the lower part of the vase.

Similar to the long journey of Perseus to Oceanos was the expedition of his great grandson Heracles to fetch the apples from the garden of the Hesperides, the garden of the gods that was situated in the faraway West, beyond Oceanos. Not even Heracles knew where his destination was ex-

actly. During his wandering he went to Egypt where he slew the malevolent mythical king Bousiris, a subject which is found on one of the vases of the exhibition (cat. no. 34). On the adjacent lekythos (cat. no. 32) Heracles is depicted having reached the outermost banks of Oceanos, the *bounds of the Earth*, thus echoing the contacts of the Greek seafarers with the Iberian Peninsula and the uncharted waters of the Atlantic Ocean prior to the colonization, as they searched for resources.

Odysseus is the last in line of the mythical travellers awaiting us with the most turbulent and difficult journey home. Characteristic episodes are presented from his encounter with the Cyclops Polyphemus, Circe, the Sirens, and Scylla (cat. nos. 37-40), whereas the starry sky on the room's ceiling imitates the constellations which Odysseus observed on his way to Ithaca from the island of Calypso.

### Unit III

#### Valuable cargoes: Testimonies of civilizations

The subject of this unit is the contacts between different societies illustrated by objects coming from regions of the Eastern Mediterranean basin (Cyprus, Egypt, the Near East) and the Baltic Sea. As we know from archaeological documentation, the expeditions and military campaigns resulted in the establishment of maritime trade routes securing the supply of plentiful and rich raw materials. Finds from the Greek mainland and the islands, but also Egypt unveil this age-old trade network, the bilateral influence and the exchange of goods and ideas. The exhibits are arranged in chronological order and occupy three showcases. The evidence they provide is inevitably fragmentary and at the same time indicative, and helps the visitor imagine the cargoes carried by the vessels that sailed the seas of the Eastern Mediterranean during the Prehistoric period and historical times, and identify common elements in the subsistence needs, the desire for aesthetic pleas-



*First thematic axis: The Journey.  
Unit III: Valuable cargoes: Testimonies of civilizations.*

ure, luxury and ostentation, diplomacy and the games of political influence, religion and its expressions in art.

The presentation starts with the obsidian cores, flakes and blades from the island of Melos dated to the Neolithic period (6th-5th millennium BC) and also the Early Bronze Age (3200-2700 BC) (cat. no. 49). This volcanic vitreous rock was most suitable for making resilient cutting tools and its trade across the Aegean is attested already since the Upper Palaeolithic period. The trade activity of the inhabitants of the Cyclades is also confirmed by the marble figurines from Agios Kosmas in Attica (cat. no. 52). This flourishing settlement, which was established at the site for the purpose of treating obsidian, merged cultural elements from the Cyclades and Mainland Greece, an indication of the peaceful coexistence and intermixture of the foreign and native population. Next to them, the large Cycladic figurine of unknown provenance that was repatriated in 2014 from Karlsruhe, Germany (cat. no. 51) signifies the magnitude of the impact which these artefacts of the Cycladic culture have always exerted.

The need of man to impress and grow in stature using rare or expensive jewels and other precious objects is represented in the exhibition with a series of displays made of materials that come from afar. In the first showcase, which contains objects of the Neolithic period and finds from the 16th to the 14th c. BC, the Neolithic bracelets made of the seashell *Spondylus gaederopus* (cat. no. 50) constitute an early example of a material that is carried from the Aegean to Central Europe, whereas the amber beads of the Baltic Sea (cat. no. 54) dated from the 16th c. BC denote the excellent long-distance contacts of the Mycenaeans.

The intensive relations with Egypt are attested by a series of objects that resonate with influences on a ritualistic or/and stylistic level – e.g. ostrich eggs (cat. no. 56), Egyptian vase with Aegean spirals (cat. no. 59) –, but also political expediency, such as the plaque with the Cartouche of the pharaoh Amenhotep III (cat. no. 66). The silver vessel in the form of a deer discovered at Mycenae (cat. no. 55), one of the very few artefacts imported from the Hittite kingdom in Asia Minor – possibly a diplomatic gift – presumably served political purposes also. The bird-shaped figurine (cat. no. 65), probably from Cyprus, that portrays a significant female deity of the Eastern Mediterranean, a precursor of the goddess Astarte-Aphrodite, conforms to Syrian models.

On the top part of the middle showcase representative works are displayed that attest to the breadth of the trade network of the Mycenaeans during the 13th c. BC, such as the lapis lazuli from Afghanistan or the hippopotamus and elephant tusks, possibly from Africa or India. The two Linear B tablets that refer to the feeding of women and children captured as slaves from Lemnos and Knidos during the Mycenaean incursions (cat. no. 82) set a different tone for the traffic that took place along the coasts of the Eastern Mediterranean. These written testimonies highlight one more significant aspect: the existence of palatial workshops that had craftsmen proficient at processing precious materials, as in the case of the bone and ivory objects on display, and producing works that were particularly popular inside as well as outside the Mycenaean world.

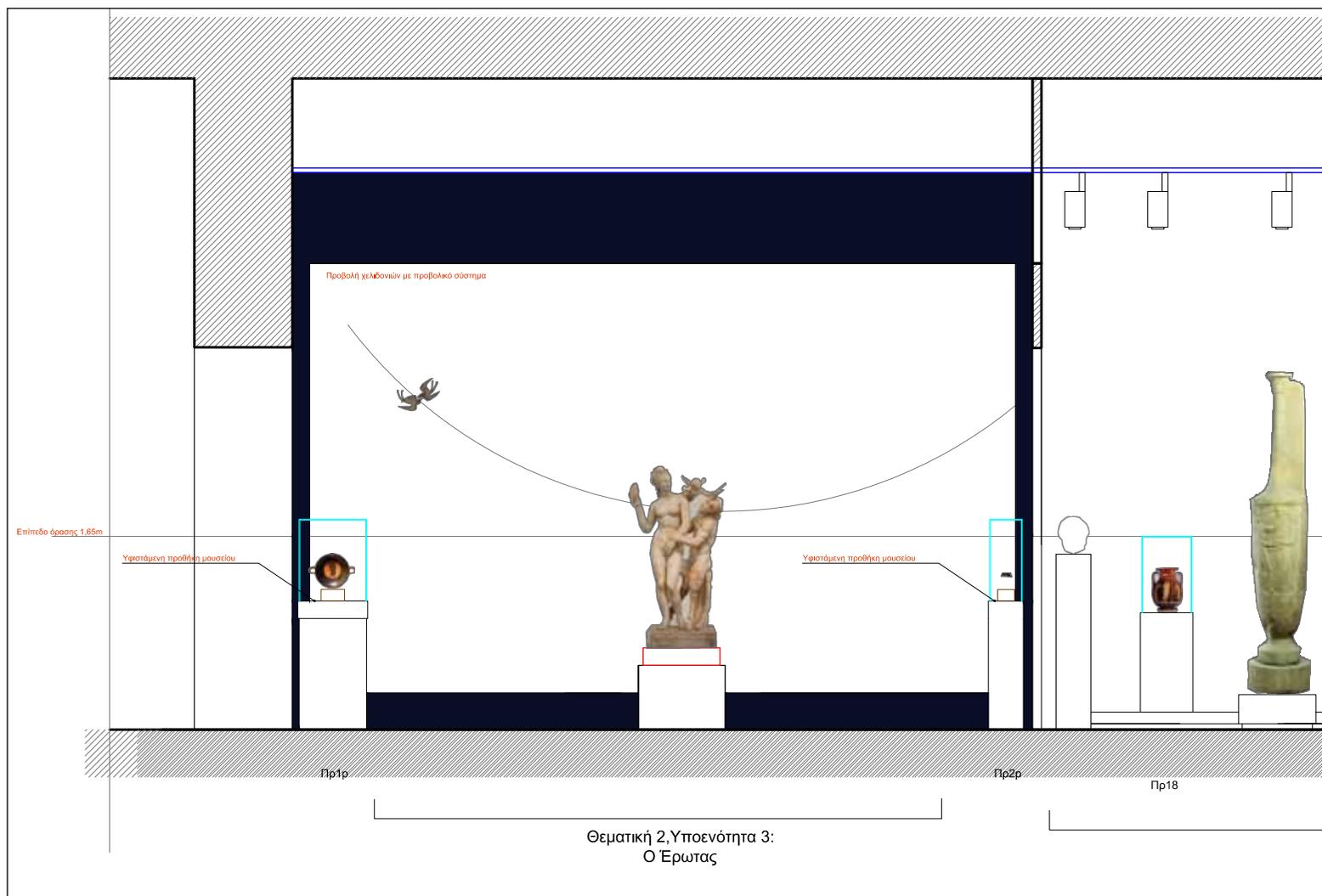
On the lower part of the first two showcases more evidence of the systematic trade during the Mycenaean period is put on show, such as the Mycenaean stirrup jars (cat. no. 69) intended for transporting aromatic oils, which were in high demand in Cyprus and Egypt, together with Linear B tablets that recount the ingredients of perfumes (cat. nos. 71, 72), the



First thematic axis: The Journey.  
Unit III: Valuable cargoes: Testimonies of civilizations.

Cypriot copper talent (cat. no. 60), and the Canaanite amphorae (cat. no. 81) that are encountered in Palestine, Israel, and Lebanon and were widely traded across the entire Eastern Mediterranean for the transport of liquids and fruits.

The third and final showcase contains objects that date back to historical times. On the upper part a unique intercultural convergence comprises artefacts of different civilizations (Syrian, Egyptian, Phoenician, Celtic, etc.) from the 9th through the 7th c. BC, most of which served as votive offerings dedicated to Greek sanctuaries either by “barbarians” (i.e. visitors speaking foreign language) or natives who owned them as souvenirs of their travels and distant acquaintances. Concurrently, an additional series of displays refers to the “journeys of ideas”. It encompasses examples that typify the influence exerted upon the Greek Archaic art by eastern models, such as the daedalic style and the emergence of the kouros type (cat. no. 103) in Greek sculpture. Finally, on the lower part, lagynoi (cat. no. 109), a popular vase for serving wine during the Hellenistic period, take us figuratively to another era of intense trade activity across the Mediterranean basin.





## Unit I The Place

*But come, I will show you the island of Ithaca,  
so that you may be sure. This is the harbour of Phorcys,  
the old man of the sea, and here at the head of the harbour  
is the long-leaved olive tree*

*Homer, The Odyssey, XIII 319-393*

The visitor who enters the room of the second axis ("Ithacas") confronts, within short distance of the central structure of the room, the marble statue of the long-suffering Odysseus, standing still and simultaneously in motion (cat. no. 120).

The impression of his movement backwards and at the same time forwards indicates the intention to capture an instant between two acts, just like the transition from the adventurous sea "Journey" of the first thematic axis of the exhibition to the familiar and favourite "Ithacas" of the second axis was achieved. The installation of the statue at this spot gave us the opportunity to place emphasis on its dual symbolism: Odysseus is the emblematic symbol that embodies the yearning to return home, but also the human wandering course that turns a predicament into convenience.

The narrative of Odysseus' nostos is supplemented, not far from his marble image, with the votive relief of the 4th c. BC (cat. no. 119) with two parallel representations, the identification of Odysseus by his aged nursemaid Eurycleia and Penelope standing in front of the loom.

These works form part of the central islet that displays Prehistoric vases with depictions of the most characteristic natural elements of the Greek scenery: the olive, the grapevine, ears of wheat, a rocky setting with wild goats, dolphins swimming in the blue sea. Thus, all of a sudden a Greek landscape is animated, like the one Odysseus longed to see again after all those years of wandering.

The verses of O. Elytis help the visitor establish a connection between the displayed ancient works and the elements that have rendered them symbols of Greece<sup>3</sup> and are visualized in a large graphic composition on the wall.

The second part of the unit "The Place" surrounds the central islet of the natural landscape. Here are presented ideas and concepts that signify cultural routes of the Greek antiquity centered on man and his perception of the world. The preceding feeling of the spectator that "Ithacas" is a beautiful, loving natural space which remains more or less the same as time goes by is transformed into the admission that "Ithacas" cannot exist without the presence of man. The intervention of man in nature and space in order to survive and his dynamic participation in the social process, so as to evolve, have always determined human societies, which are constantly changing depending on the cultural route they follow and the historical juncture they undergo. Societies are developed to a greater or lesser extent creatively, establish their own sets of values, come into conflict over their ideals and interests, obey laws and institutions, attempt breakthroughs and are led to intellectual and moral accomplishments that surpass them and become

---

3. See M. Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

part of mankind's public domain. Concise thematic sub-units comprise this rationale, like snapshots of a movie:

*Resources.* Neolithic logging tools (cat. no. 121) are mounted in a low position in front of a Minoan pithos of the 17th c. BC (cat. no. 124) coming from the west storerooms of Knossos, which bears incised Linear A symbols. Next to it a clay Linear B tablet (cat. no. 127) dated from the end of the 13th c. BC is put on display, which records the distribution of quantities of wine across nine settlements of the kingdom of Pylos. The exhibits present to the visitor elements associated with incipient forms of managing natural resources, the effort to organize systematically the economy through the recording and storage of products, but also with the need for ownership and safeguard of this wealth, with Linear B, the first Greek script, being an unshakeable attestation.

*Religion.* The relationship of man with the divinity is symbolically represented through the strong figure of the goddess Athena (cat. no. 165), who always aided the Homeric Odysseus in his adventures. The presence of the priestess holding the key to a temple, depicted on a relief dated from historical times (cat. no. 163), is linked with a similar reference on a Linear B tablet (cat. no. 151) that creates a sense of continuity from the mythological priestesses of the epic tradition, such as Cassandra, the priestess of Apollo in Troy, to the priestesses in historical times. Apart from being an element that denotes the priestly office, iconographically the oversized key, which the priestess holds in her hand, symbolizes the sacred abode of the deity, namely the temple. The exhibit of the inscribed decree concerning Athena Nike (cat. no. 158) indicates implicitly the relationship of man with the divine presence, but also the religious life which is regulated by the state and unites the deme. Through the displays the visitor construes the expression of the systematized worship within the confines of the state, which acts essentially as a form of religious authority.

*Hegemony.* Emblematic ancient works from the outset of the Greek world and the formation of the Hellenistic ecumene illustrate the centralized form of power and the supremacy of the leader. In the case of the Mycenaean prince this is accentuated by the impressive gold objects that accompanied the deceased in his burial and served as status symbols (cat. nos. 170, 171), whereas in the case of Alexander the Great, whose head (cat. no. 184) is juxtaposed with the head of the Mycenaean ruler, being mounted at exactly the same level, it is highlighted by the nearly mythical connotations with which his charismatic personality was endowed. The visitor thus apprehends the message that the powerful secular authority is reflected in the figures of all rulers, kings, and sovereigns.

*War.* Vases and epigraphic monuments, which constitute some of the most emblematic works of the Greek antiquity, illustrate vividly the war practices from the Bronze Age and historical times. They speak of military operations that involved land and naval forces with the intention either to claim territories or defend the fatherland and its ideals. On the "warriors' krater" from Mycenae, dated at the second half of the 12th c. BC (cat. no. 197), the Achaean soldiers are depicted in full armour. They are the competent warriors who are transformed through social changes as time goes by into the disciplined Greek citizen-soldiers of the city-states that fought

in the military formation of the phalanx to defend their freedom and the sovereignty of their homeland. On the Attic black-figure krater cat. no. 203 (510-500 BC) two phalanxes of hoplites fight over the dead body of their fellow combatant. Such citizen-warriors proved their value in the battlefield when they averted the invasion of the Persians in the early 5th c. BC, when the competition between Athens and Sparta triggered the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BC) in the second half of the century, but also in numerous significant war campaigns that changed the course of history.

The men who are to serve as oarsmen in some naval war activity are recorded in the Linear B tablet which is adjacently exhibited (cat. no. 196). The readiness of the navy is vividly illustrated on the fragment of a Geometric krater (750-700 BC) that depicts a warship and its helmsman (cat. no. 198). The warships of the Greeks also provided protection to their merchant marine against enemies and pirates and escorted every colonizing expedition.

Finally, the decree of the Athenian Ecclesia tou Demou concerning the Sicilian Expedition that proved to be fatal for the city is displayed in a prominent position (cat. no. 210). The inscribed decree has been included in the exhibits as it constitutes a powerful and irrefutable epigraphic attestation of the establishment of the Athenian thalassocracy in the Classical period, since, according to its content, the Athenians decided at the end of 416 BC to send sixty ships together with the rest of the expeditionary force to help the Eggestaeans. However, a second reading of the inscription demonstrates the impact of a decision that was taken within an organized system of government, which in this case defined the historical destiny of the city. Thus, the visitor has a firm grasp of the world of war and its ideals.

*Script, laws, and the defence of the system of government.* The groups of exhibits that follow outline the constitutional organization of societies as this is known to us from the evolution of the Greek antiquity. The city-states during their emergence and early development aim to establish their System of Justice with written laws and institutions. The organized state with the aid of script inscribed its laws upon a durable material and communicated its decisions to its citizens. No exhibition can capture adequately the impact which the complete Greek phonetic alphabet exerted on the propagation and perpetuation of the accumulated knowledge of the Greek antiquity. In a distinct space, separated from the rest of the exhibits, the visitor is confronted symbolically with a modest clay cup of the 7th c. BC (cat. no. 220) that served as votive offering dedicated to the Attic sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos, on which an early inscription in *boustrophedon* style is preserved.

The recording of laws does not coincide chronologically across the various cities and occurs to different extents. The following exhibit acts in a semiological manner as an indication of the need which marks every urban society to introduce legislation. It is a plaque dated from the first half of the 6th c. BC from the Heraion of Argos (cat. no. 221) on which an excerpt is inscribed from a law of the constitution of the oligarchic Argives against potential enemies of the citizens and opponents of the system of government.

Historically the protection of the citizens and the system of government is open to many interpretations. Noblemen with strong personality, who repeatedly led movements to their advantage, even with seeming legitimacy in the eyes of the people, and seized power without legal authority, consti-



tute one of the many aspects of the subversion of the political system and the emergence of tyranny. This constitutional deviation which differs from city to city is metaphorically recounted on the Attic black-figure amphora (530-525 BC) that depicts the guards of the tyrant Peisistratos (cat. no. 222).

*Second thematic axis: "Ithacas".  
Unit I: The Place.*

*Democracy.* The concept of the "Athenian Democracy", a unique constitutional and social phenomenon that was born in Athens in the early 6th c. BC, was progressively established and reached its peak in the age of Pericles, is approached in the exhibition through eminent ancient works of art and epigraphic monuments, focusing on the relationship between the citizen and the state.

The narrative starts semiologically with a funerary relief dated from the last decade of the 6th c. BC of the "hoplite runner" (cat. no. 225) who personifies the free youth having overcome his personal struggle. Then follows the "decree of Themistocles" (cat. no. 230) on which the measures which he proposed so as to cope with the Persian invasion in 481/0 BC are recounted, demonstrating the magnitude and value of the naval predominance of Athens and the military preparedness, which the city displayed amidst the harsh circumstances during the war. In close proximity to this monumental ancient work, an *ostrakon* (potsherd) is displayed that belonged to the *ostracophoria* (ostracism) that banished Themistocles possibly in 471 or 470 BC (cat. no. 231).

The contribution of the citizen on his own initiative to the public charities of the Athenian State is reflected in the decree (cat. no. 239) that was found on the Acropolis and concerned the construction or repair of the city's fountains (around 432/1 BC). This significant historical evidence is

associated with the eminent family of Pericles, a man who has been absolutely identified with the superiority and glory of Classical Athens. Then, the image of a citizen-soldier and a noble youth on horseback is vividly rendered in high relief on the imposing marble funerary lekythos that comes from a significant ancient necropolis of Athens and dates back to about 420 BC (cat. no. 240).

The notion of the citizen who is fully aware of his responsibility toward human society is presented in a symbolic manner with the relief of the "self-crowning athlete" (cat. no. 237), a youth who was raised within the value system of the democratic organization of the city and, as he crowns himself, he denotes with self-sufficiency and modesty the triumph of the individual that nonetheless fulfils consistently the collective ideals.

The last part of this unit is dedicated to theatre and philosophical thought, two spiritual pillars of the democratic city of Athens that were built through the interaction between the democratic form of government and humanistic education that was particularly developed in Classical Athens. Theatre is one of the greatest inventions of the Greek culture and continues to be one of the most essential media of instruction in today's world. Next to the theatre masks (cat. nos. 244, 245) that exemplify this great form of expression, the pillar of the philosophical thought that develops in Athens from the second half of the 5th and the 4th c. BC is presented in a semiological manner with the emblematic figure of Socrates (cat. no. 251). The unit concludes with the portrait head of the Athenian rhetor and sophist Herodes Atticus (AD 101-178) (cat. no. 255), the most significant figure of the Second Sophistic, the rhetoric and philosophical movement of the late 1st and 2nd c. AD that turned to the Greek classical past.

## **Unit II**

### **Eros**

Three symbolic exhibits in this unit attempt to elucidate the complex nature of Eros, as this was perceived by the ancients who tried to define it through its many different capacities. Eros, being a primordial entity or a god born from Aphrodite, a game of the gods that makes people look like gods or turns them utterly frail before his charm, is the main fertilizing power and driving force of man. Eros signifies the encounter, the acceptance and the identification with the other and the faith in the perennial renewal of life.

The group of Aphrodite with Pan and Eros (cat. no. 286), a Late Hellenistic sculpture that mirrors sensuality, a light-hearted and graceful style, embodies this playfulness of the "eternal love" radiating symbolisms and beauty. It has been installed as the main exhibit surrounded by two representations of black-figure and red-figure pottery on which the love between people is depicted with particular elegance and earthly expressiveness (cat. nos. 262, 263).

This unit is the counterpoint to the unit of "Death" that is an account of the way in which people come to terms with and, in effect, overcome biologically and psychologically the inescapable end of their perishable existence.

## **Unit III**

### **Death**

The final unit of the exhibition axis "*Ithacas*" deals with the perception of death by the ancients, and not with the physical phenomenon. Two of the most significant funerary sculptures of the mature Archaic period, the kore

Phrasikleia and the kouros that were excavated together from a deposit at Merenda in Attica (cat. nos. 310, 311), are exhibited side by side. With the depiction of their figures their family honoured the deceased in an effort to defeat the decay of human existence and oblivion; frozen stillness, faces with subtle grief together with the acceptance of the inevitable fate.

The verses of Homer and G. Seferis<sup>4</sup> take us to the land of dreams, where the deceased reside, and invite us to find out the message of the sweet Archaic maiden that proffers her flower as a gesture of perennial union with people's souls.

### THIRD THEMATIC AXIS EXODUS

"Exodus" is the end of the journey that summarizes all the benefits this has brought us. Emblematic ancient artefacts are exhibited either in digital or physical form and attest to the uplift of the human ingenuity to higher levels and the course of man toward his moral and spiritual fulfilment.

Our first stop is the accidental fingerprint of a Mycenaean scribe on a clay Linear B tablet (cat. no. 340), thereby paying tribute to those distant and anonymous ancestors who inscribed with their stylus a different sort of relationship with the cultural environment and transformed through writing man's self-perception.

In juxtaposition, the Antikythera Mechanism (cat. no. 341), a breakthrough technological achievement of the ancient world that encapsulates the mental efforts of dozens of generations of scholars and craftsmen, widens our horizons to the vastness of the universe, whereas at the same time contributes to its understanding with man being the measure.

At the centre, the Late Hellenistic marble copy of the celebrated bronze statue of the Diadoumenos, which was created in about 420 BC by the Argive sculptor Polykleitos, embodies the ideal human figure (cat. no. 339). The statue was famous already in antiquity as it incarnates the athletic ideal, but also the ideal proportions of the nude male body. Physical, spiritual, and mental strengths are combined in perfect harmony on the figure of the youth. Man, depicted as equal to god, is now fully aware of his powers and has become master of himself. The victorious fillet which he binds on his head becomes an emblem of the triumph of the universal man, whose cradle has been the Classical period of ancient Greece.

The figure of Zeus Kerauneios facing the human accomplishments serves as the conclusion of the exhibition (cat. no. 338). Accompanied by the verses of O. Elytis from *The Little Seafarer*<sup>5</sup> it aims to send the message to the spectator that the journey is not over, but goes on everlastingly by each and every inheritor of Odysseus.

---

4. See M. Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

5. See M. Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

## Epilogue

Upon departure from the temporary exhibition "Odysseys" the visitors are given the opportunity to discover and enjoy more extensively and with a larger number of distinctive examples a multitude of displays associated with the aspects highlighted in the exhibition. The National Archaeological Museum being the main institution dedicated to presenting the ancient Greek culture and its various facets, is by definition devoted to the "Odysseys" of people who lived and thrived in this corner of the world. For this reason designated points were integrated within the permanent exhibition of the Museum that illuminate landmark works and orientate the visitor in his search of meaningful links with the thematic units of the exhibition "Odysseys".

*Sappho Athanasopoulou - Despina Kalessopoulou*

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

---

- Έκο, Ουμπ. 1992. *Πολιτιστικά κοιτάσματα*, Θεσσαλονίκη: Παρατηρητής.
- Elytis, O. 1997. *The Collected Poems of Odysseus Elytis*. Translated by J. Carson - N. Sarris, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Hodder, I. (ed.) 1987. *The Archaeology of Contextual Meaning*, 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodder, I. 1991. *Reading the Past: Current Approaches in Interpretation in Archaeology*, 2nd edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Homer, *The Odyssey*. Translated by A. T. Murray 1974, London: Harvard University Press, vols. 1-2.
- Pearce, S. M. (ed.) 1994. *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, London: Routledge.
- Ρούσσος, Ευ. (ed.) 1989. *Παγκόσμια Μυθολογία*. Εκπαιδευτική Ελληνική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια, vol. 20, Αθήνα: Εκδοτική Αθηνών.



Odysseys

~~Odysseys~~ Οδυσσεύς

ADDENDUM  
150 YEARS NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM



*National Archaeological Museum, 1889 (Photographic Archive NAM).*



## THE NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM

The establishment of the greatest and most significant museum in the world devoted to the ancient Greek art, the National Archaeological Museum at Patission Street, is not the beginning but the culmination of an endeavour that covers a time span of thirty-eight years, namely the period that has gone by since the National Museum of Aegina was founded through 1866. Its foundation also signalled the end of the venture. The Museum came into existence from the time when the Archaeological Society handed over the antiquities which were in its care together with their catalogues to the Archaeological Service. Simultaneously, the Archaeological Service was also in possession of a large number of antiquities scattered in numerous collections. All these formed at some point the content of the Museum which achieved its present enviable status as regards its collections through continuous new acquisitions.

But let's take things from the beginning. Setting aside the futile attempts of the Philo-Muse Society and the Fauvel collection during the last phase of the Ottoman occupation, the first National Museum of the liberated country was founded by Kapodistrias, by the Third Decree issued on October 21. The Museum was housed in the Orphanage of Aegina and Andreas Moustoxydis (1785-1860) served as its first Ephor and Director. Its content is thoroughly known. In the wake of the assassination of Kapodistrias (September 27, 1831) Moustoxydis remained in the Archaeological Service until April 14, 1832. He was succeeded by the caretaker of the Museum Athanasios Iatridis (1799-1866) who was transferred to Athens on October 17, 1834 as Ludwig Ross' assistant. The Museum was contained in the empty Orphanage which served at the time as a facility of the Evelpidon Military Academy. In 1837 Iatridis was assigned by Ross' successor, Kyriakos Pittakis (1798-1863), to the transfer of the antiquities of the National Museum of Aegina to Athens, which completed at the end of September 1837. Several oversized antiquities that were found too heavy to move remained on the island and are now on display in the local museum.

The establishment of the Archaeological Society at Athens on January 6, 1837 instigated a system of diarchy as regards the management of antiquities. The Society founded museums on its account and Pittakis pulled together new collections incessantly, dissolving those that pre-existed.

When Pittakis was appointed by the Regency as the replacement of Ludwig Ross (1806-1859) he was promoted to Ephor of the Central Museum that was instituted by the law of May 10/22, 1834 – a museum that never became a reality, just like the Public Museum and the Numismatic Fund (art. 7-8) which were also decreed.

Through Ross the Archaeological Service used a house that dated back to the Ottoman occupation, situated on the Acropolis between the Erechtheion and the Parthenon, which was demolished in 1878, to accommodate the first museum of Athens. His successor, Pittakis, retained this incipient museum, but established numerous collections: at Theseion, in the so-called Stoa of Hadrian, in his office, at the Pinakotheke of the Propylaea, in cisterns on the Acropolis, inside the mosque of the Parthenon, in a small dwelling behind the Propylaea, and in various other locations in Athens, such as the Tower of the Winds.

Simultaneously, the antiquities which were recovered by the Archaeological Society were either left on site or were temporarily stored. Its first

museum was housed in a Turkish bath house (*hamam*) near the Tower of the Winds, in which the casts of the Parthenon sculptures that were sent by the British Museum at the request of the Society were exhibited in 1847. These casts are still preserved.

After several years and for internal reasons the Society fell into decline and managed to recover only when Stephanos Ath. Koumanoudis (1818-1899) took office as Secretary. One of his first undertakings in 1860 was the establishment of the Society's head office and the conversion of a room of the University into a museum. The vase collection that was safeguarded in the National Library and also the Hermaic stelae and the heads depicting *kosmetai* from the excavation at Agios Dimitrios Katiphoris were transferred there. But since the building of the University was not adequate, Koumanoudis made sure that the basements of the Varvakeion School were offered to the Society, which thus turned into its central museum. In 1863 the antiquities which were housed in the University were also moved there, following the expulsion of the Society from its premises by the Dean Konstantinos Frearitis. The facility at the Varvakeion became the official museum of Athens. The antiquities which until 1863 were discovered by Pittakis and later by Panagiotis Eustratiadis (1815-1888) and Panagiotis Stamatakis (1830?-1885) continued to accumulate in the various collections of Athens. The best finds were kept in the collection of the Theseion.

The excavation of the Archaeological Society at Mycenae in 1876, conducted by Heinrich Schliemann (1822-1890), added a large number of unprecedented finds which won great fame. To accommodate them the Society set up in 1877 its fourth museum in one of the halls of the National Technical University. Other finds that dated back to the same time period coming from the tholos tombs at Menidi and Spata were soon added to the Mycenaean antiquities.

A series of unfortunate events resulted in the dissolution of the museums of the Archaeological Society with that at the Varvakeion School being the first which in 1881 was commandeered to serve as a hospital while in 1885 it was used for the installation of an engineering unit of the Army.

The National Museum at Patission Street, established on October 3, 1866 will be completed by 1889. Two years later, in 1891, the progressive transference of the antiquities of the Society to its premises is launched. Panagiotis Kavvadias (1851-1928), General Ephor of Antiquities, who succeeded P. Stamatakis, was eager to see all the antiquities of Greece under his jurisdiction, an aspiration which was eventually realized with their gradual handover by the Society to the Greek State. In September 1887 the ancient coins of the Society's collection were granted to the Numismatic Museum that was under the direction of Achilleus Postolakas (1821-1897), whereas in 1890 the Egyptian Collection was moved to the National Museum and the following year, 1891, the concession of the antiquities from Mycenae, Menidi, and Spata, even the finds from Vapheio and Dimini was ordered. By July 1894 all the antiquities of the Society had been delivered to the National Museum and Athens acquired a real and systematic museum.

The history of the National Archaeological Museum thus actually begins in 1894, when the Archaeological Service takes possession of all the antiquities that had been excavated so far by the Service and the Archaeological Society. The display of the antiquities first by Kavvadias followed by his successors is a different, separate, story that mainly concerns the ideas which certain office-holders in the Archaeological Service – and

primarily Kavvadias, who dominated the practice of archaeology in the country – had about art history.

The Museum could not cope with the constantly increasing number of antiquities which excavation yielded. During 1903-1906 an extension based on the plans of Anastasios Metaxas will be launched and a new wing based on the plans of the architect G. Nomikos is erected between 1932 and 1939 on Bouboulinas Street. This eastern annex, which had a separate entry point at Tositsa Street, was not used eventually because of the outbreak of the war which resulted in the closure of the Museum and the concealment of its antiquities inside immense pits opened within the building. I have written extensively on the subject of the history of the concealment (*Ο Μέντωρ* 31, 1994).

During the German Occupation the empty Museum housed a number of different Services, the Ministry of Welfare and the Health Services for women working in prostitution, the Artists Association, the Central Post Office, the State Orchestra, and even served as a soup kitchen. Furthermore, it stored objects of the Historical and Ethnological Society, the National Gallery, the General State Archives, and contained other Services whose offices had been occupied by the Germans and the Italians. The galleries were divided into smaller rooms and crowds of people filled its spaces where there was once serenity and contemplation.

The restoration of the building from the damages caused by the war and the December 1944 events is also a different account that relates to the people who managed and enhanced the institution. The most important of them was Christos and Semni Karouzou. Being Ephor of the Museum since 1932, Semni Karouzou was involved in its proper function as a museum until the war. Christos Karouzou became its Director in 1942, when the antiquities were buried and others were in charge of the building. However, he is responsible for the rebirth of the Museum first with the multiyear restoration of the building and then with the exhibition, insofar as he did until 1964, which endowed the antiquities with spiritual and artistic meaning and impetus.

The course of existence of the Museum was not calm in the first decades of its operation. In 1914 Tositsa Street turned into “a station of four-wheeled truck vehicles”, wagons and carts for carriers. The then Director of the Epigraphic Museum Vasileios Leonardos (1837-1930) filed a complaint addressed to the Ministry written in archaic language (*Ο Μέντωρ* 74-75, 2005, 93-95). He could not possibly imagine that decades later Tositsa Street would end up a meeting place of drug dealers and addicts with the connivance of the State.

In 1931 the Athens Bar Association investigated the possibility of converting the National Museum into a Court House and building a new museum on the site of today’s new Acropolis Museum (*Ο Μέντωρ* 83, 2007, 104).

In 1942, a year of discontent, a committee was set up on the initiative of the Ministry to look into the prospect of building a new Archaeological Museum. The National Technical University coveted the annex on Bouboulinas Street. The committee appointed a subcommittee, which was comprised of Dimitrios Evangelidis (1886-1959) former Ephor of Antiquities, Christos Karouzou (1900-1967), Yannis Miliadis (1859-1975) and the architect Patroklos Karantinos (1903-1976), in order to find the suitable site for the new building of the National Museum. The subcommittee concluded that the best location would be the area between the Army Pension Hospital and the embassy of the United States that was filled with sheds. The committee recommended that in addition the new headquarters of the Archaeological

Society and an Art Gallery should be built on the site. Much later the space was occupied by the Megaron Concert Hall and the garden-like expanse where the bronze statue of Eleftherios Venizelos, a work of Yannis Pappas, has been installed. The case progressed and a Bill was drafted, which specified that the expanse occupied by the sheds will be used for "building facilities within its area for the establishment of the National Museum or other Museums, under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs" (art. 4, par. 1). According to paragraph 2 of the Bill, "the National Technical University takes possession of the lot of land that is demarcated by the Streets Patission - Tositsa - Bouboulinas - Deligianni (today's Vasileos Irakleiou Street), exempt from liability, and with all edifices within its area, for the purpose of extending its educational facilities".

The circumstances were not favourable and the relocation of the National Museum, which was the aim of the National Technical University, was not implemented. Konstantinos Logothetopoulos (1898-1961), who served as Minister of Education and later as Prime Minister of the Hellenic State during the German Occupation replacing Georgios Tsolakoglou, acted as an intermediary in this effort (*Ο Μέγτωρ* 97, 2010, 101-129).

The brief recounting of moments that shaped up the National Archaeological Museum is not revealing of its importance for the ancient Greek art. This is evident only partially in the texts of Kavvadias, Svoronos, Karouzos, Kastriotis, and Stais, and also in the first volume of the scientific catalogue of the sculptures that was supervised by G. Despinis and N. Kaltsas.

The continuation of the ambitious catalogue as planned and its completion will validate the hard work and the efforts of all those who endeavoured to bring the Museum to its current scientific completeness.

*Vasileios Ch. Petrakos*

## THE NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM. FROM ANCIENT MYTH TO CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

*"Many wise men, local typesetters and educated foreigners write about Greece. Just one thing motivated me to also write: that this here country belongs to us all together, both wise and unlearned, rich and poor, politicians and military men, and even lesser men. Those who fought, each according to his own, have to live here. Thus we all worked together and we all guard it together, so that neither the strong man, nor the weak, may say 'I'."*

(Makrygiannis B 463)<sup>1</sup>

The text that follows has been written by one who witnessed the tragic events that followed the 28th of October 1940. Angelos Terzakis once commented that the characterization of "epic" that we ascribe to that struggle is correct, but that this epic, "an unexpected creation of an unrepeatable moment", remains unknown as regards its human essence<sup>2</sup>. There are historic moments, when each one of us is called to surpass himself and to work, just so, as Makrygiannis says, each according to his own. To endure and resist whatever threatens to destroy not only his life but also his culture, to defend the inherited human values, because without these, life truly has no meaning. And this many people did then, during the war and foreign occupation, both young and old, regardless of their social standing. However state functionaries borne a particular burden on their shoulders. Just as the gardener hides and covers precious roses and new shoots to protect them from the heavy winter to come, so the archaeologists of the Museum protected the antiquities.

The following text by Semni Karouzou, which was written for and presented at the First Conference of the Association of Greek Archaeologists (*Sylogos Ellinon Archaeologon*) in 1967, just three years after the work by Angelos Terzakis, was published in the Acts of that Conference much later, in 1984, due to other political circumstances too<sup>3</sup>. As she herself characteristically says, "six whole months, the entire duration of the epic at the Albanian Front, were needed to hide safely our antiquities, the fate of which had caused so much concern to the Greek people upon hearing about the war". I had the good fortune to discover the text in the form of a polygraphed copy, kept in some closet along with other documents relating to the reopening of the Museum after the occupation, and to suggest its publication as a tribute to those who created the National Museum to our director at the time, Dr. Ioannis Touratsoglou, on the occasion of the edition of a new periodical, as indeed happened<sup>4</sup>. At that time I added

---

1. This passage from the *Memoirs* of General Makrygiannis was referred to by the poet G. Seferis, addressing the Greek camp in the Middle East and the Greeks of Egypt during the Second World War. See Γ. Σεφέρης, *Δοκίμεις* (Essays), Αθήνα 1981. This contains the famous dictum of Makrygiannis regarding the ancient statues: "This is what we fought for" (B 303). Seferis, commenting on Makrygiannis, comes to the conclusion that "our country's war of today - it is no exaggeration to say - is a continuation of the Revolution of '21".

2. Α. Τερζάκης, *Ελληνική Εποποιία (The Greek Epopee) 1940-1941*, Αθήνα 1964.

3. *Proceedings of the First Conference of the Association of Greek Archaeologists (Sylogos Ellinon Archaeologon)*, Athens, 30 March-3 April 1967.

4. *Το Μουσείον* 1, 2000, 4-14. For the history of the Museum, see also Μ. Σάλτα, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, in Δ. Ν. Γαρουφαλής - Ε. Κωνσταντινίδη-Συβρίδη (eds.), *Η Αρχαιολογία στην Ελλάδα. Οι μεγαλύτερες αρχαιολογικές ανακαλύψεις του 20ού αιώνα και οι Θησαυροί των Ελληνικών Μουσείων*, CORPUS magazine, Αθήνα 2002, 116-119. Μ. Σάλτα, *Ex Oriente Lux. Βίοι Παράλληλοι. Αρχαιολόγοι, Συντηρητές και Καλλιτέχνες του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου*, Αθήνα 2011.

a commentary to her text, drawing not just on written sources but also on the living testimony of Museum people<sup>5</sup> and enriched it with respective illustrations having the valuable assistance of my dear colleague Eleni Morati, supervisor of the Photographic Archive.

Lucky are those who had the chance to experience the generation of those fighters before they took their leave from life and, to use Terzakis' words, "the breath of people who made History fades away". Because, as he further remarks, History is always composed of two elements that time disconnects. The first, the events, can be reconstituted even after centuries. But then the aroma of the era slips through with the moment. "Even those who felt it – to the extent and the way each one may feel the present – even they lose its sensation when it is blown by the wind of Time".

*Maria Salta*

---

5. The late Eos Zervoudaki, who also wrote a text regarding the history of the National Archaeological Museum (E. Zervoudaki, Nationales Archäologisches Museum, *Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*, vol. 13, s.v. Athen, 322-333), as well as other archaeologists and conservators of the Museum. The contribution of the late G. Despinis, concerning the archaeological prosopography of that era, was valuable too.

## SEMNI KAROUZOU THE NATIONAL MUSEUM SINCE 1941<sup>1</sup>

*Beside that which will be discussed here regarding the necessary measures to be taken for the protection of ancient monuments and treasures, as well as for the future organization of the Archaeological Service, the interpolation of a little History might seem out of place if nothing else, perhaps even belated. In this land of centuries-long history, but lacking in continuity, each retrospective of the past is often judged unnecessary, irrelevant to development. That History begins with us; we all readily admit. We improvise as if there was nothing before us and indeed we declare it proudly. Our ignorance of the "hero builders" of Greek Archaeology is unbelievable, those who were "the teachers of the genos" of Greek Archaeologists, while any foreign archaeologist is ready "at the drop of the hat" to give a serious lecture on the history of his science since its founding. We, on the contrary, build on sand instead of sinking foundations into the solid rock of fertile tradition.*

*Convinced that the opposite is true, that only supported by tradition can we move forward without wavering and fruitless modernisms, I will engage you with just one subject of recent Archaeological History, seemingly of limited scope: our National Museum since 1941.*

*When the occupying army entered the capital in April of 1941, the work of hiding the ancient treasures of the National Museum had just been completed<sup>2</sup>. Six whole months, the entire duration of the epic at the Albanian Front, were needed to hide safely our antiquities, the fate of which had caused so much concern to the Greek people upon hearing about the war.*

---

1. The text by Semni Karouzou, at once an historical testimony and a personal expression, is presented as a tribute to the creators of the National Museum. It was published in the *Πρακτικά του Α΄ Συνεδρίου του Συλλόγου Ελλήνων Αρχαιολόγων*, Αθήνα 30 Μαρτίου-3 Απριλίου 1967, Athens 1984, 52-63. The publication of the conference proceedings, approximately fifteen years after the conference itself, was made possible by the initiative of the Association of Greek Archaeologists (*Sylogos Ellinon Archaeologon*) with the financial support of the Ministry of Culture. The paper had also been published earlier in April 1967 in the newspapers *Βήμα* and *Ελευθερία*, see Α. Κόκκου, *Η μέριμνα για τις αρχαιότητες στην Ελλάδα και τα πρώτα μουσεία*, Αθήνα 1977, 252. The notes and photographic documentation of the article were edited by Maria Salta. We thank Ms. Eleni Morafi for her assistance in locating the relevant photographs.

Bibliography regarding the life and work of Semni Karouzou: Βιώματα και μνημόσυνα, *Ήρος* 2 (1984), 7-52; *Μνήμη Σέμνης Καρούζου, Τιμητική εκδήλωση στη μνήμη της Σέμνης Καρούζου*, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο 10 Μαΐου 1995, Αθήνα 1997; *Σέμνη Καρούζου. Η δημιουργική άραση. Κείμενα γύρω από την Ακρόπολη*, Αθήνα 1997; a special dedication to Semni Karouzou was published in *AM* 110 (1995) along with lectures by K. Fittschen and W. Fuchs.

Semni Karouzou worked as antiquities curator at the National Museum during the years 1922-1924. She was then transferred to Nauplion to return later, in 1933, as Ephor of the Vase and Minor Arts Collection, a position which she held until 1964. A determinative role in her life and scientific career was played by her husband Christos Karouzos, Director of the National Museum (1942-1964); relevant bibliography: Χρήστος Καρούζος, *Αρχαία τέχνη. Ομιλίες - Μελέτες*, 2, Αθήνα 1981; Β. Πετράκος, *Η περιπέτεια της ελληνικής αρχαιολογίας στον βίο του Χρήστου Καρούζου*, Αθήνα 1995<sup>1</sup>; Χρήστος Ι. Καρούζος, *Μικρά κείμενα*, Β. Πετράκος (ed.), Αθήνα 1995.

2. The same subject had been broached by Semni Karouzou previously; see her article: Πώς φυλάχθηκαν τα αρχαία του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου, *Νέα Εστία* 40 (1946), 1158-1163. Relevant information is also given in the chapter: A Concise History of the National Museum, in S. Karouzou, *National Archaeological Museum. Collection of Sculpture. A Catalogue*, Athens 1968, pp. ix-xviii. See also S. Karouzou, *National Museum. Illustrated Guide to the Museum*, Athens 1977, 5-9; Χρήστος και Σέμνη Καρούζου, *Ανθολόγημα Θησαυρών του Εθνικού Μουσείου*, Αθήνα 1981, 9-19. For the history of the Archaeological Service during the years 1940-1944, see the special dedication in the periodical *Ο Μέντωρ* 31 (1994) edited by V. Petrakos.



*Fig. 1. The Sounion kouros ready for "burial".*

*The appearance of the Museum in April 1941, denuded of all its contents, was an image of desolation. The walls bare, the floors of many rooms dug up to bury statues, the display cases empty. I speak of the old building by Ziller; the new wing on Bouboulinas Street had just been completed.*

*The empty spaces of the old building soon became valuable, and were taken over by many services of the occupying forces. All the services of the Central Post Office were moved to the halls of the Museum, to the right of the entranceway, where they remained until the end of the war. The large central section, which had comprised the Mycenaean and Egyptian hall, now housed the State Orchestra. In one room on the southern side facing Tositsa Street, separated by a wall from the other rooms of the Post Office, crates with antiquities of the Egyptian Collection and others were kept. Numerous antiquities were buried on the west side to the left of the entranceway and all along the north side, that is, everything that was not transferred to the basements, first of all the colossal kouros from Sounion (fig. 1). How this*



Fig. 2. During the preparation for hiding the statue of Poseidon from Melos.

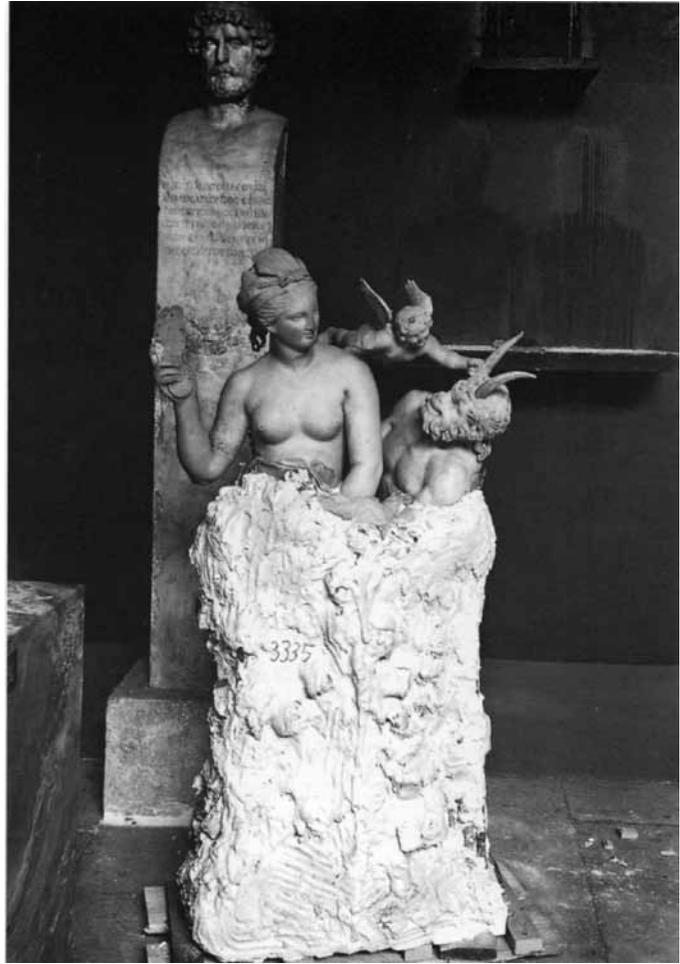


Fig. 3. Packaging the statue of Aphrodite, Pan and Eros.

happened, I will presently explain. The floors of the Museum with the nice 19th century mosaic had been laid over fill. This fill, which was several meters thick, was the only solid foundation of the building, and was held in place by the exterior walls. Periodically, this fill subsided along the edges of the two halls, and to secure the larger statues, heavy iron anchors had been wedged in their parts.

As the old building had no basements but only soil, the basements of the new wing (ground floor from the interior court) facing Herakleiou and Bou-boulinas Streets became vital for the safe-keeping of the antiquities. For six whole months, the sculptures, bronzes and clay objects (vessels and statuettes) were amassed there. Everyone who had taken on this work gathered at the Museum very early in the morning, before the moon set, and left at night to return to their homes.

The safe-keeping of the sculptures was done according to the significance of each, inside crates or in the soil (figs. 2, 3). Many great statues were moved to natural hideouts around Athens to avoid the accumulation in one location. The large bronze statues were covered before burial with black tarpaper, and tar was spread on the crates inside and out, a necessary precaution against dampness (fig. 4). All the small bronze objects were photographed before crating. This was done down in the basements, while above, in the old building, the late veteran sculptor Andreas Panagiotakis had undertaken the



Fig. 4. Packaging the bronze statue of Artemision Poseidon.

lowering of colossal statues into deep pits<sup>3</sup>. The director of the Sculpture Collection at that time, Giannis Miliadis, organized and supervised this project. But the many thousands of objects of the Vase and Minor Arts Collection (fig. 5) presented a problem, and it would not have been possible to wrap such a quantity of small objects without the spontaneous assistance of a few foreign archaeologists. The name of the late Otto Walter, Director of the Austrian Institute<sup>4</sup>, deserves to be remembered with particular gratitude, as does Allan Wace of Britain, for their support in safe-keeping the antiquities of the Mycenaean Collection<sup>5</sup>. A leading role throughout the effort of uprooting and crating the antiquities of the Vase and Minor Arts Collection was played by the late head technician Georgios Kontogiorgis, one of the technical staff of the Museum who offered so much and provided for the display and safety of the antiquities. Particular attention was given to the gathering and boxing of the valuable objects of the collection, such as gold, signet rings, etc. After having been enclosed in crates, they were sealed and sent along with the crates of the valuables from the Mycenaean Collection to the Bank of Greece. Its deep basements secured the safety of all these treasures during the war years and later, until the construction works had been completed.

Committees of other high-level state employees received the antiquities before they were crated from those responsible at the Museum<sup>6</sup>. The numbering of the crates was done carefully and records were kept. In the event that the Museum was bombed, all the basements which received sculptures,

3. S. Karouzou mentions characteristically in regards to A. Panagiotakis in *Ανθολόγημα*, *op. cit.* (note 2), 14: "the technicians obeyed his orders with admirable discipline. 'Light a fire!' was one of the commands he was giving from above when with chains and ropes the technicians at the bottom of the pit pulled down the suspended Colossus before they deposited it in its grave".

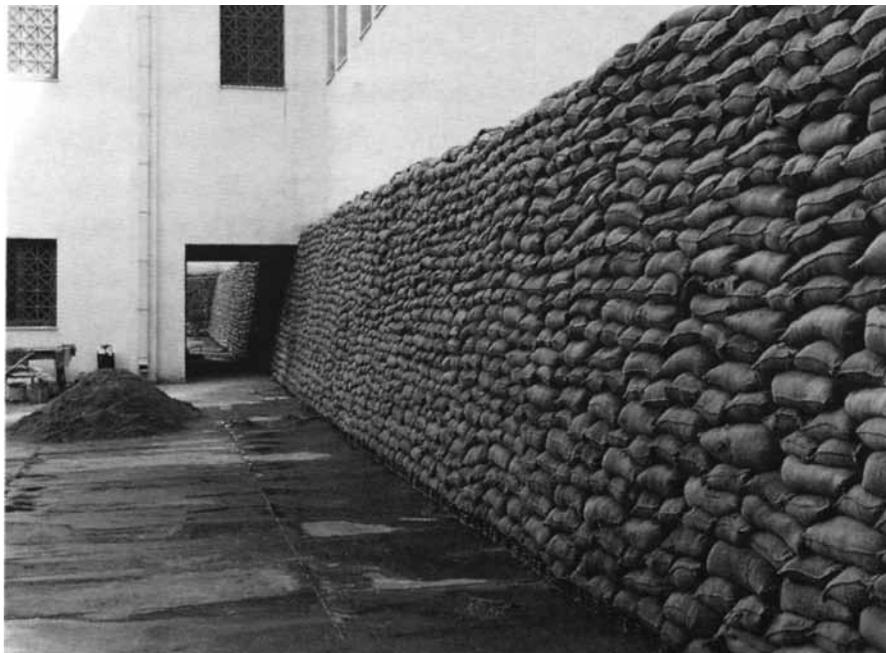
4. See the article by herself, Otto Walter. Ο φιλέλληνας και ο σοφός (1882-1965), *Νέα Εστία* 77 (1965), 1705-1709.

5. The American archaeologist Rodney Young also volunteered his services before he left for the Albanian Front where he was seriously wounded; similar interest was expressed by the German archaeologist Gabriel Welter and members of the French Archaeological School; see Καρούζου, *Ανθολόγημα*, *op. cit.* (note 2), 14.

6. President of the committee was the Supreme Court Justice Chr. Kalellis; Καρούζου, *Ανθολόγημα*, *op. cit.* (note 2), 14.



*Fig. 5. The exhibition of the Vase Collection before the War.*



*Fig. 6. Sandbags safeguarding the windows of the Museum.*

*minor arts, and bronzes were covered with a thick layer of dry sand and all the exterior windows were hidden behind successive sandbags (fig. 6).*

*Whatever corner of the Museum remained free was gradually used for various purposes. One basement on Bouboulinas Street became an air-raid bunker for the entire neighbourhood, and remained blackened by smoke until recently. There they prepared the meals for the guards and archaeological staff, and a little further away was the distribution center of the meals for the authors and writers. The fig trees on the interior court of the Museum proved beneficial for the guard personnel. In the summer months of the occupation years, figs helped feed the guards and special attention was given to defending the trees from abuse.*

Such was the lack of housing in Athens that in one of the halls of the old building facing Tositsa Street, a special Health Service was established. Miserable young women who had been excluded from society inevitably passed through there. Regarding the offices of the Museum staff, only those on the first floor of the new wing facing Tositsa and Bouboulinas Streets remained, and were used to store the now useless equipment of the Museum, such as the numerous empty display cases, as well as crates with the contents of another museum, the Ethnological Museum of the Greek War of Independence and more. Several paintings from the National Gallery, both small and larger, as well as the General State Archive were secured inside the hospitable spaces of the National Museum. Free space was not to be found either on the upper floor of the new wing. The large halls that had just been completed were divided by brick walls into smaller rooms and offices; the central services of the Ministry of Welfare were established there that are now the halls of vases. The most significant damage to the old building occurred during the days of the "Δεκεμβριανά" (December 1944 events) nightmare. Bombs fell on the timber roof, but they did not reach as far down as the ancient marbles buried deep in the ground. That final adventure fortunately did not last long. When the Ministry of Welfare left from the upper floor of the new wing, all this area was used as a prison to house inmates after the December 1944 events. However, the dissolution, chaos and desolation of the venerable building, the unbearable cold in the winters of hunger and the boredom of endless summers were not enough to banish the deeply rooted persuasion, nor to shake the sentiment of obligation to safeguard our antiquities from human destructive mania. On the contrary, they served to spur the enthusiasm of those responsible, and when the trials had passed, the fervour lit for the rebirth of the National Museum.

And thus ends the first part of this chronicle, just a summary of those unforgettable days and subsequent unbearable suffering that we all lived through then.

When things quieted down, the first task was to reveal the ancient works<sup>7</sup>. What had happened beneath the thick layer of sand, in what condition were the buried sculptures, whether or not the crates had fallen apart and many other questions tortured those responsible. But many workmen were needed to remove the sand from so many basement rooms, and money was not to be found. Only in 1946, the Minister of Finance Alexandros Mylonas offered the first installment of financial support that barely covered the release of a large portion of the antiquities from the sand<sup>8</sup>. The lack of funding was substituted in the first years by the patriotism of the technical personnel. The late master technician Giannis Bakoulis, leaning over the remains of sand, assisted the archaeologists in unearthing the sculptures from basements that had no ventilation, not even a passageway for circulation. The other technicians, artists and technicians with no demands for overtime, offered for a long time all their mature skill with incomparable loyalty to the difficult task of exposing, conserving and restoring the ancient works. In 1947, three halls of the new wing, with entrance from Tositsa Street, were opened; it was the first display of antiquities after the

---

7. The work of Christos Karouzos as Director of the National Museum is praised by H. Möbius, *Gnomon* 40 (1968), 524ff.

8. A. Mylonas, son of the archaeologist Kyriakos D. Mylonas, had been visited for this purpose by the Director of the National Museum Ch. Karouzos and the Director of the National Gallery M. Kalligas; Καρούζου, *Ανθολόγημα*, *op. cit.* (note 2), 15.



war<sup>9</sup>. This coincided with the celebration of 100 years since the foundation of the French Archaeological School, and was the first gathering of archaeologists from all over the world in Greece. Among the known and beloved works of the Museum, they also had the opportunity to admire a new acquisition from the ending period of the occupation: the glorious Kouros with its base, on which his name was carved: Aristodikos (fig. 7).

Fig. 7. The hall of Aristodikos (1953).

No thought could be made of reconstituting the Museum as it had been before. The old building was surely standing upright, but it was understood that the wooden roof would have to be replaced. Christos Karouzos, then Director of the Museum, persistently proposed that what the Museum needed was storage rooms. Lest it appear odd, the National Museum previously had no storerooms, just wooden sheds around its central court. It is impossible even to describe in what manner objects had been gathered there, in the previous century, from all over Greece and how they were stacked. Nevertheless, it is worthy of respect that the old archaeologists of the time did take care to transport antiquities from near and far for safety reasons.

In order to create underground storerooms, first a large soil-removal project was undertaken; as we saw above, the soil formed part of the foundations of the old building. Only after its massive volume was put aside, were the large storerooms created along the side facing Herakleiou Street and the western side of the Museum, and a few on the east. Into these were put all the contents of the sheds in the court and the roof storage area<sup>10</sup>. A greater problem was presented by the piles of ancient marbles heaped for many decades outdoors in the court, there where the later interior garden with the Medusa mosaic was installed. The job of sorting all these successive piles of marble in the court was assigned to a

<sup>9</sup> Κόκκου, *op. cit.* (note 1), 254ff. Πετράκος, *op. cit.* (note 1), 109.

<sup>10</sup> These antiquities were transported to the new storage areas in 1951; see Kokkou, *op. cit.* (note 1), 256.

young archaeologist<sup>11</sup> by the directorate of the Museum. With great effort and the assistance of the technical staff he managed to separate the best sculptures from the secondary, and to arrange them in the new basements. No less painstaking was his further contribution of arranging in a scientific manner the votive reliefs that had flooded this court. All these, which had been invisible, were displayed, became accessible to scholars, and indeed some that were assessed of great importance were exhibited in the sculpture halls.

The removal to the new storage areas was carried out after the construction works on the north side had been completed. All the sculptures buried here had been previously transferred to the south side, and consisted of a number of small and large statues and marble vessels.

However, as the repairs to the old building were scheduled to last a long time, a temporary exhibition in the new wing was programmed expanding in ten halls, along with the three that had been opened in 1947<sup>12</sup>. While down in the basements the crates were being opened, this temporary exhibition proceeded upstairs that aimed to present the greatest works of sculpture, bronze, and ceramics from the Geometric to the Hellenistic period. This exhibition in the ten halls, which was gradually dismantled, having been a work achieved through the enthusiasm and toil of the Museum staff, acted as a school, a *prova generale* for the definitive exhibition to come, and also bore many fruits.

Not only did tourism develop but the moral profit was also great. In his speech for the inauguration of several of these halls, Minister K. Tsatsos emphasized precisely this aspect: "Our children grew up without antiquities" was a phrase he used of wide acceptance.

The definitive exhibition of the vases began immediately after, as the upper level of the new wing had received the necessary repairs. First to be prepared was the large Geometric hall and gradually the others followed, making the Vase Collection accessible to the public<sup>13</sup>.

Since in this chronicle we only mention those who have left this world, it would be very disrespectful if we did not emphasize the devotion, skill and faith of three of the people who participated in the reconstitution of the vases and minor arts: the experienced and trustworthy master technician Georgios Kontogiorgis, the exceptional genius of Giannis Bakoulis<sup>14</sup> and the generosity of the exquisite woodworker Odysseas Magnisalis<sup>15</sup>. In other places, their chests would have been decorated with medals. Now that this exhibition is open, we must also mention the great artist of the Museum, Alexandros Kontopoulos, who offered his talents and energy with faith and patriotism<sup>16</sup>.

Of the sculptures of the temporary exhibition, many had to be exposed for days or weeks to sunlight and washed. The great Eleusinian relief came apart. Its pieces had been glued with sulfur in the previous century and a new fastening

---

11. The later emeritus General Director of Antiquities N. Gialouris.

12. This temporary exhibition is mentioned by Christos Karouzos in 1953; see Radio museum guides, *Αρχαία τέχνη*, *op. cit.* (note 1), 142-168.

13. See her relevant article, *Η νέα αίθουσα του Εθνικού Μουσείου*, *Νέα Εστία* 59 (1956), 849-855. See also Πετράκος, *op. cit.* (note 1).

14. Giannis Bakoulis and Christos Chatziliou were responsible for the cleaning and restoration of the bronzes; Καρούζου, *Ανθολόγημα*, *op. cit.* (note 2), 15.

15. O. Magnisalis constructed the first large display cases of the Geometric hall with his assistant A. Damigos, Καρούζου, *Ανθολόγημα*, *op. cit.* (note 2), 16.

16. See also her text, *Ο Αλέξανδρος Κοντόπουλος στο Εθνικό μας Μουσείο*, in *Αλέκος Κοντόπουλος*, *Σχέδια*, Αθήνα 1985, 14-16; also X. Καρούζος, *Ο ζωγράφος Αλέξανδρος Κοντόπουλος*, *Ζυγός* 7 (1962), 5.

had to be made using metal rods. More care was invested into the reconstitution of the famous bronze youth from Antikythera<sup>17</sup>. It had been restored in 1902 in a somewhat cursory way by a foreign sculptor who had been left unsupervised. Presently the statue completely fell apart. After the added metal plaques covering its chest and abdomen were removed, and after whole buckets had been filled by the rosin that had given it its blackened appearance, the study of the figure's stance began. It took numerous attempts for the sculptor Andreas Panagiotakis and Giannis Bakoulis, under the guidance and with the support of the Director of the Museum Christos Karouzos, to correctly connect the upper and lower body; and by correct positioning bring forward the rhythm, the melody of the Classical masterpiece. All this took place during the winter months in a frozen laboratory without heating.

When the construction works were finally completed, when a modern roof covered all the Museum, another terrible danger materialized. The building that had been repaired with such attention was now viewed by non-museum people as suitable for exploitation. If it were to become a courthouse, the property values of the area around would rise; indeed, copious promises were given that it would be easy to find a large plot of land in exchange. This threat appeared in the horizon and in some state offices, and persisted until just a short while ago. This is not the place, however, to present how and with what effort this evil was prevented. If it had been allowed to prevail, we would not have a National Museum for at least the next fifty years.

Other efforts of those responsible were necessary to remove the last state services housed in the Museum and to create a space for the treasury. Only then, after there was security, were the crates containing the treasures of the Mycenaean Collection relocated from the basements of the Bank of Greece, and other valuable objects followed. Each crated antiquity – and there were thousands – was received in accordance to its filed record, and at the same time preparations proceeded for the exhibition in the great Mycenaean hall.

Reserved for this was the central space of the Museum, which had been chosen for this purpose by earlier wise archaeologists. After many trials, the display cases were ordered from a large factory abroad, and they still function superbly today.

In the previous exhibition of the late 19th century, the finds from the Mycenaean graves were displayed on tables, forcing visitors to bend down to see them. The entire room enclosed some secrecy in its Victorian seriousness, but the objects did not attract immediately the visitor. That which was now sought was an exaltation of the contents of the graves, particularly of the masks, a greater vividness in presentation.

All these thousands of precious objects passed through the worthy and honest hands of the artists and technical staff of the Museum, all of them having in mind nothing else but to present them brilliantly or to rescue them. The recent sacrilegious act of another cannot cast any shadow on their inestimable contribution<sup>18</sup>.

Parallel with the large Mycenaean hall and with the two side rooms of pre-Mycenaean antiquities, the collection of gold and other objects donated by

---

17. The chronicle of the conservation of the statue is also discussed by Semni Karouzou in her three-page introductory note to the publication by X. Καρούζος, Χρονικόν της ανασυστάσεως του εφήβου των Αντικυθήρων, ΑΕ 1969, 59-79.

18. S. Karouzou alludes to a case of antiquities theft.

*Mrs. Eleni Stathatou and the Karapanos hall were made ready<sup>19</sup>. In the case of the latter, it was preceded by hard work<sup>20</sup>. These stored bronzes from Dodona were shapeless masses that had never been studied. The bronze sheeting had become one with the dark red cloth of the lining, numbers had disappeared, and the more fragile sheets had shattered and required preservation. At that time, before exhibition, all the latest finds from Dodona by the late D. Evangelidis were recorded. By the way, it's worth mentioning that parallel to all the restoration works, recording continued uninterrupted. Two new indexes were added to the four of the Vase Collection, in the index of the Mycenaean Collection the numbers increased from 7101 to 9095, while the indexes of the sculptures and bronzes were enriched with a number of records and with ample bibliographical updates, even with additional drawings.*

*Innumerable problems arose when it came time to repair the other half of the old building, the halls all along Tositsa Street and on the east and part of the west sides. Not only were the sculptures that had been buried gathered there, as we saw, in the other section of the old building, but there were also countless crates with antiquities, sculptures from the sheds that were dismantled, groups of sculptures that had been moved from the Museum, and finally the heavy immovable sarcophagi. The deed of relocating and distributing these antiquities to the storage areas was undertaken by the devoted technical staff of the Museum. The meticulous sorting of the works in the basements of the Museum naturally led to several discoveries that benefited research. Many sculptures that had been forgotten, misinterpreted, if not snubbed, were brought to the surface and took not only a prized place in the halls of the Museum but in the history of Greek Art. I mention only the identification of a sculpture by the curator N. Gialouris; it was one of the pedimental sculptures from Epidaurus (fig. 8). The National Museum is a school for the entire world<sup>21</sup>. And for that, all who serve in it consider it their duty to assist archaeologists, both our own and foreigners, in their research. How much valuable time was sacrificed particularly by the staff of the National Museum for the opening of display cases? Only those who served there can know for sure.*

*One category of those who trade in the fame of antiquities, which have become a scourge because of their demands, must at some point be curbed. I shall not talk at length about all the preparations for the exhibition of the 22 halls containing the sculptures of the Museum<sup>22</sup>. I only note one difference in regard to*

---

19. Regarding the work and alterations to the Mycenaean hall, see Καρούζου, *Ανθολόγημα*, *op. cit.* (note 2), 16-17. The re-exhibition of the Prehistoric Collection is also mentioned in the article by Σ. Καρούζου, *Οι αρχαιότεροι ελληνικοί πολιτισμοί. Τρεις νέες αίθουσες στο Εθνικό Μουσείο*, *Νέα Εστία* 62 (1957), 1203-1205; See also Α. Σακελλαρίου, *Ο Χρήστος Καρούζος και η Προϊστορική Συλλογή του Εθνικού Μουσείου*, *Νέα Εστία* 122 (1987), 1136-1138. The archaeologists working together for the re-exhibition were Chrysoula Kardara, Olga Tsakanika, Agni Sakellariou, and Evi Touloupa.

20. The work to re-exhibit the bronzes was completed in 1964. The contribution of Evi Touloupa and Angeliki Lempesi to this was instrumental, Καρούζου, *Ανθολόγημα*, *op. cit.* (note 2), 17. See also E. Τουλούπα, *Ο Χρήστος Καρούζος και τα χάλκινα του Εθνικού Μουσείου*, *Νέα Εστία* 122 (1987), 1139-1141. Regarding the post-war re-exhibitions of the Museum's antiquities, see Γ. Δονιάς, *Ο Χρήστος Καρούζος και το Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο*, *Νέα Εστία* 122 (1987), 1116-1118.

21. The critical observations by Christos Karouzos regarding this subject are particularly timely. See the text of his lecture at the UNESCO conference in Athens in 1954, "Ο παιδαγωγικός ρόλος των μουσείων", *Αρχαία Τέχνη*, *op. cit.* (note 1), 137-141.

22. The new manner of exhibiting antiquities at the Museum, which was superior both aesthetically and in its modernist spirit to many famous museums abroad, was extolled in laudatory critiques by many scientists: E. Langlotz, *The National Museum at Athens*, *Archaeology* 7/3 (1954), 160-163; G. Bazin, *Variations muséologiques*, *Cahiers d'Art* (Oct. 1954), 92-96; W.-H. Schuchhardt, *Die großen Jahrhunderte der griechischen Kunst. Zur Neuaufstellung der Museen in Athen*, *Feuilleton*, *Frankfurter*



Fig. 8. Sculptures from the Temple of Asklepios in Epidauros (1954).



Fig. 9. Detail of the Archaic halls of the Museum.

the Archaic sculptures. Before the war, they were all gathered together, including the Archaistic, in one single hall. Now one may enjoy the Archaic works in a total of seven halls, five large and two smaller (fig. 9).

One would expect, after all that has been already said, that we would expose the methods applied in the presentation of the hundreds of sculptures, thousands of vases, bronzes and other objects that now stand gloriously in the completed halls of the Museum, the ready recipes that would determine the future image of other Museums as well<sup>23</sup>. The term "Museology" that some

*Allgemeine Zeitung* 26.7.1958, no. 170; R. Hampe, *Museum* 1959, 90-94; H. Möbius, *Der Wiederaufbau des Archäologischen Nationalmuseums in Athen*, *Museumskunde* 1960, 119-126. In particular, for the exhibition of Archaic plastic arts at the National Museum, see the article by B. Andreae in the honorary volume for Gert von der Osten, Köln 1970, 257-266. I warmly thank the Emeritus Director of the National Archaeological Museum, Dr. Eos Zervoudaki, for her assistance in gathering the relevant reviews.

23. Semni Karouzou's views regarding the form and organization of the Museum exhibitions are in complete agreement with those of her husband. A fragment of an "unknown" lecture attributed to Christos Karouzos have survived in which nearly identical thoughts are expressed, see Πετράκος, *op. cit.* (note 1), 110. Also of particular importance are their views regarding the problems of sending antiquities abroad: see Πετράκος, *op. cit.* (note 1), 97-98. The articles by S. Karouzou regarding the issue are mentioned in E. Τουλούπα, *Μνήμη Σέμνης Καρούζου*, *op. cit.* (note 1), 64.

throw about, the child of modern technocracy, is lacking any meaning. First and foremost, each Museum has its own problems, and most of all the National Museum, the largest archaeological museum in the world. No a priori principle, no aesthetic theory was applied here<sup>24</sup>. Just one principle dominated, how each artistic creation would be highlighted, how it could speak, at times on its own, at others, as part of its group, but always within its era. But the necessary preconditions for the reconstitution of a large Museum are: 1) Knowledge of its rich material. Following the research of archaeologists around the world often aids in the correct appreciation of some works; 2) Basic scientific education, the knowledge of art history and the ability to approach the spirit of each age; 3) Of great assistance is a knowledge of European art, or familiarity with it, creating the necessary criterion for an appreciation of the works and increasing the aesthetic sensitivity.

We forgot an indefinable factor, one that is difficult to describe: the personal human, nearly mystical, connection of the archaeologist with the objects, some sympathetic contact which leads towards the discovery of the particularity, towards the presentation of the magnificence. The archaeologist might consult hundreds of numbers, submit dozens of reports for each object, but if he does not meet the material, if he does not stand devotedly before it, if he does not research all that is hidden inside the work, he will remain uninformed, blind, and then the damage to such a Museum would be incalculable. It would result in the cold arrangement of objects, overlook of the most important, or actual inertia, and numerous scientific mistakes.

The ancient Greek works, however, deserve a better fortune, because they have that special something; all of them have something divine inside.

---

24. K. Schefold, Christos Karusos' Aesthetik, AΔ 24 (1969), Μελέται, 230-239.

# NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM 1866-2016: FROM THE TEACHING OF THE SCIENCE OF ARCHAEOLOGY TO THE CHALLENGE OF THE MULTIFACETED MUSEUM EXPERIENCE

*The foundation of the National Archaeological Museum aims at the study and teaching of the science of archaeology, the propagation of archaeological knowledge and the cultivation of a love for the Fine Arts. For this purpose all the antiquities which are deemed important for the understanding of the history of ancient Greek art and the knowledge of life in antiquity should be assembled in its premises... These antiquities are to be placed in the Museum segregated into scientifically classified collections.*

*Royal Decree On the Organization  
of the National Archaeological Museum, 31.7.1893, article 1*

## Introduction

The formation of the Modern Greek State in 1830 and the need to forge national consciousness in a way that integrated the prevailing mode in which Hellenism was construed, through the prism of the ancient classical culture, found an excellent ally in the institution of archaeological collections and museums (Damaskos - Plantzos 2008. Catapoti 2011. Moulidou 1996. Χαμηλάκης 2012). Within this context the National Archaeological Museum – just like all the national museums which were gradually established in Europe during the 19th century – had from the start a significant educational role to play as a legitimized carrier of the dominant ideological and political messages that shaped national identity (Kneil - Aronsson - Amundsen 2011. Μπούνια - Γκαζή 2012). Both the statutes of the Museum as well as a series of laws that regulated its planning and operation reflected the interest of the State to establish a museum that would fulfil an educational purpose for the nation and every lover of excellence, safeguarding and documenting the heritage of our ancestors and providing services that would promote archaeological knowledge and a fervour for beauty and antiquities.

Simultaneously, the entangled relation between the Museum and the education of the public was one of the means of social control which was deployed by modern states and the entrenched bourgeoisie in order to steer the lower classes towards preferred behaviour and practices (Hooper-Greenhill 1992, 168. Bennett 1995, 24). Museums, in parallel with public libraries and parks, were the new institutions that were invented with the intention to offer a neutral space in which all social strata foregathered and made good use of their spare time in the direction of self-improvement and learning<sup>1</sup>. In Greece it was believed that the acquisition of archaeological knowledge through museums would contribute, aside from the aspiration of self-consciousness, to the improved protection of the antiquities, since the

---

1. As a case in point, the Louvre Museum (established in 1793) formed part of the state education system (Hooper-Greenhill 1992, 182-183). The Victoria and Albert Museum in London was the first museum that was founded in 1852 as an educational institution for the teaching of the applied arts. Respectively, in the USA the establishment of the metropolitan museums in the 1870s was associated from the outset with education, since the museum was considered as an ideal medium for the promotion of democracy and social cohesion (Roberts 1997, 4).

citizens would be cognizant of their value thereby refraining from causing damage.

This essay intends to illustrate the evolution of the educational policy of the National Archaeological Museum over the years, ever since it was established in the 19th century through its present-day operation, and a retrospective of the communication and interpretation approaches it adopted. In Greece the educational and communication policy of public museums emanates from the central government and takes the form of general aims and objectives or more specific arrangements that concern issues like public access; however each institution decides on and stipulates which course of action is to be followed. Therefore all individual elements that comprise, either consciously or unconsciously, strategies of implementation of the education, as well as of the broader communication policy, such as the architecture and the interior layout of the Museum building, the permanent and temporary exhibitions, and visitor services, will be thoroughly examined and discussed.

### **The Museum building: a shell for the communication of scientific knowledge**

The specifications of the building that would house the National Archaeological Museum were drafted eight years before its foundation stone was laid<sup>2</sup>. The decree *On the Planning of the Museum of Antiquities*, dated June 30th, 1858 and the Guidelines *On the Construction of an Archaeological Museum* that were published in the same Government Gazette Issue<sup>3</sup>, specify the museological programme that determines to a large extent even nowadays the interior layout and the arrangement of the antiquities within the exhibition galleries. The Museum ought to be “divided into time periods” and “subdivided into categories by type”<sup>4</sup> and include an archaeological library and storage facilities for those antiquities which have not been classified yet.

Alexandros-Rizos Rangavis, who served as Professor of Archaeology in the University of Athens for many years and prepared the programme of the Museum’s construction, mentions in his memoirs, as he comments on the way the antiquities and plaster casts should be laid out in the exhibition galleries, the following:

“Since, unlike most places in Europe, there is not an extant edifice that could function as a Museum, but instead, a new building has to be erected, I believe that it is within our power to render this a pioneering and exemplary

---

2. The first architectural designs of the Museum, elaborated in 1836 by the leading figure of neo-classical architecture Leo von Klenze (Κόκκου 2009, 204-206), already reflected the prevailing attitude regarding the arrangement of the antiquities in the exhibition space based on their type, and also the display of plaster casts for educational purposes. The “Pantechneion”, as he named it, would also accommodate the schools of Sculpture, Painting, and Chalcography, thus establishing a close link between the training of artists and their familiarization with the high artistic creations of antiquity. For the same reasons Eleni Tositsa later donated the land next to the National Technical University for the purpose of building the Museum aiming to bring together in the same part of the city “those two Establishments that were essential for the fine arts” (Κόκκου 2009, 231).

3. Government Gazette Issue no. 30, July 31st, 1858 (Βουδούρη 2003, 43-44. Κόκκου 2009, 208).

4. According to the organizational chart of the National Archaeological Museum of 1893, the Museum’s antiquities were indeed grouped into six collections (Collection of Sculptures, Vases, the Mycenaean Collection, etc.) which remained practically invariable after 150 years (see Βουδούρη 2003, 43-44, Government Gazette Issue A 171/28.8.2014). The exhibition space continues essentially to be arranged chronologically and based on the type of antiquities taking into account later acquisitions and building extensions.

institution, since the very fact of its existence would be beneficial to art education”.

*Alexandros-Rizos Rangavis, 1895, 399*

Rangavis believed that the innovation of the Museum lay in the comprehensive presentation – as much as this was feasible – of each time period (and the accumulated knowledge of it) through a succession of galleries making effective use of sculptures, which, according to Winckelmann, epitomize artistic expression and reflect the evolution of art<sup>5</sup>. Additionally, each sculpture gallery would be surrounded by smaller satellite rooms either situated on the same floor or the storey below that would display works made of other material, contemporaneously dated, or casts<sup>6</sup> so as to complete the education of visitors.

The didactic character of the Museum was consistent with the prevailing tendencies at that time in the European museums and the traditional educational system, and was rooted in the realistic epistemology of the Enlightenment. Knowledge is considered as an objective, extrinsic entity and the individual, aided by observation, direct experience and rational thought, is in position of acquiring it. Based on didacticism, the educational theory that dominated the 19th century, the museum curator propagates knowledge by putting forward the appropriate instructive material, whereas the role of visitors is passive (Hein 1998, 16-21). Museums with the increasingly systematic taxonomies of their wealth present either the development of science in a linear, inductive mode or a chronology of works of art arranged by school or by place of origin so as to underscore the “progress” of art and culture and disclose the truth (Τζώβος 2007, 38. Πασχαλίδης 2001, 213-214). The architecture of buildings reverberates in a symbolic manner this evolutionary progress through the orderly articulation of galleries and exhibition entities (Τζώβριζη 2010, 55-59).

Let’s take a look at the ground plan and the façade of the National Archaeological Museum, as this was eventually realized from 1866, when its foundations were laid, through its completion in 1889, in an attempt to decipher the educational message which the Greek State aimed to convey by means of the architecture it opted for. The edifice is a typical example of local Neoclassicism, built within a large courtyard that in a few years’ time became a lush garden, a place of social interaction in which the Athenians could repose, converse with each other and show with their presence that they claimed a higher social status (fig. 1). Its monumental entrance, which is encountered in other museums that adhere to Neoclassicism (e.g. the British Museum and the Glyptothek in Munich), recalls an entrance to ancient temples, while the four emblematic casts that decorate its top give an idea to visitors of what they are about to experience<sup>7</sup>.

---

5. Using the concept of the life cycle Winckelmann (1717-1768) believed that the ancient civilizations, which he had studied, and their art had a birth, a heyday and then moved towards decline. The names and characterizations of the various periods, according to which the works of the National Archaeological Museum were to be classified chronologically, are revealing of the impact of his theory: the Early Heyday or the Age of Pheidias, and the Age of Decline or the Macedonian Age respectively, and so on. Correspondingly, the catalogue which Panagis Kavvadias prepared (1886) refers to the 5th and the 4th c. BC as the “age of the perfected and flourishing art”, whereas the ensuing centuries through the Roman conquest are described as the “age of the descending art”.

6. The plaster casts would be taken from significant antiquities kept in museums abroad supplemented with drawings of the architectural monuments they belonged to. The Law Act ΒΡΜΘ’/8.2.1893 made provisions for the establishment of a Museum of Casts at the National Archaeological Museum.

7. As in the instructions for the construction of the building as also in the evaluation of the Academy of Fine Arts of Munich, regarding the designs of the architectural competition, it was clearly



Fig. 1. The forecourt of the Museum in the early 20th century (source: Photographic Archive, National Archaeological Museum).

As the visitor enters the building he is dissociated from the external environment and is invited to take part in a situation of wonder and devotion that resembles a ritual (Duncan 1995), in order to relish aesthetically the content of the Museum, and to be gradually transformed into an expert as a result of his obedient movement through the successive rooms and his exposure to the categorized material. The choices he is given during his tour are limited. The building is marked by intense axiality that encompasses a fixed forward direction so that the visitor can experience in a palpable manner the evolution of art and the continuity of the Greek culture with very few alternatives available for deviation from the predetermined tour in order to visit lateral rooms that lead again to the central axis. The simplicity of the interior, which is a typical feature of museum architecture in the 19th century, as argued by Psarra (Ψappά 2005, 7), is necessary for the classification and comparative study of museum objects. The author also stresses that the imposed sequence of movements creates the illusion of a homogeneous educational meaning and finite historical knowledge, based on the epistemological assumption that the scientific knowledge is about veracious accounts of the world and its phenomena (Ψappά 2005, 8). Similarly, the building of the National Archaeological Museum creates a closed learning environment: the aim of education is for the visitor to espouse the main ideological message, as he moves towards the end of spatially dictated itineraries, and leave with a sense of cognitive fulfilment and exaltation.

The extensions and modifications that followed (1903-1906 and 1932-1939), even though they alter the original architectural design, are also infused with the concept of linear articulation, which nonetheless increases spatial complexity. The new wings create parallel axes along which visitors move across different parts of the building. With their open spatial relations and the visual penetration

---

stated that the edifice had to be dignified and artistically worthy of the exquisite ancient works it was about to house, with a façade that would manifest the purpose of the building and with simple interior decoration so as not to distract the visitors from contemplating the ancient works (Κόκκου 2009, 212-213). The use of terms such as “dignified”, “decent” and “appropriate” suggested that the antiquities were aesthetically approached as treasures (Gazi 1993, 72). Nonetheless, the consecration of antiquities and the lack of adequate justification for the non-experts undermined the feeling of cultural affinity with modern Greece despite the differing programmatic goals.

which they make possible, the new wings invite visitors to follow a path through them and pull together meanings that derive precisely from this sequential movement. The innermost sections of the Museum also accommodate for the most part collections that contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the core narrative of the evolutionary approach to art, whereas the limited amount of interconnections ensures cohesion (Περονής 2003). Private collections comprise interpolated, autonomous stories<sup>8</sup> and their display mode resonates to a large extent with the philosophy of the collector, while it is impregnated with the scientific system of chronological classification which the Museum follows, thereby serving the purposes of the core narrative. Finally, in some exhibitions, such as that of the Egyptian Collection, a clearer format of thematic grouping has been applied that places emphasis on aspects of the ancient life in parallel with the chronological and typological classification of objects. This discussion takes us to the evaluation of the various interpretative approaches adopted by the Museum at times, which will be the focus of the next chapter.

### **Looking at exhibitions: interpretation approaches and educational pursuits**

#### **The first exhibitions**

In about 1881 already, at a time when the first catalogues by Milchhöfer and Sybel circulate, the Museum opens its gates to the public despite the fact that the building was not completed. Due to continuous work, in which the General Ephor of Antiquities Panagis Kavvadias played a leading role, the position of the antiquities frequently changes, as the philosophy of exhibitions gradually crystallizes before World War II.

The assiduous study, which Gazi elaborated, elucidates the criteria for display (Gazi 1993, 154-177). The exhibition hinges on the chronological and typological classification of antiquities. Each room or network of rooms is devoted to a different period of art and is named after the most significant or most impressive, according to the curators, work (e.g. the Athena Room or the Poseidon Room), whereas the antiquities are displayed mainly based on their material (sculptures, vases, bronzes) and secondarily in accordance with their type and provenance, with the exception of the main axis of the Museum in which the majority of the Prehistoric and Egyptian antiquities are exhibited.

The works are aligned along the walls whereas few of them are occasionally installed transversely or occupy the core axis so as to be highlighted (fig. 2), impress visually with their size (fig. 3), or simply add an extra linear articulation of the exhibits (fig. 4). As a general rule, the Museum displays as many works as possible, often in line with aesthetic criteria that favour a rather decorative disposition, as in the case of the graduated arrangement of the crowns of grave stelae as shown on fig. 3. For the first time in Greece an early form of annotation is introduced (fig. 5)<sup>9</sup>. The sculptures are often restored with gypsum

---

8. Regarding the views of the collector Eleni Stathatou and the display of the Stathatos Collection, see Bounia 2012; Ζερβουδάκη 2009. On the Vlastos-Serpieris Collection, see Γκαδόλου - Καβαδάς 2013.

9. Each sculpture had an inventory number, so that the visitor could refer to in the descriptive catalogue of the exhibition, and was sometimes accompanied by brief labels. On showcases that contained works originating from the same location a generic geographical name was indicated. Finally, the rooms bore names that denoted their content.

**Exhibition criteria**

- Segregation of the antiquities of historical times in different rooms depending on their material.
- Emphasis placed on the most significant works with special frames and plinths.

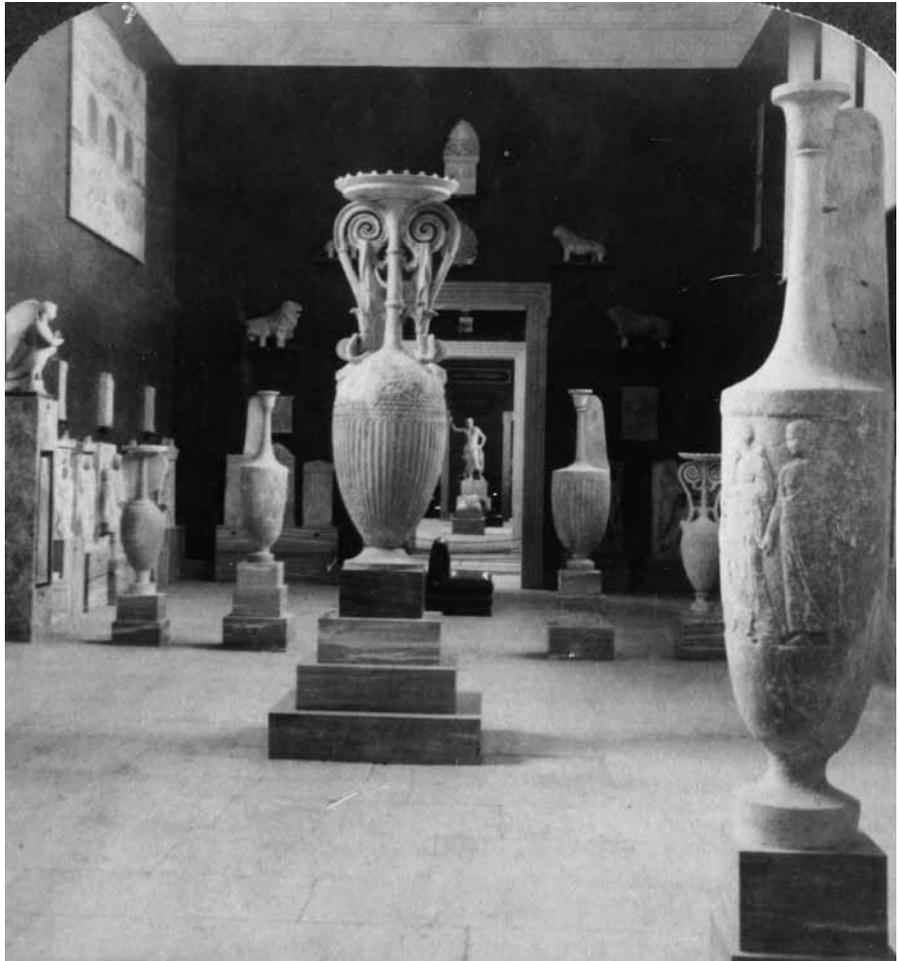
*Fig. 2. The Gallery of the Bronzes after the 1903-1906 building extension (ca. 1911). The Antikythera Youth is further emphasized with the installation of a specially designed frame in the background (source: Collection Charis Yakoumis/Kallimages, Paris).*



**Exhibition criteria**

- Aesthetic/decorative criteria for the arrangement of the antiquities.
- Restoration of the antiquities for the reinstatement of their original form.

*Fig. 3. The great hall of the funerary reliefs, first decade of the 20th century (source: Photographic Archive, National Archaeological Museum).*





**Exhibition criteria**

- Display of the largest possible number of exhibits.
- Arrayed exhibits depending on their date and type.

*Fig. 4. The gallery of the Vase Collection, first decade of the 20th century (source: Photographic Archive Charis Giakoumis/ Kallimages, Paris).*



**Exhibition criteria**

- Additional interpretative media (rudimentary labels, painting reproductions, casts).
- Plain decoration of the rooms, yet with vibrant, dramatic colours.

*Fig. 5. The Gallery of Athena, late 19th century. The inventory number under the ancient works and the small label inside the glass showcase of the Varvakeion Athena as well as beneath the head in the background are visible (source: Photographic Archive, National Archaeological Museum).*

and sometimes their presumed missing accessories are reconstructed<sup>10</sup>. Plaster casts and painting reproductions<sup>11</sup> complete the museum experience with works that could not have been included in a museum. The walls are plainly decorated with bright red colour and occasionally a meander band and other simple ornaments in consonant with the nature of the exhibits, apart from

<sup>10</sup> On fig. 3, for instance, in the statue of Poseidon of Melos which is visible in the background the god is shown holding a modern reconstruction of a trident. See also fig. 2 on page 201.

<sup>11</sup> As a case in point on fig. 3 the painting on the top left corner is a reproduction of a wall-painting of a chamber tomb at Corinth created by Nikephoros Lytras, one of the greatest Greek painters of the 19th century.

the Mycenaean and the Egyptian Galleries in which the decoration is more imposing being inspired by motifs found in Mycenaean tombs and Egyptian monuments respectively.

The interpretative approach of the Museum is analogous to that of the great European institutions of the time (Pevsner 1987). As delineated by Peponis and Hedin (1982) who comment upon the Hall of Birds at the Museum of Natural History in London, knowledge is considered direct in the sense that it depends on what is visually attainable and therefore the exhibition of taxonomized material embodies knowledge without the need for an explanatory framework. Based on this view, the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge make use of the same processes; hence no need for popularization has been identified so far. The knowledge of the specialist scientist is visualized as a result of the classifications which the museum has propounded and, consequently, the pedagogical relationship that is created within the museum environment is that between an expert and a non-expert since all those which a curator knows are those which a visitor is enabled to contemplate, and inevitably he will reach the same inference acquiring in an accumulative manner the same knowledge. This is the widespread notion that objects can speak for themselves and thus reveal the social constructions people have endowed them with.

Hence, the educational aims of the Museum at this stage are consistent with its mandate. The propagation of the archaeological knowledge, the indirect teaching of the practices, which the science of archaeology follows for the study of its material<sup>12</sup>, and the general aesthetic cultivation<sup>13</sup> aim at a broader humanistic education that will elevate the society and render it a worthy successor to the diachronic presence of the Hellenic nation. As Gazi lucidly explains (1999, 50-51), the ideological deployment of the antiquities as symbols of national identity also reduced the need to interpret them in connection with the socio-cultural context of the time that yielded them since their material evidence is a sufficient condition for the documentation and consolidation of the timelessness of the Hellenic culture.

A glimpse into the overall educational policy of the Hellenic Ministry of Public Education and Religious Affairs, that was also responsible for the antiquities confirms that the National Archaeological Museum with its exhibition programme constituted one of the principal instruments for the accomplishment of the educational pursuits of the State. The analytical programme of study at schools promoted classical education, whereas the teaching methods stemmed from the Herbart's system that favoured didacticism and placed emphasis on analysis and the transmission of knowledge (Τρούλη 2012, 63-

---

12. At that time archaeology was construed as a descriptive science that conformed to an interpretative pattern influenced by Darwin's theory of Evolution and the concepts articulated by the Enlightenment as regards the continuous progress of societies with the aid of observation and rational thought (Δοξανάκη 2011, 26-28). In the modern world the sense of vision proves to be the primary medium through which scientific knowledge is gained (Edwards - Gosden - Phillips 2006. Πασχαλίδης 2001), and as a result, visual observation at the museum constitutes the most credible way of being initiated into the practices of the presented discipline.

13. The significance of aesthetic education was praised by the German Idealism, having acknowledged in art and in the perception of the Sublime, the power to guide man from mere sensation to reasoning and contribute to the way society functions. "Taste alone brings harmony into society because it establishes harmony in the individual" (Schiller, in Beardsley 1989, 219). Within this framework the public art museum had a significant social role to play and made a decisive contribution to State education.

66). Within the context of history teaching that aimed predominantly at the understanding of the historical continuity of the nation through the ages and in space, the science of archaeology was thought of as offering tangible documentation and, consequently, visiting museums was deemed essential for every citizen.

The way in which this knowledge was transmitted did not take into consideration the particular traits of the social groups that visited the Museum. Visitors were thus regarded as a uniform category that held the cultural capital, which was either available a priori or consciously acquired through experience, and which was necessary for the decipherment of meanings that were associated with artistic values identified by the experts as significant (Bourdieu 2002). Hence, despite the fact that in theory the Museum satisfied the demands of modernism, namely to serve as an instrument for democratic education, it continued to possess a contrasting function as an elitist shrine dedicated to the arts. This contrast was also evident in the composition of its audience. Judging from reports of the time, it was clear that Greek visitors were rare (Δοξανάκη 2011, 66-68). Despite the fact that the President of the Archaeological Society Philippos Ioannou had raised his hopes that visitor numbers would be increased in the aftermath of the completion of the building of the National Archaeological Museum, as the antiquities would be sorted in larger premises and with the appropriate scientific classification system (ΠΑΕ 1876, 26), most people continued to refrain from visiting "...because they believed that they would encounter statues and reliefs for which they felt no affinity because they lacked the necessary knowledge" (Παπαμιχαλόπουλος 1899, in Δοξανάκη 2011, 67). It should also be stressed that these were the early years of operation of the archaeological museums in Greece which formed a different correlation between people and the antiquities. Even though before the Greek War of Independence the native population lived amongst the antiquities which were often integrated into their homes or their daily lives, thereby developing an experiential relationship with them<sup>14</sup>, the newly-established Greek State turned people into distant observers within the Museum environment that was strictly controlled by the security personnel. In case the visitor was not equipped with the required knowledge, then he would have to be restricted to feeling wonder at the sight of these great works of antiquity and uncritical admiration hoping for the awakening of the "sleeping capacity to discern what is good in art" (ΠΑΕ 1876, 26). The selection of the exhibits served this purpose and at the same time aimed at the valorization of the nation's glory. Sculptures and vases of impressive size, intact, as much as this was possible, or restored with gypsum, where needed, and also artefacts that were associated mainly with the expression of high ideas in antiquity (in connection with religion, mythology, bravery demonstrated in defence of the country, etc.) were tightly packed in the exhibition galleries whereas most objects of everyday life and utility artefacts were either excluded or installed in less prominent positions.

---

14. See indicatively Γεννάδιος 1930, 22, 134-139; Κόκκου 2009, 22-23; Χαμηλάκης 2012, 91-101.

## The redisplay after World War II

During the interwar period it is eventually recognized that the arrangement as well as the rationale behind the exhibition has to change. Besides, it is not just the continuously increasing number of antiquities yielded from excavations that urges the expansion of the building facilities. The discussion on the aesthetic value of Hellenism had been intensified already since the first decades of the 20th century (Γκαζή 2012, 39-40). Simultaneously, the aesthetic education proves significant for school levels and the wider audience (Τρούλη 2012). In the domains of art history and archaeology the traditional historical and philological approach to monuments that was essentially adopted and the attempt to identify the works in reference to the ancient literary sources are now questioned. Christos Karouzos, the Director who undertakes the redisplay of the collections of the National Archaeological Museum after World War II and the inescapable concealment of antiquities, and his wife Semni Papaspyridi-Karouzou, curator of the Vases Collection, breathed new life into the exhibitions which open gradually from 1947 through 1964 focusing on aesthetic and historico-technical criteria. The couple sees the National Archaeological Museum as a Museum of Art History. Their exhibition philosophy reflects Winckelmann's view on the study of the stylistic features of ancient art, through the prism of later interpretations, such as those of Riegl, Wölfflin, Buschor, and Beazley that refer to the distinctiveness of each period endeavouring to conceive its spirit through the morphological analysis of monuments, the identification of the particularities of each creator, and the assessment of the significance of a work seen as an artistic entity "based on criteria that derive from the character of its own age" (Καρούζος 1995, 277)<sup>15</sup>.

As a result of this scientific view, in the new exhibitions of the National Museum works of art that belong to the same time period are arranged in units, divided into sub-units dedicated to the same workshop or artist and/or similar use. The first temporary exhibitions (fig. 6) bring together "works that relate to each other, made of different materials, elucidating one another, arranged densely and at the same time sparsely enough so that each work retains its individuality and the visitor does not perceive them as a series of identical items", thereby increasing "the sense of comfort" for the visitor and turning the exhibition more "attractive" (Καρούζος 1995, 323). Accordingly, in the permanent exhibitions that follow (fig. 7) representative examples and also archetypal works that exemplify the highest artistic production are selected, without overlooking or undermining more modest works, which nonetheless may contribute considerably to the understanding of the meaning of the art of each period<sup>16</sup>. Their presentation is rendered in a plain and abstract mode echoing the museological approach of the "white cube"<sup>17</sup> which provides a

---

15. On the scientific approach to exhibitions of Christos and Semni Karouzos, see Ζερβουδάκη 1997; Καρούζος 1995, 272-288; Καταποτί 2011; Μουλιού 1997; Μουλιού 2008; Πετράκος 1995; Ρωμιούλου 1997.

16. Semni Karouzou characteristically argues: "Since Museums are no longer addressed now to courtiers and the aristocracy, but to the new force that is eager to enjoy the heritage of the past, the great mass of people, only the significant works, the Milestones, that have something to teach them must be exhibited" (Καρούζου 1937, in Ζερβουδάκη 1997, 28). Later she adds that "next to the preeminent works of great inspiration, those which are less important manifest the creative passion and the spiritual freshness of their creators" (*op. cit.*, 32).

17. On the rationale behind the "white cube" that first appeared in the Museum of Modern Art, New York (MoMA) in the 1930s, see Τζώνος 2007, 46; Τζώπιζη 2010, 59.



#### Exhibition criteria

- Juxtaposition of works of different materials that aims at the presentation of the spirit of each period more effectively.
- Asymmetrical installation that highlights the individuality of the exhibits.
- Aesthetic enhancement based on the austerity of the exhibition environment and proper lighting.

*Fig. 6. View of the first post-war exhibition of antiquities after 1947 (source: Photographic Archive, National Archaeological Museum).*



#### Exhibition criteria

- Exhibition of works that typify each period, arranged in units related to each other artistically or based on their use.
- More detailed scientific labels and introductory texts.

*Fig. 7. View of the permanent exhibition of the vases arranged by Semni Karouzou (source: Photographic Archive, National Archaeological Museum).*

neutral setting that does not divert visitors' attention from their contemplation of the work of art:<sup>18</sup>

"As we wish to take pleasure from every perspective in the work of art itself that was created at a certain point in time and cannot be repeated, we require that this is presented to us with candour, like the candour our age is infused with eventually. Every medium that intends to display a sculpture or a painting with ostentation, such as rich showcases, pompous plinths, plaster decoration, and similar devices, should be eliminated so as to focus only on the work. Not just in order to learn something, but, most importantly, to be moved emotionally. But this emotion has nothing in common with the exaltation which was advocated by the Romantics or the Aestheticism of 1900, but is connected with other real parameters, understanding and interpretation".

*Semni Karouzou  
(in Ζερβουδάκη 1997, 30)*

<sup>18</sup> As Möbius maintains (1959, 86-87), the simplicity of the interior layout aims exclusively at highlighting the work of art. Each object was installed being respectful of its seclusion in space and at a height and in a position that were dictated by optimal lighting conditions.

The above quotation is an important comment upon the prevailing pedagogical concepts at the Museum, particularly as regards the interpretative methods and practices, but also the role of visitor. The National Museum is still regarded as “the most important school of Hellenic education for the entire world” (Καρούζου, in Ρωμιοπούλου 1997, 42) and the main “source of national and aesthetic education”, yet its aims are not exclusively cognitive. The emotion which Semni Karouzou talks about is construed as targeting sentimentality first and then learning. Besides, for Christos Karouzos art has a reformatory quality that exerts “a significant effect on the soul, the spirit, and the mentality of people” as long as art “remains faithful to its special nature, its particular artistic character” and “the contemplation and immersion of the visitor into the work of art” is facilitated (Καρούζος 1995, 349). It now becomes clear that the Museum is interested in the provision of an interpretative scheme that consciously guides – yet in an implicit manner – the non-expert visitor to the comprehension of the artistic meaning which the works transmit as regards their epoch and which consists in the right scientific choices and their excellent presentation<sup>19</sup>, the use of explanatory labels with information about their identity and date, well-written trilingual panels on the spirit and the accomplishments of the art of each period and occasionally painting reproductions. Christos and Semni Karouzou characteristically argue:

“Some people might ask what principles did those who made the museum for the display and sorting of the antiquities follow (...). Well, they did not follow any principle a priori – aside from one: how to advance the ancient work of art and how to make it show its beauty and speak, sometimes on its own and sometimes together with the group to which it belongs, without being disturbed by its architectural or chromatic setting”.

*Christos Karouzos  
(in Πετράκος 1995, 110)*

“However, a necessary precondition for the reinstitution of a great museum is: 1) The awareness of its wealth (...). 2) Also a prerequisite is the entire essential scientific training, the knowledge of the history of the ancient art and the ability to approach the spirit of each period. 3) The knowledge of European art is of great help; the familiarization with it also creates the precondition for the appraisal of the works and increases aesthetic sensitivity”.

*(Καρούζου 2000, 14)<sup>20</sup>*

These criteria, which Christos and Semni Karouzou consider fundamental for the curator of the exhibition, are considered also essential for the educator who is willing to initiate his students into the world of the ancient art<sup>21</sup> and, of

---

19. The arrangement of the exhibits in nonsymmetrical positions intended to invite the spectator to encircle the most important displays and discover their individual particularities, implementing a different, more exploratory this time, choreography of movement in contrast to the old processional route which the visitor followed through the exhibition galleries.

20. This is a reprint of the lecture of Semni Karouzou at the 1st Conference of the Association of Greek Archaeologists in 1967. See above p. 199ff.

21. “I believe that no serious educator will doubt that the problem of teaching lies to a large extent in the solid training which the teacher has received in his domain rather than the psychology of the listener (...). I am afraid that whenever poor teaching is involved this does not have to do with a bad method, but nearly always with the deficient education of the teacher (...). He must be an expert in his field and be less concerned with how he communicates his knowledge. More specifically he

course, desirable for the audience, seen as a result of the visit and to a lesser extent as preparation. The role which the visitor is expected to play is that of the well-prepared spectator, on a psychological as well as spiritual level, who becomes “reflective and initiated” in order to be able to appreciate what the Museum has to offer. “Time, comfort, persistence, and commitment” were the prerequisites for the museum visit (Ζερβουδάκη 1997, 35). Consequently the pedagogical approach, which is adopted in exhibitions, is imbued with a deeply democratic tendency to make sure that the Museum offers aesthetic pleasure not just to the specialist, but also to the wider audience, which is now considered as having different needs; yet it does not refrain from the didacticism of the preceding period, whereas the preconditions of time availability, contemplative disposition and cultivated eye presuppose codes of behaviour which are commonly found in the higher classes of the bourgeoisie rather than the general population. Despite the fact that in other countries the principles of progressive education that place emphasis on the needs of the learner and his active participation in the learning process gain ground in the field of museums and also in standard education, the situation in Greece is different, despite the efforts of distinguished Greek educators – a fact that is eloquently reflected in the aforementioned views of Karouzou<sup>22</sup>. What is important is the proper transmission of knowledge and within this framework the National Archaeological Museum now puts forward a cohesive and clear narrative that is a product of systematic historico-technical analyses, freed from hierarchical judgments regarding the value of the art of each period. The adopted approach toward interpretation and exhibition was hailed by the intelligentsia of the time as exemplary not just for the Greek, but also for foreign museums: “one of the most pleasant and comprehensible museums in Europe” (Vanderpool 1949, in Mouliou 2008, 103), “a new mode, truly wonderful” (Παπανούτσος 1950, in Mouliou 2008, 103), “it should not escape the attention of any museographer” (Möbius 1959, 90). Nonetheless, epistemologically it continues to search for the disclosure of the true knowledge that lies in the objects, which are seen as genuine exponents of the worldview of their time, capable of revealing it only to the reflective observant in a rather intuitive manner.

Before we come to an end with this time period, it is important to mention the first attempt to create a thematic setting within the exhibition galleries. In 1957 the space between the staircase to the upper floor and the room that housed the Mycenaean Collection (today’s Gallery 34) was converted into an outdoor sanctuary in which an ancient altar was surrounded, as in antiquity, by votive offerings, most of which were reliefs of various provenances and periods<sup>23</sup>. The German archaeologist Möbius states that in order to enhance the

---

must remember this: because (...) the understanding of art does not simply imply the acquisition of knowledge through intellectual endeavour, but mostly the development of the sensitivity of our vision; that is the field in which the teacher must be well educated” (Καρούζου 1995, 350-351).

22. See above note 21.

23. Karouzou maintains that it was essentially the altar and “a mystic force” (...) that transformed this spot, which was so deeply respected by two or three generations of people, into an outdoor space, an ancient ‘temenos’, instead of a cold passage which the new architectural design had dictated” (Καρούζου 1957, 1). This thematic choice lives on to this day, nonetheless the arrangement of the exhibits has changed having been adapted to the needs that resulted from the massive influx of visitors’ groups and the risks posed by the asymmetric installation of the sculptures (Καλιτσάς 2005a, 69). It is interesting to consider from a semiological point of view the choice of mounting an ancient altar at the centre of the hall that introduces the visitor to the new wings of the Museum, as

ambience of the outdoor sanctuary, potted plants were added and also an excerpt from Plato's *Phaedrus* was mounted that recounted a description of the plane trees found near Ilissos River, a site from which several of the exhibits originated, but also a popular location of many ancient temples (Möbius 1959, 90). Here, the rationale of the exhibition goes beyond the presentation of the different periods in art and attempts to draw attention to a facet of life in antiquity with the aid of socio-cultural contextual elements and scenographic devices which are employed in order to offer a more complete experience.

### **Exhibition dialogues at the dawn of the 21st century: honouring the past, investigating the future**

The display of Christos and Semni Karouzou left its imprint on the Museum throughout the political changeover period. During the forty years that passed until the last major re-display (2004-2008) and the exhibition of significant ensembles of the Vases and Minor Arts Collection for the first time (2009) at the new wing of the Museum (former Numismatic Museum), minor alterations took place that were dictated by the new acquisitions; the revisions in the scientific documentation of certain displays (Καλτσάς 2005α, 53-55, 66-67); and the desire for the "aesthetic improvement of the presentation" and the accentuation of the "educational character of the exhibitions" mainly through the renewal of infrastructures and exhibition equipment, changes in the arrangement and also addition of informational material (Δημακοπούλου 2001). According to Nikos Kaltsas, the then Director of the Museum, the core principle of the last exhibition renewal, which was followed by a vast amount of technical and construction work on the Museum's infrastructures that was crucial as a consequence of the 1999 earthquake and the continued aging of the building, was the "presentation of the works in chronological sequence, which fosters the historical knowledge and places emphasis on the aesthetic and artistic evolution of the art of antiquity", whereas smaller groups of displays constitute thematic entities that help in the understanding of the social structures through the ages (Καλτσάς 2007). He then goes on by saying:

"It is not easy or sensible for the major national museums to renounce the academicism<sup>24</sup> they are marked by and which imparts significance and grandeur (...). Thus we have tried not to exhaust ourselves in the use of decorative elements, but without discarding the value of attractiveness, to stay faithful to the rational scientific elaboration of the exhibition material and the major role which such a museum is anticipated to play".

(Καλτσάς 2005α, 60-61)

From the aforesaid it is obvious that the interpretative approach of the Museum continued to follow in the footsteps of the earlier key philosophy<sup>25</sup> enriched with thematic units that present in a descriptive manner facets of the

---

it reverberates symbolically the concept of the temple, which the entrance of the Museum recalls, and the ritual dimension of the visit.

24. See also Δημακοπούλου 1999, in Γκαζή 2012, 44: "The permanent exhibitions of the museum consciously maintained an academic character that conformed to tried methods of presentations".

25. See also Καλτσάς 2004, 65; Καλτσάς 2005α, 67. On the extensive presentation of the re-display by the Museum's curators and the individual differentiations in each collection, see the articles of Βλαχογιάννη, Παπάζογλου-Μανιουδάκη, Προσκυνητοπούλου, Σιασινοπούλου and Τουρνά at the electronic journal *Αρχαιολογία & Τέχνες*, issues 114-117 of 2010 (<http://www.archaiologia.gr>).

ancient life and new or richer interpretative media (e.g. video) that contribute to the contextualization of the exhibits. The presentation of art, and though that, of the history of the place constitutes the core narrative of the Museum today. Emphasis has also been placed on the comfort and the aesthetic pleasure of the visitor, nonetheless scientific education is put forward at the expense of any kind of aestheticism (Καλιτσάς 2004, 65-66. Καλιτσάς 2005b, 61, 77). In other words, the National Archaeological Museum seems to be loyal to its founding aims, namely the "promotion of the science of archaeology" and the "contribution to the cultural education of the audience" (Καλιτσάς 2005b, 80), reverberating the didacticism which is traditionally employed in the Museum.

From 1978 onwards, apart from the permanent display, the National Archaeological Museum stages systematically temporary exhibitions<sup>26</sup> that gave the opportunity for the implementation of alternative museological and museographical approaches. Originally the exhibitions were dedicated to the private life of the ancient Greeks and aimed at "bringing closer the people of today to the people of yesterday" based on the argument that "museums should be more involved in the education and popularization of archaeology", whereas the familiarization with the Greeks of antiquity not just through their great achievements, but also through their daily life would help in "seeing the atmosphere of the museum transformed, becoming intimate and friendly" (Philippaki 1979, 200)<sup>27</sup>.

In these temporary exhibitions there has been a shift of emphasis from the display of the evolution of the ancient art to the presentation of daily aspects of the ancient Greek culture so as for the Museum to come closer to the experiences of its visitors. The knowledge of the Greek culture is also considered significant, but not with the intention to forge national identity and the inextricable association of the Greeks with their classical past, but to accentuate the ecumenical character of the ancient Greek culture and its impact on the culture of modern Europe (Philippaki 1979, 202). Besides, this is the time when Greece joins the European Union, which raised a different reading of material culture as regards temporary but also travelling exhibitions, in order to propagate the political and ideological views of the country across Europe and the international community (Mouliou 1997, 267, 288-317).

The themes of the temporary exhibitions that followed are marked by diversity: they are sometimes inspired by a commemorative or a current event<sup>28</sup> and sometimes demonstrate the yielding of scientific research<sup>29</sup> or they are dedicated to archaeological sites or cultural ensembles<sup>30</sup>, mythology and its correlation with people, practices and beliefs of the ancient world<sup>31</sup>, histori-

---

26. The first temporary exhibition of the National Archaeological Museum was held in 1934 and included copies of works of the Minoan civilization (*BCHLIX*, 1935, I, 240-242).

27. The first temporary exhibition during the era of their systematization was dedicated to the Child in Antiquity (1978-1979) on the occasion of the International Year of the Child in 1979, the second one concerned the ancient musical instruments (1979), and the third one was devoted to the ancient medical tools (1980). For an analytic presentation, see Mouliou 1997, 266-272.

28. Eg. the exhibition "Agon" ("Contest"), which was staged on the occasion of the Olympic Games of Athens in 2004.

29. Eg. "Minoans and Mycenaean: Flavours of their Time" (1999), "Gods in Colour: Colour on Ancient Sculpture" (2007).

30. Eg. "The Mycenaean World" (1988-1989), "Eretria: Insights into an Ancient City" (2010).

31. Eg. "Myth and Coinage: The Illustration of a Myth" (2011).

cal phenomena and aspects of social life<sup>32</sup> and more rarely art issues questions<sup>33</sup>. Many of these exhibitions, which resulted from the collaboration of a large number of Greek and foreign scientific institutions, travelled in museums abroad. The temporary exhibitions gave the opportunity to bring together diverse objects that do not belong to the sphere of high art, deploying in several cases more advanced museographical and interpretative approaches by comparison with the rest of the Museum. Different type of lighting and showcases, installations within the museum space, copies of artefacts, informational material that does not function in an instructive and aesthetic manner only, but provides contextualization also, constituted choices which were later employed in the permanent exhibitions. The interpretation of the exhibitions, even though it is object-based, placed greater emphasis on the socio-cultural framework enabling better understanding of the cultures that flourished in Greece. The communication model was again based on the linear transmission of academic knowledge and the articulation of a single interpretation rather than multiple ones; nonetheless, more modern museological practices and views are gradually adopted, such as the diversity of the interpretative media so as to satisfy different learning types.

As we look more closely into the much-discussed and most successful temporary exhibition of the Museum "The Antikythera Shipwreck: the Ship, the Treasures, the Mechanism" (2012-2014) we discern new tendencies that foreshadow the future of the Museum's exhibition policy. With the scenographic approach to the exhibition space (fig. 8) and the conceptual structure of the display the Museum espoused for the first time, to a significant extent, narrative learning, according to which people make meaning through stories (Vergeront 2002), inviting visitors to reconstruct the adventures of men and objects of three different time periods (the time in which the artefacts were produced, the time when the shipwreck occurred, and the later time in which the shipwreck was discovered and its finds were recovered). The exhibition was also supported by a wide range of media: 3D screening and video, digital applications, an interactive exhibit of Aristotle's Cycles, replicas of the Mechanism, reconstruction of the seabed and the starry sky. The display was greeted with much enthusiasm by the audience, thereby confirming the value of the new exhibition approach.

In the latest exhibition "A Dream among Splendid Ruins ... Strolling through Athens of the Travellers, 17th-19th century" (2015-2016), which was co-organised with the Hellenic Parliament Library, the entwinement of different temporalities and also the intellectual and embodied approach to the material past were promoted through the employment of various perceptual systems: vision was aided by kinaesthetic sense in the four proposed routes, whereas in the scenography that reconstructed the area of Ilissos River scents and sounds of the Mediterranean landscape converged (fig. 9). Furthermore, in the interpretative proposal of the Museum the ancient works functioned for the first time in a metonymic manner as groups of exhibits that conveyed significant information about the ancient world, which were nonetheless chosen mainly for the symbolic meanings they were invested with in later and modern times, seen as landmarks, as objects of admiration and aesthetic pleasure, as domains

---

32. Eg. "Democracy and Classical Education" (1985), "Worshipping Women: Ritual and Reality in Classical Athens" (2009).

33. Eg. "Praxiteles" (2007).



*Fig. 8. View of the second gallery of the temporary exhibition "The Antikythera Shipwreck: the Ship, the Treasures, the Mechanism" (2012-2014) (source: Photographic Archive, National Archaeological Museum).*



*Fig. 9. View of the scenographic setting that recreates the locality of Ilissos River. Temporary exhibition "A dream among splendid ruins... Strolling through the Athens of travellers, 17th-19th century" (2015-2016) (source: Photographic Archive, National Archaeological Museum).*

of ideological claims and evidence of the exercise of influence. Hence, even though the exhibition seemingly eulogized the classical past of Greece, in fact it intended to comment on the notions of the later period that resulted in the formation of the National Archaeological Museum<sup>34</sup>. In the last unit the contrapuntal biographies of men and a digital application with excerpts from literary sources attempted to draw attention to the different relationships of the people of that period with the antiquities. The multiple meanings entailed in objects and the approaches were thus accentuated in this manner for the first time.

<sup>34</sup> M. Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, Introduction to the Exhibition "A dream among splendid ruins..." Strolling through the Athens of travellers, 17th-19th century, in Lagogianni-Georgakarakos - Koutsogiannis 2015, 30-53.

We will bring this discussion to a close with a category of exhibitions that first appeared in the Museum ten years ago and bestow a different character to its communication and interpretation policy. From May 2006 to this day more than twenty exhibitions by contemporary artists and groups have been implemented within the galleries of the permanent exhibition, the outer courtyard, the atrium, and mainly in the internal Museum Café<sup>35</sup>. The aim of these exhibitions is to give the opportunity to contemporary artists and creators to display works that have been inspired by or converse with the ancient art and the cultural landscape. Thus, they offer the audience alternative readings of the material culture and make effective use of the ancient Greek world which serves as a source of artistic pursuit, whereas contemporary art acts as a bridge between the past and the present. Despite the debate over the coexistence of the ancient and contemporary art, the fact that a segment of the public is offered the prospect of displaying its own artistic propositions enhances the interaction of the museum with society and turns the visitor from a spectator into a potential participant in the museum activities.

The two temporary exhibitions that were thoroughly discussed as a case in point and the exhibitions of contemporary art mark the opening of the Museum to interpretative approaches that explore ways of supporting lived experiences, the furtherance of different perspectives, and also the exploitation of multiple media and participatory processes. Apparently, the “analytical programme” of the Museum as this is articulated in its exhibitions is in search of more themes and methods that stimulate the imagination and appeal to the emotion of the visitors<sup>36</sup> through a variety of stimuli, so that the carefully documented but popularized knowledge is pleasantly acquired in a comfortable and attractive environment offering connections with experiences and ideas which are still important to people’s lives. After all, the aim in our days is not just to impart information to the public but to empower it in the pursuit of knowledge and self-realization, having accepted that the museum experience depends to a large extent on the meaning-making process of the visitor through the creation of personal stories and the matching of the story which the museum propounds with the story that has been lived by the visitor (Valance 2004, 353).

---

35. The first exhibition of contemporary art titled “Conversing with the Ancient: New Creators at the National Archaeological Museum” was held in 2006 on the occasion of the International Museum Day that was dedicated to young people (Χριστοπούλου 2006-2008, 80-81). Of particular interest was the unit of the photographs that was the result of a three-month project in which drug-rehabilitation groups were approached. This collaboration signaled the turn of the National Archaeological Museum toward actions of broader educational and social character. The participation of the visitors in the “conversation” through a fixed activity that involved speech and painting was also incorporated.

36. Besides, according to Lord and Lord, the aim of an exhibition is to transform the interests, the views and the values of visitors through an intensely emotional experience (Μούλου 2005, 11).

## **At the service of the museum audience: knowledge, narratives, experiences**

### **Issues of accessibility**

The interest in the public is first reflected in legislation that facilitates physical access mainly (Law 10/22 May 1834, article 18, Royal Decree on Organization 31.7.1893, articles 11-13). The obligation to open on a daily basis to all sorts of audiences, the charge for the admission ticket and the free entry some days a week or the exemption of certain categories of the public, such as researchers and students, from paying entrance fee have always echoed the concern of the Greek State to facilitate the study and teaching within the museum<sup>37</sup>. The permission to copy, record, and photograph has been a measure that was taken during the Museum's early years of operation and continues to this day in support of the study and the publicity/promotion of the archaeological material. Furthermore, the categories of the public that are entitled to free or reduced admission also constitute a paradigm of the State social care for the improvement of the quality of life through access to culture and their number is constantly increased drawing special attention to the socially vulnerable groups. Finally, during the refurbishment that took place in 2004 the Museum became fully accessible to people with mobility impairment.

### **Educational and social services**

Despite the explicitly formulated educational aim of the National Archaeological Museum, the provision of planned educational services on behalf of the Museum was slow to materialize. The majority of law acts until the 1970s intended primarily to ease educators, who had to teach their students themselves. The tour around the museum "for entertainment and with no intention of studying", as the Declaration of the General Ephorate of Antiquities typically informs the visitors of the Acropolis and the Museums (19.7.1886), is considered inappropriate and is subject to a time limit. Discussions take place from time to time amongst archaeologists and educators concerning the need to introduce the teaching of archaeology in schools and the appropriate training of the educators (Τρούλη 2012, 72-78, 197-198, 310-315).

The intellectual access of the public was enabled with the aid of catalogues, the concise labelling of certain works, and also with drawings and representations, as already discussed above, whereas it was provided that casts were to be sold at a lower price aiming at the "cultivation of excellence and the love for the antiquities"<sup>38</sup>. In 1956 the Director of the National Museum, Christos Karouzos, used the radio, the new media of the time, to conduct a national tour for the listeners with his *radio instructions on the museum* (Καρούζος 1995), an activity which was recommended by the UNESCO as a means of communication between the museum and its audience.

---

37. The facilitation of researchers is a significant service provided by the National Archaeological Museum to the international scientific community. Over the past six years the Museum undertook the implementation of 388 research programmes, thereby accomplishing in an impeccable manner the goal to promote scientific research which is also put forward in the mission of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture (Government Gazette Issue 171/28.8.2014).

38. Decree "On the determination of the price of the plaster casts produced at the National Archaeological Museum", 26.10.1901.

*Fig. 10. Temporary exhibition "The Child in Antiquity", academic year 1979-1980. Highlight from the implementation of the first educational programme planned by the National Archaeological Museum (source: D. Pikopoulou-Tsolaki).*



The first educational programme was implemented in 1979 within the framework of the temporary exhibition "The Child in Antiquity". The theme of the exhibition was considered by the Museum professionals as most appropriate and attractive to children. The programme that was designed<sup>39</sup> placed emphasis on the way ancient games were played and included an introduction in which the ancient games were presented and a guided exploration with the aid of a worksheet (fig. 10). As a result, this first systematic attempt to provide educational services by the Museum, which depended on the active participation of children, ranks the Museum amongst the pioneers in Greece that engaged in museum education, despite the fact that it was terminated when the exhibition ended. A few years later, in the 1980s, the first salable products of educational nature – namely jigsaw puzzles with exhibits of the Prehistoric Collection – became available at the Gift Shop.

The second educational attempt was also ground-breaking and was brought about as a result of the fact that an archaeologist with hearing impairment who knew the Greek and international sign language happened to work at the Museum. A series of educational programmes titled "The Eye Listens" was launched in 1998 and aimed at the acquaintance of deaf students of Primary and Secondary education with the Prehistoric cultures and the daily life of the ancient Greeks, also incorporating artistic activity within the museum space, whereas Greek and foreign High School students were given educational tours (Kokkevi-Fotiou 2004).

Two major political developments marked the course of the ensuing educational services of the Museum. The institution of the pilot programme "MELINA" in 1995 in collaboration with the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Culture that intended to upgrade the aesthetic cultivation in education led to the elaboration of educational material designed for 3rd and 4th grade Elementary School students and concerned the Archaic coroplastic art,

---

<sup>39</sup> The occasion for devising the programme was the request of some members of the Greek Guiding Association to tour the exhibition in an educational way. After its successful implementation with a Scout team, in collaboration with its leader, it was made available for the academic year 1979-1980 to students of Primary and Secondary education, also giving ideas to the educators on school activities after its completion at the Museum (D. Pikopoulou-Tsolaki, verbal communication 21.1.2016).



*Fig. 11. "The Sunday Fairy Tale", the first educational programme addressed to families that was implemented by the National Archaeological Museum for several years since 2006. Dramatization of the myth of the Minotaur following the narration of stories about Theseus (source: Photographic Archive, National Archaeological Museum).*

the Mycenaean civilization, and the Cycladic civilization at Akrotiri on Thera (ΥΠΠΟ 2003).

Nonetheless, what changed the situation drastically was the establishment of the Department of Public Relations, Documentation, and Publications by the Presidential Decree 191 (Government Gazette Issue 146/13.6.2003) which explicitly stipulated the planning of educational programmes, temporary exhibitions, publications and generally the promotion of the Museum. The department was made active at the end of 2005. It was staffed with specialists in communication and education issues and soon led to the implementation of a multitude of educational and communication actions addressed to all levels of education, adults and families with children of elementary-school-age, who visited the Museum in their spare time, and special social groups. It also focused on the production of printable and electronic educational material<sup>40</sup>.

With regard to children and adolescents in particular, modern and multiple pedagogical methods and techniques, such as guided exploration, narration, dramatization (fig. 11), processual drama, puppet theatre, the employment of music and dance, the use of new technologies, painting workshops, and the handling of copies (fig. 12) offer a multifaceted and agreeable approach to the presented subject<sup>41</sup>. Based on the post-modern epistemological assumption that knowledge is socially constructed, a fact that bestows great significance upon the subjective meaning of experience (Prior 2006), the educational approach of the National Archaeological Museum adopts the principles of constructivism, discovery and inquiry-based learning, and the socio-cultural views on knowledge. The educational process has its starting

40. Unfortunately, the Department was abolished in 2014 as part of the general reforms which the public sector underwent (Presidential Decree 104, Government Gazette Issue A 171/28.8.2014), causing malfunction, particularly on administrative level.

41. The themes of the educational programmes that have been elaborated from 2005 to this day are associated with the daily life, coins, musical instruments, mythical creatures and the Greek mythology in general, women in the ancient society, intercultural exchange, art, the protection of antiquities, the different faces of time, etc. By the end of 2015, forty educational programmes designed for children and adolescents and the online application intended for adolescents "The Mysteries of the Antikythera Mechanism" (<http://antikytheramech.culture.gr/>) had been elaborated. See indicatively Καλεσσοπούλου 2011; Χριστοπούλου 2006-2008.



*Fig. 12. Children experiencing the sense of drinking from a copy of an ancient kylix as part of the educational programme "Drink and Be Merry or Cheers!" (source: Photographic Archive, National Archaeological Museum).*

point in the interests and experiences of the participants, encourages self-acting and experiential learning, reinforces the creative expression and the various ways of approaching knowledge, enables multiple interpretations and favours social interaction as crucial for the construction of personal thought. As the current analytical programmes also advocate, every piece of knowledge and every experience should not be isolated, aiming only at information, but contribute to the understanding of oneself and others, the detection of common ground between civilizations, and the promotion of coexistence, communication and peace (Βαλιαντή - Κουτσελίνη 2006).

It should also be stressed that the National Archaeological Museum offers educational programmes that serve multiple social needs, aside from educational purposes, thereby corresponding to the current requirements for museums that organize their services with a sense of social responsibility and are complementary to social policy (Sandell 2002. Silverman 2009). The scientific staff of the National Archaeological Museum has visited prison facilities, hospitals and centres of people with special needs inside and outside Attica Prefecture either following a request received from related bodies or on the Museum's initiative. The Museum's standard practice is to serve within its premises people who suffer from physical or mental impairment, substance abuse and addiction problems or mental illnesses, by adjusting the existing educational programmes and tours or devising new ones (fig. 13). The aim of all these actions is the equal access, the contribution to the personal and social development of the participants, and the employment of culture as a means of entertainment, cultivation, positive thinking, and improvement of the quality of life.

Finally, being an indispensable part of the education policy of each body, the National Archaeological Museum has the obligation to assess the effectiveness of its services and understand the needs of its audience. The school education programmes are systematically appraised by the participating educators through special performance evaluation forms, whereas the visitor books are regularly checked in order to use the comments for the improvement of the exhibitions and the entire operation of the Museum. Various minor reviews and research are carried out at times, as in the case of the NFC audio guide devices that were employed for the temporary exhibition of the



*Fig. 13. Tactile tour of a group of blind and visually impaired visitors at the temporary exhibition "The Antikythera Shipwreck: the Ship, the Treasures, the Mechanism" (source: Photographic Archive, National Archaeological Museum).*



Antikythera Shipwreck that was held in 2014. Partnerships with university and research institutions are also pursued for joint research, such as the collaboration with the National Centre of Social Research on the National Museums that was implemented between 2002 and 2005, in order to reinforce this significant domain (Καυτανιζόγλου - Τουνταςάκη - Φρυδάκης 2005).

### **The museum as a polyvalent cultural site**

The National Archaeological Museum has greeted the 21st century with the intention of becoming a museum more open to society, as the latest definition of the International Council of Museums dictates. Within this framework it implements actions that invite the audience to take a look behind the scenes, and also a multifarious programme of events and activities, which aims to transform the Museum into a forum of ideas and a polyvalent meeting point of cultural creation. Music, theatrical, dance performances and events, readings of literary texts, and film screenings invite visitors to a different acquaintance with the museum environment, acting sometimes as an incentive to attract new audiences, but also promoting the diversity of cultural expressions (fig. 14)<sup>42</sup>. The ancient Greek culture thus becomes a source of inspiration for new cultural creations and conversely the newest, contemporary art forms function as a means of encounter and understanding and also as an alternative experience of the ancient world. Another significant element is the fact that many of these events are undertaken with the excellent cooperation of numerous artistic and social entities and individuals, something that fosters dialogue and the active presence of the Museum in the creative fabric of the city.

Simultaneously, acknowledging the fact that the number of virtual visits of the Museum on its website is equally large to the real visits, the online platform is enriched with information material and educational activities that provide a detailed acquaintance with the collections and the exhibits of the Museum, contact with the museum people and their daily work and a different form of communication<sup>43</sup>.

*Fig. 14. A concert titled "The Eternal Quest for Beauty" on the occasion of the European Music Day 2015. The theme of the concert was based on the online campaign "The Exhibit of the Month" which in 2015 was dedicated to beautification. Original score composed by Nikos Xanthoulis put forward a different perspective as regards the way each exhibit is seen (source: Photographic Archive, National Archaeological Museum).*

<sup>42</sup> See indicatively Λαγογιάννη-Γεωργακαράκου 2015.

<sup>43</sup> The Museum, apart from its online presence at the hub of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture, acquired in 2008 its own website ([www.namuseum.gr](http://www.namuseum.gr)) and in 2015 the blog "All for NAM-Athens" (<http://all4nam.com>), which is updated with news and photographs from the daily life of the Museum.

## Epilogue

This essay has reviewed the course of the oldest museum institution in the country through time, tracing its education and communication approaches and the ways in which it has realized its mission. The social and educational developments resulted in the gradual enrichment or the alteration of its practices, always driven by the need to serve consistently both the science of archaeology and man, which is the starting point and the ultimate recipient of its very existence. Whether it has been effective during the 150 years of its presence is manifested in the collective and personal memory of its existing and potential visitors. For an institution that functions as a landmark, as a national and ecumenical symbol of humanitarianism, a place of self-awareness in which dreams are fulfilled, a source of nostalgic memories and contemplative meditation, learning, aesthetic joy, pleasure and inspiration – to mention indicatively some of the qualities bestowed upon the Museum by its visitors as evidenced by their comments (Mouliou - Kalessopoulou 2011) – the challenge it faces daily is to be able to cope with the complex range of expectations and facilitate the creation of a network of knowledge enriched with the different cultural experiences which are shared amongst those who visit its hospitable building every day, exploring at the same time ways that will turn it ever more attractive to those that have not entered its gates yet.

Despina Kalessopoulou

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

---

- Βαλαντή, Σ. - Μ. Κουτσελίνη 2006. Επαναπροσδιορισμός του αναλυτικού προγράμματος στη σύγχρονη κοινωνία της γνώσης και της κοινωνικής συνοχής, *Πρακτικά ΙΧ Παγκύπριου Συνεδρίου Παιδαγωγικής Εταιρείας Κύπρου «Η Σύγχρονη Εκπαιδευτική Έρευνα στην Κύπρο: Προτεραιότητες και Προοπτικές»*, 2-3 Ιουνίου 2006, Λευκωσία: Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου.
- Beardsley, M. 1989. *Ιστορία των αισθητικών θεωριών*, Αθήνα: Νεφέλη.
- Bennett, T. 1995. *The Birth of the Museum*, London: Routledge.
- Βουδούρη, Δ. 2003. *Κράτος και Μουσεία: Το Θεσμικό Πλαίσιο των Αρχαιολογικών Μουσείων*, Αθήνα: εκδ. Σάκκουλα.
- Bounia, A. 2012. Public Displays of Private Collections. Presenting the Collection of Eleni Stathatos to the Museum Visitor, in S. Dudley - A. J. Barnes - J. Binnie - J. Petron - J. Walklate (eds.), *Narrating Objects, Collecting Stories*, London: Routledge, 237-254.
- Bourdieu, P. 2002. *Η Διάκριση. Κοινωνική κριτική της καλαισθητικής κρίσης*, Αθήνα: εκδ. Πατάκη.
- Γεννάδιος, Ι. 1930. *Ο Λόρδος Έλγιν και οι προ αυτού ανά την Ελλάδα και τας Αθήνας αρχαιολογήσαντες επιδρομείς 1440-1837*, Αθήνα: Τύποις «Εστία».
- Γκαδόλου, Α. - Γ. Καββαδίας 2013. *Η Συλλογή Βλαστού-Σερπιέρη. Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο*, Αθήνα: ΤΑΠ.
- Gazi, A. 1993. *Archaeological Museums in Greece (1829-1909). The Display of Archaeology*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Leicester: University of Leicester.
- Γκαζή, Α. 1999. Η έκθεση των αρχαιοτήτων στην Ελλάδα (1829-1909). Ιδεολογίες αφηγηριές - πρακτικές προσεγγίσεις, *Αρχαιολογία και Τέχνες* 73, 45-53.
- Γκαζή, Α. 2012. Εθνικά Μουσεία στην Ελλάδα: όψεις του εθνικού αφηγήματος, in Α. Μπούνια - Α. Γκαζή (eds.), *Εθνικά Μουσεία στη Νότια Ευρώπη. Ιστορία και Προοπτικές*, Αθήνα: Καλειδοσκόπιο, 36-71.
- Catapoti, D. 2011. A Nationalist Palimpsest: Authoring the History of the Greek Nation through Alternative Museum Narratives, in D. Poulot - F. Bodenstein - J. M. Lanzarote Guiral (eds.), *EuNaMus Report No 4. Conference Proceedings from EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Paris 29 June-1 July and 25-26 November 2011*. Linköping University Electronic Press. Available: [http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp\\_ho\\_e/index.en.aspx?issue=078](http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp_ho_e/index.en.aspx?issue=078) (last access 28-11-2015).

- Damaskos, D. - D. Plantzos (eds.) 2008. *A Singular Antiquity: Archaeology and Hellenic Identity in Twentieth-century Greece*, Athens: Benaki Museum.
- Δημακοπούλου, Αι. 2001. Προβλήματα και πρακτικές της σύγχρονης μουσειολογίας. Η εμπειρία από το Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, in Μ. Σκαλτσά (ed.), *Η Μουσειολογία στον 21ο αιώνα. Θεωρία και πράξη, Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου, Θεσσαλονίκη 21-24 Νοεμβρίου 1997*, Θεσσαλονίκη: εκδ. Εντευκτηρίου, 73-77.
- Δοξανάκη, Α. 2011. *Τα Αρχαιολογικά Μουσεία της Αθήνας και η επικοινωνία τους με το κοινό*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Αθήνα: Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών.
- Duncan, C. 1995. *Civilizing Rituals Inside Public Art Museums*, London: Routledge.
- Edwards, E. - C. Gosden - R. B. Phillips 2006. Introduction, in E. Edwards - C. Gosden - R. B. Phillips (eds.), *Sensible Objects. Colonialism, Museums and Material Culture*, Oxford - New York: Berg, 1-31.
- Hein, G. 1998. *Learning in the Museum*, London: Routledge.
- Hooper-Greenhill, E. 1992. *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, London: Routledge.
- Ζερβουδάκη, Η. 1997. Η Έκθεση των Αγγείων της Σέμνης Καρούζου, in Ε. Μπεχράκη - Ρ. Οικονόμου (eds.), *Μνήμη Σέμνης Καρούζου*, Αθήνα: Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, ICOM-Ελληνικό Τμήμα, 24-37.
- Ζερβουδάκη, Η. 2009. *Η Συλλογή Σταθάτου. Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο*, Αθήνα.
- Καβαβασιάς, Π. 1886. *Κατάλογος του Κεντρικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου*, Αθήνα: Εκ της τυπογραφίας της Β. Αυλής Μ. Ιγγλέση.
- Καλεσοπούλου, Δ. 2011. Στρατηγικές ανάπτυξης της κριτικής σκέψης στο μουσείο. Παραδείγματα από το Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, *Πρακτικά του Συνεδρίου «Η Άνοιξη των Μουσείων. Συνάντηση για τα εκπαιδευτικά προγράμματα και τη μουσειακή αγωγή»*, Ρέθυμνο: ΚΕ' Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων, Ιστορική και Λαογραφική Εταιρεία Ρεθύμνου, 67-75.
- Καλτσάς, Ν. 2004. Νέα έκθεση της Συλλογής Προϊστορικών Αρχαιοτήτων και της Συλλογής Γλυπτών, *Το Μουσείον* 4, Περιοδική Έκδοση του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου, 63-66.
- Καλτσάς, Ν. 2005α. Η ανακαίνιση του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου και η επανέκθεση των συλλογών του, *Το Μουσείον* 5, Περιοδική Έκδοση του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου, 51-76.
- Καλτσάς, Ν. 2005β. Νέα έκθεση της Συλλογής Χαλκών, της Συλλογής Αγγείων και της αίθουσας της Θήρας. Λόγος των εγκαινίων, *Το Μουσείον* 5, Περιοδική Έκδοση του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου, 77-80.
- Καλτσάς, Ν. 2007. Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, *Τετράδια Μουσειολογίας* 4, 46-47.
- Καρούζος, Χ. 1995. *Μικρά Κείμενα* (Β. Χ. Πετράκος ed.), Αθήνα: η Εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία.
- Καρούζου, Σ. 1957. Ένα αρχαίο τέμενος, *Ελευθερία*, 11 Απριλίου, 1, 4.
- Καρούζου, Σ. 2000. Το Εθνικό Μουσείο από το 1941, *Το Μουσείον* 1, Περιοδική Έκδοση του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου, 4-14.
- Καυταντζόγλου, Ρ. - Ε. Τουντσάκη - Μ. Φρυδάκης 2005. Ιστορία, δομή και λειτουργία των εθνικών μουσείων της Ελλάδας Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό, Βυζαντινό και Χριστιανικό, Ελληνικής Λαϊκής Τέχνης. Μια έρευνα κοινού, *Τετράδια Μουσειολογίας* 2, 71-74.
- Knell, S. - P. Aronsson - A. B. Amundsen (eds.) 2011. *National Museums. New Studies from around the World*, London: Routledge.
- Kokkevi-Fotiou, D. 2004. Special Educational Programme for the Deaf, in A. Tsitouri (ed.), *Access to Culture and Sports for People with Disabilities, Conference Proceedings, Thessaloniki 30/10-1/11/2003*, Athens: Ministry of Culture, 200-203.
- Κόκκου, Α. 2009. *Η μέριμνα για τις αρχαιοτήτες στην Ελλάδα και τα πρώτα μουσεία*, 2nd edition, Αθήνα: εκδ. Καπόν.
- Λαγογιάννη-Γεωργακαράκου, Μ. 2015. Η εκπαιδευτική αποστολή του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου και οι πρόσφατες δράσεις του, *Ενημερωτικό Δελτίο ICOM* 12, Περίοδος Β', 37-40.
- Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, M. - Th. Koutsogiannis (eds.) 2015. "A dream among splendid ruins...". *Strolling through the Athens of travellers, 17th-19th century*, Exhibition Catalogue, Athens: Archaeological Receipts Fund.
- Milchhöfer, A. 1881. *Die Museen Athen*, Athen: K. Willberg.
- Möbius, H. 1959. La reconstruction du Musée National d'Athènes. The Reconstruction of the Athens National Museum, *Museum* XII (2), Miscellaneous articles, 86-94.

- Mouliou, M. 1996. Ancient Greece, its Classical Heritage and the Modern Greeks: Aspects of Nationalism in Museum Exhibitions, in J. A. Atkinson - I. Banks - J. O'Sullivan (eds.), *Nationalism and Archaeology*, Glasgow: Cruithen Press, 174-199.
- Mouliou, M. 1997. *The "Writing" of Classical Archaeology in Post-War Greece: The Case of Museum Exhibitions and Museum Narratives*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Leicester: University of Leicester.
- Μούλιου, Μ. 2005. Μουσεία: πεδία για την κατανόηση του κόσμου, *Τετράδια Μουσειολογίας* 2, 9-17.
- Mouliou, M. 2008. Museum Representations of the Classical Past in Post-war Greece: A Critical Analysis, in D. Damaskos - D. Plantzos (eds.), *A Singular Antiquity: Archaeology and Hellenic Identity in Twentieth-century Greece*, Athens: Benaki Museum, 83-109.
- Mouliou, M. - D. Kalessopoulou 2011. Emblematic Museum Objects of National Significance. In Search of their Multiple Meanings and Values, in S. Dudley - J. Binnie - J. Petron (eds.), *The Thing about Museums*, London: Routledge, 47-68.
- Μπούνια, Α. - Α. Γκαζή (eds.) 2012. *Εθνικά Μουσεία στη Νότια Ευρώπη. Ιστορία και προοπτικές*, Αθήνα: Καλειδοσκόπιο.
- Πασχαλίδης, Γ. 2001. Από το μουσείο του πολιτισμού στον πολιτισμό του μουσείου, in Μ. Σκαλισιά (ed.), *Η Μουσειολογία στον 21ο αιώνα. Θεωρία και πράξη. Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου, Θεσσαλονίκη 21-24 Νοεμβρίου 1997*, Θεσσαλονίκη: εκδ. Εντευκτηρίου, 212-220.
- Πεπολής, Γ. 2003. *Χωρογραφίες. Ο αρχιτεκτονικός σχηματισμός του νοήματος*, 2nd edition, Αθήνα: Αλεξάνδρεια.
- Peponis, J. - J. Hedin 1982. The Layout of Theories in the Natural History Museum, *9H*, 3, 21-26.
- Pevsner, N. 1987. *A History of Building Types*, London: Thames and Hudson.
- Πετράκος, Β. 1995. *Η περιπέτεια της ελληνικής αρχαιολογίας στον βίο του Χρήστου Καρούζου*, Αθήνα: η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία.
- Phillippaki, B. 1979. «L'enfant dans l'Antiquité», exposition réalisée par le Musée d'Athènes à l'occasion de l'Année internationale de l'enfant. L'exposition se compose d'objets de la Grèce antique dont les figures ont trait à l'enfance, *Museum XXXI* (3), 200-202.
- Prior, N. 2006. Postmodern Restructurings, in Sh. MacDonald (ed.), *A Companion to Museum Studies*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 509-524.
- Ραγκαβής, Α. Ρ. 1895. *Απομνημονεύματα*, vol. Β', Αθήνα: Γ. Κασδόνης.
- Roberts, L. 1997. *From Knowledge to Narrative. Educators and the Changing Museum*. Washington - London: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Ρωμοπούλου, Κ. 1997. Η συμβολή της Σέμνης Καρούζου στην επανέκθεση της Συλλογής Γλυπτών του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου, in Ε. Μπεράκη - Ρ. Οικονόμου (eds.), *Μνήμη Σέμνης Καρούζου*. Αθήνα: Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, ICOM-Ελληνικό Τμήμα, 38-45.
- Sandell, R. (ed.) 2002. *Museums, Society, Inequality*, London - New York: Routledge.
- Silverman, L. 2009. *The Social Work of Museums*, London - New York: Routledge.
- Sybel, L. 1881. *Katalog der Sculpturen zu Athen: Kentrikon Mouseion. Barbakeion Lykeion. Hagia Trias. Theseion. Stoa des Hadrian. Ephoria. Sudabhang der Akropolis. Akropolis*. Marburg: Elwert.
- Τζώνος, Π. 2007. *Μουσείο και Νεωτερικότητα*, Αθήνα: εκδ. Παπασωτηρίου.
- Τζώριτζη, Κ. 2010. *Η χωρική αρχιτεκτονική των μουσείων*, Αθήνα: Καλειδοσκόπιο.
- Τρούλη, Σ. 2012. *Αρχαιολογικό μουσείο και παιδί της σχολικής ηλικίας στην Ελλάδα: Η ιστορική αναδρομή και η σύγχρονη θεσμική και θεωρητική πραγματικότητα και πρακτική, μέσα από τη μελέτη περίπτωσης του εκπαιδευτικού προγράμματος «Ταξίδια και Εμπόριο στη μινωική εποχή» του Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Ρεθύμνου*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Βόλος: Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας, Παιδαγωγικό Τμήμα Δημοτικής Εκπαίδευσης.
- Vallance, E. 2004. Museum Education as Curriculum: Four Models Leading to a Fifth. *Studies in Art Education*, 45(4), 343-358.
- Vergeront, J. 2002. Shaping Spaces for Learners and Learning, *Journal of Museum Education*, 27(1), 8-13.
- Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού 2003. *Παιχνίδια Πολιτισμού. Εκπαιδευτικές δράσεις του Υπουργείου Πολιτισμού*, Exhibition Catalogue, 2nd edition, Αθήνα: ΥΠΠΟ.
- Χαμηλάκης, Γ. 2012. *Το έθνος και τα ερείπιά του. Αρχαιότητα, αρχαιολογία και εθνικό φαντασιακό στην Ελλάδα*, Αθήνα: εκδ. του Εικοστού Πρώτου.
- Χριστοπούλου, Α. 2006-2008. Εκπαιδευτικές δράσεις, *Το Μουσείο* 5, Περιοδική Έκδοση του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου, 74-82.
- Ψαρρά, Σ. 2005. Αρχιτεκτονική μουσείων: χώρος και περιεχόμενο, *Τετράδια Μουσειολογίας* 2, 3-8.

# THE “ODYSSEY” OF THE CONSERVATION AND PHYSICO-CHEMICAL RESEARCH OF ANTIQUITIES AT THE NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM

## Introduction

The conservation of antiquities has always been a central pillar of archaeology ever since the Greek State and the Greek Archaeological Service were established<sup>1</sup>. It has recently been affirmed that in Greece, from the end of the 19th century onwards, the evolution of conservation into a faculty had parallels with archaeology, yet the fact that it was not incorporated as a field of study within higher education, the non-permanent employment it entailed and the discontinuity it was characterized by classified conservation as empirical knowledge and practical application until 1985, when it was eventually included as an academic discipline in the Technological Educational Institute of Athens (TEI)<sup>2</sup>.

As we will see later, the people who advanced the conservation of antiquities<sup>3</sup> with the aid of the archaeologists were artists – mainly sculptors – craftsmen as well as chemists. This four-part approach enabled the performance of conservation and restoration and fostered the promotion of antiquities<sup>4</sup>. The conservation profession, which staffs today the Greek museums with professionals, begun to be established in the 1960s by the first conservators who had been equipped with comprehensive knowledge and education received at the Doxiadis School, and also in institutes and universities abroad and eventually by the graduates of the Department of Conservation of Antiquities and Works of Art of the TEI of Athens<sup>5</sup>. Ever since it was founded the National Archaeological Museum has been a centre of conservation that received antiquities from other museums for conservation and advised conservation experts from all over Greece. The Museum also offered its conservation services to foreign archaeological schools for the treatment of their finds and supplied museums and collections abroad with a large number of casts that were produced in its workshops<sup>6</sup>. It would therefore not be too great an exaggeration to say that the history of conservation at the National Archaeological Museum for the period between 1885 and 1960 reflects the history of conservation in Greece.

## The era of Kaloudis and Rhusopoulos

From 1866 through 1889 the building of the coveted central National Archaeological Museum that would be “worthy of the Greek Nation and of the city of Athens in particular”<sup>7</sup> was becoming reality. From 1874, with the completion of the west wing, the transfer of the antiquities from various temporary locations begins. The sculptors I. Vitsaris first and then C. Marmarinos undertake the installation of the exhibition in the Museum’s galleries<sup>8</sup>. On the 12th of July 1885 the archaeologist Panagis Kavvadias is promot-

---

1. Μωραΐτου 2015.

2. Μωραΐτου (forthcoming).

3. Here the term antiquities is used as opposed to works of art since the latter describe mainly painted surfaces (icons, easel paintings).

4. Μωραΐτου 2015.

5. Μωραΐτου 2009.

6. Σάλια 2011, 20.

7. Καββαδίας 1885, 5.

8. Κόκκου 1977, 247.



Fig. 1. The sculptor Panagis Kaloudis (source: Photographic Archive, National Archaeological Museum).

ed to General Ephor of Antiquities. His main concerns were concentrated on the arrangement and organization of the museums of Athens and the publishing of catalogues of antiquities. P. Kavvadias marks a creative period in the conservation of antiquities<sup>9</sup>. Kavvadias employed immediately the sculptor Panagis Kaloudis (fig. 1), one of Martinelli's students, known already from the Athens Acropolis, but also from his decade-long experience working in the excavations at Olympia<sup>10</sup>. Kaloudis engages in the repair of the sculptures of the National Archaeological Museum and their "placement on plinths". The Museum had already opened its gates to the public despite the fact that the building was not finished.

In 1893 a "workshop devoted to the manufacture of casts in the manner of the works of the ancient art"<sup>11</sup> was founded at the National Archaeological Museum. The workshop is under the direct supervision of the General Ephor of Antiquities and Museums, Panagis Kavvadias, who was also the director of the Museum. The Museum of Casts is established under the same Act as a Department of the National Museum. The making of plaster casts was tremendously significant since, in line with foreign museums, the casts were sold, exchanged, donated, but they were also displayed in international exhibitions promoting the Hellenic culture. Casts were also used in restoration work, and that was the reason why the professions of sculpture and cast making have always related to the conservation of antiquities. Who else could possibly occupy the post of the craftsman of the workshops of casts, titled "master craftsman of state museums"<sup>12</sup>, but the experienced and trusted Panagis Kaloudis. Very soon that year a Ministerial Decree specified that the appointed at the National Museum craftsman shall perform "all work associated with the bonding and the installation of sculptures and reliefs on their plinths"<sup>13</sup>. In addition, he shall also be responsible for the repairs and maintenance of the building and resource management.

Amongst others, the work of Kaloudis involved the restoration and the making of a cast of the Sounion Kouros which was unearthed in 1906 by Valerios Stais. Semni Karouzou asserts that the first archaeologists, sculptors and craftsmen of the time period respected the ancient works and did not "forge" them with erratic fillings or unnecessary "embellishments" in contrast to the Europeans of earlier times who inserted arbitrary heads, body parts, helmets, or plaster details before they scraped the marble to clean it<sup>14</sup>. A comparison of the kouros as exhibited today with the way it was restored by Kaloudis in the early 20th century would be elucidating as regards the prevailing attitude at the time which favoured the complete filling of missing parts whereas new interventions were fully integrated into the original work. Semni Karouzou notes that the contribution and the character of Kaloudis were acknowledged, even though Kavvadias was self-centred and he did not usually talk about his associates<sup>15</sup>. It appears that in the course of the 20th century the role Kaloudis played was erased from collective memory, nonetheless while he was alive he was decorated with four medals as shown in fig. 1.

9. Μαλλούχου-Tufano 1998. Μωραΐτου (forthcoming).

10. Καββαδίας 1885, 5.

11. Act BPME' February 8th (Official Government Gazette Issue 30/A/15.2.1893).

12. Parartima of the *Archaologikon Deltion* 1915, no. 13.

13. Ministerial Decree, August 13th (Official Government Gazette Issue 161/A/19.8.1893).

14. Παπασπυρίδη-Καρούζου - Καρούζος 1981, 18. The mechanical cleaning of the Parthenon marbles carried out by the English has also been affirmed.

15. Παπασπυρίδη-Καρούζου - Καρούζος 1981, 18.

Alongside Kaloudis, the Italian craftsman and cast maker Ioannis Voudas also worked at the National Museum. Voudas was probably appointed as assistant as stipulated by the Act ΒΡΜΘ΄. His name is mentioned in the making of the plaster cast of the Hermes and the Infant Dionysos group of Praxiteles at Olympia in 1892, in the production of casts in collaboration with Kaloudis at the Delphi Museum in 1896, while he participated in the making of the cast of the Lion of Chaeronea, again with P. Kaloudis, under the supervision of the sculptor L. Sochos, in 1904. Reference to Voudas is also made by Valerios Stais in the Appendix of the *Archaologikon Deltion* of 1916 in which it is reported that “the personnel of the workshop, under the guidance of the experienced craftsman Mr. Voudas, proceeded to the bonding of a large number of shattered fragments ... and to their filling with plaster and to their restoration”. Voudas is also cited in the article of Kastriotis<sup>16</sup> who makes known that the master craftsman of the cast workshop I. Voudas located in the storeroom the missing right half portion of a relief (inv. no. 2373) which since then was no longer regarded as a funerary offering, but as a votive dedicated to a healing god. A document dated at 1924<sup>17</sup> also informs us that Voudas, who had previous work experience in Italy and Paris, was granted the Hellenic citizenship. Finally, a document of the Directorate of the National Archives of Monuments reveals that Voudas moved with his family to Delphi to work there.

At the end of the 19th century the bronze statue of the Livadhostro Poseidon (inv. no. X 11761) was recovered from a marine environment at the homonymous site in Boeotia (near Agios Vasileios)<sup>18</sup>. The statue was mended while the missing parts and the right leg were filled with plaster that was coated with tinted wax. Work was carried out under the supervision of the Professor of Sculpture at the National Technical University Georgios Vrontos. “Because the repair of the head was not feasible, the craftsman who installed the work in the Museum, filled in the hollow cast head with plaster, which was built around a long rod with a wedge-shaped end, while the head was affixed to this core material with the aid of a bronze pin that passed through the two existing holes of the ancient artefact”. The perfect colour matching of the in-fills with regard to the original colouration of the surface has been the subject of negative criticism by G. C. Richards<sup>19</sup> who expressed it as follows: “despite the restorations which unfortunately were coloured in such a way so as to imitate bronze...”. The Livadhostro Poseidon underwent treatment again in the 1930s and the 1970s as we shall see later.

In 1900 the shipwreck of Antikythera and its unique treasure are discovered. The finds are transferred to the National Museum. The marble sculptures are cleaned from the marine incrustations mechanically, with the aid of chisel and hammer. I. Svoronos, who opposed Kavvadias<sup>20</sup>, describes the method as “appalling”<sup>21</sup>. Kaloudis is the first who puts together the pieces of the bronze sculpture of the Youth, yet much to his dismay the conservation of the sculpture is not assigned to him. The Ministry is interested in employing experts from abroad for the conservation of the Youth of Antikythera. The craftsman of the Museum of Naples Caratenuto is first ap-

---

16. Καστριώτης 1917, 228.

17. 511/3.10.24 at the Archive of the Directorate of National Archives of Monuments and in Σάλλα 2011, 21.

18. Φίλιος 1899.

19. Richards 1898, 332.

20. Καββαθιάς 2012.

21. Σβορώνος 1903.



Fig. 2. The chemist Othon Rhusopoulos (source: *Bulletin of the Athens Commercial and Industrial Academy*, ΣΤ, 1901, p. 26).

proached and in March 1901 he embarked on the cleaning of one of the arms of the statue. The cleaning of the Youth is eventually assigned to the chemist Othon A. Rhusopoulos who had also cleaned the bronze finds of the Acropolis excavations for the period between 1888 and 1892 and had consolidated the polychromies on the statues made of marble and poros stone<sup>22</sup>.

Othon A. Rhusopoulos (1856-1922) (fig. 2), assistant professor of chemistry at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, with post-doctoral studies in Germany, and Director of the Academy for Commerce and Industry that focused on technical education, is already known to Kavvadias for his participation in the conservation of the Acropolis relics and undertakes the electrochemical cleaning of the bronzes of the shipwreck including the famous Mechanism of Antikythera<sup>23</sup>. The cleaning process took place at the Themis Room since the Museum lacked conservation facilities. I. Svoronos, who was an old adversary of the Rhusopoulos family, father and son, attacks the applied method as he contends that the beautiful ancient green patina was destroyed hence the bronze acquired a "hideous black colour"<sup>24</sup>.

The experienced artist Wilhelm Sturm, "restorer" of the archaeological collections of Vienna, was initially invited to reassemble the Youth. But as it would take him six months to complete the treatment Sturm asked for the statue to be transported to Vienna, a demand which the Greek Government rejected. As a result, the repair of the statue was assigned to the French expert in bonding Alfred André, who finished the work within two months, from the 14th of August through the end of September 1902<sup>25</sup>. As we will see later on, the way the statue was restored and mounted on its plinth is described in the post-war years by Karouzos when it was treated again<sup>26</sup>.

In the meantime it was made known and in fact emphasized by the Greek press that other bronze antiquities, particularly of the Egyptian Collection, were affected by bronze disease, or *rognia patina*, or the "pox", or "plague". For the conservation of these antiquities the chemist Othon A. Rhusopoulos is hired and, in accordance with his job description, he is required to report directly to the Minister. Throughout his term he makes every effort in each of his reports to request a laboratory, or as he calls it, a "Chemistry Laboratory", but rather unsuccessfully. Rhusopoulos eventually resigns from the National Museum in 1906, but he continued to work for the Greek Archaeological Service on the Acropolis and on the stelae of Demetrias at the Museum of Volos<sup>27</sup>. He publishes all his projects in international scientific journals. In the Appendix of the *Archaiologikon Del-tion* of 1916 he is referred to as the supervisor of the general cleaning of the bronzes of the National Museum, which were performed by its master craftsman Stylianos Klaudianos. Rhusopoulos also engaged in physico-chemical research and archaeometry that he conducted in the laboratory of his Academy for Commerce and Industry, which by the way, was situated in Kaningos Square, just a stone's throw from the Museum. It is also worth

22. Μωραΐτου (forthcoming).

23. Μωραΐτου (forthcoming).

24. Σβωρώνος 1903.

25. Τσιμποπούλου *et al.* 2012.

26. Καρούζος 1969.

27. Μωραΐτου (forthcoming).

noting that he maintained regular communication with his colleague at the Royal Museums of Prussia Frederic Rathgen. In order to produce a conservation handbook Rathgen, who is regarded the father of Conservation, had sent a questionnaire to all major European Museums asking professionals to describe the conservation methods which they applied. The methods elaborated by Rhusopoulos on the cleaning of bronzes, the white lekythoi and antiquities made of other materials were actually included in the editions of 1905, 1924 and 1926. The 1889, 1924 and 1926 editions are safeguarded in the Library of the National Archaeological Museum<sup>28</sup>.

### **The pre-war era of Panagiotakis, Klaudianos and Zenghelis**

In 1923 the sole knowledgeable expert in the "restoration" and "reconstruction" of the antiquities of the National Archaeological Museum was the sculptor and master craftsman Andreas Panagiotakis (1883-1957). Panagiotakis studied at the School of Fine Arts and was awarded the Chrysovergis and Thomaidis Prize. He joined the Greek Archaeological Service in 1907 and worked there for many years together with Panagiotis Kaloudis, whom he succeeded in his post. He became Master Craftsman in Sculpture of the State Museums. Aside from the National Archaeological Museum, he also worked in the Acropolis Museum, the Museum of Epidauros, at Tegea, Thermi, Corfu, Preveza, Volos, and elsewhere.

As it was impossible to meet the needs of all State Museums, the marble sculptor Athanasios Apergis, who had rich experience working for the German Archaeological Institute in Asia Minor<sup>29</sup>, is employed as workman on the initiative of K. Kourouniotis, the director of the Museum. Until 1925 Panagiotakis, and his assistant Apergis, who is mentioned as craftsman responsible for mending, worked at Delphi, Thebes and Eleusis<sup>30</sup>.

Between 1925 and 1928 two of the rare surviving masterpieces of ancient Greek bronze sculptures were accidentally discovered by fishermen in the marine environment of Marathon and Artemision respectively and were moved to the National Archaeological Museum: the Marathon Boy (inv. no. X 15118) and Zeus or Poseidon of Artemision (inv. no. X 15161). Because of the great significance of the statues, the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education sets up a committee whose president is the university professor Konstantinos Zenghelis (1870-1957). Zenghelis approached the matter scientifically as he applied diagnostic methodology and carried out testing prior to the implementation of any scientific act. In order to preserve the patina mechanical cleaning with the aid of steam was opted for, in contrast to the electrochemical method of Rhusopoulos which stripped the metal leaving a dark patina. This was a code of ethics that was drawn up by the archaeologists of the National Archaeological Museum, who were critical of Rhusopoulos' method. It should be stressed that chemical or electrolytic cleaning methods of museum metal artefacts were applied worldwide at the time<sup>31</sup>. Zenghelis himself admits that he would employ electrolysis and sacrifice unstable patina if uniform corrosion occurred.

The cleaning of the Marathon Boy was undertaken by the master craftsman Stylianos Klaudianos (1859-1927) (fig. 3), whereas the Poseidon of Artemision was treated by Andreas Panagiotakis. The restoration of the sole

---

28. More information on Othon Rhusopoulos, in Μωπαίτου (forthcoming).

29. Σάλλα 2011, 34.

30. Σάλλα 2011, 35-37.

31. Μωπαίτου 2014.



*Fig. 3. The master craftsman of the museums Stylianos Klaudianos (source: Photographic Archive, National Archaeological Museum).*

of the right foot of the Marathon Boy and the attachment of the statue to a plinth were performed by the sculptor Panagiotakis<sup>32</sup>, while the statue of Poseidon was reassembled by Panagiotakis aided by Christos Karamanos, a horologist from Kallithea. Fig. 4 shows Karamanos in the centre and Panagiotakis on the left, while a young man opens a hole on the foot of Poseidon of Artemision with a small drill<sup>33</sup>. In a document dated August 6, 1927 found in the archives of the Bronze Collection Professor Zenghelis ascertains poor execution in the varnishing of the Marathon Boy (very thick, uneven layer) and asks to repeat the process, this time using nitrocellulose lacquer (Zapon™). The task was assigned to the painter of the National Museum E. Gillièron. In another letter dated June 21, 1928 Zenghelis recommends that the statue be installed in a bright, drier space and gives the alternative to place it, "at least during winter, in a sealed glazed case". He also suggests varnishing the statue twice a year. The people in charge of the Museum were concerned with the state of preservation of the Marathon Boy for a long period of time because in a letter dated January 4, 1934 Karamanos proposes to remove the firesand from the inner surface of the statue completely. That year the director of the Museum Alexander Philadelphus requests the institution of a chemistry laboratory at the instigation of Prof. Zenghelis.

The bronze group of the young boy riding a horse (the Jockey of Artemision, inv. no. X 15177) was also recovered from the seabed of Artemision. The cleaning and repair of the jockey were also performed by Panagiotakis assisted by Karamanos<sup>34</sup>.

A photograph of 1935 from the archives of the National Museum shows Panagiotakis standing by the Kouros from Megara. Next to him are the Museum's director, Alexander Philadelphus, and opposite is the cast maker



*Fig. 4. The sculptor Andreas Panagiotakis (left) and the horologist Karamanos (centre) during the treatment of the Poseidon of Artemision (source: Photographic Archive, National Archaeological Museum).*

32. Α. Παναγιωτάκης, Η συγκόλλησις του Διός του Αρτεμισίου, *Ακρόπολις* newspaper, March 23rd, 1930.

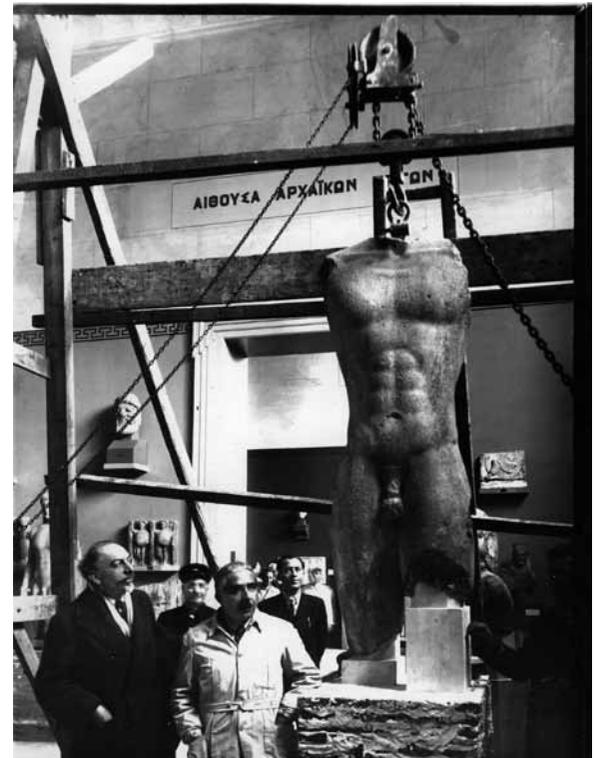
33. The person in the photograph has been identified as Karamanos by the accompanying caption in the catalogue of A. Philadelphus 1935, 137.

34. Letter of Karamanos to the Director of the NAM, K. Kourouniotis, dated May 17th, 1939. Bronze Collection Archive, NAM.

Christos Karatzavelos (fig. 5). The repair and restoration of the “Lion of Amphipolis” is one more great undertaking of Panagiotakis.

The famous sculptor Georgios Kastriotis, nephew and godchild of Sophia Schliemann, also worked at the National Archaeological Museum for the period between 1935 and 1936<sup>35</sup>. He applied for a job at the Museum as he wished to study “up close” the ancient Greek Art and was employed as assistant sculptor on contract under the direction of A. Philadelphus. During his tenure he investigated, produced reports and worked on the conservation of sculptures at the Acropolis Museum and the Museum of Sounion, at the Philopappos Monument, where he engaged in the cleaning of the monument, and also in Kavala where he was responsible for laying out the statues in the Museum. On the unpublished photograph (fig. 6), which comes from the Kastriotis Archive of the Gennadius Library of the American School of Classical Studies, he is seen on the right together with Panagiotakis (left) during the treatment of a bronze statue of the Museum<sup>36</sup>. At the end of 1936 Kastriotis resigns in order to concentrate on his artistic work. The Director of Antiquities of the Ministry does not accept his resignation and asks to see him. In the end the resignation is accepted and becomes effective as soon as it is published in the Government Gazette Issue 64/13.4.1937. His report on the findings of his examination of the antiquities of the Acropolis and the measures which he proposed is among the most notable testimonies kept in the Gennadius Library<sup>37</sup>.

In the hard times of 1941 Panagiotakis plays a leading role in the concealment of antiquities. The craftsmen obeyed with remarkable discipline the orders of this experienced sculptor who was an asset to the National Museum. “Light a fire!, was one of the commands which he gave from



*Fig. 5. The sculptor Andreas Panagiotakis standing by the Kouros from Megara. Next to him, Alexandros Philadelphus, Director of the NAM (1935) (source: Photographic Archive, National Archaeological Museum).*



*Fig. 6. The sculptors Andreas Panagiotakis (left) and Georgios Kastriotis (right) during the treatment of the Livadhostro Poseidon (1935-1936) (source: G. Kastriotis Archive, Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies at Athens).*

35. The information on G. Kastriotis was obtained from File 4 of his Archive at the Gennadius Library of the American School of Classical Studies.

36. The statue is identified with the Livadhostro Poseidon.

37. Subfile 5, handmade drawing, and Subfile 6, typewritten copy. He recommends the replacement of an iron dowel with brass, that sculptures should not be fixed onto the wall but should be displayed freestanding on their plinths instead, and that a marble sima should be transferred from the exterior inside the Museum.

high above when the craftsmen at the bottom of the deep pit pulled with chains and ropes the hovering Colossus (of Sounion) before he was deposited in his grave”<sup>38</sup>.

Panagiotakis confides in *Βραδυνή* newspaper the following<sup>39</sup>: “my dream or modest ambition is to perform a perfect and in every respect meticulous repair. That is to execute it in such a way so as to turn any added parts indiscernible from the original surface of the body of statues”.

### The post-war years of Bakoulis, Mavraganis and Zisis

In the wake of World War II a colossal undertaking is launched to reorganize the National Archaeological Museum with the conservation and redisplay of the antiquities that had been buried for safety reasons. The ceramic vases, most of which had been disassembled, were painstakingly mended in the ceramics conservation laboratory. Georgios Kontogiorgis was master craftsman of ceramics at the time, succeeded by his son Triantafyllos Kontogiorgis<sup>40</sup>. Ioannis Bakoulis (1908-1956) (fig. 7) and Andreas Mavraganis (1920-2007) (fig. 8) worked as master craftsmen on metals, whereas Vasileios Zisis (1914-1958) (fig. 9) was chemist of the museums.

A major milestone in conservation following the war was the second treatment of the Youth of Antikythera. It began in 1947-1948 and involved the removal of the natural resin (colophony) that had been used by André as protective varnish. The cleaning was performed by Ioannis Bakoulis and the solvent he used was benzene. The proposal to reconstruct the sculpture had been put forward by Panagiotakis as he believed that the posture of the statue was incorrect. This error had been the result of André’s treatment and, according to Karouzos, it had been noticed already by I. Svoronos and

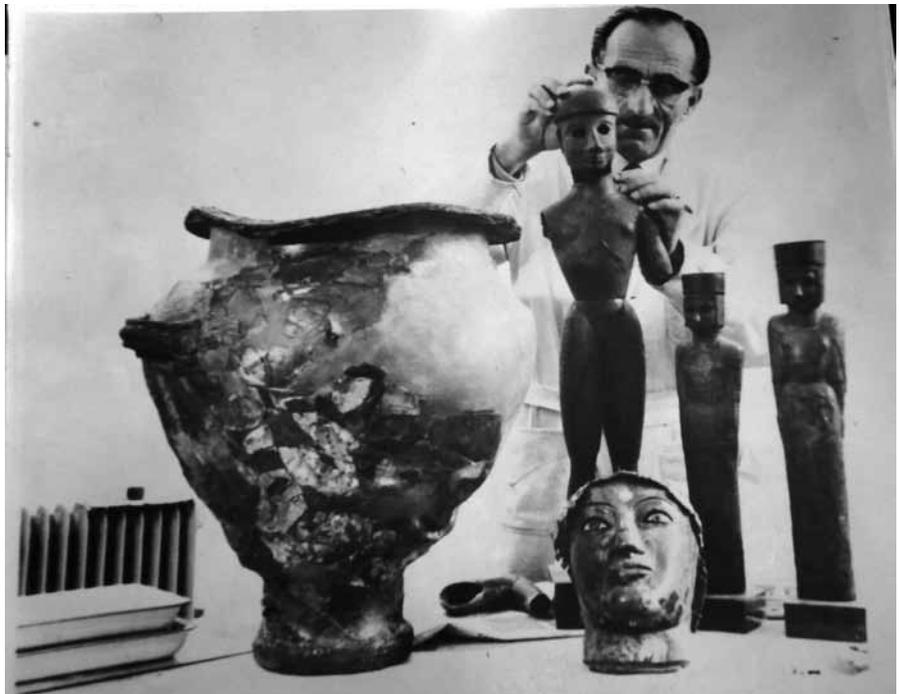
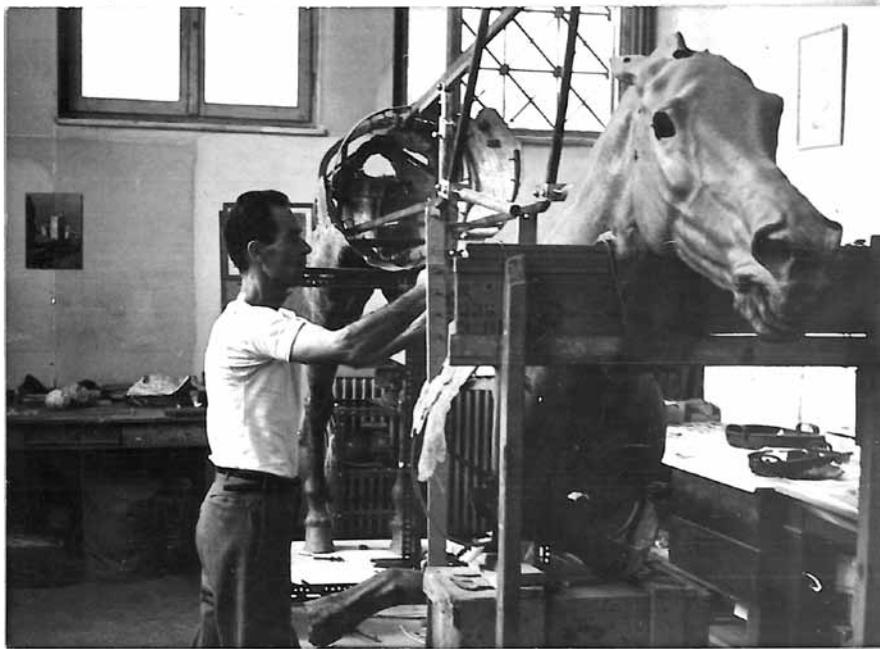


Fig. 7. The master craftsman Ioannis Bakoulis (source: S. Bakoulis Archive).

38. Παπασπυρίδη-Καρούζου - Καρούζος 1981, 14.

39. Π. Κριναίος, Αριστουργήματα του Μουσείου μας κλεισμένα στα σκαριά, *Βραδυνή* newspaper, December 22th, 1949.

40. Παπασπυρίδη-Καρούζου - Καρούζος 1981, 15.



*Fig. 8. The master craftsman Andreas Mavraganis mounting the horse from Artemision (source: K. Mavraganis Archive).*

W. H. Schuchhardt. Despite the fact that Panagiotakis had retired he was in charge of the working group in which Ioannis Bakoulis, Christos Charziliou and the young back then sculptor Nikos Perantinos participated.

Reconstruction work began in 1953 and lasted nine months in unfavourable conditions in a cold workshop since the heating did not work. Karouzos writes about Bakoulis<sup>41</sup>: "Bakoulis works intently and with ever growing fervour during working hours and frequently doing overtime and moreover he found the correct position of numerous fragments"<sup>42</sup>. Bakoulis is also described<sup>43</sup> as having: "astonishing acumen in tracing pieces that belong together, extreme dexterity and delicacy with which he handles ancient artefacts, resourcefulness in solving questions and sheer interest in his work". In 1956 Bakoulis dies at age 48 and Karouzos reports: "Ioannis Bakoulis, the exceptional, devoted and most proficient master craftsman passed away prematurely when his health broke down under the strain of overwork in the numerous and difficult restoration works of the antiquities of the National Archaeological Museum"<sup>44</sup>. It is highly probable that the cancer of which he died was caused by the use of a toxic solvent. Karouzos is not the only one who praises Bakoulis. The archaeologist Agni Sakellariou on the occasion of the cleaning and mending of the silver grave goods from the royal Grave IV on the Mycenaean Acropolis discloses that, because of his amazing ability to spot and reconstruct, he realized immediately that two silver pieces, which were believed they were parts of two vases, actually belonged together forming a figure-of-eight shield<sup>45</sup>.

From 1951 through 1958 the chemical engineer Vasileios Zisis is employed at the National Museum as the Museums' chemist. He is the second chemist of State Museums, after Othon Rhousopoulos, who is appointed this time as a permanent staff member. Zisis prepares studies, publishes in sci-



*Fig. 9. The chemist of the museums Vasileios Zisis (source: V. Zisis Archive).*

41. Καρούζος, Bronze Collection Archive, NAM.

42. He spotted a fragment from the belly which André believed to have been part of the chest, Καρούζος 1969, 62.

43. Καρούζος, Bronze Collection Archive, NAM.

44. Καρούζος 1969, 61.

45. Σακελλαρίου 1957.



*Fig. 10. The painter Alekos Kontopoulos (source: Kontopoulos Museum – Municipality of Agia Paraskevi).*

entific journals<sup>46</sup>, contacts international firms so as to get hold of samples of conservation materials, and communicates with foreign scientists who transfer their knowledge and expertise. He soon comes into conflict with the director of the Museum Christos Karouzos because of his remarks on the reconstruction of the Youth of Antikythera. Nevertheless, Karouzos describes him as “an educated, talented and excellent chemist, who found tragic death”. It should be stressed that Zisis was the first Greek member of the International Institute for Conservation of Museum Objects, which is later titled International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works (IIC)<sup>47</sup>. Zisis was also a painter in a rare combination of scientific education and artistic disposition. His work is the water-colour displayed in Room 3 which depicts the Neolithic settlement of Dimini in Thessaly.

In June 1956 Christos Karouzos, answering a questionnaire of the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), declares that the Museum employs the chemist Vasileios Zisis, two painters, and one sculptor<sup>48</sup>. The two painters were presumably P. Sarafianos and A. Kontopoulos (fig. 10), whereas the sculptor was N. Perantinos.

Andreas Mavraganis worked at the American School of Classical Studies from 1939 to 1940 and from 1945 to 1956. He is employed as an apprentice craftsman and cast maker at the National Archaeological Museum in 1956 and he eventually becomes a permanent member of staff in 1959. His laboratory was next to the Library and it is rumoured that he did not get along with Christos Chatziliou in the metals laboratory. It is generally accepted that Mavraganis was a bit of a *sui generis* personality. He did not put up with the pressure exerted by the archaeologists and the irrationality of the public sector. He eventually resigned in 1970 during the dictatorship and worked with the French archaeologists at Delphi. The anecdotes which I heard from the sculptor Michael Kassis, former cast maker of the Archaeological Receipts Fund, are revealing: “during the dictatorship Mavraganis was responsible for three apprentices. The trainees earned 120,000 drachmas while Mavraganis was making 80,000. When he worked for the French Archaeological School he was paid 400,000 drachmas”. He also “proved all archaeologists wrong as regards two finds from Olympia. He established that what was believed to be an arrow was in fact a balance and also that a statue was actually mounted on the right side of a pediment and not on the left”. We know from his payment orders which are kept at the Directorate of the National Archive of Monuments that Mavraganis works between 1957 and 1959 at Chora Trifylias, Nauplion, Feneos, and Olympia as well as on Samos. Mavraganis will be remembered for his conservation at the National Museum of the bronze Dendra Panoply<sup>49</sup>, and also of the chryselephantine statues<sup>50</sup> and the Silver Bull of Delphi. He is also responsible for the making of half of the armature of the horse of the Artemision group (fig. 8), whereas he was the first who looked into the conservation of waterlogged wood with polyglycols<sup>51</sup>.

46. About the three studies which he published, see Μωραΐτου 2015.

47. Zisis Archive. More on Zisis will be published elsewhere. On the history of IIC, see Brooks 2000

48. ICCROM 1960, 159.

49. Verdelis mentions him and expresses his gratitude., Βερδελής 1957, 16.

50. Γιαλούρης 1975, 3. Amandry 1939.

51. Mavraganis Archive. More on Mavraganis will be published elsewhere.

### The era of Chatziliou, Triantis and Petkousis

The year 1960 signals the renaissance of the Greek Archaeological Service<sup>52</sup>. That year the Service no longer falls under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, but is subsumed under the Ministry of the Presidency of the Government. The establishment of the Central Conservation Laboratories (CCL) in the two great Museums, the National Archaeological and the Byzantine and Christian Museum<sup>53</sup>, in the mid-1960s signals without a doubt a dynamic start<sup>54</sup> of the realm of conservation. This turning point marks a shift of emphasis from antiquities to works of art, a development which has its roots in the Byzantine and Christian Museum<sup>55</sup>. Stavros Baltogiannis and Anastasios Margaritof, the two restoration painters with post-graduate studies in the conservation of works of art at the Istituto Centrale di Restauro<sup>56</sup> in Rome, played a key role in this. In the aftermath of the establishment of International Bodies (IIC, ICOM) and the acceptance of Conventions (Venice Charter, Charter of Rome, etc.) the attitude that now prevails orientates towards minimum intervention in restoration. During that time many restored works are stripped of their added parts. The fillings of the left arm and the face of the Sounion Kouros that had been executed by Panagiotakis are removed, but those on the legs are retained for static reasons. Also in 1970, in the context of "reversibility", the filling of the right leg of the Livadhostro Poseidon is replaced by a brass rod. Natural resins are no longer used as synthetic materials make their appearance, whereas the iron dowels which were inserted during past treatments of sculptures are systematically replaced by pins made of brass.

The leading figures of the time are Christos Chatziliou, Stelios Triantis and Giorgos Petkousis.

The then young Christos Chatziliou (1921-1995) participates in the unpacking of the antiquities when the concealment during the war came to an end, and also in the earlier reconstruction of the Youth of Antikythera, whereas over a decade he conserves together with his assistant Stavros Kassandris the bronze statues of Piræus which were unearthed in 1959. He also plays a leading role in fixing the Delphi Charioteer aided by the craftsman G. Asimenos while during the rescue excavation that was conducted at Ampelokipi he goes there to remove the bronze finds from the site and then conserve them<sup>57</sup>. In 1970 he conserves the horse from the Jockey of Artemision group assisted by the sculptor N. Perantinos using a scaffold that was purchased with money donated by the Psychia Foundation<sup>58</sup>. Also in 1970 he is involved together with S. Kassandris and T. Kontogiorgis in the exhibition of the Archaeological Museum of Brauron<sup>59</sup>. In 1977 he conserves with I. Damigos the iron cuirass of king Philip II from Vergina<sup>60</sup>. Chatziliou has left an indelible imprint on the National Museum, not just for his knowledge of conservation, but also for his technological observations. Together with Agni Xenaki-Sakellariou they publish a study concerning "painting on met-

---

52. Πετράκος, 2013, 1.

53. Μωραΐτου 2009, 4.

54. Or rather a restart to be more precise.

55. Μωραΐτου 2015.

56. Now called Istituto Superiore per la Conservazione ed il Restauro.

57. Σταυρόπουλος, 1965, 105.

58. Καλλιπολίτης 1970, 6. Καλλιπολίτης 1972α, 420.

59. Θέμελης 1970, 121.

60. Ανδρόνικος 1984, 12. Ανδρόνικος 1997, 180. Report of P. G. Kalligas, dated June 12th, 1978. Bronze Collection Archive, File: Conservation at Vergina.

al" of the Mycenaean period<sup>61</sup>. Antonis Fountoulakis, holder of a Diploma of Advanced Studies (DEA) from the Sorbonne University, who apprenticed to Chatziliou and established the metals conservation laboratory of the Archaeological Museum of Heraklion in which he worked, speaks highly of him. Chatziliou told him that after the war, when they could not have access to nitrocellulose for varnishing bronzes, they solubilized celluloid that was used as motion picture film. "Christakis", as the archaeologists used to call him<sup>62</sup>, or the "boss", as younger conservators referred to him<sup>63</sup>, graduated from the Sivitanidios School where he was trained in metalworking. The bitterness which this respected man felt when he was falsely accused of stealing must have been great before he was triumphantly acquitted. Despite all this Chatziliou continued to work in the Museum after his retirement with funds provided by the Psycha Foundation<sup>64</sup>.

The sculptor Stelios Triantis (1931-1999), a museum artist, manages the team that was responsible for the redisplay of the sculptures at the National Archaeological Museum. Triantis had made significant discoveries and played a decisive role in the furtherance of scientific research. His contribution to the presentation of sculptures, either individual or groups, and also to the reconstruction of sculptures using newly found fragments was invaluable. Thanks to him the group of the west pediment of the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros is made complete with original pieces which he detected<sup>65</sup>. Despini speaks of Triantis: "his gaze resembles the look of the mythical Lynceus"<sup>66</sup>, who was famous for his great intelligence. Triantis also displayed the marble stelae of the excavation of Andronikos at Vergina<sup>67</sup>. He is cited in numerous archaeological publications, whereas he published either as an individual or jointly with other authors three studies<sup>68</sup>. Triantis will be remembered as "a person of high perception and excellent education who reinvigorated masterpieces of ancient Greek art, such as the Nike of Paionios and the Hermes of Praxiteles"<sup>69</sup>.

Giorgos Petkousis joined the National Museum in 1967 under the direction of V. Kallipolitis. He graduated from the K. Doxiadis School and for ten years he engaged in the conservation of the Egyptian Collection before he was transferred to the Byzantine Museum and then to Vergina. In 1978 with the aid of other conservators he moved a pile of organic matter from the floor of the royal tomb at Aigai using a grid<sup>70</sup>. He dedicated six years of his life to the restoration of the chryselephantine shield of Philip II, which is on display today at the Museum of the Royal Tombs of Aigai at Vergina.

For the treatment of the Egyptian Collection the painters-restorers of the Byzantine Museum Stavros Baltogiannis (1929) and Anastasios Margaritof (1925-2014) are recruited. The two "perform the most delicate and difficult task to consolidate and clean five Greco-Roman funeral portraits from Egypt, the so-called Fayum portraits, which had never been conserved systematically in the past, and due to their prolonged storage in crates, they

---

61. Xenaki-Sakellariou - Chatziliou 1989.

62. Τουλούπα 2010, 102.

63. Spoken account of Gerasimos Makris.

64. Γιαλούρης 1973-1974, 7.

65. Τουλούπα 1997, 71.

66. Δεσπίνης 2002, 9.

67. Ανδρόνικος 1984, 12.

68. For his studies, see Δεσπίνης 2002.

69. «Έφυγε ο γλύπτης Στέλιος Τριάντης», press 6/3/1999.

70. Κοτταρίδη 1999, 129.

required special treatment<sup>71</sup>. In his capacity as lecturer at the Doxiadis School and having been transferred to the NAM, Baltogiannis trains and supervises a special team for the conservation of the Egyptian antiquities<sup>72</sup>. His associate is the painter of the NAM P. Sarafianos. The team is comprised of Giorgos Petkousis and Theodora Kouzouni, graduates of the Doxiadis School. Theodora Kouzouni, Petkousis' wife, worked on the conservation of organic materials of the Egyptian Collection and also on finds made of organic matter from other Ephorates, e.g. the Tomb of the Poet in Daphne, the wooden sarcophagus from Charavgi<sup>73</sup>, the wooden finds of Papadimitriou at Brauron<sup>74</sup>, and more. Other conservators who worked in the organics laboratory were Eumorphia (Fouli) Skaramagouli, Kalliopi Barbaressou, and Maria Apostolopoulou. The curator of the Collection was the archaeologist N. Boufidis.

Baltogiannis and Margaritof gave instructions and supervised the cleaning of the polychrome marble Kore Phrasikleia<sup>75</sup>. Other craftsmen at the time were Michalis Kallergis, Konstantinos Margellos, Dimitris Komninakidis, Christos Stavarakas, and Giorgos Roupakas.

In the cast workshop the essential for research plaster casts were produced, which included a complete series of the pedimental sculptures and acroteria from the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidaurus<sup>76</sup>. The museum painter Kostis Iliakis<sup>77</sup> reassembled and restored the wall-paintings of Thera, which are exhibited on the first floor of the Museum. Finally, the textile recovered from Lefkandi on Euboea was transferred to the Museum where it was conserved by A. Margaritof<sup>78</sup>. The chemist C. Asimenos elaborated a groundbreaking method that involved the use of glycerin for the air conditioning of the textile's display case.

In the summer of 1972 the American pioneer chemist, conservation scientist, and founding member of the International Institute for Conservation (IIC) Rutherford John Gettens (1900-1974) was present during the conservation of the Museum's bronzes<sup>79</sup>.

As already mentioned, the Central Conservation Laboratory of the National Archaeological Museum did not enjoy the same success as its counterpart organized by the Byzantine Museum. According to I. D. Konitis, General Director of Antiquities and Restoration in 1967, this shortfall is ascribed to the inability to employ the necessary staff due to lack of permanent posts and also because of meagre wages<sup>80</sup>. Yet, the truth is that there were not any scientifically qualified conservators of antiquities at the time and all conservators with postgraduate studies in foreign institutions were painters who were absorbed by the Byzantine Museum. This deficiency is also reflected in documentation. Contrary to the Central Conservation Laboratory of the Byzantine Museum, the Central Conservation Laboratory of the National Museum did not produce conservation reports systematical-

---

71. Χατζηδόκης 1967, 17.

72. Καλλιπολίτης 1968, 8.

73. ΑΔ 26 (1971), Χρονικά, 31.

74. Verbal communication with Ms. Kouzouni; see also Γιαλούρης 1975, 2 and Τζάκου-Αλεξανδρή 1985, 3.

75. Καλλιπολίτης 1973, 2.

76. Καλλιπολίτης 1973, 4.

77. Καλλιπολίτης 1972b, 1.

78. Τζάκου-Αλεξανδρή 1985, 2.

79. Καλλιπολίτης 1972b, 3, on Gettens see [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rutherford\\_John\\_Gettens](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rutherford_John_Gettens)

80. Κοντής 1967, 8.

*Fig. 11. Triantafyllos Kontogiorgis (right) and his nephew Stelios Giapitzopoulos conserving a clay amphora (1969) (source: Photographic Archive, National Archaeological Museum).*



ly. Nonetheless the Bronze Collection contains conservation files sorted by Ephorate. A notebook signed by the then curator of the Bronze Collection P. Kalligas was also found in which the number of conservators and the tasks they were assigned to are recorded from 1-1-1977 through 1-2-1984.

From 1969 through 1972 the Psycha Endowment Fund fulfilled the goal for the education of conservators and for three years the School for Education of Conservators of Antiquities (SECA) operated in the Byzantine Museum. The one-year School offered unclassified studies, but only a few of its many graduates worked at the National Museum<sup>81</sup>; these were: Ioannis Kouros in sculptures, Nikolaos Matoulas in plaster casts, Konstantinos Pantazis in vases, and Margarita Markantonaki (later Magnisali) in bronzes. Amongst others Triantafyllos Kontogiorgis (fig. 11) tutored at the School.

### **The later period after 1985**

The year 1985 marks the recognition of conservation as an academic discipline in Greece by the establishment of the Department of Conservation of Antiquities and Works of Art at the Technological Educational Institute of Athens (TEI). Simultaneously, Institutes for Vocational Education and Training (IVET) are also set up in which conservation technicians are trained. The younger conservators and conservation technicians were fortunate to succeed experienced senior craftsmen, such as Stavros Kassandris, Ioannis Damigos, Tasos Magnisalis, Petros Kaisaris, Nikos Matoulas, Stelios Giapitzopoulos (fig. 11), Omiros Anichtomatis, Vasilis Galanis, and others. Thus the valuable expertise that was acquired during the 20th century passed down to the younger generation. Christos Chatziliou continued to offer his services as a consultant until 1988.

The modern era of the Museum finds a blend of empirical conservators and graduates of the Doxiadis School, the TEI, and the various IVETs but also of foreign universities working together under the same roof. The empirical conservators are: Gerasimos Makris in metals, Panagiotis Athanasopoulos in vases, and also Kalliopi Andreadi, Thomas Siafrakas, Maria Lefaki, and Dimitris Karamouzas in sculptures. The graduates of the TEI are employed from

81. Μωυσειδου - Παπαδοπούλου 2008. Μωραΐτου 2009, 5.

1997 onwards. These are: Georgia Karamargiou, Pantelis Feleris, Maria Kontaki, Ourania Kapsokoli, and Sophia Spyridaki in the metals conservation laboratory, and also Ioannis Panagakos and Daphni Bika in the sculptures conservation laboratory. The vase and minor objects conservation laboratory is staffed by the IVET graduates Katerina Ioannidou, David Delios, Eurydiki Velalopoulou, Ioanna Dalla, Stamatina Koutouvali, Katerina Xylina, and Irimi Kapiri. Alexandra Kotsaki and Panagiotis Lazaris in the organics laboratory, Kostas Alexiou in sculptures, and Pinelopi Tsakri in the chemistry lab are university graduates. Many of the aforementioned employees have pursued a postgraduate degree also.

At that time the first conservation reports are produced, but in a rather unmethodical manner and not by all laboratories, whereas lately reports and treatment cards are also stored electronically. Furthermore, the archives of the Collections of the Museum contain documents on past treatments. From 2005 onwards the Museum's conservators publish their studies, which is a vivid manifestation of their scientific disposition<sup>82</sup>.

The age-long tradition of artist sculptors being involved in the conservation and support of sculptures continues with the sculptors Nikolaos Kyritsis and Thanasis Kalantzis.

In the 2003 Organizational Structure conservation is advanced administratively into a Department<sup>83</sup>, whereas in the 2014 Chart the Department of Conservation merges with the Department of Physical and Chemical Research and is renamed Department of Conservation, Physical and Chemical Research and Archaeometry<sup>84</sup>.

The latest main projects involved the conservation and mounting of antiquities for the redisplay of the Museum's collections for the period 2001-2008, funded by the 3rd Community Support Framework, and also the treatment of loans for temporary exhibitions in institutions in Greece and across the world.

### **The Chemistry Laboratory or the Laboratory of Research and Archaeometry**

Already at the beginning of the 20th century the chemist Othon Rhousopoulos had striven for the establishment of a Chemistry Laboratory at the National Museum and later in the 1920s K. Zenghelis in his documents raised again the issue of its foundation. Besides, similar facilities existed in foreign institutions, such as the Royal Museums of Berlin, where a laboratory had been established since 1888 under the direction of F. Rathgen and later in 1921 at the British Museum which was ran by A. Scott. Rhousopoulos and Zenghelis carried out their research elsewhere, the first in the Academy for Commerce and Industry and the second at the University. The term "Chemistry Laboratory" signified at that time a chemistry lab in which conservation methods were tested, electrochemical and chemical applications to conservation were performed, and also investigative and archaeometric analyses were conducted. In the 1950s the laboratory of the chemist V. Zisis was situated in the vestibule of today's metals conservation laboratory on the upper storey at Tositsa Street where the wooden extractor fan and the wooden workbench are still preserved. According to the spoken account of Dora Nikosia, wife of Ioannis Nikosias of the laboratory of metal-

---

82. Among the first publications are Bika 2002-2003 and Karamouzias *et al.* 2005.

83. Christina Tritou served as the first Head of the Department for a short period from 2008 onwards.

84. The first Head of the new Department is the author of this text.

lurgy at the National Technical University, we know that Zisis collaborated with the institution. Georgios Varoufakis, who kindly volunteered, substituted partly for the lack of a qualified chemist in the wake of Zisis' absence. Varoufakis was an expert in metallurgy and his doctoral thesis was on the bronze statues of Piraeus<sup>85</sup>. He conducted research on samples from ancient artefacts in the laboratories of the National Technical University and published the findings in scientific journals<sup>86</sup>. Following the concerns that were expressed as regards the preservation of the statues of Piraeus and the Derveni krater, in 1967 Varoufakis proposes in an interview the creation of a central Institute for the research and conservation of the ancient masterpieces<sup>87</sup>. Many parties express the need for the establishment of an Institute during that time<sup>88</sup>. In 1967 Spyridon Marinatos himself asks for the collaboration of the NCSR "Demokritos" in forming a committee that would prepare the foundation of a "Central Laboratory" under the General Directorate of Antiquities focusing on the study of conservation methods for antiquities of any material<sup>89</sup>. In the meantime individual researches continue: in 1972-1973 the physicist Charalambos Karakalos of the NCSR "Demokritos" produced radiographs of the Mechanism of Antikythera and the bronze flute of the Karapanos Collection to investigate what was hidden inside<sup>90</sup>. In July 1973 the chemist Konstantinos Asimenos is employed at the Greek Archaeological Service. His appointment fills the vacancy which the death of Zisis left. Reconstruction work of the bronzes laboratory, which had been set up in the meanwhile on the upper floor at Tositsa Street in 1965, is immediately launched and an extension is built that served as science lab. The old laboratory of Zisis turns into a mechanical workshop of the bronzes laboratory. Kallipolitis informs us that in 1973 "in the Chemistry Laboratory hundreds of artefacts of the museum's Collections made of bronze, silver, and gold were cleaned and restored, and also objects of other institutions that were not furnished with conservation facilities. The chemist Mr. Varoufakis contributed to this undertaking on a voluntary basis conducting the necessary analyses of metals, and also the Professor of the National Technical University Mr. Konofagos, the curator Ms. Manteka, and Mr. Simopoulos"<sup>91</sup>. The chemistry laboratory had already acquired its first pieces of equipment in 1974 with funds provided by the Psycha Foundation<sup>92</sup>.

According to the former General Inspector of Antiquities N. Gialouris<sup>93</sup>, in 1979 a new scheme of the Greek Archaeological Service made provisions for the establishment of an Institute for Conservation in collaboration with university scientists. The Institute would be devoted to research and education following the example of the Istituto Centrale di Restauro in Rome. The building that would house it was a neoclassical edifice at 14 Tositsa Street, which until then contained the Health Services of the Prefecture. The project had secured the support of K. Karamanlis and, most importantly,

---

85. Βαρουφάκης 1965.

86. Καλλιπολίτης 1971, 7. Βαρουφάκης 1967. Βαρουφάκης 1970.

87. Παρασκευαΐδης 1967.

88. In 1961 Ζυγός magazine clearly articulates the need, amongst other things, for the creation of an Institute for Conservation, possibly instigated by A. Margaritof.

89. Γιαλούρης 1992, 29.

90. Καλλιπολίτης 1972b, 3.

91. Καλλιπολίτης 1973, 2.

92. In the accession book maintained in the Science Laboratory of the Museum, signed by K. Asimenos, a full record is kept of the instruments that entered the facility.

93. Γιαλούρης 1992, 32.

funding from UNESCO and the Volkswagen Foundation (Stiftung Volkswagen Werk). The undertaking progressed; the equipment was purchased, yet the ambitious plan to create the Institute failed just like the previous attempt in 1967. The equipment was eventually installed at the NAM. Documents from the archives of the NAM indicate that the purchase of the instruments was sponsored by UNESCO in 1977<sup>94</sup> and the Volkswagen Foundation in 1979<sup>95</sup>. It is obvious that the existing chemistry facility, which was supervised by the chemist K. Asimenos under the direction of N. Gialouris, would be insufficient and as a result the Chemistry Laboratory was relocated in 1979 to the basement at Tositsa Street facing Bouboulinas Street, in a place which served as residence for museum staff. The laboratory is equipped with two gas chromatographs, infrared spectrometer, industrial x-ray system, metallographic microscope, analytical balance, and grinding polishing machine. This equipment turns the laboratory into a point of reference, not just for the Greek museums, but also for the university establishments of the country. Hence the first studies are elaborated. The finds from the royal tombs of Vergina are x-rayed – the iron cuirass, the helmet, the neckband, and the sword. Then follow the finds from Paramythia in Thesprotia and Lefkandi on Euboea. The issues arising from atmospheric pollution and the implications of sulphation for the Museum's bronzes was the subject of a study in collaboration with the National Technical University and Professor Th. Skoulikidis. Nevertheless, K. Asimenos soon withdraws from the team. Asimenos also worked on the treatment of waterlogged wood for which he designed and constructed special thermostatic baths for the application of the polyglycol method<sup>96</sup>. Asimenos carries out analytical work and answers the questions posed by the archaeologists; but he does not keep a record of his studies, hence his reports should be sought in the various archives of the individual Collections of the NAM. Furthermore, since he is not a member of staff of the NAM, but of the Directorate of Conservation of Antiquities, he offers his services across the country. When asked what he believed his greatest contribution was, he singled out the first aid measures which he took in excavation for the rescue of antiquities. He never ceased being a scientist, yet he was a practical-minded person. He even used antifreeze agent for cars (polyglycol) in order to maintain the appropriate levels of humidity for the fragile finds from Antheia in the Peloponnese. Throughout his career he published seventeen articles in scientific journals. This brilliant and active scientist, as Gialouris describes him, withdraws<sup>97</sup> from the NAM in 1982.

That year the chemist Eleni Andreopoulou-Magou, employee at the National Museum, returns from England thereby initiating a creative period for the laboratory which now orientates towards archaeometry. The laboratory prepares studies, carries out individual analyses at the request of archaeologists, and participates in research programmes in collaboration with Greek and international educational institutes. From 1985 onwards, on the initiative of Eleni Magou, the Annals of the Chemistry Laboratory are included in the *Archaiologikon Deltion*. In Magou's time the lab conducts analyses over the whole range of ancient materials: metals, glass, faience, ceramics, mor-

---

94. See documents in the UNESCO File no. 112 in the NAM Archives.

95. See above, note 58.

96. Ασημένος 1977.

97. According to Gialouris (Γιαλούρης 1992, 32), he is actually displaced. Asimenos maintains that he could not work efficiently as a civil servant and be monitored given that research does not conform to timetables.

tars, and organics. Until her retirement in 2008, E. Magou had published more than sixty articles<sup>98</sup> and one monograph<sup>99</sup>. Her doctoral thesis has also been significant<sup>100</sup>. The study of the geometric bronze tripods<sup>101</sup>, the research of Mycenaean metallurgy of copper and its alloys<sup>102</sup>, and the investigation of the Antikythera Mechanism with computed tomography scan<sup>103</sup> are some of the most important projects she engaged in.

The chemists Stavros Protopappas and Kalliopi Kouzeli and also the chemistry technicians Eleni Smonou, Mary Zagka, Georgios Skandalos, and Panagiotis Papastamatis are referred to in the 1985 Chronika of the *Archaiologikon Deltion*<sup>104</sup>. Later the chemist Litsas and the chemical engineer Emy Iliadou had a brief stay in the laboratory.

With the 2003 Organizational Structure the science laboratory is administratively upgraded into a Department of Physical and Chemical Research, whereas in the 2014 Organizational Structure the Conservation Department merges with the Department of Physical and Chemical Research and is now titled Department of Conservation, Physical and Chemical Research and Archaeometry. For the first time ever the archaeometric role of the department is institutionally consolidated. Unfortunately this development is followed by the inversely proportional wear of the existing equipment and, as a result, even though the laboratory is staffed today by one chemist, Giorgos Kouros, and one conservation scientist, Penelope Tsakri, the equipment remains outmoded. Only the radiography and the optical metallographic microscope are operable today.

---

98. Ανδρεοπούλου-Μάγκου 1996.

99. Ανδρεοπούλου-Μάγκου - Μαργιολόπουλος 2005.

100. Ανδρεοπούλου-Μάγκου 1994.

101. Μαγου *et al.* 1986.

102. Δημακοπούλου *et al.* 1987.

103. Wright *et al.* 1991. Freeth *et al.* 2006.

104. Τζάκου-Αλεξανδρή 1985, 3.

## Epilogue

This essay has looked into the gradual development of conservation from a vocation of technical character into a profession and an academic discipline from the day the foundations of the National Archaeological Museum were laid through 2016, which marks the celebration of its 150 years. It has also placed emphasis on the institutional recognition of the chemistry laboratory and its contribution. Five generations of people advanced conservation. Five generations were devoted to our archaeological heritage. Some of them were acknowledged, others were disheartened, and some others simply passed by. Most of them are rescued from oblivion as they are referred to in the Chronika of the *Archaiologikon Deltion*, others by the good words which their contemporaries archaeologists wrote about them and others by their own oeuvre. I do hope that this essay has considered each and every one of them.

## Appendix

### Additional biographical information, arranged by date of birth

**Napoleone Felice Martinelli.** "Artist cast maker ... who ten years ago produced the plaster casts of all the antiquities and just recently of the standing sculptures on the west side of the Parthenon and of others, and sent one copy of each to the archaeological museum of London, and he is just about to dispatch one copy of each to the Vienna exhibition, for he keeps copies of all in his studio"<sup>105</sup>. For more than twenty years his workshop was the exclusive supplier of the collections of casts in Europe and America<sup>106</sup>. There are two published catalogues of his plaster casts<sup>107</sup>. In 1868 "Martinellis", as he was called, donated to the National Museum eight coins of later times from various European states<sup>108</sup>. Then, in 1880, he makes a contribution of 100 drachmas from the salary he received for demolishing the Venetian tower of the Acropolis<sup>109</sup>. He reportedly participated in the conservation of the Acropolis by mending the neck of the fourth Caryatid in 1870<sup>110</sup> and also by using hydraulic lime on the west frieze of the Parthenon<sup>111</sup>.

**Panagis Kaloudis (1840-1917).** "Master craftsman of the state museums and the workshop of plaster casts. He was born in Athens, where he apprenticed to Martinelli. In 1882 he was employed at the Archaeological Service as master craftsman. He worked for a long time and admittedly with great dexterity in the repair and mounting of the sculptures of the National Museum, the Acropolis Museum, the Museum of Olympia, the Delphi Museum, etc. He took part in the restoration of the temple in Figaleia and in the sanctuary at Sounion, and also in the bonding and restoration of the Lion of Chaeronea, etc."<sup>112</sup>. Kavvadias describes him as "marble carver"<sup>113</sup>. In 1896 he works on the conservation of the Charioteer of Delphi<sup>114</sup>.

---

105. *Αυγή* newspaper, issue no. 3351, 3-3-1873, 3.

106. Σάββα 2011, 21.

107. Martinelli 1881. Martinelli 1875.

108. *Αιών* newspaper, issue no. 2408, 26-12-1868, 2.

109. *Εφημερίς* newspaper, issue no. 29, 29-1-1880, 2.

110. Μαλλούχου-Tufano 2012, 610.

111. Μαλλούχου-Tufano 1998.

112. Handwritten note in the Photographic Archive of the NAM.

113. Καββαδίας, 1885, 5.

114. Ψάλτη (forthcoming).

**Ioannis Voudas, Boudas or Vouddas.** He carried on the tradition of the Italian cast makers, appointed by the Greek Government, which Martinelli first started in the mid-19th century<sup>115</sup>.

**Georgios Kastriotis (1899-1969).** Georgios Kastriotis was born in Athens but grew up in Paris. He studied engineering in Lausanne, which he gave up in order to train as a sculptor. He studied at the Académie de la Grande Chaumière under Émile-Antoine Bourdelle, and also at his tutor's workshop. In 1930 his degree was awarded recognition of equivalence to the degree of the School of Fine Arts of the National Technical University and started taking part in art competitions<sup>116</sup>.

**Ioannis Bakoulis (1908-1956).** His parents' place of birth was Corinth. He worked for the American School of Classical Studies in Corinth and in the ancient Agora of Athens. Karouzos recounts that he was invited to undertake the technical examination and treatment of a significant private antique minor arts collection<sup>117</sup>. We know from the Historical Archive of the Archaeological Service<sup>118</sup> that in 1951 he received verbal order to move to Rhodes so as to embark on the restoration of the Museum's antiquities. As he was appointed master craftsman of Museums on a secretarial II grade and salary rate, without having resigned first from his post as craftsman according to the legislation of the time, an issue was raised regarding his transference with the risk of lien being imposed on his earnings. In early August 1955 he goes to Vourvoura in Kynouria to work on the excavation which Konstantinos Romaios conducted, but he is replaced by Triantafyllos Kontogiorgis shortly afterwards.

**Triantafyllos Kontogiorgis (1911-19??).** Son of the master craftsman Giorgos Kontogiorgis that was involved in the concealment of antiquities and later in their restoration. He taught at the School for Education of Conservators of Antiquities of the Byzantine and Christian Museum. He worked on the exhibition of the Museum of Brauron and he also engaged in the repair of the finds of the excavation on Samothrace<sup>119</sup>. Semni Karouzou<sup>120</sup> reports that the master craftsman of the NAM Triantafyllos Kontogiorgis knows the right way to efface any spurious interventions in an ancient vase.

**Stelios Triantis (1931-1999).** He was born in 1931 in Trikastro, Preveza. He studied at the Athens School of Fine Arts and apprenticed to M. Tombros. Since 1956 he worked as a contract employee at the Delphi Museum, the Museum of Delos, the archaeological site of Brauron, and Ramnous. In 1961 he is appointed as permanent museum artist at the NAM. From 1965 to 1967 he moves to Paris where he studies at the École Supérieure des Beaux Arts on a scholarship by the State Scholarships Foundation. During that time he works at the Louvre on the redisplay of the metopes from Olympia having accepted a formal proposal of the French State. He works prolifically at the National Museum and the Museum of Olympia. In 1984 he works for several months at the Capitoline Museums in Rome. In 1986 he withdraws, but continues to work while in retirement for the redisplay of the museums of Larnacia, Eretria, Olympia, and Piraeus. He was also responsible for making the plaster casts of the Caryatids, their transportation, and the installation of

---

115. Σάλλα 2011, 21.

116. Voltera 2003.

117. Καρούζος 1969, 62.

118. Storage case 689E.

119. Καλλιπολίτης 1969, 6.

120. Καρούζου 2003, 150.

the originals at the Acropolis Museum. The TV documentary series "Monogramma" that was dedicated to him has been truly elucidating.

**Stavros Kassandris (b. 1936).** Co-worker of Christos Chatziliou at the bronzes conservation laboratory of the NAM. He lives in Eretria.

**Georgios Varoufakis (b. 1925).** He was born in Cairo, Egypt. He studied Chemistry at the Faculty of Mathematics and Physics of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens from which he graduated in 1953. In 1965 he was awarded a doctorate for his research on the corrosion of the ancient bronze statues of Kouros and Artemis, which are on display now at the Archaeological Museum of Piraeus. In 1979 he submitted a habilitation thesis titled "Chemical and Metallurgical Research on Nineteen Iron Legs of Geometric Tripods". He is Assistant Professor at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, President of Halyvourgiki Hellenic Steel Industry S.A." and Honorary President of the Hellenic Body of Standardization (EAOT)<sup>121</sup>. He is a founding member and has served as President of the Hellenic Society for Archaeometry.

**Konstantinos Asimenos (b. 1945).** He was born in Skyros in 1945. Early on he was familiarized with archaeology since his father Giorgos was a craftsman working for the Archaeological Service. He graduated in 1969-1970 from the Department of Chemistry of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. He is employed at the Archaeological Service in 1972 and works for the NAM. In 1975 he pursues a postgraduate degree in the conservation of antiquities in Mainz. In 1982 he withdraws from the NAM so as to work at the Directorate of Conservation of Antiquities where he is promoted to Head of Research. He retires in 2000 and lives in Skyros ever since.

**Eleni Andreopoulou-Magou (b. 1949).** She studied Chemistry at the University of Patras. She worked as an assistant to the Professor of Chemical Technology at the above university. In September 1979 she applies for transference to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and is appointed at the National Archaeological Museum. Shortly afterwards she travels to Britain for postgraduate studies with a scholarship from the Academy of Athens where she enriches her knowledge of conservation of antiquities and archaeometallurgy as she is awarded a Certificate and a Master's degree from the Institute of Archaeology of the University of London. She returns to Athens in 1982 and works at the NAM. In 1994 she defends her Ph.D. Thesis at the University of Patras<sup>122</sup>. She has been a lecturer of the postgraduate studies in the Protection of Monuments, Sites and Complexes of the National Technical University, in Institutes for Vocational Education and Training as well as in training courses of the Municipality of Athens. She has been active and founding member of the Hellenic Society of Archaeometry, member of the Association of Greek Chemists and of the Hellenic Group of the IIC.

---

121. <http://www.whoiswhogreece.com/varoufakis-giorgios/>

122. Ανδρεοπούλου-Μάγκου 1994.

## Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the Director of the National Archaeological Museum Dr. Maria Lagogianni-Georgakarakos for assigning me to write this chapter and for commenting on the essay. Also to the retired colleagues S. Kassandris, T. Magnisalis, I. Damigos, N. Matoulas, Th. Kouzouni, K. Asimenos, and E. Andreopoulou-Magou for their invaluable pieces of information which they provided concerning themselves and also other senior colleagues. For the same reason I am indebted to the archaeologist E. Touloupa, as well as to the chemist Giorgos Kouros for the evidence from the archive of the chemistry laboratory. I would also like to thank the Directorate of the National Archive of Monuments of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports and particularly Ms. A. Papoulakou for the information from the Historical Archive of the Archaeological Service. For the photographs my deepest thanks go to the Photographic Archive of the NAM, namely Ms. E. Morati and Ms. M. Chidioglou, and to the Gennadius Library of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, especially the director of its Archives N. Vogeikof and the curator E. Daleziou. I am particularly obliged to the children of I. Bakoulis, A. Mavraganis, and V. Zisis – Seraphim Bakoulis, Aikaterini Mavragani and Vasileios Zisis – for giving me access to the personal archives of their parents and providing me with related photographs. The excerpts of newspapers come from the Archaeological Events in Greek Press (1832-1932) at <http://invenio.lib.auth.gr/collection/Archaeological%20events%20in%20Greek%20press%20%281832-1932%29?ln=el>.

Georgianna Moraitou

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

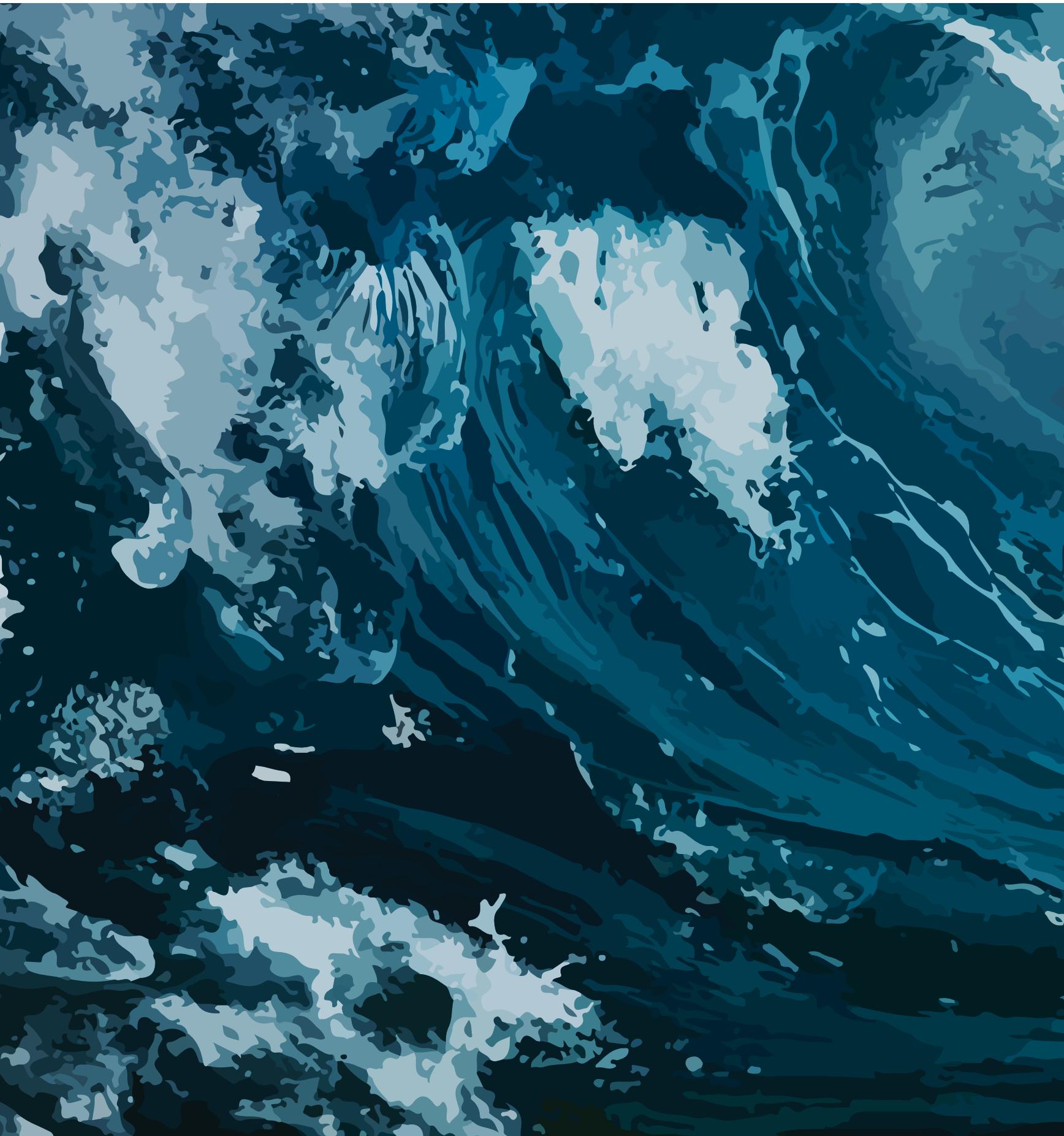
---

- Amandry, P. 1939. Rapport preliminaire sur les statues chryselephantines de Delphes, *BCH*, LXIII, 86-119.
- Ανδρεοπούλου-Μάγκου, Ε. 1994. Μελέτη αρχαίων χάλκινων αντικειμένων από τον Ελλαδικό χώρο, Ph.D. Thesis, Πανεπιστήμιο Πατρών, <http://www.didaktorika.gr/eadd/handle/10442/3414>.
- Ανδρεοπούλου-Μάγκου, Ε. 1996. *Η συμβολή της χημείας στην αρχαιολογία και το χημικό εργαστήριο του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Αθηνών*, unpublished issue, Εταιρεία των Φίλων του ΕΑΜ, Αθήνα.
- Ανδρεοπούλου-Μάγκου, Ε. - Θ. Μαργιολόπουλος 2005. *Το Δέρμα. Δομή-Τεχνολογία-Φθορά-Συντήρηση-Ανάλυση*, Αθήνα.
- Ανδρόνικος, Μ. 1984. *Βεργίνα. Οι Βασιλικοί Τάφοι*, Αθήνα.
- Ανδρόνικος, Μ. 1997. *Το Χρονικό της Βεργίνας*, Εθνική Τράπεζα της Ελλάδος, Αθήνα.
- Ασημενός, Κ. 1977. Συντήρηση αρχαίου έφυδρου ξύλου με πολυαιθυλενογλυκόλη, *ΑΑΑ*, Χ, 2, 287-295.
- Βαρουφάκης, Γ. Ι. 1965. *Συμβολή εις την έρευναν της διαβρώσεως αρχαίων βρούνζων*, Ph.D. Thesis, ΕΚΠΑ, Αθήνα.
- Βαρουφάκης, Γ. Ι. 1967. Εξέτασις μεταλλικών αντικειμένων του μυκηναϊκού νεκροταφείου της Περατής, *ΑΕ*, Αθήνα.
- Βαρουφάκης, Γ. Ι. 1970. Ερευνητική εργασία επί τριών σιδηρών λογχών του 7ου και 6ου αιώνος π.Χ., *ΑΔ* 25, Μελέται, 100-108.
- Βερδελής, Ν. 1957. Χαλκοί Μυκηναϊκοί Θώραξ εκ Δενδρών, *ΑΕ*, Παράρτημα, 15-18.
- Brooks, H. B. 2000. *A Short History of IIC, Foundation and Development*, London.
- Γιαλούρης, Ν. 1973-1974. Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, *ΑΔ* 29, Χρονικά, 1-9.
- Γιαλούρης, Ν. 1975. Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, *ΑΔ* 30, Χρονικά, 1-3.

- Γιαλούρης, Ν. 1992. Η συνεργασία των φυσικών επιστημών με την αρχαιολογική έρευνα στην Ελλάδα, *Πρακτικά Α΄ Συμποσίου αρχαιομετρίας με τίτλο «Σύνδεση αρχαιομετρίας και αρχαιολογίας», 26-28 Ιανουαρίου 1990*, Ελληνική Αρχαιομετρική Εταιρεία, Αθήνα, 27-33.
- Δεσπίνης, Γ. 2002. *Το αρχαιολογικό έργο του γλύπτη Στέλιου Τριάντη, Αφιέρωμα στον γλύπτη Στέλιο Τριάντη* (Δ. Δαμάσκος ed.), Μουσείο Μπενάκη, Το Παράρτημα, Αθήνα.
- Δεσπίνης, Γ. - Ν. Καλτσάς (eds.) 2014. *Κατάλογος Γλυπτών Ι. Ι. Γλυπτά των αρχαϊκών χρόνων από τον 7ο αιώνα ως το 480 π.Χ.*, Αθήνα.
- Δημακοπούλου, Κ. - Ε. Μάγκου - S. Stos-Gale - N. H. Stos-Gale 1987. Συμβολή στη Μυκηναϊκή Μεταλλουργία του χαλκού και των κραμάτων του, *6ο Διεθνές Συνέδριο Πριστορικού Αιγαίου, Το Προϊστορικό Αιγαίο και οι σχέσεις με τις γύρω περιοχές, Ελλάς, 30 Αυγούστου-5 Σεπτεμβρίου 1987*, Αθήνα.
- Filadelfeus, A. 1935. *The Museums of Athens*, Athens.
- Freeth T. - Y. Bitsakis - X. Moussas - J. H. Seiradakis - A. Tselikas - H. Mangou - M. Zafeiropoulou - R. Hadland - D. Bate - A. Ramsey - M. Allen - A. Crawley - P. Hockley - T. Malzbender - D. Gelb - W. Ambrisco - M. G. Edmunds 2006. Decoding the Ancient Greek Astronomical Calculator Known as the Antikythera Mechanism, *Nature*, τ. 444/30 November, 587-591.
- Θέμελης, Π. 1970. Αρχαιότητες και μνημεία Αττικής και Νήσων, *ΑΔ 25, Χρονικά*, 121-122.
- ICCROM, 1960. *International Inventory of the Museum Laboratories and Restoration Workshops, Works and Publications I*, Rome.
- Καββαδίας, Π. 1885. Εργασίαι της Γενικής Εφορείας, *ΑΔ*.
- Καββαδίας, Π. 1890-1892. *Γλυπτά του Εθνικού Μουσείου*, Κατάλογος περιγραφικός, Αθήνα.
- Καββαθιάς, Β. 2012. *Παναγής Καββαθιάς, Ανασκαφή στο Ιερό, Επίδαυρος*.
- Καλλιπολίτης, Β. 1968. Εθνικόν Αρχαιολογικόν Μουσείον, εργασίαι επανεκθέσεως και νέα προσκτήματα, *ΑΔ 23, Χρονικά*, 8-11.
- Καλλιπολίτης, Β. 1969. Εθνικόν Αρχαιολογικόν Μουσείον, *ΑΔ 24, Χρονικά*, 5-6.
- Καλλιπολίτης, Β. 1970. Εθνικόν Αρχαιολογικόν Μουσείον, *ΑΔ 25, Χρονικά*, 5-7.
- Καλλιπολίτης, Β. 1971. Εθνικόν Αρχαιολογικόν Μουσείον, *ΑΔ 26, Χρονικά*, 6-8.
- Καλλιπολίτης, Β. 1972a. Ανασυγκρότησις του χαλκού ίππου του Αρτεμισίου, *ΑΑΑ V, 3*, 419-426.
- Καλλιπολίτης, Β. 1972b. Εθνικόν Αρχαιολογικόν Μουσείον, *ΑΔ 27, Χρονικά*, 1-4.
- Καλλιπολίτης, Β. 1973. Εθνικόν Αρχαιολογικόν Μουσείον, *ΑΔ 28, Χρονικά*, 1-4.
- Καραμουζάς, Δ. - Δ. Μπίκα - Γ. Παναγάκος 2005. Προτάσεις και μέθοδοι αντιμετώπισης προβλημάτων από συμπληρώσεις και αισθητικές αποκαταστάσεις στα γλυπτά του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου, *Συντήρηση και Έκθεση Συντηρημένων Έργων, προβλήματα τεχνικά-προβλήματα αισθητικά, Πρακτικά Ημερίδας 29-1-2003 στο Βυζαντινό και Χριστιανικό Μουσείο, Μικρά Μουσειολογικά 1*, Αθήνα, 77-80.
- Καρούζος, Χ. 1969. Χρονικόν της ανασυστάσεως του χάλκινου νέου των Αντικυθήρων, *ΑΕ*, 59-79.
- Καρούζου-Παπασπυρίδη, Σ. - Χ. Καρούζος 1981. Η ιστορία του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου, *Ανθολόγημα θησαυρών του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου*, ΜΙΕΤ, Αθήνα, 9-19.
- Καρούζου, Σ. 2000. Το Εθνικό Μουσείο από το 1941, *Το Μουσείον 1*, Αθήνα, 4-14.
- Καρούζου, Σ. 2003. Κιβόδηλα «Αρχαία» Έργα, Τα τεχνάσματα των αρχαιοκαπήλων, *Ο Μέντωρ 69*, 146-151.
- Καστριώτης, Π. 1917. Ανάγλυφον αναθηματικών, *ΑΕ*, 227-229.
- Κοντής, Ι. Δ. 1967. Η διάσωσης των χάλκινων αριστουργημάτων, Γράμματα προς την σύνταξιν, *Η Καθημερινή*, 18-3-1967, 8.
- Κόκκου, Α. 1977. *Ημέριμα για τις αρχαιότητες στην Ελλάδα και τα πρώτα μουσεία*, Αθήνα.
- Κοτταρίδη, Α. 1999. Το αρχαιολογικό έργο της ΙΖ΄ ΕΠΚΑ στη Βεργίνα, Το ιστορικό της έκθεσης των θησαυρών των Βασιλικών τάφων, *ΑΕΜΘ 11*, Θεσσαλονίκη, 129-137.
- Μαγου, Ε. - S. Philippakis - C. Rolley 1986. Trépieds géométriques de bronze, Analyses complémentaires, *BCH, CX-I Études*, 121-136.
- Μαλλούκου-Τυφάνο, Φ. 1998. *Η αναστήλωση των αρχαίων μνημείων στη νεώτερη Ελλάδα (1834-1939). Το έργο της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας και της Αρχαιολογικής Υπηρεσίας*, Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας αρ. 176, Αθήνα.
- Μαλλούκου-Τυφάνο, Φ. 2012. Οι παλαιότερες αναστηλωτικές επεμβάσεις στο Ερέχθειο, Α. Παπανικολάου, *Η αποκατάσταση του Ερεχθείου (1979-1987)*, Αθήνα, 607-616.
- Martinelli, N. F. 1875. *Catalogo dei getti ni gesso di diversi oggetti di scultura greca antica vendibili presso*, Atene.

- Martinelli, N. F. 1881. *Catalogue of Casts in Gypsum Taken Direct from the Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture Existing in Athens and Other Places in Greece* (W. Shaw ed.), Athens 1881.
- Μπίκα, Δ. 2002-2003. Το αρχαϊκό λιοντάρι 15241 του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου, Διαδικασία συντήρησης: Παρατηρήσεις και προβληματισμοί, *Το Μουσείον* 3, 33-42.
- Μωραΐτου, Γ. 2009. Η οργάνωση της συντήρησης των αρχαιοτήτων και εν γένει της πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς στην αρχαιολογική Υπηρεσία από το 1960 έως σήμερα: μισός αιώνας θεσμικής λήθης, *Πρακτικά Ημερίδας ΠΕΣΑ 2008*, Αθήνα.
- Μωραΐτου, Γ. 2014. Ο Κωνσταντίνος Δ. Ζέγγελης (1870-1957) και η συμβολή του ως χημικού στη συντήρηση των χάλκινων αρχαιοτήτων, *Πρακτικά Ημερίδας ΠΕΣΑ 2012*, Αθήνα, 459-470.
- Μωραΐτου, Γ. 2015. Η εξέλιξη της συντήρησης στην Ελλάδα και η καθιέρωση του επαγγέλματος του συντηρητή αρχαιοτήτων και έργων τέχνης. Μια διαδρομή εκατόν πενήντα χρόνων, *Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου: Η συντήρηση της πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς προκλήσεις και επαναπροσδιορισμοί, Αθήνα 25-29 Μαΐου 2015* (forthcoming).
- Μωραΐτου, Γ. (forthcoming). *Η συντήρηση των αρχαιοτήτων στην Ελλάδα. Οι πρωτεργάτες Όθων Α. Ρουσόπουλος (1856-1922)*, ΤΑΠΑ (forthcoming).
- Μωυσειδου, Γ. - Ευ. Παπαδοπούλου 2008. Η συντήρηση στην Ελλάδα. Ιστορία και εξέλιξη. Β. Παράρτημα, ΥΠΠΟ/ΒΧΜ, *Μικρά Μουσειολογικά* 3, 46-207.
- Παρασκευαΐδης, Μ. 1967. Η διάσωση των χαλκών αριστουργημάτων της αρχαιότητας και διά της επόμενας γενεάς, *Η Καθημερινή*, 16 March, 4, 6.
- Πετράκος, Β. Χ. 2013. *Πρόχειρον Αρχαιολογικόν 1828-2012, Μέρος II, Θεματολογικό*, Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας αρ. 284, Αθήνα 2013.
- Richards, G. C. 1898. Archaeology in Greece 1897-1898, *JHS* 18, 328-339.
- Σακελλαρίου, Α. 1957. Αρχαιολογικά Χρονικά, Νέα μορφή παλαιών αντικειμένων του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου, *ΑΕ*, Αθήνα, 1-8.
- Σάλτα, Μ. 2011. *Ex Oriente Lux. Βίοι παράλληλοι. Αρχαιολόγοι, Συντηρητές και Καλλιτέχνες του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου*, Αθήνα.
- Σβορώνος, Ι. Ν. 1903. *Το εν Αθήναις Εθνικόν Μουσείον, Ο θησαυρός του ναυαγίου των Αντικυθήρων*, vol. Α, Αθήνα.
- Σταυρόπουλος, Φ. 1965. Οδός Π. Κυριακού (Αμπελόκηποι), *ΑΔ* 20, Χρονικά, 103-107.
- Τζάκου-Αλεξανδρή, Ό. 1985. Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, *ΑΔ* 40, Χρονικά, 1-4.
- Τουλούπα, Ε. 1997. Οι επιφυλλίδες της Σέμνης Καρούζου, *Μνήμη Σέμνης Καρούζου*, Τιμητική Εκδήλωση, ΕΑΜ-ΙCOM, Αθήνα, 59-72.
- Τουλούπα, Ε. 2010. Συντηρητές Χαλκών, *Από την Πνύκα στο Παγκράτι*, Επιφυλλίδες, Ένωση Φίλων Ακροπόλεως, 2nd edition, Αθήνα, 102-103.
- Τουλούπα, Ε. 2013-2014. Αναμνήσεις από το Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, 25 Χρόνια Ένωση Φίλων Ακροπόλεως, *Ενημερωτικό Δελτίο της Ένωσης*, 29-41.
- Tsiporoulou, M. - M. Antoniou - S. Masouridi 2012. The 1900-1901 Investigations, in N. Kaltsas - E. Vlachogianni - P. Bouyia (eds.), *The Antikythera Shipwreck: the ship, the treasures, the mechanism*, Exhibition Catalogue, National Archaeological Museum, Athens.
- Φίλιος, Δ. 1899. Χαλκούν άγαλμα Ποσειδώνος εκ Βοιωτίας, *ΑΕ* 59-74, pls. 5, 6.
- Χατζηδάκης, Μ. 1967. *ΑΔ* 22, Χρονικά, 16-33.
- Ψάλτη, Α. (forthcoming). Η συμβολή της Αρχαιολογικής Υπηρεσίας στην προστασία των μνημείων των Δελφών κατά τον 19ο αιώνα, *Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου ΔΕΑΜ «Περί των Αρχαιοτήτων Ιδίως», Η Αρχαιολογία στην Ελλάδα του 19ου αιώνα μέσα από τις πηγές του Αρχείου των Υπηρεσιών των Αρχαιοτήτων, 22-24 Οκτωβρίου 2014* (forthcoming).
- Voltera, M. 2003. *The Kastriotis Papers: Portrait of an Artist*, ASCSA Newsletter, winter, no. 49, p. G3.
- Wright, M. - A. G. Bromley - E. Magou 1995. Simple X-Ray Tomography and the Antikythera Mechanism, *Proceedings of the Conference: Archaeometry in South-Eastern Europe, April 1991, Delphi-Greece. Pact* 45, 531-543.
- Xenaki-Sakellariou, A. - Ch. Chatziliou 1989. *Peinture en métal à l'époque Mycénienne. Incrustation, damasquinage, niellure*, Athènes.







Odysseys

~~Odysseys~~ Odysseys

## THE JOURNEY OR NOSTOS

πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω  
*Ομήρου Οδύσσεια, α 3*

Many were the men whose cities he saw and whose mind he learned  
*Homer, The Odyssey, I 3*

# Odysseys

Οδύσσειες

## Sea Routes

Κύπρον Φοινίκην τε καὶ Αἴγυπτίους ἐπαληθείς,  
Αἰθίοπας θ' ἰκόμην καὶ Σιδονίους καὶ Ἐρεμβούς  
καὶ Λιβύην [...]

*Ομήρου Οδύσσεια, δ 83-85*

Over Cyprus and Phoenicia I wandered, and  
Egypt, and I came to the Ethiopians and the  
Sidonians and the Erembi, and to Libya

*Homer, The Odyssey, IV 83-85*



### 1. "Frying pan"

2800-2300 BC (*Keros-Syros phase*)

Clay

L. 0.282, d. 0.25, d. rim 0.05 m

Syros, *Chalandriani cemetery, Tomb 174*

*National Archaeological Museum,*

*inv. no. Π 4974*

Frying pan vessel, with rich carefully incised decoration. Linked spirals across the body of the vessel, likely symbolizing the foaming sea, crossed by an oared boat and fish. At the end of the vessel, nearby the handle, female genitals (pubic triangle) are being rendered.

Vessels of this type, commonly of clay and rarely of stone, are found in the Cyclades and in areas of mainland Greece (e.g. Attica, Euboea). They are a

popular grave offering but also can be found from residential complexes. Their use remains enigmatic: were they cultic vessels used for libations, for the invocation of the nature's forces, or vessels for storing cosmetics for the deceased, or an item of transporting, measuring, and standardizing products (i.e. sea salt), or finally, instruments for navigation and astronomical observation?

#### Selected bibliography

Rambach 2000, figs. 34, 76, pl. 28, 292. Καλτσός, 2008, 71.

*K. Nikolentzos*

## 2. Fragments with representations of ships

*Fragment of a vessel  
with incised decoration  
2800-2300 BC (Early Bronze Age II)  
Clay  
H. 0.087 m  
Phylakopi, Melos  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 11440*



*Fragment of a vessel with  
painted decoration  
2300-2000 BC (Early Bronze Age III)  
Clay  
H. 0.09 m  
Phylakopi, Melos  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 11444*

These two small vessel fragments narrate the transition from oared boats to the faster sailing ships made by the Cycladic navigators of the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean.

In the first, the helmsman stands on an oared boat with his genitals bare,

in an expression of dominance over the marine element. In the second, the vertical mast of the ship is triangularly framed by unfurled sails or the ropes that kept them bound.

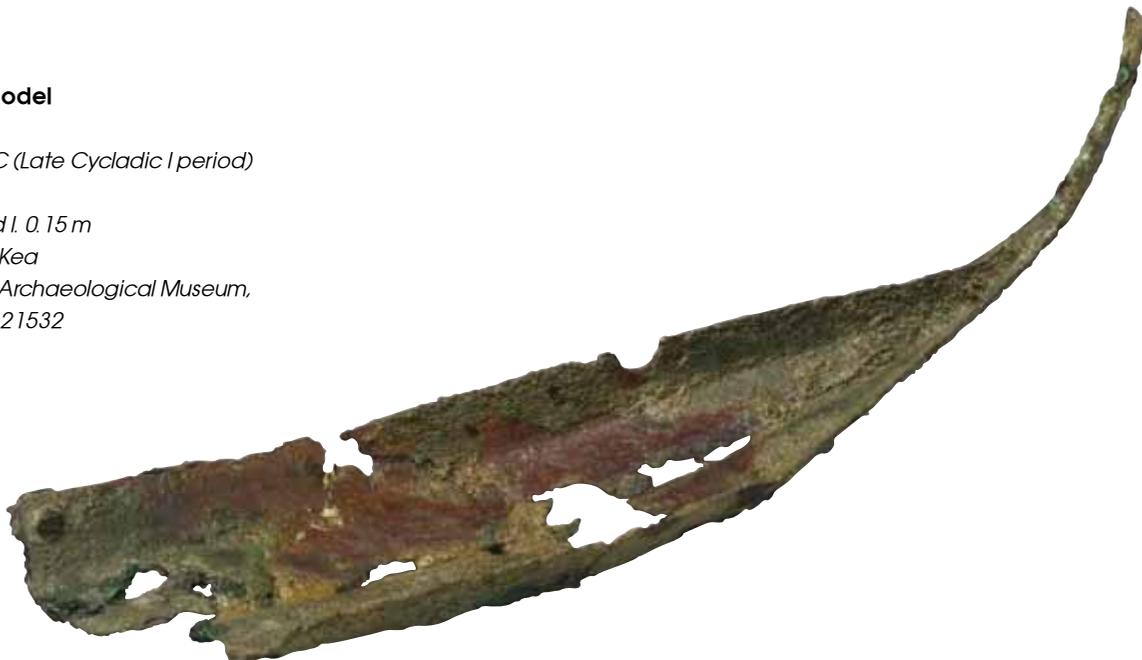
### Selected bibliography

1. Unpublished. 2. Atkinson *et. al.* 1904, pl. XII: 23.  
In general: Broodbank 2000, 341-349.

*K. Manteli*

## 3. Boat model

*16th c. BC (Late Cycladic I period)  
Bronze  
Preserved l. 0.15 m  
Kephala, Kea  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 21532*



The bronze model of a boat was found in room VII of the famous temple of Kephala on Kea, together with a fragment of a Minoan bronze "worshipper" figurine. The boat was undoubtedly a votive offering, appropriate for the life of the island settlement and its brave sailors, who

reached the shores of the Eastern Mediterranean and Egypt in boats such as this. The type of boat is frequently found in the iconography of Neopalatial Crete and Santorini and survives for centuries in the Mycenaean world thanks to its performance on the open sea.

### Selected bibliography

- Caskey 1964, 327, pl. 56c.

*K. Paschalidis*

#### 4. Boat models

A-B: 16th c. BC  
(Late Cycladic I period)  
C: 14th-13th c. BC  
(Late Helladic IIIA-B period)  
Clay  
A: L. 0.102, max. w. 0.047 m  
B: Preserved l. 0.52, preserved w. 0.04 m  
C: H. 0.031, l. 0.07 m  
A-B: Phylakopi, Melos  
C: Mycenae, Chamber Tomb 79  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. nos. Π 9892, 9893, 3099



The clay models render small skiffs that can be identified as oared boats. The painted decoration on the intact example from Phylakopi depicts the wooden frame that held the planks together on the side of the hull and pre-

serves the pointed keel and the bow with the "eye" to see dangers on the open horizon. The model from Mycenae includes benches for the passengers that we can imagine fishing in the deep blue sea.

#### Selected bibliography

Smith 1896-1897. Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 222, pl. 104. Wachsmann 2009, 149-150, fig. 7.42.

K. Paschalidis

#### 5. Signet ring

15th c. BC (Late Helladic IIA period)  
Gold  
D. ring 0.019, dim. bezel 0.02x0.034 m  
Tiryns, Argolis  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 6209



The signet ring is unique for the narrative scene on the bezel, depicting a ship of the period. The ship, with a tall mast, cabin, low hull, and high stern, is similar to those depicted on the wall-painting of the "flotilla" at Akrotiri on Thera (17th c. BC). The scene dominates either three couples (man and woman) or one in successive phases: inside the

cabin of the ship, on the beach, and at the entrance of a structure. It is likely the representation of a mythological subject. Ships are also depicted on the signet ring known as the "Ring of Minos" and on another one from Mochlos, probably in a ritual context, as in both cases they are surrounded by sanctuaries.

#### Selected bibliography

CMSI, 180.

E. Konstantinidi-Syvridi

## 6. Stone anchor

14th-12th c. BC (Late Bronze Age)  
 Volcanic rock  
 H. 0.398, max. w. 0.365, th. 0.145 m,  
 wt. 28.04 kg  
 Unknown provenance  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Π 21533

The roughly hewn triangular stone with a hole in the top is the most common form of anchor in the Eastern Mediterranean from the 6th to the end of the 2nd millennium BC. It is a weight anchor that was effective for ships of small size and sandy depths. Such anchors were usually kept in the middle of the hull as ballast and on the deck of the bow to be used at a moment's notice. An average Late Bronze Age ship required at least 8-10 such anchors to be safely anchored.



### Selected bibliography

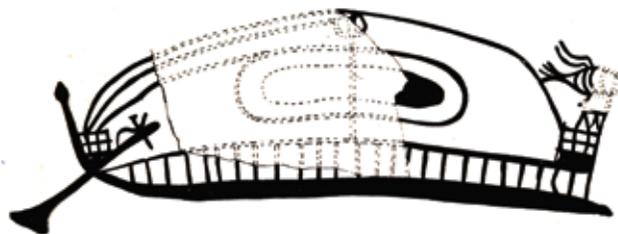
Unpublished. Cf. Μπέλλας, 1998, 35-36. Wachsmann 2009, 255-293

K. Paschalidis

## 7. Two-handled pyxis

12th c. BC (Late Helladic III C period)  
 Clay  
 H. 0.151, d. base 0.13 m  
 Tragana, Messenia (Tholos tomb)  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Π 6098

In the wide zone of the body, a large sailing warship is depicted. Over the ram of the bow stands a tower-like construction with a model of a water bird on top. The unfurled sail indicates the movement of the ship. The rudder of the stern with its handle, and ropes that reach this point from the mast confirm the ship's ability to make agile maneuvers. The deck of the ship with twenty-five openings for oars makes it clear that this is a Mycenaean penteconter, the type of ship that characterized the turbulent history of the 12th c. BC, the end of the great empires in the Eastern Mediterranean.



### Selected bibliography

Κουρουπιώτης, 1914, 107-109. Vermeule - Karageorghis 1982, 145, cat. no. XI.92. Wachsmann 2009, 130-137, fig. 7.17.

K. Paschalidis

Drawing from Κουρουπιώτης 1914.

### 8. Fibula

Ca. 700 BC

Bronze

L. 0.13 m

Thebes, Boeotia

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. X 8199

Bow fibula of Boeotian type with a large square catch plate with incised decoration. On one side, a sizable ship sailing left with a tall sail and mast framed by two facing birds on the bow and stern. A large fish, symbolic of the sea, is depicted below the ship. A horse with a bird on its back decorates the other side.



#### Selected bibliography

Wolters 1892, 232-233, pl. 11.1-1a. Hampe 1936, 6, 16, 22, 24, cat. no. 13, pl. 11. Delivorrias 1987, 166, no. 64 (P. Themelis). Gareizou *et al.* 2014, 158, no. 38 (N. Palaiokrassa).

A. Chatzipanagiotou

### 9. Part of a votive plaque

Early 7th c. BC

Clay

Max. l. 0.143, max. w. 0.092 m

From the deposit of the Sanctuary of Athena at Sounion

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 14935

The plaque depicts a scene of army preparing for warfare. Five warriors and the helmsman are depicted on the deck of a ship. It has been attributed to the "Anlatos Painter". It served as a votive offering to the Sanctuary of Sounion in commemoration of a naval victory or rescue from a shipwreck. On the other hand, it may be associated with the hero Phrontis, the dexterous helmsman of Menelaus who, according to Homer, had been buried on the site.



#### Selected bibliography

Σιάης 1917, 209, fig. 19. Sweeney - Curry - Tzedakis 1988, 91, no. 18. (I. Touratsoglou) Delivorrias 1987, 165, no. 62. (A. G. Kalogero-poulou).

E. Zosi



### 10. Ivory votive plaque

Late 7th c. BC

L. 0.24, h. 0.11 m

Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, Sparta

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 15362

Plaque with a carved relief representation of a warship and its crew, ready for departure, in the presence of a female figure with a bird behind her. Five warriors with round shields and the crew managing the sail are depicted on the ship's deck. The presence of a female and male figure on the ship's stern has led to the interpretation of the scene as the farewell of Helen and Menelaus before the latter's departure for Crete or as the abduction of Helen by Paris (*Iliad*, III 443-445. *Odyssey*, IV 261-262. Euripides,

Helen, 765-770). On the ship's bow may be seen a bearded man fishing with a rod who has already caught a fish that hangs from his hook. Below the ship's keel three large fish are moving towards the left. Fishing using hooks (*angistreia*) and a rod (*apo kalamou alieia*) is mentioned in the ancient sources (Plato, *Laws*, 7, 823e. Cassianus Bassus, *Geoponica*, 20, 523, 12) and was practised in a fashion similar to that employed today. On the hull of the ship there is the inscribed dedication to Artemis Orthia.

#### Selected bibliography

Dawkins 1929, 214-215, pls. 109-110. Richter 1974 (1959), 190, fig. 261. *LIMC* I, s.v. Alexandros, 509-510, no. 57 (R. Hampe). *LIMC* IV, s.v. Hélène, 532, no. 181, pl. 325 (L. Kahil - N. Icard). Fittschen 1969, 52-60, AA 3. Marangou 1969, 83-90, no. 38, fig. 68. Carter 1984, 144, note 107. Χατζηδημητρίου 2010, 31, fig. 5. For the abduction of Helen, see for instance Edmunds 2016.

M. Chidiroglou

### 11. Corinthian globular aryballos

575-550 BC (Late Corinthian I period)

Clay

H. 0.13, d. base 0.07 m

Tanagra, Boeotia

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 281

One side of the body of the vase displays a double-headed Siren, male and female, whereas the other side depicts a ram-bearing ship with the prow facing right. The helmsman sits at the stern, while the standing *keleustes* (petty officer) gives commands to four oarsmen. Marine vessels that sailed the high



seas, like the one illustrated on the vase, belonged to various cities and travelled across the Mediterranean establishing many colonies and exerting control over maritime routes.

#### Selected bibliography

CVA Athènes Musée National 2, III Ic, pls. 2:3, 4, 5. Amyx 1988, 242. Τζάκου-Αλεξανδρή - Σταθάρη 1987, 82, no. 53. Kakavas 2013, 57, no. 31.

E. Zosi

## 12. Lamp in the shape of a warship

Late 5th c. BC

Bronze

H. 0.074, l. 0.29 m

Erechtheion, Acropolis of Athens

Acropolis Museum, inv. no. EAM X 7038



Missing the mast and its base (*istopedē*). The lamp has the form of a warship, with decks at both ends. The hole for the wick is located in the bow, above the ram. The deck of the stern is surrounded by a horizontal balustrade, while the sternpost is in the form of a bird's head with double beak and incised eye. The beam for attaching the steering oars protrudes on the exterior of the hull. Incised circles below the gunwale indicate the oar portholes, whereas incised lines stand for the horizontal beams that reinforced the ship's sides. Traces of the *istopedē*, the base for holding up the mast, are visible amidships.

The shape of the lamp is associated with the celebration of the Great Panathenaia and the worship of Athena Polias in the Erechtheion. During the last day of the festival, the Athenians offered to the goddess' wooden cult statue a new *peplos*. The garment was carried hanging from the mast of a warship moving on wheels. The inscription *ΙΕΡΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΣ* (IG I<sup>3</sup> 549 bis) confirms that the lamp was a sacred object belonging to the goddess. The form of the letters indicates that it was dedicated in the Erechtheion in the late 5th or 4th c. BC, certainly after the temple's completion in 406/5 BC.

### Selected bibliography

Πιπτάκης 1862, 91-94. de Ridder 1896, 139-141, no. 425. Paton - Stevens - Caskey - Fowler - Heermance 1927, 571-572. Morrison - Williams 1968, 179. Basch 1987, 228-231. Delivorrias 1987, 197, no. 97. Βοκοποπούλου 1997, 272, no. 197. Parisinou 2000, 31-32. Holtzmann 2003, 183. Wachsmann 2012, 248-255. Gareizou *et al.* 2014, 186, no. 48.

I. Karra



### 13. Kymbe

*Late 17th c. BC (Late Cycladic I period)*  
 Clay  
 H. 0.125, l. base 0.383 m  
 Akrotiri, Thera, Room 2 (B2)  
 of Beta Complex  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. AKP 100

On the two sides of the kymbe a total of five dolphins painted in a dark brown colour with red details on their fins "swim" lively in a fantastic sea-scape rendered with black arches (parallel thin curving bands).

Clay kymbes (called thus due to their shape that looks like a boat/dinghy) have been found only in the

prehistoric town of Akrotiri, Thera, and depict scenes from nature with cham- ois, plants (crocuses, lilies, palms) and dolphins. Their function is unknown.

#### Selected bibliography

Marinatos 1999 (II), 14, col. pl. C7, pl. 11.2.

*M. Krige*

### 14. Offering table

*Late 17th c. BC (Late Cycladic I period)*  
 Plaster  
 H. 0.175, d. 0.326 m  
 Akrotiri, Thera, Room 4  
 of the West House  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. BE 1974.22

Circular small table with three legs for offerings of fruits, made of a thick layer of lime plaster.

On the upper part of the vessel there is a wide red wavy band and on each leg, two dolphins are depicted diving down among sea plants. Both the movement and colours of the dolphins are full of life. Red and grey-blue are used for the body of the dolphins with a characteristic band of black down their middle.

#### Selected bibliography

Marinatos 1999 (IV), 37, pl. 82. Immerwahr 1990, 237-245.

*M. Krige*



**15. Eyed ewer**

*Late 17th c. BC (Late Cycladic I period)*  
 Clay  
 H. 0.512, max. d. 0.419 m  
 Akrotiri, Thera, Room Δ9  
 of Delta Complex  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. AKP 1515

The large eyed ewer is decorated with two large diving dolphins of dark brown colour on the shoulder. Details of their bodies are rendered in white. Both dolphins swim in a fantastic seascape composed of curving thin brown lines around them. Two relief conical projections on either side of the spout are painted with hanging concentric circles in imitation of "bird's eyes". Rows of fine bands of dark brown colour encircle the lower part of the vessel.

**Selected bibliography**

Doumas 1983, 100-106. Marinatos 1999 (V), 25, pl. 49.

*M. Krige*





## 16. Wall-painting and gold sheets

### Wall-painting

16th c. BC (Late Cycladic I period)

Painted plaster

Restored h. 0.224, restored w. 0.398 m

Phylakopi, Melos

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. Π 5844

### Gold sheets

15th c. BC (Late Helladic IIB-III A period)

Gold

L. 0.0331-0.0341, max. h. 0.0195 m

Vapheio tholos tomb, Laconia

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. Π 1808



Wall-painting with flying fish swimming among sponges and pebbles. Gold sheets in the shape of flying fish from the decoration of bronze swords.

The creatures of the sea, such as dolphins, cuttlefish, octopuses, murex shells, and nautiluses, and the marine depths are one of the most popular subjects in

the art of the prehistoric Aegean, and in particular of Minoan art.

Flying fish with their elaborate open "wings" and their "magic" ability to fly over the waves, bridging two worlds, appear to have held particular aesthetic charm for the people of the Bronze Age, and perhaps also some symbolism.

### Selected bibliography

Τσούντρας 1889, 130-172 Immerwahr 1990, 48, 189, fig. 1.

K. Kostanti

### 17. Cut-out and roundel

Second half of the 16th c. BC  
(Late Helladic I period)

Gold

Cut-out: D. 0.068 m

Roundel: D. 0.056-0.066 m

Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Shaft  
Graves IV and III

National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. nos. Π 386-387, 18

The grave held a total of fifty-three identical cut-outs in the shape of an octopus. Each octopus has seven tentacles, possibly representing some type of a contemporary mollusk. A large number of gold roundels impressed with octopus, has also been found in Grave III. Both cut-outs and roundels seem to have been sewn on the dress or shroud of the deceased, as indicated by the tiny holes at the periphery on some of them.



Octopus, a popular subject in Minoan and Mycenaean iconography, has been depicted on wall-paintings, vessels, and jewelry. In burial context, it is associated with death and rebirth, possibly because its tentacles, once cut off, have the ability to regrow.

#### Selected bibliography

Karo 1930-33, 94, pls. XXVIII-XXIX, 94, pl. XLIV.

Hood 1978, 204-205, fig. 203e. Papazoglou-Manioudaki *et al.* 2010, 180-200.

*E. Konstantinidi-Syvridi*

### 18. Dagger with inlaid decoration

Second half of the 16th c. BC  
(Late Helladic I period)

Gold, silver, bronze, niello

L. 0.25, w. at shoulder 0.052 m

Routsi, Messenia, Tholos Tomb 2

National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 8339



Living and moving among the wonderful marine landscape are nautiluses between the rocks, corals, and shells of gold and silver sheets. In the centre of the composition is an enigmatic bird that resembles a bat, reminding many of the sinister and dangerous landscape

of the abyss, which had received innumerable castaways in the years of seamanship in the prehistoric Aegean. This valuable dagger was most likely made in a palatial centre on Crete and was given as a gift to an eminent deceased of the early Mycenaean world.

#### Selected bibliography

Xenaki-Sakellariou - Chatziliou 1989, 27, pl. 6.

*K. Paschalidis*

**19. Gold cup**

Ca. 1500 BC

Gold

H. 0.05, d. 0.173 m

Dendra, Midea, Tholos tomb, pit I  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 7341

On Monday, the 2nd of August 1926, the Swedish excavators of the Dendra tholos tomb brought to light an extremely wealthy royal burial of the Early Mycenaean period. Distinguished among the valuable grave gifts was the masterful shallow gold cup, found resting on the chest of the deceased, that contained four gold and silver rings and six sealstones. The cup had most likely been made by a craftsman on Minoan



Crete, who had hammered using the repoussé technique a vibrant deep sea panorama with octopuses, argonauts, dolphins, and rocks.

**Selected bibliography**

Persson 1931, 16, 31-32, pls. 9-11. Davis 1977, 276-280, figs. 224-227.

K. Paschalidis

**20. "Palace style" jar/amphora**

1500-1450 BC (Late Helladic IIA)

Clay

H. 0.51, max. d. 0.36, d. rim 0.20 m

Prosymna (Chamber Tomb II), Argolis  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 6725

Large amphora, decorated with three naturalistic octopuses placed on the three sides of the vessel. Their tentacles enclose the vessel giving the sense of "swimming" in the sea. The rendition of rocks, seaweed, and anemones emphasizes the impression of a marine landscape. Similar vessels are found at other sites in the Argolis, perhaps indicating the presence of a local workshop.

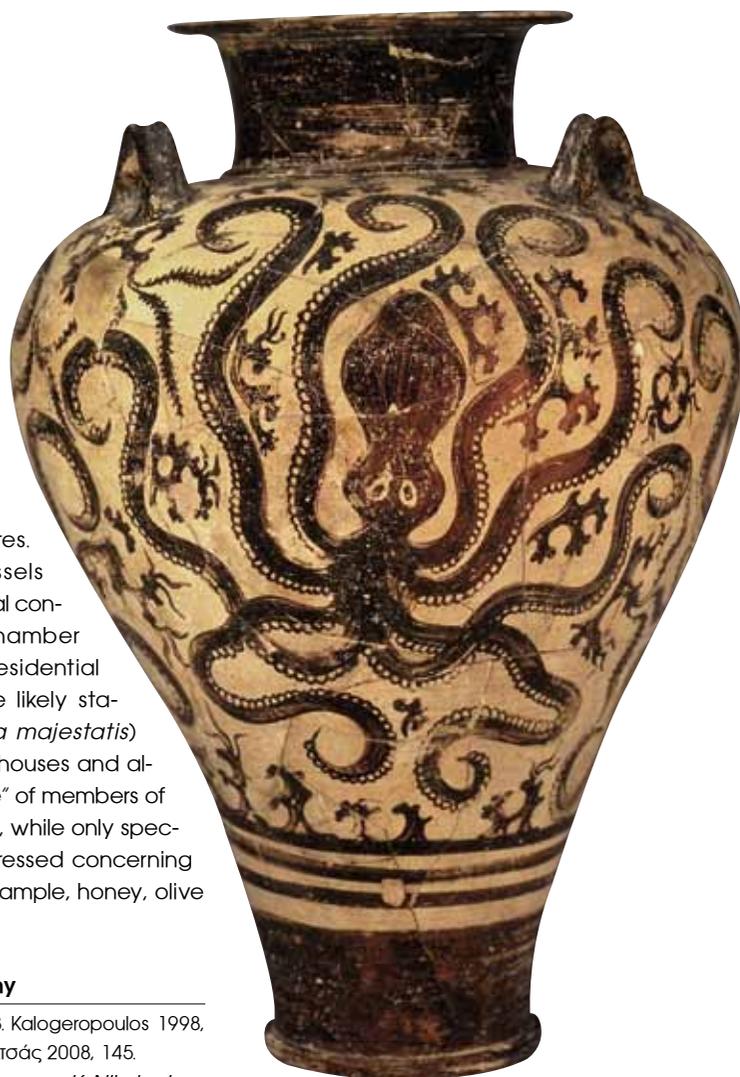
These amphorae are examples of the so-called "palace style", characterized by vessels of large size decorated with motifs inspired by flora (papyrus flowers, ivy leaves) or marine life (for example octopuses, argonauts). The style is thought to be creation of the Mycenaean but the decorative motives are related directly to the Minoan Crete, confirming the close relationship of the two signifi-

cant Aegean cultures. "Palace style" vessels come from both burial contexts (tholos or chamber tombs) as well as residential complexes. They are likely status objects (*insignia majestatis*) that decorated the houses and also the "last residence" of members of the Mycenaean elite, while only speculations can be expressed concerning their contents (for example, honey, olive oil, or wine).

**Selected bibliography**

Δημακοπούλου 1988, 93. Καλογερούλης 1998, 113-114, 174-179. Καλτσάς 2008, 145.

K. Nikolentzos





### 21. Stone vessel

1400-1300 BC (Late Helladic IIIA period)  
 Stone (steatite, serpentine)  
 H. 0.18, d. rim 0.045, max. d. 0.12 m  
 Mycenae, cemetery, Chamber Tomb 26  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Π 2490

This globular vessel closely resembles an ostrich egg. It is composed of two parts: the lower is made of grey-green stone while the upper is of glossy black steatite. Relief decoration covers the body of the vessel with two octopuses symmetrically spreading their tentacles among corals and sea rocks (which are found in the upper section of the vessel).

The strict spatial arrangement of the octopuses is a clear Mycenaean characteristic, and it appears that the vessel

was made by two artisans, one a Minoan and the other a Mycenaean.

#### Selected bibliography

Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 91-92.

K. Nikolentzos



### 22. Conical rhyton

14th c. BC (Late Helladic IIIA period)  
 Clay  
 H. (with handle) 0.55, d. rim 0.15 m  
 Mycenae, "House of the Wine Merchant"  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Π 7386

The rhyton is decorated with a large reddish-brown octopus with added white lines in the upper zone and bands below.

Conical rhyta appear to have had a functional use as vessels for decanting, and a ritual use as libation vessels.

#### Selected bibliography

Wace 1953, 48, 16, pl. 11b.

V. Pliatsika

### 23. Octopus-form attachment

*Classical period?*

*Bronze*

*H. 0.08 m*

*Acropolis of Athens*

*National Archaeological Museum,*

*inv. no. X 6718*

The tentacles are twisted in spiral fashion and have a longitudinal rib on the exterior. At the top of the piriform head with protruding hemispherical eyes there is a rectangular protrusion (base of a handle?). Below there is a riveted circular piece of sheet foil that served for its attachment. Comparable octopuses are found on coins issued by Syracuse during the Classical period.

In antiquity the octopus (*polypous*) was a symbol of the sea and at a second level of mental acuity, multiformity, and adaptability. In the sources the octopus is also characterized as *polytropon* ("of many turns" meaning resourceful and travelled), an adjective it shared with the hero Odysseus.



#### Selected bibliography

de Ridder 1896, 206, no. 574, fig. 188. On the symbolism of the octopus in antiquity, see Hawhee 2004, 53-57; Puglisi 2004, 162-164; Boffa 2011, 406-408. For octopuses on Syracusan coinage, see Bérénd 1989, pl. VI.

*A. Chatzipanagiotou*

### 24. Part of a frieze depicting a marine thiasos

*1st c. BC*

*Marble*

*H. 0.18, w. 2 m*

*Molos, Phthiotis*

*National Archaeological Museum,*

*inv. no. Γ 221*



Frieze fragment on which Tritons, Nereids, and Cupids are depicted riding on sea animals (seahorses, sea lions, and sea deer) while holding vessels (krater and kanistrion) or pieces of a ship's equipment (rudder and horn or conch shell).

The sea on the lower part is suggested by undulating lines that were originally painted blue. The work, which displays a joyful procession of the benevolent deities of the sea and guardians of seafarers, recalls earlier models.

#### Selected bibliography

Καρούζου 1967, 185, no. 221. Lattimore 1976, 33-34, figs. 14-16. *LIMC* VI, s.v. Nereides, 800, no. 213 (I. Noelle - A. Giaslio - S. Violaine).

*Ch. Tsouli*

## 25. Figurine of a youth on a dolphin

475-450 BC

Bronze

H. 0.075, l. 0.105 m

Acropolis of Athens

Acropolis Museum,

inv. no. EAM X 6626

It comes from the decoration of a bronze vessel dedicated at the Acropolis sanctuary.

The naked youth rides a dolphin holding onto its dorsal fin with his left hand. The subject is particularly popular in ancient Greek art as it is associated with myths of dolphins rescuing people from adventures at sea.

The poet Archilochus relates (*Epode*, 133) how the mythical hero Koiranos was saved by dolphins that he had previously freed from his nets. Herodotus (1.23.1-1.25.2) mentions that the poet Arion, when he was returning to his home, was rescued by a group of dolphins from the sailors of the ship who wanted to rob and throw him overboard. Similar is the myth of Poseidon's son,

Taras, founder of the homonymous colony in Southern Italy, who is depicted on the city's coins riding a dolphin. According to Plutarch (*De sollertia animalium*, 985b), Odysseus had decorated his shield with a dolphin because when his young son Telemachos had fallen into the sea, he was rescued by dolphins.



### Selected bibliography

Καβαδίας, 1888, 54. de Ridder 1896, 755, no. 263. Μπακαλάκης 1953-1954, 221. Niemeyer 1964, 14. Βοκοστοπούλου 1997, 256, no. 142. Stewart 2008, 410. Garezu *et al.* 2014, 186.

A. Vlachaki



# Odysseys

Οδύσσειες

## Gods and daemons - Heroic generations and legendary journeys

ᾤρσε δ' ἐπὶ μέγα κῦμα Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων,  
δεινόν τ' ἀργαλέον τε, κατηρεφές, ἤλασε δ' αὐτόν.

*Ομήρου Οδύσσεια, ε 366-367*

Poseidon, the earth-shaker, made to rise up a great wave,  
dread and grievous, arching over from above, and  
drove it upon him.

*Homer, The Odyssey, IV 366-367*

Axion Esti the wave that's raging  
and lifts five fathoms in the air

*O. Elytis, The Axion Esti*



**26. Linear B tablet**

Late 13th c. BC (Late Helladic IIIB2 period)  
 Clay  
 L. 0.103, h. 0.033-0.036, th. 0.008 m  
 Pylos, Palace of Ano Englianos  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. PY Es727

A record of grain contributions in the name of Poseidon, perhaps a form of agricultural taxation. Poseidon is the most important god at Pylos, judging from the large number of Linear B tablets recording offerings and banquets in his honour. This is reinforced in the *Odyssey*, where Nestor, king of Pylos, sacrifices a bull to the god.

**Selected bibliography**

Bennett - Olivier 1973, 140, 142. Hiller 2011, 169-212.

*K. Kostanti*



**27. Statue of Poseidon**

Ca. 480 BC  
 Bronze  
 H. 1.18 m  
 Found in the sea to the east of Livadostra Bay, Boeotia (the site of ancient Kreusis, the harbour of Plataiae)  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. X 11761

The god Poseidon stands nude with his right foot forward upon a bronze base bearing the inscription *ΤΟ ΠΟΤΕΙΔΑΟΝΟΣ ΗΙΑΡΟΣ*. He must have held a trident in his raised left hand and in his right, likely a dolphin. The eyes were inlaid with another material and the mouth is of reddish copper.

Poseidon, as master of the seas, was primarily worshipped at seaside locations. This work is one of the few surviving originals of the early Severe Style.

**Selected bibliography**

Φίλιος 1899, 59-74, pls. 5-6. Houser - Finn 1983, 45-49. Rolley 1994, 356, note 27.

*S. Athanasopoulou*



## 28. Statue of Poseidon or Zeus

*Ca. 460 BC*

*Bronze*

*H. 2.09 m*

*Found on the seabed off Cape*

*Artemision on Euboea*

*National Archaeological Museum,*

*inv. no. X 15161*

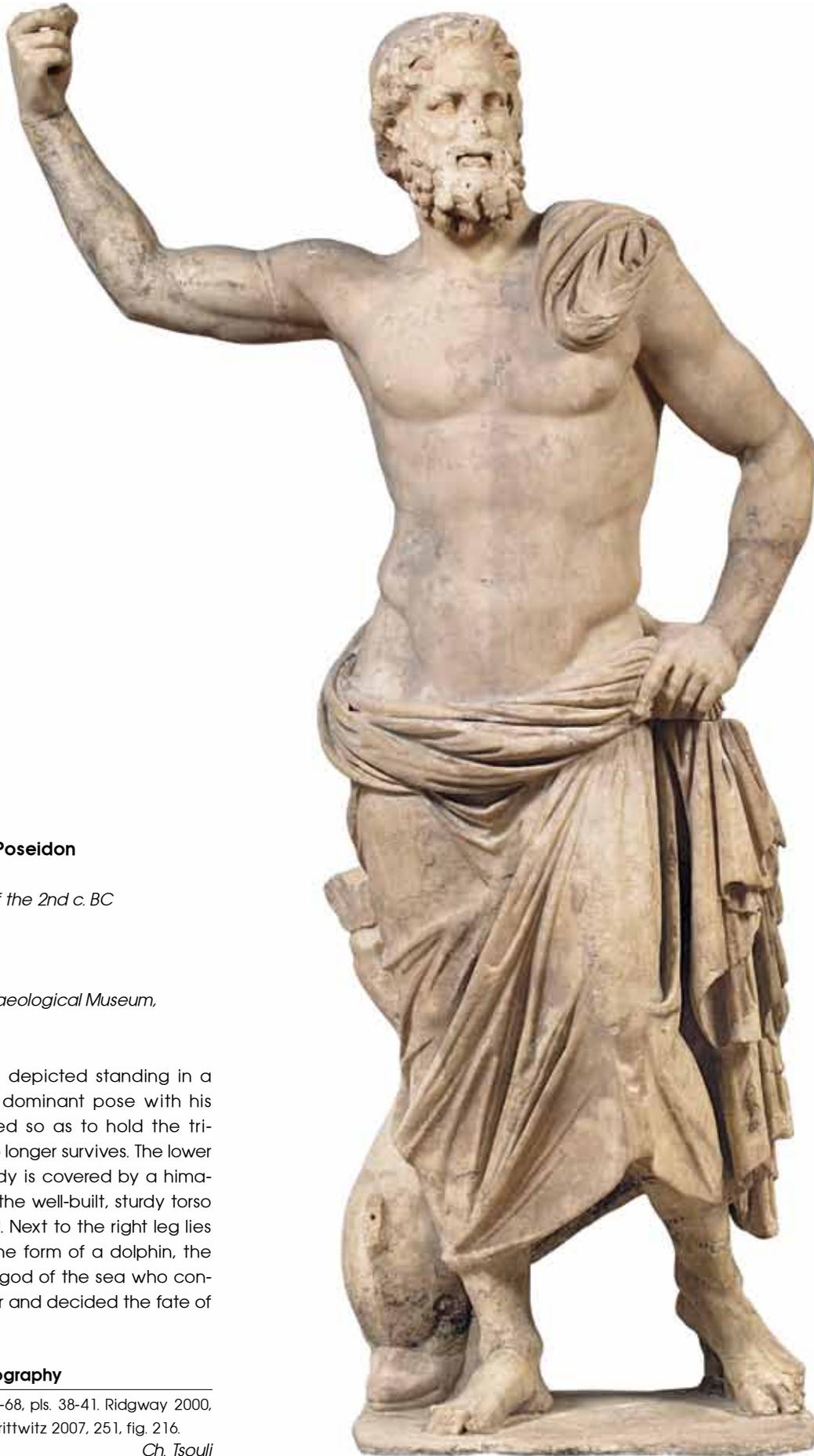
The god, either Poseidon holding a trident, according to some academics, or Zeus grasping the thunderbolt, as others contend, displays full nudity, dramatic tension, and natural posture. The pose of the god, intensely ominous and static in perfect harmony, denotes the fighting disposition which characterized the Greeks and led them to the victory against the innumerable Persians.

It constitutes an exquisite example of the Severe Style in ancient Greek sculpture and it is attributed to a proficient bronze sculptor, possibly the famous Kalamis.

### **Selected bibliography**

Καρούζου 1933, 41-104, pls. 1-5. Wünsche 1979, 77-111, figs. 1-41. Καλτσάς 2001, 92-93, no. 159.

*N. Palaiokrassa*



## 29. Statue of Poseidon

*Last quarter of the 2nd c. BC*

*Parian marble*

*H. 2.35 m*

*Melos*

*National Archaeological Museum,*

*inv. no. Γ 235*

The god is depicted standing in a majestic and dominant pose with his right arm raised so as to hold the trident, which no longer survives. The lower part of his body is covered by a himation, whereas the well-built, sturdy torso remains naked. Next to the right leg lies a support in the form of a dolphin, the symbol of the god of the sea who controlled weather and decided the fate of seafarers.

### **Selected bibliography**

Schäfer 1968, 55-68, pls. 38-41. Ridgway 2000, 167-172. von Prittwitz 2007, 251, fig. 216.

*Ch. Tsouli*



### 30. Statuette of Poseidon

2nd c. AD  
Bronze  
H. 0.45 m  
Athens, Ampelokipoi  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. X 16772

The god was possibly depicted stepping on a rock, a dolphin, or the prow of a ship holding the trident in his left hand, with which he calmed the raging waters or stirred up tempestuous waves. The brawny muscles in conjunction with the relaxed posture of the figure underline the magnificence of the god.

The statuette from Ampelokipoi conforms to the type of the "Lateran Poseidon" and constitutes a miniature version of the bronze sculpture of the god created by the Sikyonian sculptor Lysippos in the 4th c. BC.

#### Selected bibliography

Σαυρόπουλος 1965, 103, no. 46-2, pl. 59α-β.  
Κρουσιτάλλη-Βότση 2014, 87-94.

*N. Palaiokrassa*

### 31. Attic black-figure amphora

620-610 BC  
Attributed to the Nessos Painter  
Clay  
H. 1.22 m  
Athens, Koumoundourou Square area  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. A 1002

The battle of Heracles and the centaur Nessos is depicted on the neck. On the main body, two Gorgons (Stheno and Euryale) are pursuing Perseus

to take revenge for the beheading of Medusa, their third sister. Two iconographic motifs sharing the element of the victory of man over mythical monsters, on a vase that was used for the burial of a young child (*enchytrismos*).

#### Selected bibliography

BAPD 300025. Καλιτσάς 2007, 196-197.

*G. Kavvadias*





**32. Attic black-figure lekythos**

510-500 BC  
 Attributed to the Leagros Group  
 Clay  
 H. 0.298 m  
 Eretria  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. A 513

The lekythos depicts the arrival of Heracles in the course of his wanderings in the Mediterranean at the furthest shores of Oceanus and his meeting with Helios (the Sun). According to the myth, which reflects contacts of Greek seafarers with the Iberian peninsula prior to colonization, Heracles arrived at the Pillars of Heracles, "the ends of the Earth", in an attempt to reach the mythical Erytheia, the "red" island (named after the copper colour), presumed to have been even further west in the unknown waters of Oceanus.

**Selected bibliography**

BAPD 302371. CVA Athens 6, 62-63, pls. 30.4, 32 (E. Serbeti).

G. Kavvadias



**33. Attic black-figure white-ground lekythos**

Ca. 480 BC  
 The Athena Painter  
 Clay  
 H. 0.29, d. rim 0.057, d. base 0.07 m  
 Eretria  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. A 1132

Atlas bringing the apples of the Hesperides to Heracles, who holds aloft the heavenly firmament.

The depiction of the heavens as a beam on which are rendered six stars and the moon, unique in vase painting, reflects the cosmological beliefs of the Greeks of this period concerning the nature and shape of the universe.

**Selected bibliography**

Τσαγκάρη 2014, 50-51, no. 16 (Χ. Αβρονιδάκη), with older bibliography. BAPD 330739.

Ch. Avronidaki

### 34. Attic red-figure pelike

Ca. 470 BC

Attributed to the Pan Painter

Clay

H. 0.37 m

Thespieae, Boeotia

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 9683

The scene on the pelike depicts Heracles slaying the Egyptian king Bousiris. In one of his minor labours on his way around the Mediterranean in search of the apples of the Hesperides, the civilizing hero killed the savage Bousiris, who wished to sacrifice him – as he did with every foreigner – to avert the plague in his country.

#### Selected bibliography

BAPD 206325. Καλτσάς 2007, 271.

G. Kavvadias



### 35. Attic red-figure pelike

460-450 BC

The Phrixos Painter

Clay

H. 0.195, d. rim 0.12, d. base 0.106 m

Unknown provenance

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 16023

Phrixos is depicted on the obverse of the vase, clinging to the horn of the golden-fleeced ram which is transporting him to Colchis. On the reverse, a himation-clad youth holds a spherical object.

The myth of Phrixos and Helle, as well as that of the Argonauts, who later went to Colchis in search of the Golden Fleece, reflects the wanderings and colonization of the Black Sea coast in order to seek out new homelands and natural resources.



#### Selected bibliography

Τσαγκάρη 2014, 50, no. 15 (Γ. Καββαδίας), with older bibliography. BAPD 216602.

Ch. Avronidaki



**36. Votive relief**

Late 4th-early 3rd c. AD  
 Marble  
 H. 0.34, w. 0.45 m  
 Port of Piræus  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Γ 1409

The relief depicts the Dioskouroi, one mounted and the other on foot, in front of the prow of a boat. At right and on a much smaller scale stands the dedicator in an attitude of worship.

The Dioskouroi, Castor and Polydeuces, the twin sons of Zeus and Leda and the brothers of Helen of Troy, appear as early as the 5th c. BC as the protectors of ships and helpers of seamen in time of danger at sea. Sailors prayed to them to calm storms. Both of them are said that took part in the Argonaut expedition.

**Selected bibliography**

Καλιτσάς 2002, 277, cat. no. 580. Gareizou *et al.* 2014, 272-273, cat. no. 92 (E. Vlachogianni),  
 E. Vlachogianni



**37. Attic black-figure white-ground lekythos**

Late 6th c. BC  
 The Edinburgh Painter  
 Clay  
 H. 0.31, d. rim 0.061, d. base 0.064 m  
 Eretria  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. A 1130

Bound to the mast of his ship, Odysseus listens to the Sirens perched on rocks, playing the lyre and double flute. Between the hero and the daemonic creatures, two dolphins dive into the sea.

According to the Homeric description (*Od.* XII 37-58, 153-200), Odysseus had himself bound to the mast of his ship to hear the song of the Sirens, while his comrades, their ears stopped with wax, avoided the temptation of being lured by their fatally-sweet voices.

**Selected bibliography**

Andreadaki-Vlazaki - Balaska 2014, 174, no. 144 (Ch. Avronidaki), with previous bibliography.  
 BAPD 303367.

Ch. Avronidaki



**38. Attic trefoil oinochoe**

Ca. 490 BC  
*The Painter of Vatican G 49*  
 Clay  
 H. 0.18, d. 0.10 m  
 Unknown provenance  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. A 1085

The representation illustrates the escape of Odysseus from the cave of the Cyclops Polyphemus, as described in Rhapsody IX of the *Odyssey*. The wily king of Ithaca, after he got the lawless and savage Cyclops drunk with strong sweet Ismarian wine, he blinded him and then he managed to escape from the cave bound to the belly of a ram. In this representation, Polyphemus is searching for the hero by touching the upper side of the animal.

**Selected bibliography**

ABV 535.15. *Add<sup>2</sup>* 133. Haspels 1936, 259.  
 E. Oikonomou



**39. Attic black-figure lekythos**

490-480 BC  
*The Athena Painter*  
 Clay  
 H. 0.29, d. 0.10 m  
 Eretria  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. A 1133

In the centre of the scene is a female figure, who with her wand stirs the magic potion in a cup which she offers to the male figure seated opposite her. The man is in the garb of a traveller-warrior. The presence of a physically awkward looking third figure with the head of a pig and the body of a man is the key to identifying the woman as the witch Circe and the man as Odysseus, her captive, who leaves himself to her "attentions".

**Selected bibliography**

Τζεδάκις 1995, 40-41. Hatzivassiliou 2010, 35, 68,  
 70, 72, 145, cat. no. 524.

E. Oikonomou



**40. Attic red-figure lekythos**

480-470 BC  
*In the style of the Bowdoin Painter*  
 Clay  
 H. 0.188, d. 0.047 m  
 Boeotia  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. A 9685

This scene illustrates the Rhapsody X of the *Odyssey*, in which the comrades of Odysseus are transformed into swines by the seductress witch Circe. The figures are depicted with the head of a pig and the body of a man, confined in a cavernous space, feeling desperate until the king of Ithaca, with the help of the gods, compels Circe to turn them back into humans.

**Selected bibliography**

Andreae 1999, 390, no. 96, fig. 263. Albersmeier  
 2009, 210-211, cat. no. 30.

E. Oikonomou



**41. Figurine of a Siren**

Ca. mid-7th c. BC  
 Bronze  
 L. 0.06 m  
 Pellene, Corinth  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. X 7578

The small Siren was a decorative addition to a bronze vessel. Sirens, female daemoniac creatures with a human head and the body and claws of a bird of prey, ensnared sailors with their enchanting song and lead them to their death; none could resist them. They are associated with the sea, love and death. Indeed, they are closely associated with the Homeric adventure of Odysseus. Bound to the mast of his ship, Odysseus escaped their trap but nevertheless listened to their sweet song. Before Odysseus, the Argonauts had also managed to pass by the island of the Sirens without losing their lives.

**Selected bibliography**

de Ridder 1896, 917. Pollard 1975, 17, 188-191.  
 Heilmeyer 1988. *Odyssey*, XII 39-54, 158-200.  
 S. Athanasopoulou



**42. Attic black-figure amphora**

630-575 BC  
 By the Gorgon Painter, close to the style of the Nessos Painter  
 Clay  
 H. 0.57, d. mouth 0.24 m  
 Attica  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. A 221

On one side, a Siren is depicted with open wings, on the other, with closed wings. Each Siren wears a band on her daedalic-style coiffure and has a bird-form body and tall legs. Added purple colour sporadically.

The Gorgon Painter, to whom the vase is attributed, is considered the most productive successor of the Nessos Painter, the main representative of

Late Protoattic pottery. Sirens, mixed-breed mythical beings who threatened Odysseus' homeward journey, were linked through myths and literature to the hereafter and the untimely death of the young (*Odyssey*, XII 158, 167. Euripides, *Helen*, 164-178. Hesiod, *Theogony*, 270-275).

**Selected bibliography**

ABV 6. Para 6. BAPD 300037. Mylonas 1881, 359, no. 22. Couve 1898, 282-284, fig. 4. Collignon - Couve 1902, 191-192, no. 652. Cook 1934-1935, 199, pl. 60. Kubler 1950, 26, fig. 17. Arias - Hirmer 1960, pl. 21. Cook 1960, 71. Scheibler 1961, 31, 42, fig. 33. Rolley 1961, 542, note 7. Hofstetter 1990, pl. 7 A 4.

M. Chidiroglou



**43. Attic red-figure lekythos**

*First half of the 5th c. BC*  
*The Pan Painter*  
 Clay  
*H. 0.19, d. 0.066, d. rim 0.037,*  
*d. base 0.047 m*  
*Metaxourgeio, Athens*  
*National Archaeological Museum,*  
*inv. no. A 1602*

On the body, a representation of a Siren standing on a rock and playing a double flute. The human rendering of the face and hands contrasts with the nature of her seductive but abhorrent song, as mentioned in the myth. The lekythos as a funerary vase and the scene of the flute-playing Siren form a metaphoric comment not only on the interminable journey of Odysseus, but the inevitable end of every human life.

**Selected bibliography**

ARV<sup>2</sup> 557, 120. BAPD 206364. Καβαδίας 1888, 8, no. 27. Collignon - Couve 1902, 447, no. 1364. Beazley 1931, pl. 6, 4. Beazley 1974, 8, 14, no. 68.

*M. Chidioglou*



**44. Funerary statues of Sirens**

*Γ 774: 370 BC, Γ 775: 330 BC*  
*Pentelic marble*  
*H. 0.83 m (Γ 774), 1.02 m (Γ 775)*  
*Athens, Kerameikos*  
*National Archaeological Museum,*  
*inv. nos. Γ 774, 775*

The statues most probably decorated the same grave precinct, that of Lysias and Dexileos at Kerameikos, but were set up at different phases of the monument. The Sirens were demonic creatures with the head and upper body of a female human, bearing the legs, wings and tail of a bird of prey. They are associated with water, love, but also death. They perched on a rock and waited for sailors whom they tried



to lure with their enchanting song and lead to death. Statues or representations of Sirens on the crowning of grave stelae, that portrayed them as mourners or playing the lyre and the *aulos*, frequently stood on graves.

**Selected bibliography**

Woysch-Méautis 1982, 91, fig. 46. Vedder 1985, 67-68, 106, 277-278, nos. S8-9. Κατρούς 2001, nos. 358 and 407.

*Ch. Tsouli*



**45. Head of a female funerary statue**

320 BC  
 Parian marble  
 H. 0.36 m  
 Athens, Kerameikos  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Γ 193

The disheveled wavy curls and the elevated gaze endow the work with a dramatic effect. In the past the figure had been identified with a Muse, but it is more likely that it depicts a Siren, which in fact has been regarded also as a “Muse of the Under World”. This identification is indicated by its findspot, namely the necropolis of Kerameikos, given that statues of Sirens were frequently set up on funerary monuments, such as those of Aeschylus and Isocrates.

**Selected bibliography**

Collignon 1911, 223-24, fig. 146. Καρούζου 1967, 123, no. 193.

Ch. Tsouli



**46. Figurine of Scylla**

Late 4th c. BC  
 Bronze  
 H. 0.09, l. 0.114 m  
 Kataphylli, Karditsa (area of Argithea)  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. X 21084

The Homeric monster who devours Odysseus’ companions acquires a female body with the tail of a fish and dogs’ heads in the art of the Early Classical period. In this figurine from Karditsa, Scylla threatens her imaginary foe with a rock, whom she repels with her left hand holding a rudder or oar. The attached disc under the tail allows for the interpretation of the object as an addition to a *thymiaterion* (incense burner) or vessel, or as a handle of a lid.

**Selected bibliography**

Καλτσάς 2007, 238. LIMC Suppl. I, 2009, s.v. Skylla I, 455, no. add. 15 (N. Icard-Gianolio - A. V. Szabados).

K. Bairami



**47. Statuette of Scylla**

*Late 2nd-early 1st c. BC*  
*Pentelic marble*  
*H. 0.30 m*  
*Unknown provenance*  
*National Archaeological Museum,*  
*inv. no. Γ 3913*

The sea monster is depicted with the nude torso of a woman and a lower body in animal form, ending in dog protomes. Around her waist is formed a sort of fin skirt of stylized scales. Coupled with Charybdis, Scylla probably dwelt in the Straits of Messina. She was one of the many barriers on Odysseus' journey as well as that of the Argonauts, hindering their course towards their final goal.

**Selected bibliography**

Βλαχογιάννη 2006-2008.

*E. Vlachogianni*



#### 48. Statuettes of Tritonides

Early 2nd c. BC  
 Marble from Doliána  
 H. 0.052 m (Γ 2171), 0.42 m (Γ 2174)  
 Lykosoura, Arcadia (from the temple  
 of the Great Goddesses)  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. nos. Γ 2171, 2174

The two Tritonides are depicted with a nude female upper body and a lower body in the form of an animal ending in a double fish-like tail. Around their waists were three successive belts of stylized scales forming a sort of fin skirt. Inv. no. 2171 supports a cylindrical basket (*kiste*) on her head. The statuettes formed part of the decoration of the large double throne of the cult statue in the temple of the Great Goddesses (Demeter and Despoina) at Lykosoura in Arcadia, a work by the Messenian sculptor Damophon.

These hybridic supernatural creatures function as good-acting daemons mollifying the heavy sea and protecting the seamen during their travel.

#### Selected bibliography

Dickins 1906-1907, 362, fig. 5, 363. Garezou *et al.* 2014, 229-230, cat. no. 73 (E. Vlachogianni).

*E. Vlachogianni*



# Odysseys

Οδύσσειες

## Valuable cargoes: Testimonies of civilizations

[...], ἀτὰρ τὰς πέντε νέας κυανοπρωρείους  
Αἰγύπτῳ ἐπέλασσε φέρων ἄνεμός τε καὶ ὕδωρ.  
ὥς ὁ μὲν ἔνθα πολὺν βίσιον καὶ χρυσὸν ἀγείρων  
ἤλατο ξὺν νηυσὶ κατ' ἄλλοθρόους ἀνθρώπους·

*Ομήρου Οδύσσεια, γ 299-302*

But the five other darkprowed ships  
the wind, as it bore them, and the wave  
brought to Egypt. So he was wandering there with his ships  
among men of strange speech,  
gathering much livelihood and gold;

*Homer, The Odyssey, III 299-302*

[...]  
may you stop at Phoenician trading station  
to buy fine things,  
mother of pearl and coral, amber and ebony,  
sensual perfume of every kind-  
as many sensual perfumes as you can;  
and may you visit many Egyptian cities  
to gather stores of knowledge from their scholars.

*C. P. Cavafy, Ithaka*



#### 49. Obsidian artefacts

*Cores, axes, flakes, blades*  
 6th-5th millennium BC (Neolithic period)  
 Melian obsidian  
 Max. l. 0.21 m  
 Melos  
 Donation of Zappeiris Vaos Collection  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. nos. Π 18311-18404

*Cores and blades*  
 3200-2800 BC (Early Bronze Age I)  
 Melian obsidian  
 L. of longest core 0.09,  
 l. of longest blade 0.13 m  
 Paros, Panagia Cemetery (Tomb 56)  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. nos. Π 4778 1-2, 4777 1-5

Obsidian from Melos provides unique evidence for the most ancient of Aegean journeys dating to the 12th millennium BC in the Upper Palaeolithic period, when it was imported as a raw material to Franchthi Cave in the Argolis.

Travel to Melos never ceased during Prehistory, as this black volcanic “glass” was used to make durable cutting tools. Quarrying the material was easy, but skill was required for on-the-spot production of blade cores using percussion tools to avoid transporting extra weight.

The Vaos Collection “illustrates” all the stages of quarrying and preparation. In addition, the obsidian tools themselves allow us to follow the development in blade-removing technique, reaching its peak in the Early Bronze Age when percussion is abandoned in favour of the pressure technique. The latter required specialization but en-

sured the “standardization” of blades with predetermined shape and size, and offered a greater utilization of the raw material and mass production.



#### Selected bibliography

1. Unpublished. 2. Τσούντας, 1898, 156-157, pl. 8:10, 15. In general: Moundrea-Agrafioti 2008.

*K. Manteli*

### 50. Bangle bracelets and *Spondylus gaederopus* shell

Three bangle bracelets  
4800-4500 BC (Late Neolithic II period)  
*Spondylus gaederopus*  
Internal d. 0.059, 0.056, 0.053 m  
Dimini, Thessaly  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 6007.4-6

Upper valve of seashell  
5th millennium BC (Late Neolithic period)  
D. 0.067 m  
Thessaly  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 16625

The taxonomic identity of the sea snail of the genus *Spondylus* and the *Gaederopus* species encompasses irrefutable evidence for the circulation of goods in the Late Neolithic period through maritime, riverine, and over-



land trade routes. Even though the sea snail abounds in the Aegean, artefacts made of its shell, such as beads, pendants, and bangle bracelets, have been found in Greece (Thessaly, Macedonia) and the Balkans all the way through to Central Europe, as symbols of prestige. The white, smooth finish bearing traces of red colour, which survive of the original crimson surface following treatment, possibly constitute evidence of the symbolism of these plain jewels.

#### Selected bibliography

1. Τσοῦντας, 1908, 356, pl. 46:5-7. Δημακοπούλου 1998, 77:110. 2. Bajnóczi *et al.* 2013.

K. Manteli

### 51. Cycladic figurine

2800-2300 BC  
(Early Cycladic II period,  
Keros-Syros phase)  
Marble  
H. 0.89, w. 0.18 m  
Unknown provenance, possibly  
from Naxos  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 20934

The figurine depicts a standing female with folded arms. In terms of typology, it conforms to the Spedos variety, which was widespread across the Aegean. The “sculptor” tackles the problem of the third dimension, by creating one of the largest surviving statuettes of its time, bearing naturalistic qualities. The ears, the nose, the eyes, and the eyebrows (only one is preserved) have been rendered in relief; the fingers and the toes are accentuated whereas emphasis has been placed also on the femininity of the breast and the abdomen. Traces of

paint are preserved on the hair and the eyes.

During the first decades following the end of World War II, the “demand” for Cycladic figurines by art dealers across the world was increased, since at that time the Cyclades were discovered as holiday destination and modern artists sought inspiration in the austere contours and the abstract style in which the Cycladic figurines were rendered. All these factors resulted in the brutal looting of Early Cycladic cemeteries, from which this exhibit originated, being purchased by the Baden State Museum (Karlsruhe, Germany). It was first put on public display in 1976. It was repatriated to Greece in 2014.

#### Selected bibliography

- Thimme 1976, 462 (pl. 151c), 517 (fig. 364). Thimme - Getz-Preziosi 1977, 271, no. 171. Thimme 1986, 26-27. Badisches Landesmuseum 2011. *Kyk-laden - Lebenswelten einer frühgriechischen Kultur*, 263.

K. Nikolentzos



**52. Marble Cycladic figurines and pendant in the shape of a bird**

2800-2700 BC (Early Helladic -  
Early Cycladic I/II period)

Marble

H. 0.149 m

Attica, Agios Kosmas cemetery  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 8970



2800-2300 BC (Early Helladic -  
Early Cycladic II period)

Marble

Preserved h. 0.074 m

Attica, Agios Kosmas cemetery  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 8971



2800-2300 BC (Early Helladic -  
Early Cycladic II period)

Marble

Preserved h. 0.033 m

Attica, Agios Kosmas cemetery  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 8973



2800-2300 BC (Early Helladic -  
Early Cycladic II period)

Marble

H. 0.094 m

Athens, area of the Acropolis  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 5374



3200-2800 BC (Early Helladic -  
Early Cycladic I period)

Green jadeite

H. 0.038, l. 0.052 m

Acropolis of Athens,  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 16026

The Early Cycladic civilization that flourished in the Cyclades in the 3rd millennium BC had intense contacts with the coasts of Attica, Euboea, Argolis, and even across to the shores of Asia Minor, with the primary object of trade being the precious obsidian of Melos. At many sites in Attica, both on the coast as well as inland, the presence of settlements and cemeteries of the period with rich grave gifts of Cycladic type testify to the peaceful cultural and social osmosis of Cycladic and indigenous inhabitants, mainly driven by the lure of the rich mines at Lavrion.

**Selected bibliography**

Mylonas 1959, 77, figurine no. 1, fig. 163.1, dr. 62; 81-81, figurine no. 2, fig. 163, dr. 62; 83-84, figurine no. 4, fig. 163.4. Gauss 2000, 169, fig. 8.1.

*K. Kostanti*

**53. Pins**

*Pin with a spiral plexus (guilloche) head*  
2800-2300 BC (Early Bronze Age II)

Bronze  
L. 0.13 m

Syros, Chalandriani (Tomb 372)  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 5145



*Pin with a double spiral head*  
2800-2300 BC (Early Bronze Age II)

Bronze  
L. 0.12 m

Syros, Chalandriani (Tomb 468)  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 5212

The two bronze pins used to fasten clothing, with two different types of spiral decoration at the head, were gifts in the

graves of residents of the walled settlement at Kastri on Syros, where a metals workshop has been found. Prestigious or “fashionable” objects of the time, they represent characteristic types of the civilization of the Northeast Aegean and the Troad at a time when control of the metals trade in the Aegean appears to have been exerted by societies of this region. The transferral of the

metal trade centre from the Cyclades to the northeast happened through conflicts and rivalries, probably under the impact of piracy.

**Selected bibliography**

1. Unpublished. 2. Τσοῦντρας 1899, pl. 10. In general: Barber 1987, 103-105. Μαρθάρη 2005.

*K. Manteli*

**54. Amber beads**

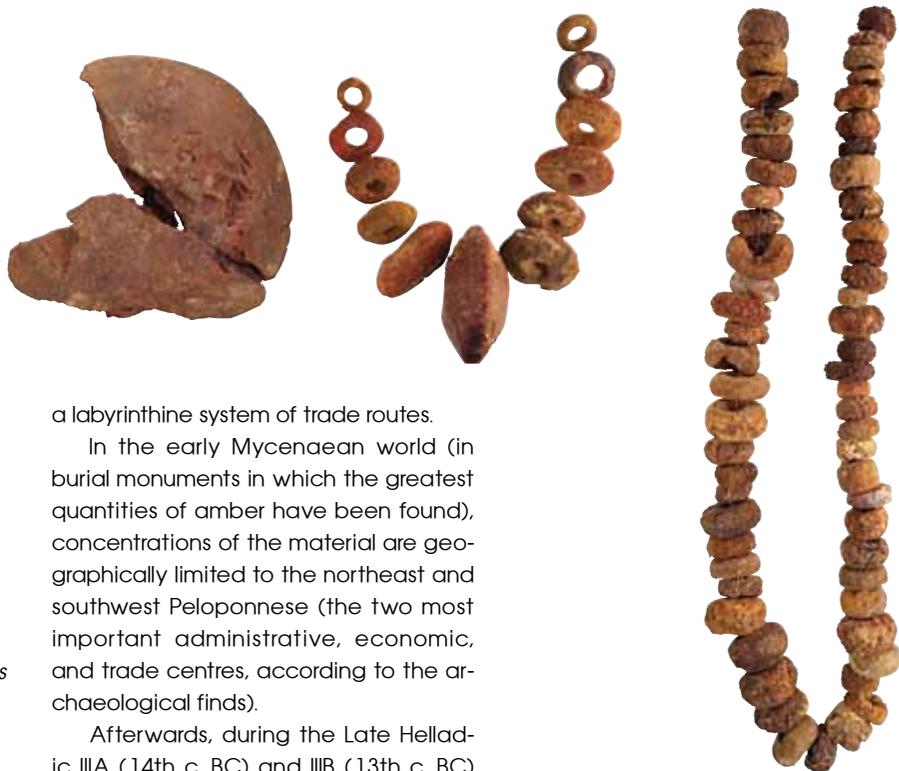
*Beads of various shapes and sizes*  
(d. 0.005-0.05, rarely 0.08 m), also plaques (dim. 0.007x0.04 or 0.075x0.038, th. 0.009 m)

16th c. BC  
Amber

Elis, Northern Triphylia, Excavations of tholos tombs at Kakovatos  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 5688

*Ring-shaped beads, max. d. 0.06 m, and one large loaf-shaped, d. 0.03 m*  
16th c. BC

Amber  
Chora, Triphylia, Excavations at Englianos  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 7936



Amber beads, plaques, and other objects (i.e. ring-shaped pendants) which possibly belonged to necklaces.

Amber is an organic material (fossilized tree resin), commonly yellow or orange in colour with orange, brown, and rarely reddish hues. The material is found in various locations but the most important source is along the coast of the Baltic Sea, from whence it was imported into Mainland Greece, following

a labyrinthine system of trade routes.

In the early Mycenaean world (in burial monuments in which the greatest quantities of amber have been found), concentrations of the material are geographically limited to the northeast and southwest Peloponnese (the two most important administrative, economic, and trade centres, according to the archaeological finds).

Afterwards, during the Late Helladic IIIA (14th c. BC) and IIIB (13th c. BC) phase, amber is rare, reappearing during the Late Helladic IIIC (12th c. BC) in exceptionally small – in comparison to the 16th c. BC – quantities, but spread in a wider geographical area.

The discovery of amber in the Early Mycenaean period in a limited number of specific tholos tombs of the southwest and northeast Peloponnese is likely associated with the high social status of those who were buried there.

**Selected bibliography**

Müller 1909, 269-328. Konstantinidi 2001. Sgouritsa-Polychronakou - Nikolentzos, forthcoming.

*K. Nikolentzos*

**55. Vessel in the shape of a deer**

16th c. BC  
 Silver  
 H. 0.162, h. with horns 0.217, w. 0.09 m,  
 wt. 2.5 kg  
 Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Tomb IV  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Π 388

A hole was made in its back for pouring in liquids, but the construction of a corresponding hole in the snout of the animal was unsuccessful. Recent chemical analyses show that the vessel was made exclusively of silver, not with the addition of lead as H. Schliemann had initially supposed.

The vessel was imported from the Hittite state (Asia Minor), and indeed a similar object appears to have been sent by the king of the Hittites as a gift to the Pharaoh of Egypt. The Hittite kingdom appears to be in a political conflict

with the Mycenaeans at the eastern boundaries of their territory. Indeed, the political tensions are reflected in the rarity of imports of Hittite objects into the Aegean and vice versa.



**Selected bibliography**

Karo 1930-33, 94, figs. 115-116. Cline 1994, 68, 213-214. Koehl 1995. Koehl 2006, 14.

*K. Nikolentzos*

**56. Ostrich-egg rhyta**

16th c. BC (Late Helladic I period)  
 Ostrich egg, coloured faience,  
 wood, gold  
 H. 0.19, max. d. 0.13 m  
 Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Shaft Grave V  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Π 828

15th-14th c. BC  
 (Late Helladic IIIA 1 period)  
 Ostrich egg, gold, bronze, silver, glass  
 H. 0.205, max. d. 0.13 m  
 Midea, Tholos tomb  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Π 7337

Ostrich eggs, imported from Egypt, were transformed by skillful Minoan and Mycenaean craftsmen into rhyta (ritual libation vessels) by opening holes in the shell and adding a mouth and decorative elements, such as gold and bronze strips or the lively dolphins that “swim” over the surface of the egg. This exotic commodity demonstrates the broad and intensive contacts mainly between the Minoans, but also the Mycenaeans, and Egypt.



**Selected bibliography**

Sakellarakis 1990.

*K. Kostanti*



**57. Decorative vase**

*New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty;  
reign of Thutmose III-Amenhotep III  
(1479-1353 BC)*

*Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)*

*H. 0.115 m*

*Egypt. Donated to the National  
Archaeological Museum by the Greek  
expatriate in Egypt Alexander Rostovitz  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Arq. A. 195*

Luxury vessel designed for the transport, storage, and outpouring of scented oils, whose popularity reached its peak during the New Kingdom. Its shape, that imitates an ostrich egg, alludes to a series of magical and allegorical symbols and also to a cosmogonic myth, according to which, Atum, the god of creation, having the form of a falcon, hatches out of the divine egg. In Egypt vases made of real ostrich eggs imported from Nubia were excavated from burials dated at 3500 BC.

**Bibliography**

Unpublished.

*E. Tourna*



(A)



(B)



(C)



(D)

**58. Faience vessels**

*A-C: 16th c. BC (Late Helladic I period)*

*D: 13th c. BC (Late Helladic IIIB period)*

*Faience*

*A: H. 0.12, max. d. 0.14 m*

*B: H. 0.112, max. d. 0.08 m*

*C: H. 0.155, max. d. 0.10 m*

*D: Preserved h. 0.073 m*

*A-B: Mycenae, Grave Circle A,  
Shaft Grave I*

*C: Mycenae, Grave Circle A,  
Shaft Grave II*

*D: Mycenae, House of Shields  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. nos. Π 201, 202, 223, 7507*

The three intact vessels had been given as gifts to the dead in Grave Circle A, the first Greek-speaking rulers of the Aegean. The fragments of the elaborate glazed kylix were found in the famous House of Shields, where it was stored or belonged to an official of the palace, one who would have controlled artistic production taking place there. All the vessels come from faience art workshops in Syro-Palestine and Egypt, who

exported their sought-after products throughout the Eastern Mediterranean by means of maritime trade.

**Selected bibliography**

Karo 1930-33, 68, 71, pls. 168, 170. Cline 1994, 207, 215. Tournavitou 1995, 240, 292.

*K. Paschalidis*



#### 59. Decorative vase

*New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty;  
reign of Thutmose III-Amenhotep III  
(1479-1353 BC)  
Green faience  
H. 0.09, d. rim 0.078 m  
Egypt. Donated to the National  
Archaeological Museum by the Greek  
expatriate in Egypt Ioannis Dimitriou  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Arq. 3191*

Luxurious decorative vase ornamented with spirals and a rosette on the bottom painted in black. Although the shape recalls the famous decorative alabaster vases of the Old Kingdom, which were designed for storing scented ointments and oils, the spiral motifs draw upon models encountered in the Aegean with similar decoration.

#### Bibliography

Unpublished.

*E. Tourna*



#### 60. Copper ingot

*15th c. BC (Late Helladic II period)  
Copper  
L. 0.38, max. w. 0.29 m  
Kyme, Euboea  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 14730*

The ingot in the shape of an ox hide is the most common unit of transportable copper, the most precious metal for the economy of the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean. Its provenance, as is the case for most of the ingots found in the Aegean, the Black Sea, and the Eastern Mediterranean, is Cyprus. The earliest ingots of this type are found in Minoan Neo-Palatial sites and the latest in the shipwrecks of the end of the Bronze Age, demonstrating the long term dependence on sea routes by the administrative centres, and the heroic contribution of the merchants of the open horizon.

#### Selected bibliography

Δημακοπούλου 1988, 253, no. 268 (Ε. Μπάνου).  
Paschalidis 2007, 436-439.

*K. Paschalidis*



### 61. Flask

Mid-15th-13th c. BC  
(Late Cypriot II period)  
Clay  
H. 0.235 m  
Cyprus  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. K 12057

Clay flask (vessel for transporting liquids) with an incised sign of Cypro-Minoan script on the handles. Cypro-Minoan script appears towards the end of the 16th c. BC as a result of the commercial contacts between Cypriot and Minoan merchants, and is mainly found at Enkomi on Cyprus and Ugarit in Syria. As is apparent from the commonalities with the Minoan Linear A script, it was imported from Crete and adapted to suit the needs of the ancient Cypriot language.

#### Selected bibliography

Καραγιώργης 2003, 62-63.  
E. Konstantinidi-Syvridi

### 62. Decorative vases

New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty  
(1550-1307 BC)  
Clay  
H. 0.11 m  
Egypt. Donated to the National  
Archaeological Museum by the Greek  
expatriate in Egypt Alexander Rostovitz  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Aiy. 5794



New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty;  
reign of Thutmose III-Amenhotep III  
(1479-1353 BC)  
Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)  
H. 0.14 m  
Egypt. Donated to the National  
Archaeological Museum by the Greek  
expatriate in Egypt Alexander Rostovitz  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Aiy. 7682

The vase is a characteristic example of Cypriot pottery (Base Ring I ware). Its shape resembles an inverted seed pod (poppy pod) of opium poppy (*Papaver somniferum*) and literally demonstrates its content. It is initially imported into Egypt for storing and transporting opium, either pure or mixed with honey or wax, which was used as a sedative and narcotic. Later the vase is copied and turns eventually into a decorative vessel intended for scented oils and ointments. It is frequently encountered as grave good even in modest burials of the New Kingdom.

#### Bibliography

Unpublished.

E. Tourna



### 63. Small Mycenaean stirrup jars

*New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty  
(1550-1307 BC)*

*Clay*

*A: H. 0.10, max. d. 0.09 m*

*B: H. 0.095, max. d. 0.113 m*

*Egypt. Donated to the National  
Archaeological Museum by the Greek  
expatriate in Egypt Alexander Rostovitz  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. nos. Ay. 6851a, 6851b*



Small stirrup jars with banded ornamentation rendered in lustrous dark brown and red-brown paint respectively. This type of vase was typically encountered in Mycenaean pottery of the LH IIIA-B period, used for storing and outpouring Mycenaean aromatic oils. From the mid-1400 BC onwards the demand of the vase and its content is increased in Cyprus and Egypt. Due to its beauti-

ful "exotic shape" the vase is recycled in various ways in Egypt, and serves eventually as grave good that accompanies its owner to the afterlife. The popular shape of these vessels is copied by the Egyptians in terracotta and faience.

#### **Bibliography**

Unpublished.

*E. Tourna*

### 64. Decorative vase

*New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty  
(1550-1307 BC)*

*Polychrome glass*

*H. 0.09 m*

*Egypt. Donated to the National  
Archaeological Museum by the Greek  
expatriate in Egypt Ioannis Dimitriou  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Ay. 3180*



Decorative vase in the shape of a small krateriskos, made of molten glass in the core-forming technique and decorated with feather patterns in dark blue and yellow colour. Glass making became known in Egypt from Western Asia. Very soon the local craftsmen gain familiarity with the new techniques and turn into masters in the manufacture of such lavish vases that were intended for scented oils and ointments.

#### **Bibliography**

Unpublished.

*E. Tourna*



**65. Female figurine**

1450-1200 BC  
Clay  
H. 0.196 m  
Unknown provenance, likely from Cyprus  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 22654

Female figurine with bird's head. From the ears hung earrings. The hands are folded at the breasts. Incisions render the anatomical details and especially the genital area. Figurines of such style exclusively accompany burials and are likely associated with rebirth or recreation, due to the emphasis on the genital organs.

**Selected bibliography**

Καραγιώργης 2003, no. 146, 82.

K. Nikolentzos



**66. Fragment of a plaque**

14th c. BC (Late Helladic IIIA period)  
Faience  
Preserved h. 0.042, w. 0.041, th. 0.013 m  
Mycenae, Acropolis, NE of the Lion Gate  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 12582

On its glazed surface, the plaque fragment preserves part of the cartouche of Pharaoh Amenhotep III (1391-1353 BC) with the characteristic inscription: "The good god Neb-Ma'at-Re, son of Re, Amenhotep, Ruler of Thebes, given life". During the reign of Amenhotep III, an increasing number of finds testify to the exchanges between Mainland Greece, Crete, and Egypt. The phenomenon has been attributed to the foreign policy of Amenhotep III, who aimed at forging alliances with the Mycenaean kingdoms in an attempt to weaken the rising Hittite empire. The fragment of the cartouche from Mycenae, indeed, has been attributed to a royal gift that arrived by diplomatic mission from Thebes on the Nile to the inlet of the Argolic Gulf, and is incorporated in the context of traditional gift exchange that was common among the rulers of the Eastern Mediterranean in the Middle and Late Bronze Age.

**Selected bibliography**

Cline 1994, 38-42, 143.

K. Paschalidis



**67. Commemorative scarab**

New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty; reign of Amenhotep III (1391-1353 BC)  
Cream steatite with glazing that is not preserved  
Max. l. 0.073, max. w. 0.05, h. 0.03 m  
Egypt. Donated to the National Archaeological Museum by the Greek expatriate in Egypt Alexander Rostovitz  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. ΑΙΥ. ΣΚ. 706

The scarab is inscribed with the names of pharaoh Amenhotep III and his great royal wife Tiye with the purpose of announcing the royal marriage.

The type, commissioned by Amenhotep III, was employed as a medium for the propagation of significant events across his dominion and continued to be used until the reign of his son and successor to the throne Akhenaton. Such scarabs were also found outside Egypt, on Crete as well as in Syria and Palestine.

**Bibliography**

Unpublished.

E. Tourna



**68. Lentoid sealstone**

14th c. BC (Late Helladic IIIA period)  
 Agate  
 D. 0.027 m  
 Mycenae, area around the Tholos Tomb  
 of Clytemnestra  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Π 8718

The seal depicts a female figure wearing a Minoan skirt with a bare upper body sitting on the back of an imagi-

nary creature that gallops over rocks or waves. An Aegean scene of eastern inspiration, it likely inspired the iconography of the myth of the Rape of Europa, which reflects the sea-borne communication and exchange of knowledge and ideas between Crete and the Eastern Mediterranean during the Bronze Age.

**Selected bibliography**

Sakellariou 1964, no. 167. Krzyszkowska 2005, 253, no. 489, note 82.

*K. Kostanti*

**69. Stirrup jars**

14th-13th c. BC  
 Clay  
 H. from 0.11 to 0.145 m  
 Mycenae, Naflpio  
 Prosymna, Chamber tombs  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. nos. Π 3561, 3562, 2251, 14809

This is one of the most popular vessel type during the Late Bronze Age. Stirrup jars appear initially in Minoan Crete and are later imported to Mainland Greece. They have been found both in settlement as well as burial complexes. Stirrup jars are found in many variations of shape, sometimes piriform, and other times spherical or squat spherical, or with cylindrical sides, etc. Initially the shoulders were decorated with simple linear motifs (such as repeating angles, successive arcs, or bows), and later with more or less schematic flowers. The rest of the body of the vessel bears decoration made up of groups of bands and lines. In the 13th c. BC, a decorative zone is added at the height of maximum diameter, while towards the 12th c. BC, extremely large stirrup jars appear with decoration that covers the entire surface of the vessel. In this period, figurative motifs become popular (such as fish, octopuses, birds, etc.). At the end of the Mycenaean world, this particular type of vessel continues to be produced, but the decoration is now limited to a narrow zone on the shoulder and the rest of the vessel is left monochrome.

From its shape (the existence of two mouths), it is presumed to have been used for the transportation of liquids (for example, wine and olive oil), likely of great value, such as aromatic oils, which is also confirmed by the Linear B



tablets. Moreover, stirrup jars have been found at Thebes bearing Linear B inscriptions (commonly a male name and the place name of an urban centre in western Crete), demonstrating their function within the trade of goods.

**Selected bibliography**

Blegen 1937. Χενάκη-Σακελλαρίου 1985, 159. Δημακοπούλου 1988, 127, 210. Tournavitu 1992, 181-210. Mountjoy 1993. Mountjoy 1999. Νικολέντζος 2011, 266-283.

*K. Nikolentzos*



### 70. Stirrup jar

Early 13th c. BC  
(Late Helladic III B 1 period)  
Clay  
Preserved h. 0.44, max. d. 0.29 m  
Mycenae, "House of the Oil Merchant"  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 7627

Stirrup jars were the transport vessel par excellence for liquids at the peak of Mycenaean overseas trade. The mouth and neck of the vessel were covered with clay that was stamped multiple times by a sealstone depicting a daemon with animals. Thus the merchandise was safely transported, and the seal itself most likely carried some indication of the producer or merchant. This particular vessel had been made in western Crete and was found along with dozens of similar pots in a building for the storage and transport of oil at Mycenae.

#### Selected bibliography

Sakellariou 1964, 182, no. 161. Haskell *et al.* 2011, MYC74.

K. Kostanti



### 71. Linear B tablet

Late 13th c. BC  
(Late Helladic III B 2 period)  
Clay  
H. 0.16 m  
Pylos, Palace of Ano Englianos  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Un 267

The tablet records the delivery of ingredients, such as coriander, cyperus (sedge), and cinnamon to the perfumer Thyestes, for the preparation of an ointment or aromatic oil. Similar inventories appear on numerous Linear B tablets from Pylos and Knossos, which, in combination with evidence from excavations, confirm that the trade of aromatic oils by the palatial centres of Crete and Mainland Greece, mainly with the coastal areas of Eastern Mediterranean, was a significant aspect of the Late Bronze Age economy.

#### Selected bibliography

Shelmerdine 1985. Bendall 2007, 85-86. Nakassis 2013.

E. Konstantinidi-Syvridi



### 72. Linear B tablet

Late 13th c. BC  
(Late Helladic III B 2 period)  
Clay  
L. 0.12, h. 0.07 m  
Pylos, Palace of Ano Englianos  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. PY Fr 1184

Aromatic oils (518.4 liters) are delivered by the perfumer Kokalos to the perfumer Eumedes in 38 *chlareis*, namely large transport stirrup jars. Aromatic oils and ointments, used for cosmetic, medicinal, and ritual purposes, are perhaps the most important exportable product of the Mycenaean palatial economy. Stirrup jars containing aromatic oils are found by the hundreds in the Eastern and Western Mediterranean, demonstrating the breadth of Mycenaean overseas trade.

#### Selected bibliography

Duhoux 2008, 310-311. Φάππας 2010.

K. Kostanti



### 73. Necklace beads

13th c. BC (Late Helladic IIIA period)  
 Faience (Π 2958, 6418), glass (Π 2839)  
 National Archaeological Museum

Π 2839  
 Cylindrical and grain-shaped beads  
 of brown glass  
 L. of beads 0.013-0.015,  
 d. of beads 0.005-0.007 m  
 Mycenae, Chamber tombs

Π 2958  
 Tiny annular beads of white, reddish,  
 blue, yellow, and grey faience  
 D. of beads 0.003-0.005 m  
 Mycenae, Chamber tombs

Π 6418  
 Barrel-shaped beads of blue faience D.  
 of largest beads 0.005-0.001 m  
 Prosymna, Argolis, Chamber tombs



Necklace beads of various shapes and colours. Glass and faience, both artificial materials, were particularly popular for making jewelry and inlays during the Mycenaean period. Glass was imported in the form of light and dark blue discoid ingots, similar to those discovered in the Uluburun shipwreck (late 14th c. BC). According to analyses, the glass ingots came from Amarna in Egypt, an important glass-producing centre of the period. A Canaanite amphora in the same cargo, contained approximately 8,000 miniature annular faience beads, a type that was especially popular in Egypt from the Middle to the New Kingdom (1800-1500 BC).

#### Selected bibliography

Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 215, 180. Nightingale 2008, Pulak 2009, 384-385.

*E. Konstantinidi-Syvridi*



#### 74. Necklaces

13th c. BC (Late Helladic III B period)  
Carnelian  
L. of beads 0.01-0.015 m  
Prosymna, Argolis, Chamber tombs  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. nos. Π 6298, 6421

Bead and pendants  
13th c. BC (Late Helladic III B period)  
Lapis lazuli  
L. 0.03 m  
Mycenae, Acropolis  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. nos. Π 1381, 1395, 2618

Beads and pendants were made of a great variety of materials, mainly semi-precious stones – such as carnelian,

amethyst, rock crystal, jasper, agate, serpentine, malachite, and lapis lazuli – which would make the necklaces impressively colourful, just as they appear on the wall-paintings of the period where female figures display the wealth of their jewelry.

Most of these stones reached the Mycenaean centres as raw materials from Syria and Western Asia via Egypt; they were then worked into popu-

lar shapes, such as the figure-of-eight shield and the axe, religious symbols of the Mycenaean.

#### Selected bibliography

Blegen 1937. Müller 2012, 463-469.  
E. Konstantinidi-Syvridi

#### 75. Hippopotamus tusk

13th c. BC (Late Helladic III B period)  
L. 0.22, h. 0.05, th. 0.085 m  
Mycenae  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 10601

Hippopotamus tusk is included in the raw materials used for luxurious artefacts during the Mycenaean period. In relation to elephant ivory, it is harder, with a denser structure, and retains its whiteness over time. Mycenaean used hippopotamus ivory mainly for small vessels and inlays, while elephant ivory was intended for larger and more valuable objects. It is indicative that in the



Uluburun, a shipwreck of the 14th c. BC in southwestern Turkey, the cargo contained 14 unworked hippopotamus tusks and only one of elephant.

#### Selected bibliography

Caubet 2009, 407.  
E. Konstantinidi-Syvridi



**76. Elephant tusk**

*13th c. BC (Late Helladic III B period)  
H. 0.255, d. base 0.076 m  
Mycenae, Acropolis  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 2916*

The relief scene decorating the tusk depicts a male figure in a landscape with a palm tree and a pair of wild goats. Similar tusks with relief decoration have been found in Megiddo and Ugarit in Syria and have been interpreted as musical instruments (horn or part of a lyre) or as libation rhyta.

Elephant ivory was imported to the Aegean from Africa or India via Syria, either as a raw material or in the form of precious gifts exchanged between the rulers of the Eastern Mediterranean.

**Selected bibliography**

Ξενάκη-Σακελλαρίου 1985, 174-175, pl. 73.  
*E. Konstantinidi-Syvridi*



**77. Bone plaque**

*13th c. BC (Late Helladic III B period)  
H. 0.081, w. 0.0665, th. 0.008 cm  
Mycenae, House of Sphinxes  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 7525*

The plaque depicts in low relief the figures of antithetical sphinxes standing on a built construction decorated with horns of consecration and a central column. Compositions of antithetical beasts or mythical creatures with architectural elements in miniature works of art (ivory and sealstone carvings) or monumental sculpture (the Lion Gate) have been interpreted as symbols of the Mycenaean state and its rulers. Bone plaques had an additional decorative character as they formed inlays for wooden furniture or other objects, remains

of which have been found in rich houses, graves, and palaces of the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean.

The House of Sphinxes appears to have housed a highly prolific elephant ivory workshop that produced works for export to the profitable markets of the civilized East.

**Selected bibliography**

Poursat 1977, 43-44, pl. 12, cat. no. 138. Tour-  
navitou 1995, 171, 292.

*K. Paschalidis*



**78. Bone plaque**

13th c. BC (Late Helladic III B period)  
 Elephant tusk  
 L. 0.07, w. 0.065 m  
 Mycenae, Chamber tombs  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Π 3215

Plaque with relief scene of a griffin and lotus flowers. The griffin, an imaginary animal with a lion's body, and head and wings of an eagle that embodies the power of both animals, has its origins in the Near East where it was a divine symbol. It is often depicted on bone luxury items (jewelry boxes, combs), which, according to the Hittite archives and the "Amarna Letters", the official correspondence of Pharaoh Amenhotep IV (1353-1336 BC), were exchanged as diplomatic gifts between the rulers of the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean.

**Selected bibliography**

Xenaki-Sakellariou 1989, 249. Poursat 1977, 98, pl. XXXIII.

*E. Konstantinidi-Syvridi*



**79. Figurine of the god Resheph**

13th c. BC  
 Bronze  
 H. 0.113 m  
 Mycenae, Building M or N to the northeast of the Lion Gate  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Π 2631

The deity of war is depicted with one arm raised and the other extended. The figure wears a short tunic and bears a small dagger. It was imported from the region of Syro-Palestine with which the Mycenaeans developed close commercial contacts, as confirmed by the large number of the imported objects, that were found at Argolis and dated to the 13th c. BC.

**Selected bibliography**

Δημακοπούλου 1990, 370. Cline 1994, 134.  
*K. Nikolentzos*



**80. Wall lamp (Wall bracket)**

13th c. BC (Late Helladic III B period)  
 Clay  
 H. 0.15 m  
 Mycenae, Acropolis  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Π 2663

Similar vessels are recorded in Cyprus from the 15th c. BC, where they have been discovered in houses, sanctuaries, workshops, and tombs. They were most likely used as lamps or lamp stands. This particular lamp comes from a workshop on the Acropolis of Mycenae and testifies to the commercial ties between Mainland Greece and Cyprus, where it appears that groups of Mycenaean merchants and artisans had settled already by the 14th c. BC.

**Selected bibliography**

Smith 2011.

*E. Konstantinidi-Syvridi*



### 81. Canaanite amphorae

13th c. BC (Late Helladic III B period)

Clay

Π 2014: H. 0.505, d. rim 0.10, max. d.

(with handles) 0.31, d. base 0.045 m

Π 2015: H. 0.535, max. d. (with handles)

0.32, d. base 0.04 m

Menidi, Attica, Tholos tomb

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. nos. Π 2014, 2015



Each amphora bears a sign of the Cypro-Minoan script on the back of one handle. They belong to Amiran's category IIB:11 and 12 that was widely traded in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Late Helladic III B period. Amphorae of this type were used primarily as vessels for transporting wine and oil, as well as terebinth resin, fruit, and dried nuts.

#### Selected bibliography

Amiran 1969, 140. Benzi 1975, 149-153. Tzedakis - Martlew 2002, 157-158, nos. 140, 141. Rutter 2014, 53-69.

V. Pliatsika

**82. Linear B tablets**

Late 13th c. BC  
 (Late Helladic III B2 period)  
 Clay  
 A: L. 0.168, h. 0.003 m  
 B: L. 0.18, h. 0.028 m  
 Pylos, Palace of Ano Englianos  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. nos. PY Ab 186, PY Ab 189

A record of rations of grains and figs intended for the feeding of women and their young children. The women belong to the labyrinthine organization of the palace and are employed (as their children will be in the future) mainly in the palatial tex-

tile workshops, of vital significance to the palatial economy. On both tablets they are referred to by their place of origin: seven from Lemnos and twenty from Chidos, slaves captured during Mycenaean raids on the shores of the Eastern Aegean.



**Selected bibliography**

Olsen 2014, 95-100, 109-113.

K. Kostanti

**83. Cypriot tripod and eastern cylinder seal**

A: 12th c. BC  
 (Late Helladic III C/Late Cypriot period)  
 B: 15th-14th c. BC  
 (Late Helladic II-III A period)  
 A: H. 0.34, d. of ring 0.19 m  
 B: L. 0.028, d. 0.0134 m  
 Tiryns, Lower Town, Megaron W  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. nos. Π 6225, 6214

The bronze Cypriot tripod and the Syro-Palestinian cylinder seal were found together in December of 1915, hidden beneath the floor of a house of the 12th c. BC in the Lower Town of Tiryns. The same hiding place contained a heterogeneous mix of exceptionally precious jewelry, weapons and vessels of bronze, gold, amber, iron, faience, and other materials. The objects of the "Treasure" date from the early 16th to the late 12th c. BC and comprise valuable heirlooms belonging to a family of the post-palatial acropolis that had a noble background in the glorious palatial years.

**Selected bibliography**

Cline 1994, 180-181, 214-215. Maran 2006, 129-144.

K. Paschalidis



**84. Horse blinker**

9th c. BC  
 Workshop of North Syria  
 Bronze  
 L. 0.19 m  
 Eretria, Sanctuary  
 of Apollo Daphnephoros  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. X 15070

The blinker depicts "the master of the beasts". According to the Aramaic inscription, "this is a gift of Hadad for our lord Hazael, the year that our lord crossed the river", the blinker was possibly presented to Hazael, king of Aram - Damascus, and later served as a votive offering to Apollo.

The object confirms the links between the Eretrians and the peoples of the Syro-Palestinian coast. It might have been traded by some Eretrian, who travelled across the Eastern Mediterranean.

**Selected bibliography**

Κουπουνιώτης 1910, 268. Aruz - Graff - Rakic 2014, 297, no. 166 (N. Palaiokrassa).  
*N. Palaiokrassa*

**85. Standard finial**

Late 8th-early 7th c. BC  
 Art of Luristan, Northwest Iran  
 Bronze  
 H. 0.21, w. 0.065 m  
 Unknown provenance  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. X 17679

Anthropomorphic cylindrical member with two faces, one at the top and the other in the middle. In his outstretched hands, the figure holds a pair of heraldic wild animals, most probably lions, by the neck. At the point where the beasts' necks begin, two antithetical heads of indiscernible animals, or probably birds, spring out. The lower part of the rod is formed by the hips and back legs of the wild beasts.

Similar objects from Greece are dated to the late 8th-early 7th c. BC, a period of intense maritime contacts in the wider Mediterranean region.

**Selected bibliography**

Unpublished. For type and date, cf. Moore 1971, 140ff. (esp. 153-158, no. 178, pl. 34). Schmid 2001, 14-18, pl. 6.1-2. For the date, see *op. cit.*, 17-18.

*A. Chatzipanagiotou*



#### 86. Statuette of god Harpocrates

Late 8th-first half of the 7th c. BC  
 Egyptian workshop  
 Bronze  
 H. 0.093 m  
 Argive Heraion  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. X 16554

The young god is depicted nude and seated with the soles of his feet resting on the inherent plinth. On his head he wears a veil decorated with a band carrying incised motifs. The start of the uraeus is preserved on his forehead. His hands, which are broken off, would have been fitted in rectangular sockets. Similar statuettes of the god – the protector of children – have been found at the Heraion on Samos and the Athenian Acropolis.

#### Selected bibliography

Blegen 1939, 437, fig. 24. Strøm 1998, 40, fig. 3 A-C.

A. Chatzipanagiotou



#### 87. Inscribed phiale

Late 8th-early 7th c. BC  
 Eastern workshop  
 Bronze  
 D. 0.204, h. 0.031 m  
 Sanctuary of Olympia  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. X 7941

The vase bears an Aramaic inscription that reveals the name of the owner, who was possibly of Syrian origin. The iconography of the phiale, the way the figures have been rendered and their details are qualities typically encountered in the Egyptian-Phoenician and Syrian art.

Phialae of eastern provenance, mainly from Phoenicia or Syria and Cyprus, were widespread across the Eastern

Mediterranean and also in Greece, as a result of the contacts maintained at sea and the development of trade mainly during the 8th and the 7th c. BC.

#### Selected bibliography

de Ridder 1894, 19, no. 66. Markoe 1985, 204-205, no. G 3, pls. 316-319. Aruz - Graff - Rakkic 2014, 311-312, no. 183, fig. 4.24 (N. Palaiokrassa).

N. Palaiokrassa



**88. Female figurine**

735-720 BC  
Ivory  
H. 0.24 m  
Dipylon, Grave XIII  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. A 776

Nude female figurine standing frontally. Deep incisions denote the facial features and the fixed gaze. She is depicted wearing a *polos* crown decorated with meander motif. The figurine draws its inspiration possibly from depictions of Astarte, the eastern goddess of fertility. The meander, the rendering of the figure, and also the proportions, which are similar to those encountered on Geometric vases, indicate that such figurines were Greek creations inspired by eastern models.

**Selected bibliography**

Brückner - Pernice 1893, 131. Καλιτσός 2001, no. 1.  
E Zosi



**89. Statuette of a male figure**

Late 8th c. BC  
Cretan workshop  
Bronze  
H. 0.164 m  
Idaeon Cave (Idaion Antron), Crete  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. X 11783

A nude male figure standing frontally. His arms are straight and adhere to his thighs; his legs are joined to distribute his weight equally. His face is square with large eyes, around which an accident in casting may be observed. The mass of his hair covers the upper part of his skull like a cap, leaving the ears free, and falls over his back tuft-like. The figure is rendered with great plasticity and robust proportions echoing eastern models at a period when Crete is strongly influenced by the cultures of the East.

**Selected bibliography**

Fabricius 1885, 65, fig. 1. Λεμπέση 2002, 139, fig. 113, 184, note 622. Λαγογιάννη-Γεωργακαράκου 2011, 297-299, fig. 3α-γ. Σακελλαράκης - Σακελλαράκη 2013, Β', 96-97, no. 1, Γ', pl. 64.3.

A. Chatzipanagiotou



**90. Figurine of a scarab**

Ca. mid-8th c. BC  
Bronze  
L. 0.058 m  
Olympia, west of the Heraion  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. X 6217

The insect is summarily rendered with a rounded outline of the body, six bent legs, and the head turned outward, without any particular indication of the hard wings. It is a product of a Laconian bronze workshop.

The dedication of model scarabs at Greek sanctuaries, perhaps as symbols of good luck, likely indicate the donor's relationship to the East.

**Selected bibliography**

Heilmeyer 1979, 190-191, no. 948, pl. 121. Mitsopoulos-Leon 2006, 88, fig. 2. Heilmeyer *et al.* 2012, 341, no. 2/20 (N. Palaiokrassa).

K. Bairami



**91. Figurines of lions**

735-720 BC  
 Faience  
 L. 0.05 m  
 Dipylon, Grave XIII  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. nos. A 780, 781

Figurines of crouching lions. Evidence of the suspension loop that has been preserved on both artefacts indicates that they served as amulets. The bottom of the flat base of A 780 bears an indecipherable inscription, whereas on the underside of A 781 a hieroglyphic inscription is preserved within an incised frame that mentions the name of the god Amun-Ra and the owner of the artefact.

The unearthing of these objects in a grave at Dipylon is an indication of the trade relations between Athens and the East during the 8th c. BC.

**Selected bibliography**

Brückner - Pernice 1893, 131. Σταμπολίδης - Γιαννοπούλου 2012, 153, nos. 1-2 (Ε. Ζώση).  
 E. Zosi



**92. Part of a lamp stand**

7th c. BC  
 Cypriot workshop  
 Bronze  
 H. 0.14 m  
 Acropolis of Athens  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. X 6720

It belonged to the base of a lamp stand. On the upper circular part three arms with spiral ends supported the ring on which a lamp or a torch was fixed.

This type is considered Cypriot since it is usually encountered on the island, either as ex-voto in sanctuaries or as grave offering in burials. In Greece such lamp stands have been located on Samos and Rhodes mainly. The type became widespread across the Mediterranean, as evidenced by the finds excavated from the sanctuaries of Syro-Palestine, but also in Etruria and the Iberian Peninsula.

**Selected bibliography**

de Ridder 1896, 131, no. 403. Αδάμ-Βελένη - Στεφανή 2012, 154, no. 96 (N. Παλαιοκρασσά).  
 N. Palaiokrassa



**93. Disc-shaped object**

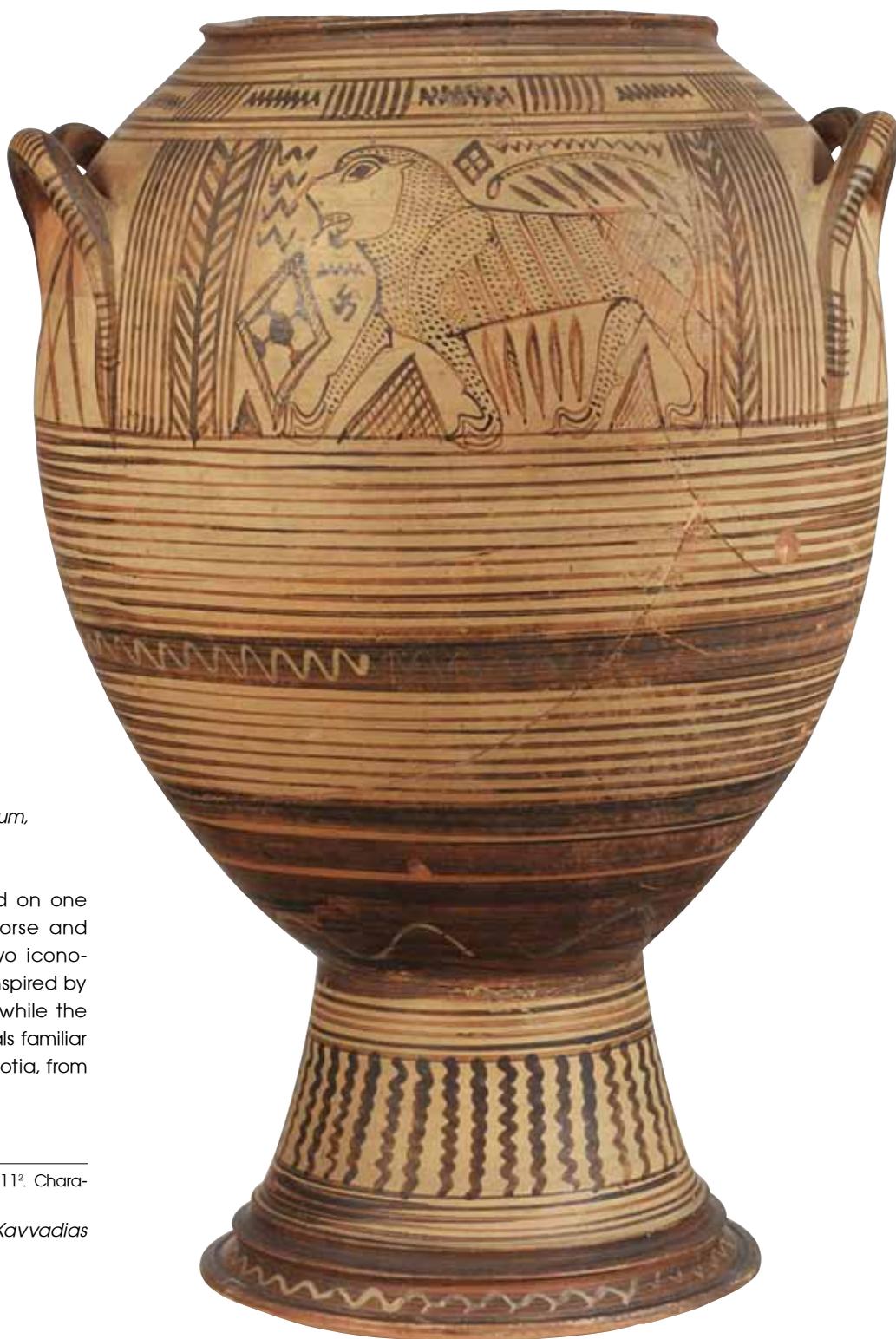
630-550 BC  
 Possibly produced in a Celtic workshop  
 Bronze  
 D. 0.097 m  
 Heraion of Perachora, Corinthia  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. X 26803

Based on latest research, it forms part of a jewel that adorned the abdomen or the girdle of women. This jewel was dedicated to the Sanctuary of Hera at Perachora either by some "barbarian" visitor of the shrine or by a Corinthian merchant who brought it as memento of his travel and the lands he visited. It is an evidence of the contacts between the peoples of the Mediterranean during the Archaic period.

**Selected bibliography**

Payne - Dunbabin - Blackway 1940, 176, 182, pls. 82, 26. Verger 2011, 40-41, note 140, figs. 6-7. Τσαγκάρη 2014, 297, no. 55 (N. Παλαιοκρασσά).

N. Palaiokrassa



**94. Boeotian pithamphora**

670-660 BC

Clay

H. 0.55 m

Thebes

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 228

A roaring lion is depicted on one side, and on the other, a horse and a waterfowl. Antithesis of two iconographic motifs. The lion was inspired by the exotic world of the East, while the horse and the bird were animals familiar in early 7th-c. BC Hesiodic Boeotia, from which this vase comes.

**Selected bibliography**

Coldstream 2008, 204<sup>4</sup>, 207-208, 211<sup>2</sup>. Charalambidou 2011, 839, note 35.

*G. Kavvadias*

### 95. Griffin protome from a tripod cauldron

670-650 BC

Bronze

H. 0.14 m

Pheres, Thessaly, Sanctuary  
of Zeus Thaulios

National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. X 15417

The griffin protome is hollow cast. The griffin, a mythological hybrid creature of eastern origin, combines characteristics of an eagle with fantastical elements such as upright pointed ears. The forehead supports a projecting peg that terminates in a biconical bead topped by a small pointed element and a small roundel beneath it. Two relief spirals adorn its neck. Due to its supernatural

daemonic nature, it had an apotropaic character. This protome was affixed to the rim of a bronze or iron tripod cauldron dedicated as a votive offering to the gods at the large Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries.

#### Selected bibliography

Herrmann 1979, 164, no. 176. Gehrig 2004, 38, note 147, 55, note 233, 176.

*K. Bairami*



### 96. Trefoil oinochoe

630-600 BC

Wild Goat Style

Clay

H. 0.305, d. 0.21 m

Rhodes

National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. A 12718

This oinochoe, decorated in the Wild Goat Style, is a typical product of pottery workshops in Eastern Greece from about the mid-7th to mid-6th c. BC. The eastern archetype was adapted in Ionia, depicting chiefly local fauna, with the wild goats as the most characteristic motif.

#### Selected bibliography

For parallels, cf. Aruz - Graff - Rakic 2014, 305-307.

*E. Oikonomou*





**97. Amulet**

Ca. 600 BC  
Rhodian workshop  
Faience  
H. 0.037, w. 0.02, l. base 0.028 m  
Sounion, Sanctuary of Poseidon  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. A 14928

A hawk is depicted resting on a thin rectangular base while opposite stands a nude female figure. The anatomical and facial features of the figure and the hawk have been rendered with clarity. The suspension hole on the top part of the bird indicates that the object served as an amulet. This specific artefact belongs to a group of apotropaic amulets (depicting hawk or lion) which are particularly common in Egypt during the late 7th-early 6th c. BC. In Greece such artefacts have been recovered from sites that maintained close relations with Egypt (e.g. Ialysos, Samos, Chios, etc.).

**Selected bibliography**

Σιάνης 1917, 197, fig. 9. Theodoropoulou-Polychroniadis 2015, 77-78, 213, no. 179.

E. Zosi



**98. Plastic vase**

Late Period, 26th Dynasty, 6th c. BC  
Faience  
H. 0.06, l. base 0.05, w. 0.036 m  
Naucratis, Egypt. Donated to the National Archaeological Museum by the Greek expatriate in Egypt Ioannis Dimitriou  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Aiy. 878

Decorative vase in the form of a hedgehog intended for aromatic oils or pharmaceutical use.

The front of the modulated mouth, which imitates the mouth of Corinthian aryballois, bears a plastic male head. This type of vase is identified as a creation of the faience workshops of Naucratis. It is a highly popular variant of decorative vases in the form of a hedgehog which is exported across the Mediterranean.

The Ebers Papyrus contains a formula for the treatment of headache that consisted of a hedgehog's spines mixed with oil or fat.

**Bibliography**

Unpublished.

E. Tourna



**99. Plastic vase**

Late period, 26th Dynasty, 6th c. BC  
Faience  
H. 0.05 m  
Naucratis, Egypt. Donated to the National Archaeological Museum by the Greek expatriate in Egypt Ioannis Dimitriou  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Aiy. 2640

Decorative vase in the form of the god Bes designed for aromatic oils.

The god is depicted holding a baby lion, thereby indicating his attribute as guardian of newborns and infants. The type of the vase is created in the Greek faience workshops of Naucratis and spreads across the Mediterranean. It is also adopted by the workshops of Rhodes.

**Bibliography**

Unpublished.

E. Tourna



#### 100. Mould of a female bust

Late 7th-early 6th c. BC  
Bronze  
H. 0.085 m  
Sanctuary of Olympia  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. X 6139

The figure bears characteristics of the Daedalic style which appeared in Greek art in the first half of the 7th c. BC. The face is triangular with a rounded chin; the forehead is defined by vertical locks with horizontal divisions that end in knots. These elements, which are found in other material as well (bronze, ivory, and stone), belong to eastern prototypes that arrived in the Aegean during a period in which Greek art was intensely influenced by the great civilizations of the East.

#### Selected bibliography

Jenkins 1932/1933, 66-79, figs. 7-11. Borda 1972, 46, no. 9. Heilmeyer 1969, 25, fig. 29.  
S. Athanasopoulou



#### 101. Part of a relief

Last quarter of the 7th c. BC  
Poros stone  
H. 0.40, w. 0.35 m  
Mycenae, Acropolis  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Γ 2869

The upper body of a female figure, either a mortal woman or a goddess, is depicted wearing a *peplos*. With her left hand she raises her himation in a gesture of *anakalypsis* (unveiling), which is a motion typically encountered in depictions of Hera and her sacred marriage with Zeus and signifies modesty. The figure is identified with Hera or Helen.

The ornate hairstyle is characteristic of the Daedalic style: the forehead is topped with two rows of curls that end in ring-shaped extremities, whereas the locks fall over the shoulders split in hori-

zontal layers. The influences from the art of Egypt and the Near East are common in Archaic Greek sculpture, as a result of contacts with Egypt and the cultures of the Eastern Mediterranean from the 8th c. BC onwards. The relief possibly belonged to an architectural sculpture and was produced in a Corinthian workshop.

#### Selected bibliography

Richter 1968, 32. Vollkommer 1991, 49, fig. 2. Καλτσάς 2001, 37-38, no. 11. Κουρίνου 2007. Καλτσάς - Δεσπίνης 2014, 339-342, no. I.1.333 (E. Κουρίνου) and 353-356, no. I.1.340 (E. Κουρίνου).

A. Klonizaki

**102. Statue of a kouros***600-590 BC**Naxian marble**H. 3.05 m**Sounion, Sanctuary of Poseidon**National Archaeological Museum,**inv. no. Γ 2720*

The statue was recovered from a pit in front of the temple of Poseidon where it was probably deposited together with other votive offerings following the destruction of the sanctuary by the Persians in 480 BC.

The figure is monumental and robust and depicted possibly a god. Based on a different interpretation, the Sounion Kouroi represented heroes or young men engaged in rituals associated with the transition to manhood. It is an Attic sculpture that has been influenced by island works.

Poseidon was worshipped in numerous sanctuaries situated in coastal areas across Greece. The sanctuary of the god at Cape Sounion was built in the southern tip of Attica, a strategic location from which the Athenians controlled the passage to Piraeus and the Aegean. Homer refers to Sounion as a place of worship (Σούνιον ἱερόν) in Rhapsody III of the *Odyssey* (III 278); on their journey back home from Troy Menelaus and Agamemnon encountered a tempest in which the skilled helmsman Phrontis lost his life.

**Selected bibliography**

Walter-Karydi 1980, 3, pls. 1-2. Stewart 1990, 109, figs. 44-46. Καλιτσάς 2001, 39, no. 17. Καλιτσάς - Δεσπίνης 2014, 94-100, no. I.1.70 (Α. Μουστάκα).

*A. Klonizaki*



### 103. Unfinished statue of a kouros

Ca. 540 BC

Coarse-grained Naxian marble

Preserved h. 1.02 m

Quarries of Apollonas, Naxos

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. Γ 14.

The modelling of the surface of the statue has remained unfinished and only the main volumes can be identified, whereas evidence of pointing is still preserved.

Smaller than life-size, the kouros is shown advancing his left leg, whereas his slightly bent arms touch the outer face of his thighs with the closed palms of his hands. The long hair that falls over the shoulders and back would have been arranged possibly in spiral curls over the forehead in its completed form. As indicated by the location, the kouros was carved *in situ*, yet its destination remains unknown. The use of white, coarse-grained Naxian marble is widespread in Archaic sculpture. Statues made of Naxian marble were found not just in the Cyclades, but also in Attica and Boeotia, at Argos and on Samos, whereas the marble was exported even to Magna Graecia.

The artistic tradition of the preceding centuries, mostly from the 8th c. BC onwards, and also the contacts and relations maintained with other peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean were contributing factors to the formation and evolution of the main sculpture types of the Archaic period. As regards the ancient Greek sculpture, artistic influences from Egypt and the Near East are evidenced in works of the so-called Daedalic style and the Archaic period. In the monumental Archaic sculpture these influences concern mainly the proportions, provided that these conform to the Egyptian kanons.

#### Selected bibliography

Kekulé 1869, 131ff., no. 322. Blümel 1927, 49, no. 2, figs. 5-6. Blümel 1940, 19ff., figs. 12-13. Richter 1960, 87, under no. 80. Καρούζου 1967, 11. Kokkorou-Alewrás 1975, 33, 97ff., no. K 28. Floren 1987, 151, note 3. Καλτσάς 2001, 58, no. 67. Δεσπίνης - Καλτσάς 2014, 188-190, no. I.1, 176, figs. 614-617 (Γ. Κοκκορού-Αλευρά).

M. Salta





**104. Black-figure lekythos**

525-475 BC  
 The Haimon Painter  
 Clay  
 H. 0.177, d. 0.066, d. rim 0.025 m  
 Attica  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. A 492

This vase depicts the mythological episode of the abduction of Europe, the daughter of the Phoenician king Phoenix, by Zeus disguised as a bull.

In the centre of the scene there is a group consisting of a woman on the back of the animal, while two additional female figures are present, gesticulating wildly and showing their panic. Between the figures, random letters are discernible.

**Selected bibliography**

ABV 538. Haspels 1936, 243.39.

*E. Oikonomou*



**105. Statuette of Artemis**

Late 4th c. BC  
 Bronze  
 H. 0.35 m  
 Seabed off Mykonos  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. X 16790

Homer refers to Artemis as "Potnia Thëron", namely the mistress of the beasts and forests. The quiver which she bears, attests to her capacity as huntress. The phiale that she would probably hold in her right hand is associated perhaps with the cult rituals practiced during the various life stages of young girls, from their childhood to adolescence, when the goddess, being their

protector, prepared them for the role of the good wife and effective mother.

The statuette's provenance confirms that it belonged to the cargo of a ship which might also carry, amongst other goods, works of art.

**Selected bibliography**

Τσαγκάρη 2011, 76, no. 153 (Π. Μπούγια).

*N. Palaiokrassa*



**106. Griffin bust**

*Second quarter of the 4th c. BC*  
 Marble  
 H. 0.31 m  
 Piraeus  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Γ 3626a (BE 236/1927)

The head and the surviving part of the neck of a griffin belonged to a funerary cauldron. Griffins were monstrous creatures with the head of a bird, occasionally dragon's thorns, and the body of a lion. Being adopted from the art of the East, griffins are widely employed in metalwork and pottery decoration of the 7th c. BC, whereas their popularity recurs during the 4th c. BC whereupon they serve as attachments to marble funerary vessels in the form of cauldrons.

**Selected bibliography**

von Mercklin 1926, 105, note. 2, side pl. 2.1. Vedder 1985, 271, no. G18.

*Ch. Tsouli*



**107. Vase with relief decoration**

*4th-3rd c. BC*  
 Green faience  
 H. 0.208 m  
 Egypt. Donated to the National Archaeological Museum by the Greek expatriate in Egypt Ioannis Dimitriou  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Αιγ. 1922

The main theme consists in a banquet and sacrifice scene on a horned altar. This type is considered a creation of the Greek and local artisans of the renewed faience workshops of Memphis and other locations in the Nile Delta.

**Selected bibliography**

Wallis 1898, 88. Παντερμαλής 1997, 122, no. 39 (Ε. Κλαδάκη).

*E. Tourna*



**108. Sealing**

*100-50 BC*  
 Lead  
 L. 0.025, th. 0.007 m  
 From the raising of the Antikythera shipwreck  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. X 18955

On the slightly concave surface of the sealing a dolphin is depicted with its tailfins raised. Visible towards the area of the raised tail are three relief letters of an inscription: - /AC. This is likely the end of the name of the merchant who used the sealing (3rd c. AD) or, according to another version, it is a sealing used in the transport of ores for smelting at the silver and lead mines of Iberia and Galatia (1st c. BC).

**Selected bibliography**

Σβορώνος 1903, vol. A, 79, no. 97, fig. 69. Bouyia 2012, 48-49, fig. 11.

*S. Athanasopoulou*



### 109. Lagynoi

2nd-1st c. BC

Clay

H. from 0.173 to 0.27 m

Unknown provenance

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. nos. A 2354, 2397, 2176, 2170

Four table vessels for drink consumption, characteristic of the Hellenistic period. The three white lagynoi bear decoration in light brown paint of wreaths, fruit-bearing branches, and musical instruments. The fourth is covered by black glaze and bears an added relief scene of a Dionysian troupe (satyrs and maenads).

Prevalent throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, vessels of this shape were widely used at symposia and during funerary rites.

#### Selected bibliography

A 2170, 2176. Picón - Hemingway 2016, 173-174, cat. nos. 92-93 (E. Oikonomou).

G. Kavvadias

**110. Glass vessels of Syro-Palestinian provenance**



**Aryballos**

*1st c. AD*  
*H. 0.08, d. rim 0.022 m*  
*Thebes*  
*National Archaeological Museum,*  
*inv. no. A 2701*

The glass is light yellowish-brown. The spherical body is decorated with a net pattern that consists of pentagons rendered with double lines in relief ending in raised dots at the vertices.

**Selected bibliography**

Weinberg 1992, 125, no. 97.



**Amphoriskos**

*1st or 2nd c. AD*  
*H. 0.08, d. rim 0.021 m*  
*Unknown provenance*  
*National Archaeological Museum,*  
*inv. no. A 2694*

The glass is light brown. The hexagonal body carries decoration consisting of six panels that encompass motifs such as a palm branch(?), a floral pattern and a spiral design. Each motif is repeated once.

**Selected bibliography**

Weinberg 1992, 125-126, no. 98.



**Amphoriskos**

*Probably 2nd c. AD*  
*Glass*  
*H. 0.08, d. base 0.026 m*  
*Unknown provenance*  
*National Archaeological Museum,*  
*inv. no. A 3032*

Colourless. The spherical body bears relief decoration that comprises bands of lozenges, whereas the shoulder and the lower part of the body are occupied by a radial pattern.

**Selected bibliography**

Weinberg 1992, 126-127, no. 99.



### **Pyxis with lid**

*Early 1st c. AD*

*H. 0.08, d. rim 0.05, d. lid 0.056,*

*d. base 0.034 m*

*Kerameikos, Cemetery*

*National Archaeological Museum,*

*inv. no. A 2779*

The glass is an opaque white with bluish tinge. Vertical lines on the body form eight panels that include the following motifs: lozenge, candelabrum(?), rosette(?), and palmette. Each motif is repeated once. The upper surface of the lid and the circular underside bear concentric rings, tongue-shaped and leaf-shaped patterns around the central knob-handle.

### **Selected bibliography**

Weinberg 1992, 123-124, no. 94.

*P. Koutsiana*





*Composition based on the depictions on vases cat. nos. 115, 116, 11.*

Odysseys

~~Odysseys~~ Odysseys

## ITHACAS

[...] φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.

*Ομήρου Οδύσσεια, τ 290*

to his own native land!

*Homer, The Odyssey, XIX 290*

Keep Ithaka always in your mind.  
Arriving there is that you are destined for.

*C. P. Cavafy, Ithaka*

Fortunate he who's made the voyage of Odysseus.  
Fortunate if on setting out he's felt the rigging of a love  
strong in his body, spreading there like veins where  
the blood throbs.

A love of indissoluble rhythm, unconquerable like music  
and endless  
because it was born when we were born and when it dies,  
if it does die, neither we know nor does anyone else.

*G. Seferis, Upon a Foreign Verse*

# Odysseys



## The place

If you deconstruct Greece, you will in the end see an olive tree, a grape vine, and a boat remain. That is: with as much, you reconstruct her

*O. Elytis, The Little Seafarer*



### 111. Spring Fresco

*Late 17th c. BC (Late Cycladic I period)*  
*Plaster*  
*H. 2.50, w. north wall 1.88,*  
*w. west wall 2.60, w. south wall 2.22 m*  
*Akrotiri, Thera, Ground-floor room (Δ2)*  
*of Delta Complex*  
*National Archaeological Museum,*  
*inv. no. BE 1974.29*

This unique work of art has been created using the fresco technique (painting on wet lime plaster), and depicts the Theran landscape in springtime when red sea-lilies bloom among the yellow ochre and red-brown rocks while

swallows fly “flirtatiously” among them.

The composition is so vivid and the colours are so bright, similarly like it used to be when the room was in use, when the town of Akrotiri was destroyed by a catastrophic volcanic eruption.

#### **Selected bibliography**

Doumas 1993, 100-106. Marinatos 1999 (IV), 20-25, pls. 37-41, 121-126.

*M. Kriga*

### 112. Conical rhyton

*Late 17th c. BC (Late Minoan IA period)*  
*Cretan provenance*  
 Clay  
*H. 0.249, d. rim 0.18 m*  
*Akrotiri, Thera, Room 9 (Δ9)*  
*of Delta Complex*  
*National Archaeological Museum,*  
*inv. no. AKP 1494*

The large clay rhyton that reached Akrotiri from Eastern Crete as a product of trade is decorated with large crocus (saffron) flowers. The blooms stem from a central stalk with leaves on both sides. Below is a narrow zone with crocus flowers.

The Therans displayed their preference for the “exotic” by using imported rhyta in their rituals in honour of the gods.

#### Selected bibliography

Doumas 1983, 93, fig. 56. Marinatos 1999 (V), 31, pl. 64a-b.

*M. Kriga*



### 113. Ewer

*Late 17th c. BC (Late Cycladic I period)*  
*Theran provenance*  
 Clay  
*H. 0.365, d. rim 0.087-0.09 m*  
*Akrotiri, Thera, niche in the ground-floor*  
*room (Δ2) of Delta Complex*  
*National Archaeological Museum,*  
*inv. no. AKP 1470*

“Teapot” with a “necklace” of black dots around the neck and “bird’s eyes” on the spout. The main subject depicts plants, most likely reeds, that appear to move with the breeze.

The teapots, due to the many decorative motifs with which they are decorated, most likely had a ritual use.

#### Selected bibliography

Doumas 1983, 92, fig. 50. Marinatos 1999 (IV), 36, col. pl. Hb, pl. 72.

*M. Kriga*



### 114. Beaked eyed ewer

*Late 17th c. BC (Late Cycladic I period)*

*Theran provenance*

*Clay*

*H. 0.213, max. d. 0.155 m*

*Akrotiri, Thera, Room 2 (Δ2) of the building to the west of Sector A*

*National Archaeological Museum,*

*inv. no. AKP 928*

Small vessel for the transport of liquids with a spout shaped like the beak of a bird and painted bird eyes. Sheaves of barley swaying in the wind are painted in dark brown colour on the wide body of the vessel.

The plant is easily recognizable and it is likely that the depiction of barley was used as a "label" for the contents, perhaps a form of mead (beer).

#### **Selected bibliography**

Doumas 1983, 92, fig. 51. Marinatos 1999 (IV), 36, col. pl. HC, pl. 73.

*M. Kriga*



### 115. Askos

*Late 17th c. BC (Late Minoan IA period)*

*Cretan provenance*

*Clay*

*H. 0.14, max. d. 0.129 m*

*Akrotiri, Thera, Room 4 (Δ4)*

*of Delta Complex*

*National Archaeological Museum,*

*inv. no. AKP 1377*

The small clay vessel with its raised tubular mouth, arched handle, and body that resembles a bag (*askos*) reached Akrotiri as a product of trade with neighbouring Crete, either filled with aromatic oils or empty as a beautiful and "exotic" object that would have found buyers in the small but cosmopolitan harbour of Thera.

An exceptionally detailed drawing of an olive branch with leaves and fruits in black paint decorates the shoulder.

#### **Bibliography**

Unpublished.

*M. Kriga*



**116. Large ewer***Late 17th c. BC (Late Cycladic I period)**Theran provenance**Clay**H. 0.486, d. rim 0.084-0.095 m**Akrotiri, Thera, Antechamber of the north façade of Delta Complex (Δ4)**National Archaeological Museum,**inv. no. AKP 623*

The large one-handed vessel (ewer) must once have contained wine, as indicated by its "label", the large bunches of dark brown grapes decorating its shoulder. The grapes are easily recognized on the curved surface, thus showing the keen observation and skill of the prehistoric painter, as well as the attempt to make the contents on the vessel's interior more readily identifiable.

**Selected bibliography**

Doumas 1983, 96, fig. 61. Marinatos 1999 (III), 60, pl. 56.1.

*M. Krige*





**117. Kymbe**

Late 17th c. BC (Late Cycladic I period)  
 Theran provenance  
 Clay  
 H. 0.121, l. rim 0.534 m  
 Akrotiri, Thera, House of the Ladies  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. AKP 3266

On one side of kymbe, three black and white wild goats run among large red crocus (saffron) flowers, and on the other, three black dolphins with red and white details “swim” in the fantastic seascape among seaweed and rocks.

Clay kymbes (similar in appearance to boats/dinghies) have been found only in the town of Akrotiri and depict

scenes with animals, plants, and dolphins. Their function is unknown.

**Selected bibliography**

Marinatos 1999 (VI), 33, col. pl. 11, pl. 80.

M. Krige

**118. “Palace style” jar/amphora**

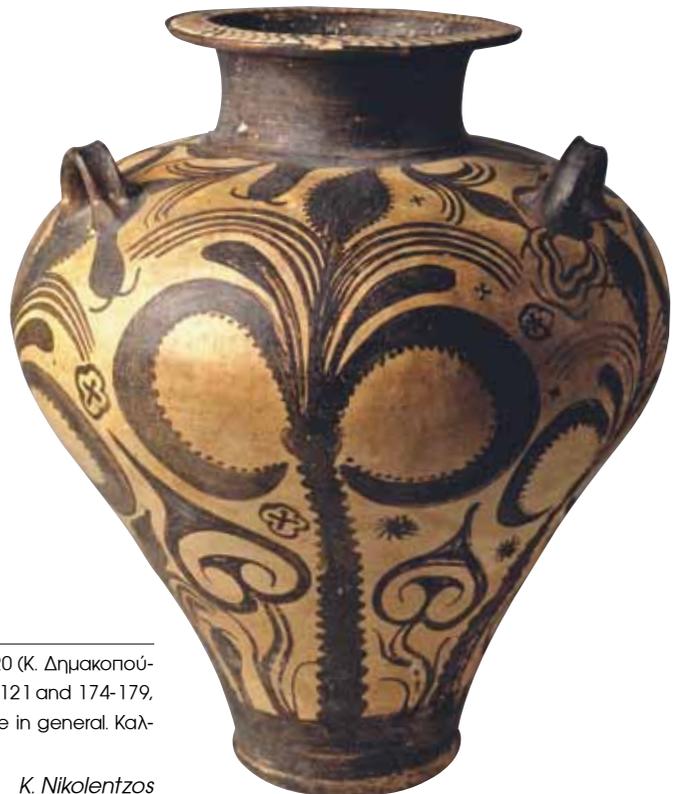
1500-1450 BC (Late Helladic IIA period)  
 H. 0.355, max. d. 0.30, d. rim 0.12 m  
 Clay  
 Argos(?), Deiras cemetery(?)  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Π 7107

The main decorative motif consists of four tall palms placed symmetrically on the four sides of the vessel, filled in with ivy, crosses, anemones, and small palms. Similarly decorated vessels are found in the Argolis and on Aegina, Kea, and Melos, as well as in areas of Crete.

On “palace style” amphora, see generally cat. no. 20.

**Selected bibliography**

Δημακοπούλου 1988, 93, no. 20 (Κ. Δημακοπούλου). Kalogeropoulos 1998, 121 and 174-179, on “palace style” amphorae in general. Καλτσάς 2008, 145.



K. Nikolentzos



### 119. Votive relief

4th c. BC

Marble

H. 0.72, w. 0.78 m

Mouzaki, Thessaly (ancient Gomphoi)

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. Γ 1914

The relief, which has the shape of a temple, depicts two scenes that take place in the palace of Ithaca following the torturous return of Odysseus from Troy. The left side of the relief depicts Euryycleia, the aged nursemaid of Odysseus, recognizing the hero by a scar on his leg while washing his feet in an act of hospitality. The right side of the relief depicts Pene-

lope in front of an upright loom weaving with the spindle in her right hand.

The combination of the two episodes of the Homeric narrative is a unique instance in ancient Greek art. Such scenes were depicted separately on Melian reliefs, red-figure vases, relief skyphoi, Campana reliefs, signet rings, lamps, etc., and enjoyed great popularity.

#### Selected bibliography

Biesantz 1965, 32, no. 57, 144, 149. Andrae 1999, 34, 364, 383, no. 12, 394, no. 170, fig. 170. Σταμπολίδης - Τασούλας 2014, 107-108, no. 5 (Χ. Τσούλη).

Ch. Tsouli



### 120. Statue of Odysseus

*First half of the 1st c. BC*

*Parian marble*

*H. 2.03 m*

*From the Antikythera shipwreck*

*National Archaeological Museum,*

*inv. no. Γ 5745*

The larger than life-size statue depicts Odysseus, who is securely identified by the cloak fastened on the left shoulder and the *pilos* on the head. The mature, bearded man is moving vigorously forward. He may be depicted just after escaping, while looking back to see whether he is being followed.

The adventures of the mythical king of Ithaca served as an eternal symbol of man's torturous path through life and an inexhaustible source of inspiration for all art forms everywhere in the world.

#### **Selected bibliography**

Bol 1972, 78-79, no. 28, pls. 44-45. Kaltsas *et al.* 2012, 106, cat. no. 51 (E. Vlachogianni).

*E. Vlachogianni*

# Odysseys

Οδυσσεύς

## Resources

τὸν δ' οἶον πατέρ' εὔρεν εὐκτιμένη ἐν ἀλωῇ,  
λιστρεύοντα φυτὸν ῥυπόωντα δὲ ἔστο χιτῶνα  
ῥαπτὸν ἀεικέλιον, περὶ δὲ κνήμησι βοείας  
κνημίδας ῥαπτὰς δέδετο, γραπτῦς ἀλεείνων,

*Ομήρου Οδύσσεια, ὠ 226-229*

But he found his father alone in the well-ordered vineyard,  
digging about a plant; and he was clothed in a dirty tunic,  
patched and wretched and about his shins  
he had bound stitched greaves of oxhide to guard  
against scratches and he wore gloves upon his hands  
because of the thorns

*Homer, The Odyssey, XXIV 226-229*

Slender girls along the seacoast are gathering up the salt,  
very bent and bitter – they do not see the ocean.

And a sail – a white, white sail- beckons to them in the blue  
and because they didn't perceive it, it turns black from its grief

*Y. Ritsos, Slender Girls*

*Eighteen Short Songs of the Bitter Motherland*

And if you find her poor, Ithaka won't have fooled you.  
Wise as you will have become, so full of experience,  
You will have understood by then these Ithakas mean

*C. P. Cavafy, Ithaka*

**121. Axes, animal figurines, and legumes**

*Axes*  
 6th-5th millennium BC (Neolithic period)  
 Stone  
 L. of largest 0.08 m  
 Sesklo, Thessaly  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. nos. Π 6002.3-5, 6002.12, 6002.17



*Figurine of a waterfowl and figurine of a pig*  
 5th millennium BC (Late Neolithic period)  
 Clay  
 L. of bird 0.075, h. of pig 0.035 m  
 Sesklo, Thessaly (bird);  
 Donation of Georgios Tsolozidis  
 Collection (pig)  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. nos. Π 5979 (bird), Π 16467 (pig)



*Carbonized seeds*  
 5th millennium BC (Late Neolithic period)  
 Bitter vetch (legume)  
 Wt. 150 gr  
 Sesklo, Thessaly  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Π 21534



The complete assemblage of finds from the excavations at the Neolithic settlements of Sesklo and Dimini in Thessaly by Christos Tsountas in the early 20th century, stored and exhibited at the National Archaeological Museum, provide an inexhaustible source for research.

The elements presented here of the material culture of Sesklo, among the first permanent Neolithic installations in Greece (Crete, Thessaly – 7th millennium BC), form part of the “equipment” that was transmitted from the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, traversing the Aegean aboard seafaring vessels.

The domesticated cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, and cultivated grains and legumes that were transported ensured the practice of agriculture and animal husbandry in permanent settlements near rich water sources.

The new technology of manufacturing ground stone tools (axes) facilitated the removal of forests to create cultiva-

ble land. Thus by loading a ship with the “sine qua non” of the primary economy, and possessing necessary skills, the new way of life spread to permanent installations. This archetype has not changed to the present day.

**Selected bibliography**

1-2. Τοούντας, 1908, 310, pls. 39:3-5, 12, 17, 299, pl. 36:9. 3. Unpublished. In general: Perles 2001.

*K. Manteli*

## 122. Objects with a standardized symbolic code and traces of writing(?)

Clay seal with meander  
4800-4500 BC (Late Neolithic II period)  
Dim. 0.062x0.048 m  
Sesklo, Thessaly  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 6013



Clay seal with concentric circles  
4800-4500 BC (Late Neolithic II period)  
D. 0.049 m  
Thessaly  
(Donation of the G. Tsolozidis  
Collection)  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 16508



Clay spool with engraved zig-zag  
4800-4500 BC (Late Neolithic II period)  
H. 0.12 m  
Unknown provenance  
(Donation of the G. Tsolozidis Collection)  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 16600



Gold ring pendant with traces  
of writing(?)  
4500-3300 BC (Final Neolithic period)  
H. 0.023, d. 0.02 m, wt. 2.3 gr  
Unknown provenance  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 16650

The numerous vertical intersecting lines on the cylindrical shaft of the sizeable spool-weaving implement appear to function as an identifying and distinguishing symbol. The faint engraved linear symbols arranged in a circle on the gold pendant serve as a "secret" apotropaic inscription. The enclosed meander and concentric circles on the seals are clear symbols of communication in the context of trade.

The codification of symbols, recognizable as a form of writing, is not inconsistent with the structured Neolithic society and economy.

### Selected bibliography

1-2. *CMS* I, nos. 2-3. 3. Unpublished. 4. Δημακοπούλου 1998, 53:12. In general: Owens 2009.

*K. Manteli*





**123. Ritual vessels**

4800-4500 BC (Late Neolithic II period)  
Clay

A. Fruitstand  
H. 0.36 m  
Dimini, Thessaly  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 5933.1

B. "Scoop"  
H. 0.17 m  
Sesklo, Thessaly  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 5928

C. Grill support  
H. 0.23 m  
Sesklo, Thessaly  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 5935

D. Model of a grill support  
H. 0.06 m  
Sesklo, Thessaly  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 5945

The three vessels from the settlements of Sesklo and Dimini in Thessaly are objects of status and symbolism judging by their highly decorated appearance with painted or engraved motifs and the relief human face on the fruitstand. All relate to the management of food in the ritual meals of Neolithic society: the fruitstand as a serving vessel, the "scoop" as a vessel for giving out portions, the fire-blackened grill support for the roasting of meat. Finally, the model grill support belongs to the symbolic code of the ritual re-production of "moments".



**Selected bibliography**

Τσούντρας 1908, 290, pl. 23:3, 206-207, pl. 16:3, 222, pl. 30:2, 222, 225, fig. 121.

K. Manteli

**124. Pithos***17th c. BC**Clay**H. 1.20 m**Knossos. It was offered by Minos Kalokairinos to the then heir of the Greek throne Konstantinos. Later, it was donated by King Konstantinos to the NAM**National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Π 6435A*

The large vessel bears relief decoration and signs in Linear A script. Similar vessels come from various Cretan sites and naturally the west storerooms of the palatial centre at Knossos, whereas pithoi often also bore Linear A symbols. Although still undeciphered, Linear A appears to share similarities with Linear B (the Mycenaean and first Greek script), and it is likely that it had the same functional role, in other words to indicate ownership or the owner, the quantity of products or people, or administrative management of palatial storerooms. Linear A is found outside Crete as well, in particularly great quantities at Thera, Phylakopi, and at Agia Eirini on Kea.

**Selected bibliography**

Christakis 2005. Παπάζογλου-Μανιουδάκη 2005, 12-13.

*K. Nikolentzos*





**125. The “fishermen vase”**

*Ca. 1600 BC (Late Cycladic I period)*  
Clay  
*Preserved h. 0.268, d. base 0.10 m*  
*Melos, Phylakopi*  
*National Archaeological Museum,*  
*inv. no. Π 5782*

Depicted on the cylindrical clay lamp stand is a procession of four men wearing kilts holding a miniature dolphin in each hand.

The representation of men with fish, a subject which has been eloquently called “the return of the fisherman”, is quite rare. It also appears in the famous contemporary wall-paintings at Akrotiri on Thera, where it is associated with rites of passage; in general it demonstrates the particular importance of fishing, both economic and symbolic, in the Bronze Age Aegean.

**Selected bibliography**

Powell 1996, Γερωντάκου 2010.

*K. Kostanti*



**126. Bull figurine**

*14th c. BC*  
Clay  
*H. 0.075, w. 0.12 m*  
*Mycenae, Acropolis*  
*National Archaeological Museum,*  
*inv. no. Π 2658.1*

Bull figurine with complex but schematic linear painted decoration covering the entire surface.

In the Mycenaean period, innumerable anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines are produced. The latter depict various animals (bovine, dogs, sheep, pigs), but bovine are the most prevalent. They are considered to be dedications at the sanctuaries but also perhaps had a role as a child’s toy.

**Selected bibliography**

French 1971, 154. Δημακοπούλου 1988, 229.

*K. Nikolentzos*



**127. Linear B tablet**

*Late 13th c. BC*  
*(Late Helladic III B2 period)*  
Clay  
*L. 0.118, w. 0.052, th. 0.012 m*  
*Pylos, Palace of Ano Englianos*  
*National Archaeological Museum,*  
*inv. no. PY Vn20*

The tablet records the distribution of portions of wine to nine cities of the Pylian territory. Must and wine are mentioned on the tablets, while the cultivation of vineyards in the Mycenaean period is documented mainly through archaeobotany. Askoi, amphorae, pithoi, oinochoai, and kylikes were used for the transportation, storage, and consumption of wine in everyday life as well as during festivals and funerary rites.

**Selected bibliography**

Ventris - Chadwick 1973, no. 250. Ruiperez - Melena 1996, 155-156.

*K. Kostanti*



**128. Rhyton**

12th c. BC (Late Helladic III C period)  
Clay  
H. 0.18, w. 0.161, preserved l. 0.201 m  
Cyprus, unknown provenance  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. K 15373

Rhyton in the shape of a donkey carrying Canaanite amphorae, vessels of Syrian origin (12th c. BC), on its back. It belongs to the category of Cypriot plastic vessels that depict scenes of everyday life, often found in graves as a testimony of the earthly life of the deceased. The naturalistic rendering is suggestive of the Cypriot tradition, but the subject reflects Greek prototypes, as similar rhyta of the same period are found in Rhodes and Crete.

**Selected bibliography**

Παπαζογλου 2004, 319-332.

*E. Konstantinidi-Syvridi*



**129. Model of a granary**

900-850 BC  
Clay  
H. 0.09 m  
Unknown provenance  
(donation of G. Empedocles)  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. A 18490

Small unusual vessel with flat base, pointed top, and a small square opening. It is decorated with groups of horizontal lines parallel to each other that interrupt the black burnished surface of the vessel.

Models of granaries have been encountered only in female burials. They possibly confirm testimonies contained in the Homeric Epics, that women were responsible for the household and managed its supplies. These artefacts are identified by some archaeologists with beehive models, while some others relate them to the cult of chthonic deities.

**Bibliography**

Unpublished.



**130. Clay model of a wagon**

8th-early 7th c. BC  
Pinkish clay  
H. 0.21, l. of horse 0.31, total l. 0.325,  
d. of wheel 0.15, h. of miniature  
amphorae 0.086 m  
Chalcis (confiscation)  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. 14481

Probably from a Euboean or Attic workshop. It consists of a model of a horse or a mule-drawn wagon with four wheels in place of horse-legs. On the back of the horse, six miniature amphoriskoi.

The model reminds us of the characteristic means of land transport for goods like wine and oil using two and four-wheeled wagons, a method of transport which remained in use in the Mediterranean from antiquity until early modern times. Clay models of wagons from graves – frequently, those of children – have been considered toys.

**Selected bibliography**

Boardman 1957, 15, pl. 3a-b. Richter 1974 (1959), 232, fig. 328. Koehler 1986, 60, fig. 11. Kallipolitis-Feytmans 1963, 430. Crouwel 1992, 83, pl. 19.2. Guggisberg 1996, 94, no. 291, pl. 22.2. Xagorari 1996, 26-27, pl. 22.1 (late 9th c. BC). Chatzidimitriou 2010, 1, fig. 2.

*M. Chidiroglou*

*E. Zosi*



**131. Figurine of a shepherd**

540-520 BC

Bronze

H. 0.12 m

Neda, Messenia, Sanctuary of Pan Nomios  
(Berekla, ancient Arcadia)

National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. X 13053

The shepherd carries on his shoulders a calf as an offering to the sanctuary of Pan.

The humble shepherd was perhaps the primary votive dedicated by the pious from the middle of the 6th until the early 5th c. BC at local sanctuaries in the mountains of Arcadia (Lykosoura, Tegea, Lousoi, etc.), where the offerings from farmers and pastoralists who lived in the area were abundant.

**Selected bibliography**

Hübinger 1992, 198, figs. 9-11. Βοκοποπούλου  
1997, 28, 234, no. 64.

*S. Athanasopoulou*



**132. Bull figurine**

Second half of the 6th c. BC

Bronze

H. 0.052, l. 0.10 m

Sanctuary of Kabiroi, Boeotia

National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. X 10552

The bull is rendered in motion with its right front hoof raised. Along its back are the engraved inscriptions *ΧΣΕΝΥΛΙΣ* on the right side and *ΤΟΙ ΠΑΙΔΙ* on the left side (Chsenylis dedicated it to the Paidi).

The god Kabiros and the divine Paidi (child), the god's cupbearer, were worshipped in the Boeotian sanctuary of Kabiroi. The mystery cult in their honour was primarily associated with fertility.

From the Geometric period until the 3rd c. BC, figurines of bulls and other animals were frequently dedicated by the pious to Kabiroi for protection and the fecundity of their herds.

**Selected bibliography**

Schmaltz 1980, 76, no. 302, pl. 16. Daumas 2002,  
138-141 (particularly for Kabirion).

*S. Athanasopoulou*

**133. Pair of millstones of “Olynthian” type**

*Classical period*

*Volcanic stone*

Γ 14323: Dim. 0.55x0.355, h. 0.10 m.

Γ 14328: Dim. 0.45x0.18, h. 0.11 m

*Ithaca; found in a vineyard at the foot of the mountain where the so-called “Castle of Odysseus” lies*

*National Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. Γ 14323, 14328*



The quadrilateral bedstone (*myle*) is preserved intact, whereas only half of the funnel-shaped runner stone (*onos aletes*) that spins against the bedstone survives. The grains were inserted through the eye of the runner stone and were discharged into the gap between the two parts. A metal shaft (*kope*) is affixed on the top part of the hopper with

which recoil of the runner stone above the stationary bedstone was achieved. Both working surfaces bear herringbone incisions parallel to each other.

**Bibliography**

Unpublished.

*Ch. Tsouli*



**134. Relief plaque**

*Late 2nd c. BC*

*Pentelic marble*

*H. 0.80, l. 1.57 m*

*Athens, Rigillis Street*

*National Archaeological Museum,*

*inv. no. Γ 3498*

The symmetrical composition depicts a winemaking scene. At the centre of the scene two nude Satyrs are shown carrying a calyx krater filled with wine. Two densely haired Silenoi are depict-

ed on either side treading grapes in two large containers. The plaque was recovered together with two others that belong thematically to the Dionysian cycle. They probably formed part of the decoration of an altar.

**Selected bibliography**

Καστριώτης 1924-1925, 26-28, nos. 13-15, figs. 17-19. Καλτσάς 2001, 288-289, no. 609.

*A. Klonizaki*

### 135. Table support (trapezophoro)

Ca. 170 AD  
 Docimium marble (Iscehisar, Asia Minor)  
 H. 1.275 m  
 Unknown provenance (confiscation)  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Γ 5706

Relief base support of a table decorated with a scene of grape harvest. Dionysus is depicted nude crowned with a bulky wreath of vine leaves, grapes, and ivy flowers, while holding in his right hand a ritual vessel (rhyton) in the form of a panther's head. God Pan, who holds a *lagobolon* (an implement used in the hunting of hares), touches the rhyton with his head. At their feet lies a half-opened ciste (basket) from which a serpent emerges. The composition is completed by a small figure of Satyr who climbs a grapevine holding a sickle.

Dionysian iconography frequently decorated trapezophora. With its rich and daring composition this luxurious work from Asia Minor impresses the museum visitor and probably decorated a lavish symposium or reception room.

#### Selected bibliography

Στεφανίδου-Τιβεριίου 1989, 39-66. Ρωμισπούλου 1997, no. 102, Καλτσάς 2001, 349, no. 739.

A. Klonizaki



# Odysseys



## Religion

I had seen gods' statues naked, and I knew  
how vulnerable they all were

*Y. Ritsos, Under the Shadow of the Mountain*

### 137. Representations of the human figure



#### 136. Statuette of a female figure with an infant

4800-4500 BC (Late Neolithic II period)  
Clay  
H. 0.165 m  
Sesklo, Thessaly  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 5937

As anonymous as the makers of Neolithic clay figurines are, the creator of the timeless "kouroutrophos" was an accomplished artist. The tender embrace of mother and nursing baby is depicted with such expressiveness that the completeness of the scene is not disturbed by the absence of the added head of the mother. In addition, the homogenous motifs on the garments emphasized with added red colour visually unify the figures.

Whether common mortal or deity, the mother predominates as a symbol and as a point of reference.

#### Selected bibliography

Τσούντας 1908, 290, pl. 31:2. Χουρμουζιάδης 1994.

K. Manteli

Fragment of a painted vase  
4800-4500 BC (Late Neolithic II period)  
Clay  
Dim. 0.03x0.035 m  
Arapi Magoula, Thessaly  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 8774

Fragment of a vase with relief decoration  
4500-3300 BC (Final Neolithic period)  
Clay  
H. 0.06 m  
Thessaly  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 8775

Oval plaque with an engraved depiction of a human figure  
4800-4500 BC (Late Neolithic II period)  
Green steatite  
Dim. 0.039x0.023, th. 0.006 m  
Dimini, Thessaly  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 6004.33

Anthropomorphic figurine  
4800-4500 BC (Late Neolithic II period)  
Black steatite  
H. 0.043 m  
Sesklo, Thessaly  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 5980

Female figurine  
4500-3300 BC (Final Neolithic period)  
Gold  
H. 0.155, d. 0.12 m, wt. 80.6 gr  
Unknown provenance  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 16640

The two-dimensional representation of the human figure belongs to the symbolic code of Neolithic society. Gestures, body positions, shapes, colours, and materials impart meaning to the image which for us is unknown but for Neolithic society was familiar and recognizable.

The gold pendant presents the archetypal female form, prevalent from the Balkans to the islands of the Aegean. On the painted vessel, the head of the female(?) figure with raised arms has exactly the same shape as that of the gold



pendant. The head of the relief male ithyphallic figure, however, is rendered differently. The contracted position of the human body on both sides of the oval tile is the position of a fetus or of the deceased. Finally, the nature of the small black figure of the pendant/figurine is specified by her tripartite crown.

#### Selected bibliography

1. Grundmann 1953, 29, fig. 33. 2. Unpublished. 3-4. Τσούντας 1908, 337, pl. 43:22, 303, pl. 37:1. 5. Δημακοπούλου 1998, pl. 51:3.

K. Manteli

### 138. Male statuette

4500-3300 BC (Final Neolithic period)  
Clay  
H. 0.48 m  
Karditsa, Thessaly  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 5894

Neolithic societies rarely depicted men. The figurines commonly render females with an emphasis on fertility. This seated man with accentuated genitals and the now broken phallus denotes the fecund force of the male, underlined by the position of the left hand. In a diametrically opposed movement, the right hand supports the head, characterizing the figure as a "thinker". The combination of the physical and mental dimensions refers to a ritual moment during which this large statuette would have been visible to many.

#### Selected bibliography

Χουρμουζιάδης 1994. Παπαθανασόπουλος 1996, 310:228.

*K. Manteli*



### 139. Cut-out sheet

1550-1500 BC  
Gold  
H. 0.075, w. 0.069 m  
Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Tomb III  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 26

Cut-out gold foil, depicting a tripartite sanctuary, crowned by horns of consecration which demonstrate a clear Minoan origin or influence. The gold sheet possibly copies an existing public building of cultic character, which adorned Mycenaean and Minoan palatial centres. Symbolic meaningful creatures coexist, such as the two birds, the columns, the altars, which could be considered to be materialized manifestations of the Divinity.

The existence of suspension or attachment holes perhaps indicates that the object was sewed onto some form of clothing or priestly costume.



#### Selected bibliography

Καίρο 1932, 48. Δημακοπούλου 1990, 281. Konstantinidi 2001.

*K. Nikolentzos*



#### 140. Brooch

Second half of the 16th c. BC  
(Late Helladic I period)

Silver, gold

H. 0.215, l. of head 0.067 m

Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Shaft Grave III  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 75

The impressive silver brooch with gold head belonged to a woman, most likely a priestess, as indicated by the symbolic objects with which she was buried. The brooch combines elements from both Minoan Crete and contemporary Egypt. The female figure on the crown of the pin – clearly a deity – wears the typical Minoan costume composed of an open bodice leaving the breasts bare and a long pleated skirt, while on her head is a magnificent crown in the shape of a papyrus, a Nilotic plant, symbol of abundance and regeneration.

#### Selected bibliography

Karo 1930-33, 54-55, pl. XXX.

E. Konstantinidi-Syvridi



#### 142. Two signet rings

A: 15th c. BC

Gold

Dim. bezel 0.0195x0.03,

d. ring 0.015-0.019 m, wt. 9.86 gr

Mycenae, Chamber Tomb 84

National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 3148

B: 15th c. BC

Gold

B: Dim. bezel 0.018x0.03,

d. ring 0.015-0.018 m, wt. 13.056 gr

Gold

15th c. BC

Mycenae, Chamber Tomb 91

National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 3179



#### 141. Signet ring

Ca. 1500 BC

Gold

D. ring 0.02, dim. bezel 0.025-0.034,

wt. 28.6 gr

Mycenae, "Acropolis Treasure"

National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 992

Signet ring with a composite religious scene. A female deity is seated beneath a tree and receives lily and poppy flowers from a group of female worshippers. The sanctity of the scene is emphasized by the simultaneous appearance of the sun and moon, as well as by the double axe and figure-of-eight shield, sacred symbols of the Mycenaean.

Religious scenes dominate the signet rings of the period, depicting mainly ritual dances by women and men in open-air sanctuaries around the "sacred tree", symbol of the goddess of nature.

#### Selected bibliography

CMSt, 17. Xenaki-Sakellariou 1989, 325, 333, figs.

1, 10.

E. Konstantinidi-Syvridi

In Π 3148, a male figure wearing Minoan dress stands upright before a structure on which has been placed a tree or plant. Behind the man is rendered a wild goat, intended for sacrifice(?).

In the centre of the bezel of Π 3179 is depicted an imposing female figure in Minoan dress, likely a priestess or a deity. To the left can be seen a male figure bending or worshipping a tree that is placed in a structure similar to that on Π 3148. To the right of the central figure stands another female figure that bends and touches another structure.

The iconographical compositions of both rings depict religious rituals that took place in open-air sanctuaries on Crete and in Mainland Greece, seeking the "epiphany" of the deity, in the form of a tree or a structure or a goddess. Both were likely imported from Crete or were made in Mycenae by Cretan artisans.

#### Selected bibliography

Sakellariou 1964, 135, 142-143. Δημακοπούλου 1988, 198, no. 170 (N. Μαρινάτου). Βασιλικού 1997, 38. Krzyszkowska 2005, 254. Καλτσάς 2008, 126-127.

K. Nikolentzos



### 143. Signet ring

15th c. BC

Gold

Dim. bezel 0.057x0.035, d. ring 0.022 m,  
wt. 13.056 gr

Tiryns

National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 6208

This is the largest gold signet ring in the Mycenaean world. Daemons with lion's heads, carrying jugs, move in a procession towards a seated female figure that wears a long garment and raises a type of cup in her hand. The scene depicts a religious ritual in honour of the seated deity or to ensure her assistance. The depiction of astral symbols in the upper part of the object (i.e. sun) possibly associate the ritual with an invocation of divine power for conciliating the weather condition.

#### Selected bibliography

Sakellariou 1964, 202-203. Βασιλικού 1997, 16, 44-45. Krzyszkowska 2005, 243.

*K. Nikolentzos*



### 144. Signet ring

Ca. 1500 BC

Red jasper

Dim. bezel 0.018-0.028 m

Mycenae, Chamber Tomb 88

National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 2852

The sealing surface of the ring depicts "Potnios Theron", a god or hero who neutralizes two wild animals (lions). The artfulness of the object and the composition of the scene indicate its origins in a Minoan workshop. "Potnios Theron" belongs to the long Bronze Age iconographic tradition of the Eastern Mediterranean and Near East and demonstrates the influx of motifs and religious convictions into the Mediterranean, the sea common to these early civilizations.

Moreover, this Mycenaean ring presents the first meeting of two distinct forms of miniature art: sealstone carving and the art of metal rings, an encounter that characterizes the artistic inventiveness of the prehistoric Aegean.

#### Selected bibliography

Sakellariou 1964, 105, cat. no. 89. Δημακοπούλου 1988, 204, no. 175 (N. Μαρινάτου).

*K. Paschalidis*



### 145. Sealstone

15th c. BC

Amygdalite stone

Dim. 0.009x0.0185 m

Vapheio, Laconia, Tholos tomb

National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 1798

Sealstone depicting a standing male figure, possibly a priest, wearing a long garment and holding an axe of Syrian type in one hand.

#### Selected bibliography

Τσοῦντας 1889, 167. Sakellariou 1964, 258.

*K. Nikolentzos*



#### 146. Signet ring

14th c. BC

Gold

Dim. bezel 0.015x0.021, d. ring 0.0275 m

Prosymna, Chamber Tomb 44

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. Π 8455

Gold signet ring with a scene of two griffins flanking a column.

Columns, pillars and griffins have been associated with aspects of Cretan-Mycenaean religion.

#### Selected bibliography

Sakellariou 1964, 251.

*K. Nikolentzos*



#### 147. Plaque

13th c. BC (Late Helladic III B period)

Plaster

H. 0.111, l. 0.19, th. 0.055 m

Mycenae, Cult Centre

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. Π 2666

Although the surface of the plaque is quite damaged, a woman with a figure-of-eight shield, clearly a martial deity, can be discerned, flanked by two priestesses in attitudes of worship and an altar.

The significance of the scene rests in the fact that it provides evidence of the presence of a war goddess in the Mycenaean pantheon. The figure has been associated with the goddess Athena of the Classical period, whose cult is considered to have its roots in the Mycenaean age, as a Linear B tablet mentions her: *a-ta-na po-ti-ni-ja* (Athena Potnia).

#### Selected bibliography

Τσοῦντρας 1887, 162, pl. 10.2 Rodenwaldt 1912, 129.

*E. Konstantinidi-Syvridi*



**148. Wall-painting of “The Mykenaiia” (The Mycenaean Lady)**

*Second half of the 13th c. BC  
(Late Helladic III B period)  
Painted plaster  
Preserved h. 0.53, preserved w. 0.50 m  
Mycenae, Acropolis, Cult Centre  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 11670*

Scene of a female figure, likely a deity, who would have been approached by a procession of women, now lost. The goddess with her elaborate hair-style, luxurious attire, painted lips, eyes and ears, and rich jewelry looks, with a pleased smile, at the necklace that she

holds in her hands, an offering by her worshippers.

The Cult Centre housed the ritual activities on the Acropolis of Mycenae, as indicated by the highly symbolic finds and the rich decoration with religiously-themed wall-paintings.

**Selected bibliography**

Κριστέλη-Προβίδη 1982, 37-40, B-1, pl. Γ, 4, 5. Immerwahr 1990, 119-120, 165-166, 191 My no. 3, fig. 32h.

*K. Kostanti*



### 149. Wall-painting

13th c. BC (Late Helladic III B period)

Lime plaster

H. of shield 0.744, with the rosette  
at the top 0.847, d. of upper circle 0.354,  
d. of lower circle 0.40 m

Mycenae, Cult Centre,

Corridor M of the Southwest Building

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. Π 11671

Wall-painting depicting a large figure-of-eight shield with tri-lobed spots that render the hide of a bull. It formed part of a frieze which included at least eight more shields with diverse coloured decoration, a type of mural composition also known from other Mycenaean palaces.

#### Selected bibliography

Κριτσέλη-Προβίδη 1982, 54-59, B-33, pl. ΣΤ:α.

V. Pliatsika



### 150. Linear B tablet

Late 13th c. BC  
(Late Helladic III B2 period)  
Clay  
L. 0.12, h. 0.195, th. 0.023 m  
Pylos, Palace of Ano Englianos  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. PY Tn316

This is the most important tablet for the understanding of Mycenaean religion. On both sides it records the festivals celebrated in the great sanctuary of Pylos, with offerings to fourteen deities of the Pylian pantheon. Among them is Poseidon, Zeus, Hera, and Hermes, as well as Triseros, Iphimedeia, Posideia, Manasa, Despotes, Potnia, and Drimeios. Thirteen gold cups, two men and eight women are offered to the gods. The presence of people in the catalogue of offerings raises an enormous discussion as to whether they were human sacrifices or simply offering of servants in the sanctuaries. The names of the deities indicate an impressive link between the Creto-Mycenaean religion and that of the historical period.

#### Selected bibliography

Ruiperez - Melena 1996, 194-196. Hiller 2011, 169-212.

K. Kostanti



### 151. Linear B tablet

Late 13th c. BC  
(Late Helladic III B2 period)  
Clay  
L. 0.185, h. 0.035, th. 0.017 m  
Pylos, Palace of Ano Englianos  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. PY Ed317

A record of land owned by four high officials of Pylos: the priest (*i-je-re-u*) Wetereu, an attendant (*e-qe-ta*), a

priestess (*i-je-re-ja*), and a key-bearer (*ka-ra-wi-po-ro*), a magistrate responsible for controlling access to the various parts of the cult compounds and treasuries. The priesthood of Pylos enjoyed a privileged position in the social pyramid, owning land and slaves.

#### Selected bibliography

Duhoux 2008, 303-304.

K. Kostanti



### 152. Small clay votive house model (naiskos)

700-675 BC  
Clay  
Chamber: H. 0.185, l. 0.286 m  
L. of floor plaque 0.137 m  
Roof: h. of front 0.169, h. of back 0.18 m  
L. of ceiling plaque 0.377 m  
W. of ceiling in front 0.285,  
in back 0.26 m  
Argive Heraion  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. A 15471

It consists of two parts: the house, with the plaque forming the floor, and the roof and ceiling. It is rectangular with

plasters and has a covered porch with two columns. The pitched roof carries a rectangular opening in its gable, and high in each long wall there are holes for ventilation and lighting. The decorative motifs are borrowed from vase painting.

Such models of buildings are conventional renderings having the main features of a temple or house.

#### Selected bibliography

Οικονόμος 1931, 1ff.

M. Selekou

**153. Votive tablet***540-530 BC**Wood**L. 0.31, h. 0.145 m**Pitsa Cave, Sikyon, Korinthia**National Archaeological Museum,**inv. no. A 16464*

A festive family procession accompanied by musicians and a boy leading the sheep to be sacrificed arrives at the altar. The inscriptions, which are in the Corinthian alphabet, refer to the dedicators of the tablet to the Nymphs, to whom the cave was dedicated. Preserved: three female

names (Εθελόνχη, Εύθιδίκα, Εύκολίς). Not preserved: the names of the male dedicator and Corinthian artist (...Κορίνθιος) who painted the tablet.

It is one of the very few surviving examples of ancient Greek painting on wood.

**Selected bibliography**

Καλτσάς 2007, 217. Kaltsas - Shapiro 2008, 225 (E. Stasinopoulou-Kakarouga).

*G. Kanvadias*

**154. Statuette of Athena Promachos***Late 6th-early 5th c. BC**Attic workshop**Bronze**H. 0.15 m**Acropolis of Athens**National Archaeological Museum,**inv. nos. X 6458 + 6949*

According to the inscription, the statuette was a votive offering of Menekleides to Athena. The goddess is depicted as *Promachos*, namely in her military capacity, who fights the enemy in the front line to defend her city. Dressed in a full suit of armour, as she sprang from Zeus' head, she would hold her shield and spear, whereas she wears an Attic helmet and carries the *aegis*, her emblem and weapon.

The type of *Promachos* was introduced by the Athenian bronze sculptors in the 6th c. BC and became prevalent following the reinstatement of the Great Panathenaea festival by the tyrant Peisistratos (566-565 BC) signifying victory in war.

**Selected bibliography**

de Ridder 1896, 300, no. 403, fig. 288. LIMCII, s.v. Athena, 971, no. 137 (P. Demargne).

*N. Palaiokrassa*



**155. Torso of a male statue**

Ca. 510 BC

Parian marble

Preserved h. 0.90 m

Unknown provenance. According to G. Despinis, it comes from the Old Temple of Athena on the Acropolis National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Γ 3045

The figure is dressed in himation draped over the left side, leaving the right part of the body and arm exposed. The nipple on the right breast was made of an added piece of marble of different colour. The long rich hair covers most of his back. The tenons on the left shoulder blade suggest that an outsized, heavy piece of marble was attached to this part, which slanted backward and upward. The meticulous rendering of the front side of the figure and, to a lesser extent, its lateral faces, and also the fact that the lower part of the back side is unfinished denote that the torso belonged to an architectural sculpture. It is believed that the depicted figure is Zeus who, according to G. Despinis, had originally a small statuette of Athena in full armour attached to his back, thereby representing a scene from the birth of the goddess.

**Selected bibliography**

Rodenwaldt 1921, 27-35, pls. I, II. Καρούζου 1967, 28. Floren 1987, 261. Καλτσάς 2001, 76, no. 116. Despinis 2009, 1-10. Δεσπίνης - Καλτσάς 2014, 309-313, no. I.1. 304, figs. 1032-1037 (Γ. Δεσπίνης).

M. Salta



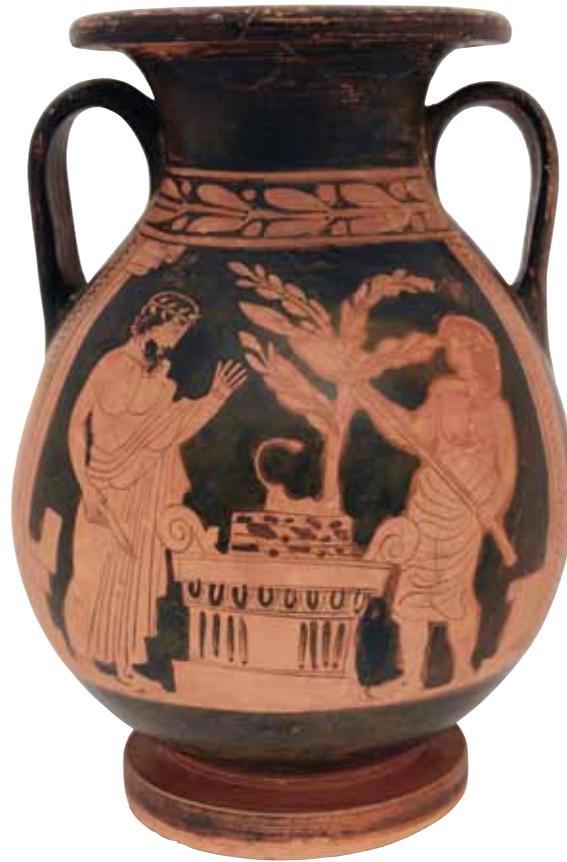
**156. Attic red-figure pelike**

Late 5th c. BC  
*The Academy Painter*  
 Clay  
 H. 0.319 m  
 Athens, Botanical Garden  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. A 14501

A scene of divining from innards (splanchnomancy) is presented. In the centre, the sacred entrails on an altar. At left a mature man, the diviner, and at right a beardless youth who lifts two spits in his hand. Behind the bearded man is a Doric column and part of another altar. The scene is taking place outdoors in front of a temple, as shown by the column, two altars, and the tree in the background behind all the figures.

**Selected bibliography**

BAPD 214863. Mannack 2001, 124 (AC.2).  
 G. Kavvadias

**157. Attic red-figure pelike**

Ca. 440 BC  
*The Orestes Painter*  
 Clay  
 H. 0.26 m  
 Unknown provenance (confiscation)  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. A 16346

Two Eleusinian gods and their symbols coexist in this scene. The goddess Demeter appears with a fillet on her head, a scepter in one hand, and a plough in the other; the wreathed god Pluto opposite her holds a cornucopia. The depiction of both divinities accompanied by these particular objects probably refers to a celebration which included ritual tilling so that the plowing of the land would succeed and the earth would bear fruit.

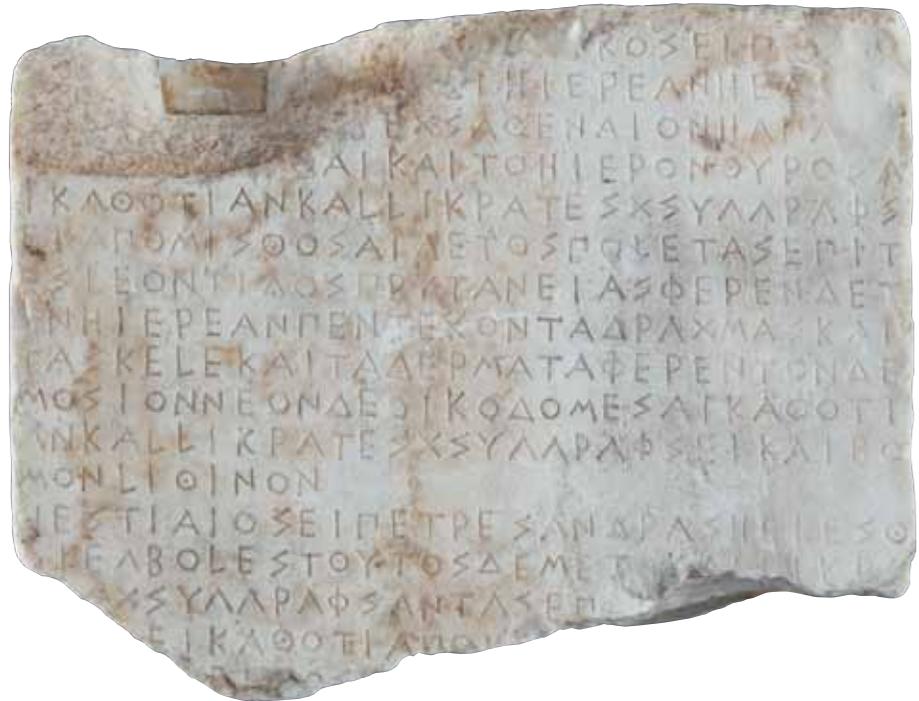
**Selected bibliography**

ARV<sup>2</sup> 1113, 11. *Add*<sup>2</sup> 330. Dillon 2002, 120. Kaltsas  
 - Shapiro 2008, 144, cat. no. 61 (G. Kavvadias).  
 E. Oikonomou



**158. Opisthographic stele with decree concerning the temple of Athena Nike**

440-430 BC (side A)  
 424/3 BC (side B)  
 Pentelic marble  
 Max. preserved h. 0.30, w. 0.39,  
 max. w. 0.096 m  
 Acropolis of Athens (North Slope)  
 Acropolis Museum, inv. no. EM 8116



On Side A of the decree the decisions of the city of Athens on the reorganization of the cult of Athena Nike and the planning of construction work at the sanctuary of the goddess are published. In particular, the decree specifies that the priestess of the goddess shall be elected by lot, and determines her annual remuneration and also prescribes an additional share of sacrificial meat.

Furthermore, the building of a gate to the sanctuary based on the designs by Kallikrates, and the immediate procurement of a contract for the execution of the works by the *poletai* (a board of public auctioneers), who were responsible for the assignation of public works, is determined. Simultaneously, the erection of a temple and altar designed by the same architect is decided, whereas an amendment provides for the selection of a three-member committee responsible for supervising the architect, preparing the designs, and possibly putting the undertaking out to tender.

The date of the decree has been a matter for debate and various decades of the 5th c. BC have been suggested. According to the latest research, the decree dates back to 440-430 BC, nearly a decade prior to the commencement of the work.

**Ancient text**

[Λεοντίς ἐπρυτάνευε]  
 [ἔδοχσεν τῆι βολῆι καὶ τῷ] [δέ]μοι[...]  
 [...7... ἐπεστάτε, Γλαῦκος εἶπε: [τῆι]  
 [Ἀθηναίαι τῆι Νί]κει ἱέρεαν *hè ag* [κλ]-  
 5 [ερομένε λάχε]ι ἐχς Ἀθηναίων *hai*πα[σῶ]-  
 [ν καθίστα]σθαι καὶ τὸ *hieron* θυρῶσα-  
 ι καθ' ὅ τι ἂν Καλλικράτες χουγγράφσ-  
 ει: ἀπομισθῶσαι δὲ τὸς πολετὰς ἐπὶ τ-  
 10 ἐς Λεοντίδος πρυτανείας, φέρεν δὲ τ-  
 ἐν *hieron* πεντέκοντα δραχμὰς καὶ  
 τὰ σκέλε καὶ τὰ δέρματα φέρεν τῶν δε-  
 μοσίων: νεὼν δὲ οἰκοδομῆσαι καθ' ὅ τι  
 ἂν Καλλικράτες χουγγράφσει καὶ βο-  
 μὸν λίθινον *vacat*  
 15 *hestiaios* εἶπε: τρεῖς ἄνδρας *helésth-*  
 αι ἐγ βολῆς τούτος δὲ μετ[ὰ] Καλλικρά-  
 [το]ς χουγγράφσαντας ἐπι[δεί]χσαι τῆ]-  
 [ι βολ]ῆι καθ' ὅ τι ἀπομ[ισ]θεῖσεται [...] ]  
 [...6... ]ει τὸ σ -----  
 -----

**Free translation**

In the prytany of the tribe Leontis.  
 Resolved by the council and people: ..... was chairman; Glaukos(?) said: that a priestess of Athena Nike should be appointed by lot from amongst all Athenian women, and that a door to the sanctuary should be constructed in accordance with the terms of the contract drawn up by Kallikrates; the *poletai* are to put out the work to auction in the prytany of the tribe Leontis; the priestess is to receive as her payment 50 drachmas and the legs and hides from the animals slaughtered at public sacrifices; a temple and stone altar are to be built in accordance with the terms of the contract drawn up by Kallikrates.  
 Hestiaios said: three men are to be chosen from the council; these, having drawn up the contract together with Kallikrates, shall present to the council the terms on which ... shall be put out to tender...



#### Ancient text

ἔδοχσεν τῆι βολῆι καὶ τοῖ δέ-  
μοι: Αἰγεῖς ἐπρυτάνευε, Νεοκ-  
λείδης ἐγραμμάτευε, Ἄγνόδε-  
μος ἐπεστάτε, Καλλίας εἶπε: τ-  
5 εἰ *hieréai* τῆς Ἀθηνάας τῆς Νί-  
κης ὕ πενήκοντα δραχμάς τὰς  
γεγραμμένας ἐν τῆι στήλῃ[η]  
ἀποδιδόναι τὸς κωλακρέτας],  
[οἱ] ἂν κωλακρετώσι τὸ Θ[αργηλ]-  
10 [ιώ]νος μηνὸς, τῆι ἱερ[ε]αί τῆς Ἀ]-  
[θην]αίας τῆς Νίκης[ς ... 8 ...]

#### Free translation

Resolved by the council and people; in the prytany of the tribe Aigeis, Neokleides was secretary, Hagnodemos was epistates, Kallias said: the *kolakretai* who shall hold office for the month of Thargelion shall pay to the priestess of Athena Nike the 50 drachmas recorded in the stele; to the priestess of Athena Nike...

(E. Zavvou)

(transl. in English: D. Hardy)

The decree on Side B was published in 424/3 BC and comprises eleven verses, of which the first six are written in the Attic alphabet and the rest in the Ionic alphabet. After the seventh verse the lettering becomes smaller and the *stoichedon* form of inscription, which has been employed, shows deviation to the right, thereby indicating two engravers.

The decision confirms the fee of the priestess, as this was published on the decree of Side A, and specifies that the *kolakretai*, namely the magistrates in charge of financial matters, shall provide the money in a specific month.

#### Selected bibliography

Καββαδίας 1897, 174-194. IG 13, 35-36. Dinsmoor 1923, 318-321. Mattingly 1961, 170-171. Merritt - Wade-Gery 1962-1963, 67-74, 100-118. Meiggs - Lewis 1969, 107-111, 204-205, cat. no. 44 (40), 71 (73). Meiggs 1972, 496-503. Bundgaard 1974, 43-49. Mattingly 1982, 381-385. Tracy 1984, 277-282. Mattingly 1987, 68. Mark 1993, 104-107. Mattingly 1996, 30-32, 113-114, 461-471, 522. Mylonas-Shear 1999, 123-125. Gill 2001, 257-278. Schultz 2002, 19-28. E. Zavvou, Decrees relating to the temple of Athena Nike, in Lagogianni-Georgakarakos - Bursalis 2009, 51-53. Osborne 2010, 67. Λεμπιδιάκη 2013, 384-385. Blok 2014, 99-126.

I. Bougatsou



**159. Torso of a female statuette**

Ca. 420-410 BC  
 Marble  
 H. 0.32 m  
 Argive Heraion  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Γ 3869

Part of a *Palladion* (the *xoanon* of Pallas Athena). The sculpture comes from one of the pediments of the Temple of Hera that depicted the Sack of Troy. Athena is portrayed wearing a sleeved chiton and himation draped diagonally over the chest. A naked arm touches the back of the goddess; it is the arm of Cassandra who was chased by Ajax and therefore sought shelter and embraced the *xoanon* of Athena in supplication.

**Selected bibliography**

Waldstein 1902, 149, fig. 176. Καλτσάς 2001, 115, no. 205.

A. Klonizaki



**160. Head of goddess Hera**

Ca. 420 BC  
 Marble  
 H. 0.27 m  
 Argive Heraion  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Γ 1571

The sculpture is marked by the solemn expression of the face. The long hair falls over the nape whereas it is bound with a fillet on the top of the head. Added metal earrings were possibly attached to the ears. The head belonged to a cult statue of the goddess Hera or a sculpture from the west pediment of her temple and it has been associated with bronze models that were produced in Argive workshops and is possibly attributed to the school of Polykleitos.

**Selected bibliography**

Waldstein 1902, 23, 189-191, fig. 36. A. Linfert, in Beck - Bol - Bückling 1990, 262, 264, fig. 122. Καλτσάς 2001, 115, no. 204.

A. Klonizaki

### 161. Attic red-figure dinos

420-410 BC

*The Dinos Painter*

Clay

H. 0.132, d. rim 0.247 m

Athens, area of Iera Odos

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 14500

A depiction of the god Dionysos, engaged in an ecstatic dance along with his large *thiasos* of satyrs and maenads. The rhythm is provided by one of his female followers with the *tympanon* she holds. Like the other figures, the god is holding a thyrsus, the "speaking symbol" of Dionysos. From as early as the 12th c. BC the cult of the god was linked with vegetation and fertility. Dionysos was the god of wine and "sacred rapture".

#### Selected bibliography

ABV<sup>2</sup> 1152.4. Carpenter 1997, pl. 41.

*E. Oikonomou*



### 162. Torso of a Palladion

Ca. 380 BC

Pentelic marble

H. 0.028, w. 0.175 m

Epidauros, Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas and Asklepios

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. Γ 4680

The sculpture dominated the east pediment of the Temple of Asklepios that was decorated with the representation of the Sack of Troy. At the centre of the composition lay the torso of the *Palladion* (the *xoanon* of the goddess Athena) in frontal pose. The goddess wears *aegis* bearing the head of the Gorgon. The hand of Cassandra, who came as a suppliant before the *xoanon* of Athena to beg for her rescue being pursued by Ajax, clings on to the goddess' right shoulder. The sculptor Timotheos was responsible for the composition and the models of the pedimental sculptures of the Temple of Asklepios. Their execution was assigned to Hectoridas and other sculptors.

#### Selected bibliography

Yalouris 1985, 180ff., pls. 152, 153. Καλτσός, 2001, 173, no. 338 VI.

*A. Klonizaki*



### 163. Grave Stele of a key-bearer priestess

380-370 BC

Pentelic marble

Preserved h. 0.30, w. 0.35 m

Rhamnous (below the terrace of the temples)

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. Γ 2309

Within a rectangular frame a standing female figure is shown turning left to the spectator in a three-quarter pose, clad in sleeved chiton and himation, the hair tied with a band. In her left hand she holds a large temple key that leans against her left shoulder. The stele possibly portrays a priestess of Nemesis who was the main goddess worshipped at the ancient deme of Rhamnous.

Representations of priestesses from various necropoleis of Athens and Attica denote the particularly significant position which women held in the official worship and also the self-evident access to priestly offices which the ancient Greek religion granted them.

#### Selected bibliography

Conze, no. 812, pl. 115. Μάβτης 1990, 40-41.

Salta 1991, 243. Clairmont 1993, no. 1.316.

Scholl 1996, 137-138, 277-278, no. 206. Con-

nelly 2007, 230-232. Kaltsas - Shapiro 2008, 210, cat. no. 87 (E. Kourinou-Pikoula).



M. Salta

### 164. Cylindrical altar

350-300 BC

Pentelic marble

H. 0.45, d. (lower) 0.94, d. (upper) 0.85 m

Athens. Found north of the Stoa of Attalos and Temple of Hephaestus

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. Γ 1731



An assembly of the gods is depicted on the altar's cylindrical surface. From left to right may be recognized: Hestia wearing a himation on her head; Poseidon, who would have held a trident, seated on a rock; Demeter seated on the sacred *kistis* and holding

a sceptre and corn sheaves; Athena with an oblique *aegis*; Zeus enthroned and holding a sceptre; Hera in a gesture of *anakalypsis*; Apollo sitting on a cube-shaped seat with a lyre, and the hammered torso of Artemis(?) or Hephaestos(?).

#### Selected bibliography

Ghisellini 1999, 21, 23, figs. 18a-b, 97, 108. Sánchez - Escobar 2015, 367-369, cat. no. 17 (A. Klonizaki).

E. Vlachogianni



### 165. Head of goddess Athena

*2nd c. AD, copy of an original dated from 430 BC*

*Pentellic marble*

*H. 0.45 m*

*Athens, found near the Pnyx*

*National Archaeological Museum,*

*inv. no. Γ 3718*

Known as Athena of the Pnyx, this massive head was affixed to a colossal statue. The goddess turns to the right and wears an Attic helmet, which has been coarsely worked on the back side and the cheek-guards. The surface of the marble is polished.

It is a Roman copy, dated to the rule of the Antonine dynasty (2nd c. AD). The original had been made by Pheidias or one of his pupils.

#### **Selected bibliography**

Καλτσός 2001, 111, no. 200. Θεοφανείδης 1939-1941, 9, no. 33. LIMC II, 1085, s.v. Athena Minerva, no. 144c, pl. 796 (F. Canciani).

*A. Klonizaki*



### 166. The "Varvakeion Athena"

*Copy dated from the first half of the 3rd c. AD after the original sculpture from 438 BC*

*Marble*

*H. 1.05 m*

*Athens, found in a Roman building*

*near the Varvakeion School*

*National Archaeological Museum,*

*inv. no. Γ 129*

The goddess is depicted in full military attire while a winged Nike rests in

her right palm. The statuette is the best preserved and most complete copy of the chryselephantine cult statue of Athena Parthenos by Pheidias that was twelve metres high and was set up inside the Parthenon in 438 BC.

#### **Selected bibliography**

Lange 1880, 370ff. Karanastassis 1987, 323ff., no. BI 12. Nick 2002, no. A15.

*Ch. Tsouli*

# Odysseys

Οδυσσεύς

Hegemony

[...] ἤ σέ γε λαοὶ  
ἐχθαίρουσ' ἀνὰ δῆμον[...]  
*Ομήρου Οδύσσεια, π 95-96*

Or do the people throughout the land hate you;  
*Homer, The Odyssey, XVI 95-96*

**167. Diadem and pair of bracelets***2800-2300 BC (Early Bronze Age II)**Diadem**Silver**L. 0.48 m**Amorgos, Dokathismata Cemetery**National Archaeological Museum,**inv. no. Π 4729**Pair of bracelets**Bronze**D. 0.12 m**Amorgos, Dokathismata Cemetery**National Archaeological Museum,**inv. no. Π 4732*

The sudden climax of the cultural eminence of Early Cycladic civilization in the Aegean in the middle of the 3rd millennium BC is associated with the fact that the Cycladic islanders were at the forefront of the overseas metals trade (bronze and silver).

The grave gifts at the cemetery on Amorgos are the clearest reflection of the diversity of origins of the metal objects and the amassing of wealth, as

well as the social stratification of prestige and power. The deceased with the particularly rare diadem and bracelets belongs to the peak of this hierarchy.

**Selected bibliography**

Τσοῦντρας 1898, 154, pl. 8.1, 155, pl. 8.2. In general: Broodbank 2000, 276-319.

*K. Manteli*

**168. Spearhead***2700-2300 BC (Early Cycladic II period)**Bronze**L. 0.215, w. 0.045 m**Amorgos, Dokathismata Cemetery,**Grave 14**National Archaeological Museum,**inv. no. Π 4721.1*

The leaf-shaped spearhead bears openings in the blade and a hook-like tail for fastening it to a wooden shaft. It was found in a grave with marble figurines of Cycladic type, marble and clay vessels, a bronze dagger, and a small silver vessel, gifts that had been given to a person of high status, perhaps a warrior-ruler. This type of weapon is rare in the Cyclades but abundant in Cyprus

and the Syro-Palestinian coast, from whence it appears to have originated.

The concentration of precious and exotic objects in certain graves of this period in the Cyclades reflects the existence of a group of individuals with power and influence in determining the fate of the island communities.

**Selected bibliography**

Manteli 2011.

*K. Paschalidis*



**169. Funerary mask  
“of Agamemnon”**

*Second half of the 16th c. BC  
(Late Helladic I period)*

*Gold*

*H. 0.25, w. 0.27 m, wt. 168.5 gr*

*Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Shaft Grave V  
National Archaeological Museum,*

*inv. no. Π 624*

The mask, made of a thick sheet of gold, captures the imposing physiognomy of a Mycenaean lord. In relation to the other masks from the Grave Circle, it is the only one that may actually represent a true portrait of the period, while the beard, an indication of status, is associated with priesthood in many cultures.

The name by which this funerary mask is widely known is owed to the excavator Heinrich Schliemann, who, dazzled by the extraordinary wealth of Grave Circle A, believed he stood before the tombs of Agamemnon and his followers. Of course now we know that the Trojan War took place four centuries later than the era of the Mycenaean lord to whom the funerary mask belonged.

**Selected bibliography**

Karo 1930-33, 121, pl. Ll. Blegen 1962, 245-247, pls. 62-66.

*E. Konstantinidi-Syvridi*



**170. Gold mask, scepter, breast plate, and dagger**

*Second half of the 16th c. BC  
(Late Helladic I period)*

*Gold, bronze, lapis lazuli*

*A: mask: H. 0.303, w. 0.29 m*

*B: scepter: L. 0.785 m*

*C: breast plate: H. 0.295, w. 0.49 m*

*D: dagger: L. of blade 0.263,*

*l. of hilt 0.054, w. of hilt 0.07 m*

*Mycenae, Grave Circle A,*

*Shaft Grave IV*

*National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. nos. Π 259, 308-309, 252, 294*

This assemblage of emblematic objects comes from the largest and wealthiest grave in Grave Circle A, which contained the remains of three men and two women. Among the lavish grave gifts accompanying the Mycenaean lords were three funerary masks of gold sheet, swords, daggers, knives, and precious jewelry, as well as dozens of bronze, clay, and stone vessels.

**Selected bibliography**

Karo 1930-33, 75, 76, 84, pls. LIV, XVIII, XLIX.

*E. Konstantinidi-Syvridi*



### 171. "Cup of Nestor"

Second half of the 16th c. BC  
(Late Helladic I period)

Gold

H. 0.145, d. with handles 0.145 m

Mycenae, Grave Circle A,

Shaft Grave IV

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. Π 412

From the first moment of its discovery, this cup became known as the "Cup of Nestor" as it corresponds as if by magical coincidence to the description of the precious vessel brought by the old king from Pylos to Troy (*Iliad*, XI 632-635). The foot and body are constructed from one sheet of gold, to which two handles have been added with their strap tails terminating at the base. Two hawks



or doves have been affixed to the top of the handles, and one might say that they drink simultaneously with the user of the cup. It is considered to be the product of a Mycenaean workshop.

#### Selected bibliography

Karo 1930-33, 100, fig. 109, Davis 1977, 183-186, figs. 148-150.

K. Paschalidis

### 172. Dagger with inlaid decoration

Second half of the 16th c. BC  
(Late Helladic I period)

Gold, silver, bronze, niello

L. 0.237, w. at shoulder 0.063 m

Mycenae, Grave Circle A,

Shaft Grave IV

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. Π 394



This dagger, unique for its masterful art, iconographically condenses all the dynamism of the Mycenaean, the new rulers of the Aegean. One side presents a composite depiction of a battle, not a hunt, between an ordered army of warriors and a group of lions who turn in flight. The leader of the beasts confronts the soldiers to buy time for his galloping comrades. A man has just been wounded, while his fellow warriors have ensured the final blow to the flesh of the

wild beast. On the other side, a lion devours a deer while the rest of the herd of defenseless animals flees.

The artist of the dagger has mastered the technique of "painting in metal", as this laborious inlay technique of inserting gold and silver sheet into the dark niello alloy covering the crest of the bronze blade is aptly called. And the deceased prince of Shaft Grave IV was posthumously honoured with the gift of an eternal masterpiece.

#### Selected bibliography

Karo 1930-33, 95, figs. 25-27, pls. 93-94, Xenaki-Sakellariou - Chatziliou 1989, 25-26, pls. 1-2.

K. Paschalidis



### 173. Diadem

*Second half of the 16th c. BC  
(Late Helladic I period)*

*Gold*

*L. 0.625 m*

*Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Shaft Grave III*

*National Archaeological Museum,*

*inv. no. Π 1*

The impressive composite diadem made of fine gold sheet is the largest from Grave Circle A. It belonged to a woman who was furnished mostly with symbolic/religious objects that testify to her high office. The relief circles that decorate this and other diadems of the period have been associated with the solar disc.

As the gold sheet is not crumpled, it seems that the diadem served as an emblem, with no practical use.

#### **Selected bibliography**

Karo 1930-33, 43, pls. XI, XII.

*E. Konstantinidi-Syvridi*



#### 174. Funerary mask, diadem, and sealstone

16th c. BC (Late Helladic I period)

Gold, amethyst

Mask: Max. h. 0.215, w. 0.178 m

Diadem: L. 0.292, w. 0.05 m

Sealstone: D. 0.009 m

Mycenae, Grave Circle B, Shaft Grave Γ

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. nos. Π 8709, 8706, 8708



Shaft Grave Γ contained the burial of a woman and three men who belonged to the first generation of Mycenaean lords. Their grave gifts included gold jewelry and cups, bronze weapons, and clay vessels.

The funerary mask of electrum (an alloy of gold and silver) is unique in

Grave Circle B. The diadem and the sealstone, which depicts the head of a bearded man with impressive vitality, are imported from Minoan Crete, which during that period formed an inexhaustible source of raw materials, products, and ideas for the newly created Mycenaean civilization.

#### Selected bibliography

Μυλωνάς 1973, 76, pl. 60α, 75, pl. 59α, 77, pl. 60β.

E. Konstantinidi-Syvridi

### 175. Gold covering of a sword hilt

Ca. 1500 BC

Gold

Total l. 0.337, d. of pommel 0.132 m

Skopelos, "Tomb of Staphylos"

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. Π 6444

This impressive covering of the hilt and pommel of a sword is composed of four sheets of gold with relief decoration made using the repoussé technique. Zones of meanders, spirals, and wavy lines densely embrace the precious weapon, which, although found without its bronze blade, would



have been one of the largest in the Aegean at this time.

The sword belonged to an early Mycenaean ruler of Skopelos whose tomb is so far the only evidence testifying to the existence of a centre dating to this period on the island.

#### Selected bibliography

Πλάτων 1948, Paschalidis 2007, 435, note 15.

K. Paschalidis

### 176. Gold cups

Early 15th c. BC

Gold

A: H. 0.08, d. 0.104 m, wt. 280.5 gr

B: H. 0.083, d. 0.098-0.104 m, wt. 276 gr

Vapheio, Laconia, Tholos tomb

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. nos. Π 1758, 1759

Two masterpieces of metalworking of the prehistoric Aegean, found together with other precious objects in an undisturbed burial pit inside the chamber of the tholos tomb at Vapheio in Laconia. They depict bull-capturing scenes in a narrative manner, as if taking place in "acts", executed using the repoussé technique. They iconographically combine the primitive and raw power of the bulls with the creative and cultivated human thought.

In the first cup (Π 1759), the action takes place in a calm idyllic environment, where three bulls graze while a man ties the leg of another bull as he is mating with a cow.

In the second cup (Π 1758), one of the bulls is trapped in a net, another attacks the two hunters, and a third manages to escape his persecutors.

The two cups were possibly made in the Peloponnese and are likely the work of the same artist, who was exceptionally familiar with the Minoan



metalworking tradition. It has indeed been argued that Π 1758 is the work of a Minoan and Π 1759 of a Mycenaean artist.

#### Selected bibliography

Τσοῦντρας 1889, 159-164, Davis 1977.

K. Nikoletzos



### 177. Swords

15th c. BC (Late Helladic II period)  
Bronze, gold, bone, agate, glass  
A: L. 0.715, max. w. 0.067 m  
B: L. 0.537, max. w. 0.053 m  
C: L. 0.765, max. w. 0.065 m  
Dendra, Midea, Tholos Tomb, pit I  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. nos. Π 7316, 7325, 7326

These three precious swords were found together in the tomb of the "King of Dendra", carefully placed by his right side as was the custom in the Mycenaean world. They belong to very popular types of early Mycenaean swords and are made of bronze with elaborate gold decoration on the shoulder and hilt, and masterful pommels (head of the hilt) of ivory and agate stone.

Swords are the mandatory symbol of the first Greek-speaking rulers in life and in death, reflecting the power and prestige that they maintained undiminished for five centuries.

#### Selected bibliography

Persson 1931, 17, 34-35, pls. 7 below, 8, 10: I, II, IV.  
K. Paschalidis



### 178. Gold cup

First half of the 15th c. BC  
Gold  
H. 0.05, d. 0.13 m  
Dendra, Midea, Chamber Tomb 10, pit I  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 8743

The cup is made of a sheet of gold with a separate raised handle affixed by three nails. The Cretan craftsman created an elegant eight-lobed rim that mimics the petals of a flower, and hammered using the repoussé technique a chain of ivy running around the body of the vessel.

This valuable cup was found on the body of a female burial, who had also been given some of the most beautiful jewelry of the early Mycenaean world.

#### Selected bibliography

Persson 1942, 74-75, pl. 4. Davis 1977, 267-269, figs. 214-216.

K. Paschalidis



### 180. Linear B tablet

Late 13th c. BC  
(Late Helladic III B2 period)  
Clay  
L. 0.26, h. 0.039, th. 0.015 m  
Pylos, Archives Room Complex, Room 7  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. nos. PY Ta 709-712

An inventory of metal vessels with elaborate decoration drawn up on the occasion of an official assuming office, the only mention of an administrative act found in the Linear B tablets (on the tablet Ta 711).

The contents of this tablet, also known as the "tablet of the tripods", confirmed the view of Ventris and

Chadwick, who were responsible for deciphering Linear B, that the language of the tablets is Greek.

#### Selected bibliography

Ventris - Chadwick 1973, 332-336, 496-498. Nakassis 2013, 176, note 85, 226, 354.

K. Kostanti



### 179. Linear B tablet

Late 13th c. BC  
(Late Helladic III B2 period)  
Clay  
H. 0.133, w. 0.0953 m  
Pylos, Palace of Ano Englianos  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. PY Er312

At the top of the administrative pyramid of the kingdom of Pylos sits the *wanax* (*wa-na-ka*), followed by the *la-wageta* (*ra-wa-ke-ta*, leader of the people), an office that likely denotes the leader of the army. Many other titles of officials are preserved in the tablets, such as the *telestes* (*te-re-ta*). This particular tablet records the grain yield of the farms belonging to these three distinguished people of Pylian society.

#### Selected bibliography

Duhoux 2008, 308-310.

K. Kostanti



### 181. Two Linear B tablets

Late 13th c. BC  
(Late Helladic III B2 period)  
Clay  
Ng319: L. 0.10, h. 0.032, th. 0.01 m  
Ng332: L. 0.057, h. 0.036, th. 0.01 m  
Pylos, Palace of Ano Englianos  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. nos. PY Ng319, Ng332

The political geography of Mycenaean Pylos includes two provinces, divided geographically based on the natural contours, the *enteuthen* (hither province) and the *ekeithen* (further province) of Mount Aigaleo. This division is eloquently indicated in the tablets by the phrases *Deuro Chora* (the country



on this side) for the western coastal side and *Pera Chora* (the country beyond) for the hinterland to the east, together comprising a territory slightly smaller than modern Messenia.

#### Selected bibliography

Bennett 2011, 151-155.

K. Kostanti



**182. Linear B tablet and ivory plaque**

*Tablet*

Late 13th c. BC  
(Late Helladic III B2 period)  
Clay  
L. 0.261, h. 0.036 m  
Pylos, Palace of Ano Englianos  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. PY Ta713

*Plaque*

Late 14th-13th c. BC  
(Late Helladic III B period)  
Elephant ivory  
L. 0.107, w. 0.051 m  
Mycenae, Acropolis  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 1002

The tablet records an inventory of luxurious stone and wooden tables, decorated with shell and inlaid with ivory tiles such as the illustrated plaque with spiral decoration.

During the 14th and 13th c. BC, specialized craftsmen in the service of the wanax constructed elaborate objects of elephant and hippopotamus tusks, such as figurines, mirror handles, combs, furniture inlays, boxes for jewelry and cosmetics, and even musical instruments.

**Selected bibliography**

Ventris - Chadwick 1973, 240. Poursat 1977, 8, no. 3.

*K. Kostanti*



**183. Swords**

12th c. BC (Late Helladic III C period)  
Bronze

A: L. 0.568, w. at shoulder 0.04 m

Unknown provenance

B: L. 0.655, w. at shoulder 0.045 m

Klauss, Patras, Chamber Tomb Cemetery

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. nos. Π 9885, 10186

These two long swords belong to the last and most developed Type Naue II of Mycenaean weaponry. They are made in a mould and then hammered, to be finished with the addition of covers on the handles that were fastened with two-headed nails.

Swords of this type, considered to be of a northern Adriatic or central European origin, were imported to the Mycenaean world shortly before the collapse of the palace system (approx. 1200 BC) and became extremely popular in the hands of the succeeding new local rulers.

**Selected bibliography**

Kouli *et al.* 2006. Papadopoulos - Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1984.

*K. Paschalidis*

### 184. Head of Alexander the Great

Ca. 300 BC  
 Pentelic marble  
 H. 0.28 m  
 Kerameikos, Athens  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Γ 366

Alexander is depicted wearing the lion head which is a common feature in the representations of the Macedonian kings and recalls their heroic descent from Heracles. The letters that have been incised below the eyes and on the cheeks date from a later period.



#### Selected bibliography

Καρούζου 1967, 168, no. 366. Yalouris *et al.* 1980, 100, no. 4 (G. Kokkorou-Alevra). Τσαγκάρη 2011, 243, no. 537.

A. Klonizaki

### 185. Statues of Alexander the Great and Hephaestion

1st c. BC  
 Alexandria marble  
 A: H. 0.86 (with plinth), w. 0.29, th. 0.205 m  
 B: H. 0.835 (with plinth), w. 0.275, th. 0.21 m  
 Alexandria, Egypt. Donated  
 to the National Archaeological Museum  
 by the Greek expatriate in Egypt  
 Ioannis Dimitriou  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. nos. Aiy. 44, 45

Alexander's hair is bound with a headband (*taenia*) and is dressed in the Macedonian military attire: short woollen chiton, chlamys, and boots (*endromides*). He probably held a spear or lance in his right hand. The type of statue is attributed to Lysippos.

Hephaestion is depicted dressed in the same attire as Alexander the Great. Following his death in 324 BC, Hephaestion was heroized by Alexander with the support of the priests of Zeus Ammon and his worship was thus established.

#### Selected bibliography

Postolacca 1881, 3. Kakavas 2013, 136, no. 109 (E. Tourna).  
 Postolacca 1881, 3. Beck - Bol - Bückling 2005, 561-562, no. 131 (E. Tourna).

E. Tourna



### 186. Head of Arsinoe II

3rd c. BC

Clay

H. 0.16 m

Alexandria, Egypt. Donated  
to the National Archaeological Museum  
by the Greek expatriate in Egypt  
Ioannis Dimitriou  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Aiy. 48

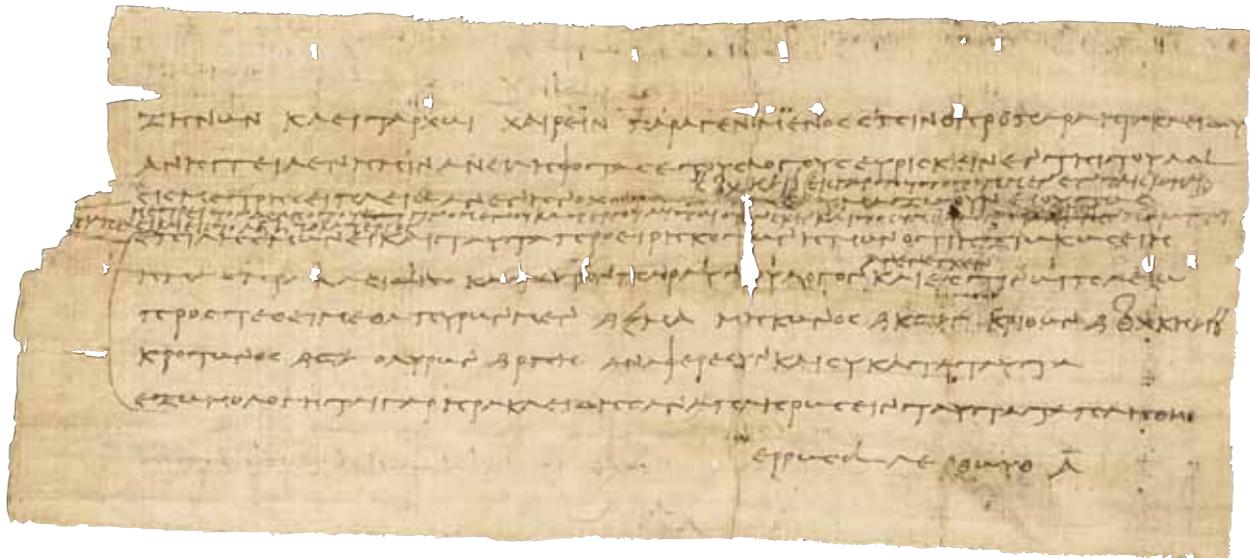
The head possibly depicts Arsinoe II, sister and wife of king Ptolemy II. Arsinoe was deified and in her lifetime she was identified with Aphrodite and Isis. In the wake of her death in 270 BC her cult was established by a decree inscribed on the Mendes Stele which was located in the homonymous city and is now in the Archaeological Museum of Cairo.



#### Selected bibliography

Παντερμαλής 1997, 121, no. 38, Πτολεμαία  
βασιλίσα (Ε. Κλαδάκη).

E. Tourna



### 187. Part of a papyrus sheet

3rd c. BC

Papyrus

L. 0.317, h. 0.135 m

Purchase and donation of the Hellenic  
Ministry of Education to the National  
Archaeological Museum in 1916  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Aiy. 3405

Piece of a papyrus sheet with Greek  
script which forms part of a letter concern-  
ing the settlement of a tax debt. It  
comes from the Archive of Zenon, who  
was a dignitary and administrator of the  
royal estate and lived in Fayum during  
the reign of Ptolemy II.

#### Selected bibliography

Κουγέας 1936, 11-12, pls. 3-4. Σιγάλας 1936, 129.  
Préaux 1947, 6, 21, 89.

E. Tourna



### 188. Ring with relief portrait of Berenice II

*Late 3rd c. BC*  
*Ivory*  
*D. of bezel 0.035 m*  
*Alexandria, Egypt. Donated to the National Archaeological Museum by the Greek expatriate in Egypt Ioannis Dimitriou*  
*National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Aiy. 2903*

The ring consists of a flat circular bezel with repoussé portrait of the Ptolemaic queen Berenice II (247-222 BC) dressed in the fringed garment and veil of Isis.

Such rings that came from the Ptolemaic Court in Alexandria promoted the political propaganda used by the Ptolemies and were designed for the female courtiers.

#### Selected bibliography

Marangou 1971, 164-166, pl. 78.2-3. Kakavas 2013, 143, no. 119 (E. Tourna).

*E. Tourna*



### 189. Head of Ptolemy VI

*2nd c. BC*  
*Granite*  
*H. 0.625 m*  
*Found in the sea near Aegina*  
*National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Aiy. 108*

The head belongs to an oversized inscribed statue of Ptolemy VI. It was meant to be placed at a temple of Methana which was under the Ptolemaic rule. He is shown wearing the stripped royal headdress *nemes*, the Double Crown of Egypt, and the *uraeus* on the forehead. The back side of the head bears an inscription of the Horus name

of Ptolemy VI, which denotes that the pharaoh is the incarnation of the god Horus on earth.

#### Selected bibliography

Six 1887, 212-222, pls. 7-8. Ashton 2001, 16, 90, fig. 91.16.

*E. Tourna*



**190. Head of Ptolemy VII(?)**

*2nd-1st c. BC  
Granite  
H. 0.193, max. w. 0.178 m  
Egypt. Donated to the National  
Archaeological Museum by the Greek  
expatriate in Egypt Ioannis Dimitriou  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Aiy. 88*

The head possibly comes from a statue of a sphinx. Beneath the Egyptian royal headdress *nemes*, locks of hair are revealed. Judging from the facial features and similar numismatic types, the head represents Ptolemy VII, Neos Philopator, or one of the last kings of the Ptolemaic dynasty.

**Selected bibliography**

Kyrieleis 1975, 176-177, H11, pl. 66:1-2. Kakavas 2013, 97, no. 73 (E. Tourna).

*E. Tourna*



**191. Statuettes of Alexander the Great**

*1st c. AD  
Copper alloy, solid  
H. 0.25 m (Aiy. 2546), 0.16 m (Aiy. 2577)  
Egypt. Donated to the National  
Archaeological Museum by the Greek  
expatriate in Egypt Ioannis Dimitriou  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. nos. Aiy. 2546, 2577*

Alexander is depicted standing wearing the garments of a Roman military commander.

In statuette Aiy. 2546 Alexander wears a round amulet that was a characteristic jewel of high-ranking Roman commanders.

The type appears in the 1st c. AD and is often used for rendering statuettes of the god Horus mainly.

**Bibliography**

Unpublished.

*E. Tourna*





**192. Statue of Octavian Augustus  
on horseback**

Ca. 10 BC

Bronze

H. 1.23 m

From the sea area between Euboea  
and Agios Efstratios, Lemnos

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. X 23322

Octavian is represented as a mature leader, with the signs of age evident on his bony face. Depicted on his chiton (*tunica*) is the purple ribbon distinguishing his class (*clavis*), and his chlamys (*paludamentum*) has a meander at its tasseled edge. At his waist he wears a short sword with a palmette on the handle. His left hand holds the reins of the horse while his right is upraised in a gesture of greeting, blessing, or a "speech gesture" (*adlocutio*). On the ring on his left hand has been carved the curved staff of the soothsayers (*lituus*), a symbol of the legitimacy of his leadership of the troops.

**Selected bibliography**

Touloupa 1986, 185-205, pls. 36-43. La Rocca *et al.* 2014, 254, no. 232 (M. Cadario).

*K. Bairami*

# Odysseys

Οδύσσειες

## War

πολλοὶ δ' οὐτάμενοι χαλκήρεσιν ἐγχείησιν,  
ἄνδρες ἀρηίφατοι βεβρωτῶμένα τεύχε' ἔχοντες;  
*Ομήρου Οδύσσεια, λ 40-41*

and many, too, that had been wounded with bronze-tipped spears,  
men slain in fight, wearing their bloodstained armour.

*Homer, The Odyssey, XI 40-41*

[...] I heard, amid the splashing of oars, the voices,  
the squabbles  
of the commanders, over booty they had not yet taken [...]

*Y. Ritsos, Philoctetes*

### 193. "Siege Rhyton"

16th c. BC

Silver, gold

Max. preserved h. 0.22 (rim),

0.245 (handle), max. d. rim 0.12 m

Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Tomb IV

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. Γ 481

Rhyton with conical body and vertical strap handle. A large part of the vessel is modern reconstruction. It bears relief decoration with incised details. The body is constructed from a single sheet of silver; the rim is gilded and fastened with bronze wire. The bronze handle is covered in silver and in some places gold, and is attached to the body and to the rim by nails (with gilt heads). Small figure-of-eight shaped shields made of gold have been put at the edges of the handle.

In the upper part of the body, a fortified town is rendered, built on a hill which is located on a cape jutting into the sea. On the beach are depicted the city's armed defenders, whereas female figures can be seen gesturing passionately from the multi-storied buildings of the city. The invaders are depicted on other parts of the rhyton. The entire miniature composition (at least 38 different human figures can be distinguished) likely copies a wall-painting and perhaps narrates a real military event, without identifying the time or the place where the war incident took place. The artist's unique and peerless skill in expressing the emotions of the participants and the intense movement of the scene are impressive.

#### Selected bibliography

Βασιλκού 1995, 51-56. Koehl 2006, 138-140.

*K. Nikolentzos*



### 194. Boar's tusk helmet

15th-14th c. BC

(Late Helladic II-III A period)

Boar's tusks

H. 0.29, d. crown 0.21 m

Mycenae, Chamber Tomb 518

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. Π 6568



### Miniature heads of warriors

14th c. BC (Late Helladic III A period)

Bone

A: H. 0.11, preserved w. 0.06 m

B: H. 0.095, max. w. 0.04 m

Mycenae, Chamber Tomb 27

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. nos. Π 2469, 2470



The Mycenaean boar's tusk helmet is constructed of sixty processed wild boar tusks that have been pierced at the edges and sewn onto a (modern) leather head-covering. Similar tiles form the cheek-guards and the bow-shaped crest.

Helmets of this type appear at the end of the Middle Bronze Age (17th c. BC) and were adopted by the first generation of Mycenaean rulers as their emblem.

The difficulty in procuring the materials for its manufacture and its impressive appearance imparted prestige to the Mycenaean warrior who wore it; such helmets outlived the Mycenaean extinction, surviving in vivid descriptions in Homeric verse (*Iliad*, X 261-265).

### Selected bibliography

Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 98, pl. 22. Paschalidis 2008.

K. Paschalidis

**195. Leaf-shaped Linear B tablet**

Ca. 1200 BC

Clay

L. 0.07, max. w. 0.028 m

Pylos, Palace of Ano Englianos

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. PY Sh 740

This tablet serves as the heading of a group of additional tablets recording bronze armour kept in the palace store-rooms. It mentions five new *thorakes* (*to-ra-ke*) (cuirasses), the fruits of labour of Amios in the Messene house. It also

**196. Linear B tablet**

Late 13th c. BC

(Late Helladic III B2 period)

Clay

H. 0.112, w. 0.07, th. 0.017 m

Pylos, Palace of Ano Englianos

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. PY An 1/14181

A record of thirty men from various "cities" of the Pylian territory who are to serve as oarsmen (*e-re-ta*) in a campaign to the city Pleuron. This is perhaps the crew of a small ship, as the Homeric texts mention that fifty sailors are necessary to man a warship.

**Selected bibliography**

Ventris - Chadwick 1973, 183-186. Bennett 2011, 147, 171.

K. Kostanti



records 51 pairs of old cuirasses detailing the precise number of bronze strips of which they are made, informing us that each cuirass required ten large and five or six small *epirammata* (*o-pa-wota*). Also mentioned are four metal strips and two cheek pieces that were intended for a bronze helmet of a type that is

not yet known from the finds of the palatial world.

**Selected bibliography**

Ruipérez - Melena 1996, 205-206, 257.

K. Paschalidis

**197. Krater**

12th c. BC

Clay

H. 0.43, d. rim 0.48-0.505 m

Mycenae, House of the "Warriors Krater"

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. Π 1426

A characteristic example of the so-called "Pictorial style", it is decorated on both sides with groups of armed men in procession. On one side, fully equipped warriors (helmets, spears, breastplates, etc.) depart for war(?), while on the edge of the scene, a woman bids them farewell or grieves. On the other side, the warriors have different helmets and

raised spears. Below the handles birds and a relief bull's head are rendered.

The scenes are distinguished by their clear narrative quality and contain plenty of information regarding the weaponry and dress code of Mycenaean warriors, as well as provide an image of the military life in the Late Mycenaean period.

**Selected bibliography**

Vermeule - Karageorghis 1982, 130-132, 222. XI:42. Δημακοπούλου 1990, 146-148. Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1999, 331-340.

K. Nikolentzos

**198. Fragment of a krater***750-700 BC**Clay**L. 0.385 m**Athens**National Archaeological Museum,**inv. no. A 802*

This is the lower part of a large funerary krater, which is decorated with a representation of a warship sailing to the left, preserved in fragmented condition. A human figure, apparently the helmsman, is depicted on the prow holding the rudder in one hand and the sail in the other.

The scene forms part of a larger composition of a maritime subject matter (rowing vessels, sea battles, etc.) given that this iconography dominates Attic vase painting from the 8th through the 5th c. BC, a time period in which Athens evolves into a major naval power.

**Selected bibliography**

Kaltzas 2006, 50, no. 2 (A. Gadolou).

*E. Zosi***199. Fragment of a large black-figure kantharos***560-550 BC**By the painter and potter Nearchos**Clay**H. 0.155 m**Acropolis of Athens**National Archaeological Museum,**inv. no. A 15166 (=Acr. 611)*

Achilles is harnessing his horses to set out for his final battle. The hero, who knows he is about to die, shares the tragic moment with his beloved horses, possessed of human speech.

Nearchos, one of the great masters of the Archaic Attic Kerameikos, superbly renders the tension of departure in the gazes and expressions of Achilles and his horse.

**Selected bibliography**

BAPD 300767. Καλτσάς 2007, 211.

*G. Kavvadias*



### 200. Attic black-figure amphora

575-550 BC

Clay

H. 0.62 m

Phaleron, Athens

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 558

The decoration on the vase is confined to two reserved rectangular panels (*metopes*), one on each side, while most of the remaining surface is covered with black glaze. The metopes on both sides are decorated with a painted black helmet surmounted by an incised wreath of myrtle. The plume is higher on one helmet, and is decorated with an incised meander.

#### Selected bibliography

BAPD 14335. CVA Athens II, 10, pl. 18 (M. Pipili).  
M. Selekou



### 201. Attic black-figure lekythos

540-530 BC

Near the style of the Taleides Painter  
Clay

H. 0.26 m

Thebes

National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. A 414

The departure of a warrior is depicted on the shoulder of the lekythos: a fully-armed hoplite approaches the rider. The warrior's wife is bidding him farewell, and his dog follows behind. The arming of the warrior is shown on the body of the vase; he wears a breastplate, he carries a sword, and he puts on his greaves. Beside him, his wife holds his spear and shield. His helmet lies on the ground between them, and his comrades surround them.

#### Selected bibliography

BAPD 301145. Kaltsas 2006, 117, no. 41 (E Stasi-nopoulou-Kakarouga).

M. Selekou



### 202. Figurine of a warrior

540-520 BC

Laconian workshop

Bronze

H. 0.160 m

Longa, Messenia, Sanctuary  
of Apollo Korythos

National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. X 14789

A warrior is depicted with his left leg slightly to the fore. He wears a Corinthian-type helmet with high and long crest, cuirass, chitoniskos, a wristband, and an armband on his right arm, thigh coverings and greaves. In his left hand he held a shield, of which part of the grip is preserved, and in his right a spear, a section of which is visible in his clenched palm.

The type of hoplite with his panoply embodies the martial ideals of Spartan society. The epithet *Korythos* of the god Apollo worshipped at the sanctuary in which the figurine was found is related to the Homeric word *korys* (helmet).

#### Selected bibliography

Βερούκης 1916, 106-109, pl. A. Stibbe 1996, 143, fig. 73. Proskynitopoulou 2006, 155-158, 164.

S. Athanasopoulou



### 203. Attic black-figure calyx krater

510-500 BC

*In the manner of Exekias*

Clay

H. 0.38 m

Pharsala, Thessaly

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 26746

Battle over a dead warrior, probably Patroclus. Two hoplite phalanxes clash to remove a dead comrade from the battlefield. The scene may have been inspired by the fierce and tearful (*polydakris*) battle (*Iliad*, XVI, XVII) in which the Achaeans, championed by Ajax and Menelaus, managed to wrest the body of the Myrmidon hero from the Trojans. On the reverse, a four-wheeled chariot; below the main scenes, lions consuming bulls.

#### Selected bibliography

ABV 148.9. Καλτσός 2007, 214.

*G. Kavvadias*

**204. Grave stele of the hoplite Aristion**

Ca. 510 BC  
 Pentelic marble  
 H. 2.40 m  
 Velanideza, Attica  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Γ 29

The deceased Aristion, bearded and in full military gear, is depicted as a hoplite. He wears a short chiton and leather cuirass, an Attic helmet on the head, and greaves on the shins. He holds a spear in the left hand. The name of the sculptor, Aristokles, is carved on bottom of the stele.

The man's musculature and attire indicate the strength and virtue of defenders of the fatherland.

**Selected bibliography**

Καλτσάς 2002, 70, cat. no. 100. Δεσπίνης - Καλτσάς 2014, 406-412, cat. no. I.1. 371, fig. 1226 (Μ. Σάλτα).

*E. Vlachogianni*



**205. Head of a helmeted warrior**

Ca. 490 BC  
 Marble  
 H. 0.31 m  
 Sanctuary of Aphaia, Aegina  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Γ 1933

The warrior is depicted wearing a Corinthian helmet which has been raised thereby revealing his entire face. Added locks and also the beard that have been made of separate pieces of marble were attached to holes pierced on the nape of the neck, the temples, and the jaw respectively. The facial features are calligraphically rendered.

The head belonged to a statue of a warrior that served as a votive offering to the sanctuary and draws its inspiration from a work of the glorious bronze sculpture tradition that reached its peak on Aegina towards the end of the Archaic period.

**Selected bibliography**

Furtwängler 1906, 259, no. 120, pls. 73-74, figs. 217, 219. Walter-Karydi 1987, 77, no. 34, pl. 28. Καλτσάς 2001, 79, no. 128.

*Ch. Tsouli*



**206. Attic white-ground lekythos**

490-480 BC

Clay

H. 0.25 m

Unknown provenance

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 14691

The body is coated with an off-white slip and decorated with a battle scene between a Greek and Scythians: a fully-armed hoplite takes aim with his spear and attacks the Scythian combatants, dressed in characteristic clothing, who is kneeling on the ground. The scene is framed by two more Scythian archers, who are launching their arrows against the hoplite.

#### Selected bibliography

Hatzivassiliou, 41, 151, no. 610. *LIMC* I, 1, s.v. Amazones, 605, no. 278 (E. Mavleev).

M. Selekou



**207. Attic red-figure pelike**

Late 5th c. BC

The Academy Painter

Clay

H. 0.39 m

Athens, Plato's Academy

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 15882

On one side of the vase is depicted a warrior's departure. A hoplite ephebe armed for battle and a Nike with a phiale and oinochoe before an altar are flanked by a seated male bearded "royal" figure holding a scepter in his left hand and bidding the warrior farewell with his left. On the reverse, three stand-

ing himation-clad men, two holding canes, are pictured.

#### Selected bibliography

Κουρουνιώτης 1937, 232-233. *LIMC* VI, 1, s.v. Nike, 876, no. 312 (U. Grote).

M. Selekou



### 208. Base of a grave stele with battle scenes in relief

Early 4th c. BC  
 Pentelic marble  
 H. 0.67, l. 0.61, w. 0.58 m  
 Athens, area of the ancient  
 Academy  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Γ 3708 (BE 1931/20)

The rectangular base is decorated in relief on three sides. As the elongated carving on the top surface indicates, it was designed for mounting a stele on which the names of those who died in battle were possibly inscribed. The relief on the front side is more pronounced compared to those

on the lateral faces, whereas the back side, dressed with a point, was out of sight. On the main side and the lateral facets a battle scene between a young cavalryman and a fallen on the ground hoplite is repeated in different variations that illustrate the gallantry of the figure depicted as victor, maintain-

ing the iconographic unity of the reliefs. On the central side the rider is shown armed with a sword and a spear, wearing a *petasos* on his head, *chitoniskos*, a billowing *chlamys* and shoes, ready to pounce to the right. His horse stands on its hind legs over an enemy who is a hoplite wearing *exomis* and Corin-



thian helmet and kneels in an effort to defend himself aided by a shield and possibly some kind of sword. Above and below, the scene is framed by *ky-mation* and *taenia*. Details of the relief, such as the spear of the horseman and the reins of the horse were painted.

#### Selected bibliography

Karo 1931, 217-222, figs. 1-3. Stupperich 1977, 162, no. 151. Καλτσάς 2001, 171, no. 337. Kosmopoulou 2002, 218-219, figs. 73-75. Hurwit 2007, 52, 54, fig. 18. Fuchs 2008, 27, fig. 12, 35-36, figs. 29-30. Goette 2009, 193, 195, fig. 46. Pirson 2014, 226-227, A 27, A28, A 29, pl. 9, 1-3. Sanchez - Escobar 2015, 398, no. 33 (M. Salta).

M. Salta

## 209. Grave stele of a hoplite

Early 4th c. BC  
 Pentelic marble  
 H. 0.70, w. 0.44-0.42 m  
 Piraeus  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Γ 752

Plain stele with no pilasters, surmounted by a cornice with five palmette antefixes. Only the upper part of its representation has been preserved. A young hoplite wearing a sleeved chitoniskos and himation, who has laid next to him on the ground a shield and a Corinthian helmet, is depicted seated supporting his head with his right hand in a sorrowful expression. Judging from the relief contour of the prow of a trireme, which appears on the left side, facing the youth, the scene takes place possibly at the foredeck of a warship. The curved foremast, the *proembolon*, and the ram with two indentations are illustrated. Underneath the ship the sea, arranged in a separate register, would have been rendered in colour, whereas the rest of the stele was possibly occupied by a rock that was also painted. During the unearthing of the monument evidence of red paint was still preserved on the helmet of the youth and also on the lower part of the flat surface of the stele on which traces can still be discerned. The names of the deceased man and his father *Δημοκλείδης Δημητρίο* (Demokleides, son of Demetrios) have been inscribed on the epistyle above the scene.

Depictions of ships on Attic grave monuments are rare. Apparently Demokleides was killed in a sea battle in which he took part as "epibates" hoplite. The stele of Euempolos, a foreigner, Γ 778 (IG II<sup>2</sup> 11379), which was also recovered together with this one, could be attributed to the same Peiraic workshop. Euempolos was identified as a servant (*θεράπων*) in a naval catalogue of the Peloponnesian War (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1951, 158). Demokleides was a member of the marines during the last years of this devastating for Athens war.

### Selected bibliography

Conze, no. 623, pl. 122. Diepolder 1931, 39. IG II<sup>2</sup> 11114. Καρούζου 1967, 83. Stupperich 1977, 155, no. 18. Wegener 1985, 168, no. 200. De-



livorrias 1987, 212, cat. no. 108. (O. Palagia). Salta 1991, 112, note 1101, 121, 193-194. Clairmont 1993, no. 1330. Τζάκος 2001, 367, fig. 7. Καλτσάς 2001, 162-163, no. 320. Clair 2005, 49-50, no. 3 (A. Pasquier - J. Clair). Albersmeier 2009, 254-255, cat. no. 66 (A. Kokkinou). Garezu *et al.* 2014, 200-201, no. 67 (M. Salta).

M. Salta



**210. Decree of the Athenian Ecclesia tou Demou concerning the preparation of the fleet for the Sicilian Expedition**

415 BC  
 Pentelic marble  
 H. 0.20, w. 0.30, th. 0.135 m  
 Acropolis of Athens  
 Epigraphic Museum, inv. no. EM 6591β.

**Ancient text**

The inscribed fragment preserves a part of the decrees of the Ecclesia of Athens issued in 415/4 BC regarding the preparation and the size of the fleet which the Athenians decided to dispatch to Sicily under the command of the generals Alkibiades, Nikias, and Lamachos. The aim of the expedition was to respond to the appeal made by the Eggestaeans for assistance in their conflict with Selinus and to restore Leontini (Thuc. VI. 8). Eight fragments are preserved from at least two stelae and the fragment on display possibly refers to the difficulties encountered in funding the expedition.

[...]βολὲν καθότι ἄριστα κ[----- ἐά]-  
 ν τε ἀπὸ τῷ τιμέματος δοκεῖ [----- ἐάν]  
 τε τὲμ πόλιν ἀναλὼν ἡόσον α[----- τὰ]  
 ς ἑξήσδεκα ναῦς ἐὰμ προσ[-----]  
 5 μενον εἴ ἐσφέρεν ἡόταν δεε[----- ἐκκ]-  
 λεσίαν ποιεσάντων δέκα ἡε[μερῶν [----- π]-  
 ερὶ ἄλλο μεδενὸς πρότερον [-----]  
 ε ἐκκλεσίαν ποιῆν τὸς πρυτ[άνες] -----]  
 αὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τῶν νεῶν [-----]  
 10 οῖς περὶ δὲ τῷ ἔκπλο τῶν νεῶν [----- ἐ]-  
 πανορθοῦσθαι ἐν τῷ δέμοι ἡο[-----ἐ]-  
 κκλεσίαν ποιόντων ἡόταν κε[-----]  
 ον καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὑπερεσίας [-----]  
 καὶ ἀργυρίο ἐς καλλιέρεσιν [-----]  
 15 [.] ἑξήσακσίον [καὶ] χιλίον [-----]  
 -----

**Free translation**

No free translation is offered in view of the very fragmentary state of the text.

**Selected bibliography**

IG<sup>13</sup> 93c. Meiggs - Lewis 1988<sup>2</sup>, 78. Tod 1985, no. 77, 193-195. SEG 38, 56. See also N. Birgalias, Decrees relating to the Sicilian expedition (415 BC), in Lagogianni-Georgakarakos - Bouraselis 2009, 78-80.

E Zavvou

**211. Grave relief***Third quarter of the 4th c. BC**Pentelic marble**H. 1.66, w. 0.92 m**Eleusis**National Archaeological Museum,**inv. no. Γ 834*

A bearded warrior rendered in noticeably high relief is depicted standing, clad in chitoniskos, cuirass, and chlamys. The figure of the mature man looks out at the viewer. In a relaxed pose, with his head tilting slightly sideways and his legs crossed, he rests his right hand on his hip, whereas with his left hand he touches a helmet which a young nude servant holds in his hands. The hole to the left of the figure, near his waist, was possibly intended for fixing a sword. Next to him lies an upright shield placed obliquely. The architectural elements of the monument, which was in the form of a naiskos, have not been preserved. The work has been inspired by a statue in which the figure would have been supported more firmly, possibly with the aid of a small pillar.

**Selected bibliography**

Conze, no. 1023, pl. 201. Diepolder 1931, 53. Braun 1966, 60. Καρούζου 1967, 116-117. Stupperich 1977, no. 38. Palagia 1980, 10, pl. 123. Salta 1991, 236. Clairmont 1993, no. 1970. Boutoupás 1991/1992, 44, notes 71 and 73. von den Hoff 1994, 66, 182, note 34. Καλτσάς 2001, 190-191, no. 377.

*M. Salta*



## 212. Relief slab of a frieze

Mid-4th c. BC  
 Pentelic marble  
 H. 0.55, w. 1.07 m  
 Athens  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Γ 3614

The slab that formed part of a frieze shows a representation of Amazonomachy. At the centre, a nude Greek warrior is shown in a defensive posture wearing a helmet with tall crest, with the shield strapped to his left forearm while an armed Amazon is about to strike him. A second Amazon on the right side of the scene is portrayed in a defensive stance.

The slab belonged to the frieze of a funerary monument. It is possibly a work of the School of Vryaxis or Timotheos.

### Selected bibliography

Καρούζου 1967, 88. Καλτσάς 2001, 254, no. 531.

*LIMC* I, s.v. Amazones, 614, no. 429b (P. Devambez - A. Kauffman-Samaras).

A. Klonizaki



### 213. Cuirass statue

*Last quarter of the 4th c. BC*

*Parian marble*

*H. 1.25 m*

*Athens, Veranzerou Street*

*National Archaeological Museum,*

*inv. no. Γ 3668*

Statue of a general wearing cuirass. The original inserted head of the statue is safeguarded in Berlin. The figure is depicted wearing chlamys that falls over his back and left shoulder and is gathered on the left arm. The anatomical details of the chest and the navel are clearly imprinted on the cuirass. As a rule the lower edge of real cuirasses ended in two rows of tongues made of leather.

This is one of the cuirass statues which constitute a common sculpture type during the Hellenistic and the Roman period.

#### **Selected bibliography**

Θεοφανείδης, 1927-1928, 10, fig. 16. Vermeule 1959, 43, no. 74. Καλοῦς, 2001, 267, no. 558.

*A. Klonizaki*

## 214. Grave naiskos of Aristonautes

Ca. 320 BC

Pentelic marble

H. (including the base) 2.91,

h. (without the base) 2.48,

max. w. of the naiskos 1.55 m

Athens, necropolis of Kerameikos

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. Γ 738

A young Athenian hoplite dressed in full military attire and chlamys is depicted in the battlefield striding to the right while his face turns toward the viewer. He carries a shield strapped to his left arm whereas the right hand probably held a sword. The vehemence of his posture is further accentuated by the windblown chlamys. The holes on the forehead were intended for fixing a bronze attachment, either of helmet or wreath. The heroic isolation of the deceased is underlined by the deep naiskos that frames his almost free-standing figure.

According to the inscription on the epistyle, the deceased is Aristonautes, son of Archenautes, from the coastal deme of Halai in Attica. The dramatic expression of the face and the sturdy body recall creations of the Parian sculptor Skopas.

Various individual qualities of the figure, such as the details of the eyes and the beard, but also on the military equipment of the warrior would have been rendered in colour. During the excavation of the monument traces of red paint were still preserved on the shield, blue on the background, and yellow on the impostes of the pilasters.

The battlefield which is suggested by the plastic rendering of the rocky terrain at the base of the stele is a distinctive feature. The central acroterion of the monument – possibly a loutrophoros –, from which only the base survives, indicates that Aristonautes died unmarried.

### Selected bibliography

Conze, no. 1151, pl. 245. von Sallis 1926. Diepolder 1931, 52, pl. 50. *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 5462. Stewart 1977, 118. Stupperich 1977, 155, no. 15. Meyer 1982. Schmaltz 1983, 220, note 515. Yfantidis 1984, 19, cat. no. 15, pl. I, 2-3. Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1986, 28-29. Vierneisel-Schlörb 1988, 108-109, note 7a. Clairmont 1993, no. 1.460. Moreno 1994, 85-87, fig. 104. Καλτσός 2001, 204, no. 410. Maderna 2004, 382, fig. 88.

M. Salta





## 215. Arrowheads, spears, and javelins from the battle of Thermopylae

*Late Archaic period*

*Bronze, iron*

*L. 0.035/0.05/0.06/0.073 m*

*(arrow points), 0.24/0.18 m*

*(javelin and spear points)*

*Kolonos Hill, Thermopylae*

*National Archaeological Museum,*

*inv. nos. X 16128-16130, 16132-16134,*

*16137-16141*

Bronze and iron arrowheads, spears, and javelins from the excavations at Kolonos Hill, Thermopylae, where the last of the defenders fell. They belong to various types and appear in regions of Greece, Cyprus, Asia Minor, and the East.

16128/1-68. Rhomboid arrowheads with three blades and a socket for the arrow shaft. This type, of eastern origin and frequent at Olympia, is known in the Archaic and Classical period. It appears in the 5th c. BC in the areas in which the Persians fought against the Greeks.

16129/1-6. Six bronze arrowheads, leaf-shaped or rhomboid with two blades and a socket at the base to insert the arrow. They belong to the Persian type known from Pasargadae, Persepolis, and Memphis in Egypt. In Greece, apart from Thermopylae, they appear at Olynthos, Lindos, and Samos.

16130. Rhomboid arrowhead, of long length, with a circular base and an inherent stem, chipped, for the attachment of the wooden arrow shaft. Similar finds appear at Delphi, Perachora, and Olympia.

16132/1-19. Nineteen iron leaf-shaped arrowheads, with central rib and inherent stem for attaching the wooden shaft. Several have a conical base and inv. no. 16132.1 is triangular with angular blades.

16133. Rhomboid arrowhead with three blades and a tube at the base.

16134. Iron javelin point, of an elongated leaf-shape with central rib. It terminates in a long socket into which the shaft would have been fastened with a nail.

16137. Bronze spearhead, leaf-shaped, with central rib.

16138. Iron spear butt (*sauroter*), with four-sided pyramidal point and socket. The metal spear butt was attached to the rear end of the wooden spear shaft to fix it to the ground. At the same time, it reinforced the shaft and enabled the use of the back side of the weapon as well.

16139/1-25. Iron javelin points of pyramidal shape with square cross-section. They appear in Cyprus and Thermopylae during the period of the Persian Wars.

16140/1-18 and 16141/1-5. Iron arrowheads, pyramidal with square cross-section. They are solid and particularly strong. Apart from Thermopylae, they are associated with the destruction of Olynthos by the Macedonians in 348 BC. Because the type is frequent in Cyprus, they are considered to be Cypriot.

### Selected bibliography

Baitinger 2001, 5-92. Kaltsas 2006, 224, no. 118 (R. Proskynitopoulou).

*K. Bairami*



### 216. Inscribed spear butt (sauroter)

5th c. BC

Bronze

L. 0.134 m

Acropolis of Athens

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. X 6855

Part of an inscribed spear butt (*sauroter*), with a four-sided section and incompletely preserved in the receiving socket for the attachment of the shaft. The spear butt, the metal cap at the back of a spear, was used to fix it to the ground and to reinforce the wooden shaft. In case of need, it could also be used as a secondary spear point, with the spear turned upward. The dotted inscription ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑΣ indicates that it was dedicated to the goddess Athena.

#### Selected bibliography

de Ridder 1896, 97, no. 282. Baitinger 2001, 57, note 516, 64, note 572.

K. Bairami



### 217. Helmet of "Illyrian" type

Late 6th c. BC

Bronze

H. 0.26 m

Pangaion, Macedonia

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. X 14802

The type owes its conventional name to ancient Illyria (former Yugoslavia and Albania), due to its dissemination there, but its origins are considered to be in the Peloponnese and its shape is frequently found in Macedonia. The two parallel ribs at the peak and the hole for the pin in the forehead were used to attach the crest. On the edge, decorative *astragaloï*. The straps that held the helmet to the warrior's jaw were affixed to two holes at the ends of the cheek-plates.

#### Selected bibliography

Bottini *et al.* 1988, 52-54. Μουσιτάκα 2000, 393-410.

K. Bairami



### 218. Corinthian helmet

5th c. BC

Bronze

H. 0.26 m

Hermione, Argolis

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. X 14332

The predominant helmet of the Greek hoplite, it covers all the parts of the head leaving an opening only for the eyes and mouth. The articulation of the helmet allows the construction of the cheek-plates and the pedimental frontispiece of a stronger sheet compared to the thinner walls of the dome. The reinforced spear-shaped nose-piece is defined by an engraving that continues as a band around the eyes.

#### Selected bibliography

Bottini *et al.* 1988, 91-94, figs. 32-33.

*K. Bairami*





### 219. Helmet in the shape of a pilos

450-425 BC

Bronze

H. 0.198, d. 0.194 m

Likely from Dodone

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. Kap. 687

The conical shape of the helmet is the bronze version of the simple woolen headgear of the hunter, traveller, craftsman, or sailor. The helmet with a low rounded dome and ribbon-like incurving brim is chipped at the peak, and there are sockets in the brim for the band that held the helmet on the chin of the warrior.

#### Selected bibliography

Βοκοπούλου 1980, 239, no. 2, pl. 71a, 240-241.

Bottini *et al.* 1988, 151-158.

*K. Bairami*

# Odysseys



## Constitution

I must see a bit of the city [...]  
[...] I need to hear the great footsteps of the city [...]  
*Y. Ritsos, Moonlight Sonata*



### 220. Attic one-handled vase

7th c. BC

Clay

H. 0.06 m

Sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 16092

The vase bears an incised inscription written *boustrophedon*, that begins from the handle and runs around the body to end in the base.

*Νι(κο)δεμος Φ( . . . ) ιδες καταγιγον  
Λεο( . . . )δες ερι*

Based on the archaeological data and the comparison of the Greek letters with those of the Phoenician alphabet, it is believed that the alphabet was imported into Greece in around 800 BC. Several potsherds and vases with incised inscriptions were dedicated to the Sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos and manifest indisputably that the script was employed by the inhabitants of Attica during that period.

#### Selected bibliography

Blegen 1934, 11, fig. 1.

E Zosi



### 221. Part of an inscribed bronze tablet

575-570 BC

Bronze

H. 0.135, preserved l. 0.155 m (top),

0.135 m (bottom)

Argive Heraion

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. X 14016

Part of a tablet on which a fragmentary *boustrophedon* inscription is preserved that consists of eleven lines written in the Argive alphabet. Due to its fragmented condition the inscription cannot be safely supplemented and its reading is problematic; nonetheless, it has been commonly accepted that it constitutes a law excerpt. It was found in the sanctuary of Hera that was particularly significant for the city of Argos and was protected by the goddess herself.

In the first three lines reference is made to the penalties incurred to anyone who attempts to destroy the inscription or ignores the provisions of the law. The violator shall be cursed, shall be banished from the land of Argos, and his property shall be confiscated. Lines 4-6 refer to the felony of planning or committing homicide or causing harm to Argive citizens. Because of the magnitude of the violence entailed in the aforementioned offences H. van Effenterre and F. Ruzé (1994, 354) hold that the inscription suggests a period of crisis in the city of Argos. According to the same researchers, from line 6 onward, the officials who shall inflict the punishment upon the violators, the possible failure of the undertaking,

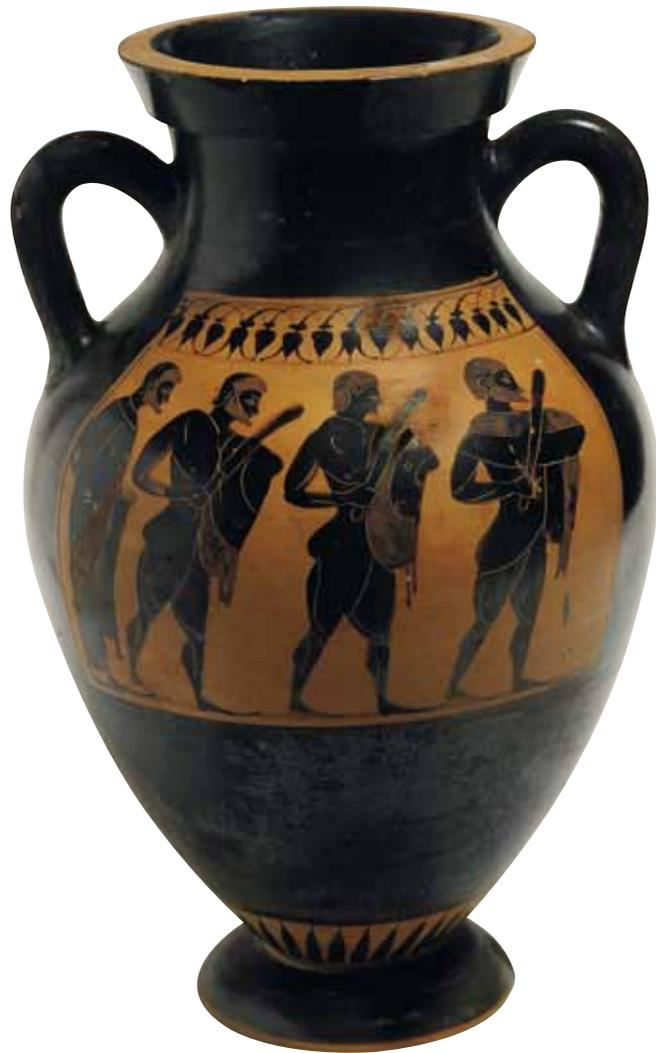
and the compensatory measures are mentioned. The *prographos* in line 6 signifies an official responsible for the public display of the confiscated property. J. D. Roger (1901, 171) maintains that in this particular inscription the term denotes "the person whose name is inscribed first on a catalogue" and associates him with the body of the *damiourgoi*. In line 7 reference is made to the institution of the *damiourgoi* and it has been presumed that either the offence to refuse the performance of duties and the concomitant penalty (Roger, Koerner) or the suspension of the body's activities in time of crisis are stated. It appears that the *damiourgoi* oversaw the observance of the law and the maintenance of public order (van Effenterre - Ruzé 1994, 356). They were officials assigned to religious and judicial duties (Gagarin 2008, 63, note 57).

Gagarin (1986, 91) argues that the inscription from the Heraion possibly served as "a fundamental part of the city's law". H. van Effenterre and F. Ruzé (1994, 356) acknowledge that the inscription is indicative of the intention of the Argives to suppress any kind of violence and at the same time they discern the first attestation of internal conflicts in the city of Argos which will intensify as a result of the interference of Lacedaemon.

#### Selected bibliography

IGIV, 506 (M. Fraenkel). *SEG* XI, 302. Rogers 1901. Waldstein 1905, 333-336, no. 1826, pls. 106-107 (E. F. de Cou). Jeffery 1963, 152-153, 158-159, 168, 405, no. 9, pl. 27. Gagarin 1986, 91. van Effenterre - Ruzé 1994, 354-356, no. 100. Koerner 1993, 83-86, no. 29. Gagarin 2008, 62-63, 251, no. 10. Rigsby 2009, 73-75.

A. Chatzipanagiotou

**222. Black-figure amphora***530-525 BC**The Swing Painter**Clay**H. 0.42 m**Dekeleia, Attica**National Archaeological Museum,**inv. no. A 15111*

Four men are depicted in the metopic representation on this vase. Three are rendered in similar fashion, holding a club in their hand and walking in synchronized step, while the fourth bearded figure following them is differentiated by being wrapped in a himation.

The club-bearing men (*koryniphoroi*), are interpreted as the bodyguards of Peisistratos who protected him from possible counter-factions. With their assistance, in 538 BC, the Athenian tyrant regained power, retaining it until his death in 527 BC.

**Selected bibliography**

ABV 306, no. 43. *Add<sup>2</sup>* 81, no. 306.43. Kaltsas 2006, 118, cat. no. 42 (E. Vivliodetis).

*E. Oikonomou*



### 223. Fragmentary grave stele of a discophoros

Ca. 550 BC  
 Pentelic marble  
 H. 0.35, w. 0.44 (bottom), 0.43 m (top)  
 Athens, found near the Dipylon Gate  
 (set into the foundations of the  
 Themistoclean Wall)  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Γ 38

From the relief representation on the preserved upper part of the stele survives the head of a young athlete in profile facing right, who is depicted holding a discus

in his raised left hand (only the palm and the thumb are visible). From the hair only a long plait with tied end that falls behind the ear reaching the shoulder is preserved. The face of the figure combines perfectly the strong features of an athlete with youthful grace. The expressive almond-shaped eye, which is conventionally depicted frontally, and the gentle smile constitute typical features of the Archaic period. The various colours the stele was once decorated with, such as those on the surface of the discus, within which the head of the youth is inscribed, on the hair and the face would have brightened the figure accentuating the mouth and the gaze.

#### Selected bibliography

Conze, no. 5, pl. 4. Rodenwaldt 1923, 23, fig. 3. Richter 1960, 21, figs. 77-78. Καρούζου 1967, 12, pl. 7. Floren 1987, 285, pl. 23.7. Καλτσάς 2001, 53, no. 55. Δεσπίνης - Καλτσάς 2014, 389-391, no. I.1. 358, figs. 1201-1202 (M. Σάλτα).

M. Salta

### 224. Attic black-figure skyphos

Ca. 540 BC  
 The Camel Painter  
 Clay  
 H. 0.136, d. rim 0.182-0.184,  
 d. base 0.111 m  
 Unknown provenance  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. A 638

On both sides of the vase, three nude running youths framed by two himation-clad spectators or judges are depicted. The athletes' forceful stride, the forward inclination of their bodies, and the large space between their arms



indicate that they are competing in the *stadion*, the quintessential race involving speed. Holes on the body and one handle of the skyphos show that it had been repaired in antiquity.

#### Selected bibliography

CVA Athens 4, pl. 15.1-4, fig. 62 (M. Pipili). Καλτσάς 2004, 170, no. 61 (X. Αβρονιδάκη). BAPD 300862.

Ch. Avronidaki

## 225. Grave relief of the “Hoplite runner”

Ca. 510 BC  
 Parian marble  
 H. 1.02, w. 0.73 m  
 Athens, found south-west  
 of the Theseion  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Γ 1959

A nude hoplite wearing Attic helmet is depicted running to the right in the stylized rendition of the running pose – head that turns backwards, hands before the frontally depicted chest, legs shown bent in profile (of the left leg which is bent at right angle only the thigh has been preserved). The figure has been identified as a dancer of the *pyrrhichios* war dance. From beneath the helmet the rich hair of the young man emerges ending in twisted tresses around the temples and the nape of the neck.

The trapezoidal shape of the relief and the crown, which consists of two volutes on the edges, suggest that the slab on which the relief was carved lined a funerary monument, as confirmed by the traces of a painted band on the upper part of the relief. The central portion of the crown has been destroyed.

### Selected bibliography

Φίλιος 1903, 42-56. Ανδρόνικος 1953/1954, 317-326. Wiegartz 1965, 46ff., pl. 12. Καρούζου 1967, 22-23, pl. 12. Schilardi 1987. Καλτσάς 2001, 71, no. 101. Δεσπίνης - Καλτσάς 2014, 424-432, no. I.1.378, figs. 1239-1241 (A. Δεληβορριάς).

M. Salta





## 226. Base of a kouros with relief scenes

Ca. 510 BC

Pentelic marble

H. 0.31, w. 0.815, l. 0.815 m

Petalona, Athens (built into the Themistoclean Wall)

National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Γ 3476

The base is decorated in relief and depicts scenes from the palaestra on the front and the two lateral faces. The front displays the training of athletes in the events of wrestling, the running race,

and javelin throw, whereas the left side represents a ball game (possibly *episkyros*), and the right side shows youths that pair a dog and a cat in a fight. Substantial traces of red paint have been preserved on the background. The base on which the statue of a kouros had been set up, illustrates vividly the daily life of young men at the palaestra.

### Selected bibliography

Φιλαδελφεύς 1920-1921, 1-11, figs. 1-4. Δεσπίνης - Καλιτσάς 2014, 455-460, no. I.1.393, figs. 1265-1270, drs. 8-11.

Ch. Tsouli

## 227. Attic red-figure kylix

Ca. 460 BC

The Lyandros Painter

Clay

H. 0.09, d. rim 0.224 m

Unknown provenance

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 17302

On the exterior of both sides of the vase, scenes from the palaestra are depicted, indicated by the column and hanging athletes' gear, aryballoi, and strigils. On one side, a young man watches his fellow-athlete, who is preparing to throw the javelin, and on the other, a young man is extending an aryballos to his fellow-athlete, who is undressing in preparation for throwing the javelin in front of their trainer. On the tondo inside the vase, a Maenad with thyrsus and branch is depicted.



### Selected bibliography

BAPD 212155. Καλτσάς 2004, 140, no. 31 (Ε. Σασινοπούλου).

M. Selekou

## 228. Portrait head of a boxer

330-320 BC

Bronze

H. 0.28 m

Olympia

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. X 6439

The head belongs to a cast life-size statue depicting a boxer of mature age. His personal characteristics are rendered with realism. The eyes were inlaid. He is crowned with a *kotinos* (an olive wreath, the prize for winning at Olympia) of which only a few tips of the olive leaves survive, having been added after the casting of the statue.

The head likely belonged to a statue of the famous boxer Satyros from Elis, repeated winner at the Nemean, the Pythian, and the Olympic games. The statue of Satyros in Olympia had been made by the Athenian bronze sculptor Silanion.

### Selected bibliography

Schmidt 1934, 190-204, figs. 4-5, 7-8. Rolley 1999, 303-304, figs. 316-317. Καλτσάς 2001, 248, no. 517.

S. Athanasopoulou





## 229. Inscribed stele with honorific decree

300-250 BC

Bronze

H. 0.55, w. 0.26 m

Sanctuary of Zeus, Olympia

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. X 6442

The honorific decree of the Boule of the Eleians for the wrestler Demokrates, son of Agetor from Tenedos and winner at the Olympic Games, is written in forty verses in the Eleian dialect. The athlete is declared a benefactor and granted particular privileges, such as exemption from taxes, the ability to possess land in the region of Eleia, safety in times of war and peace, and participation in festivals and sacrifices. The decree was to be written on a bronze plaque and set up in the Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, and a copy was to be sent to the Tenedians, compatriots of Demokrates. Depicted in the pedimental crowning are the symbols of the Tenedians, a bunch of grapes and double axes.

### Selected bibliography

Fraser - Matthews 1987, 116, s.v. Damokrates.  
*Olympia V* (1896), 79, no. 39. Καλτσάς 2004,  
 332, no. 202 (P. Προσκυνητούλου).

S. Athanasopoulou

### 230. Decree of Themistocles(?)

481/0 BC? (*the Decree*), first half of the  
3rd c. BC (*the inscription of the Decree*  
*on the stone*)

Marble

H. 0.595, w. 0.375, th. 0.085 m

Troezen, Argolis

Epigraphic Museum, inv. no. EM 13330

In the decree Themistocles purports to propose significant measures in order to confront the Persian invasion in 481/0 BC, such as to entrust the city of Athens to the goddess Athena and the rest of the gods, to evacuate the city and move women and children to Troezen, and to take the elderly together with their movable belongings to Salamis. He also proposes to guard the Acropolis, to man two hundred ships and send one hundred of them to Artemision in Euboea, while the rest are to watch over the land off Salamis and Attica, and to recall those who had lived in exile and settle them temporarily on Salamis in order to restore concord amongst the Athenians.

The inscription dates back to the first half of the 3rd c. BC and some academics maintain that it is a faithful copy of a decree put forward by Themistocles, whereas others believe that it is subsequently fabricated in the time of the Chremonidean War, when Athens, Sparta, and other cities of the Peloponnese formed an alliance against the Kingdom of Macedon under the aegis of Ptolemy II Philadelphus.



## Ancient text

[θεοί.]  
 ἔδοξε[εν] τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ·  
 Θεμιστοκλῆς Νεοκλέους Φρεάρριος εἶπεν·  
 τῆ[μ] μὲν πόλιν παρακατ[αθέ]σθαι τῆι Ἀθηνᾶι τῆι Ἀθηνῶ-  
 5 μ[με]δεο[ύ]σῃι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἄπασιν φυλάττει-  
 ν καὶ ἄμ[ύ]νειν τὸν βάρβαρον ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας Αθηναίου-  
 [ς δ' ἀ]π[αν]τας καὶ τοὺς ξένο[υ]ς τοὺς οἰκοῦντας Ἀθήνησι  
 [τὰ τέκ]να καὶ τὰς γυναῖκ[ας] εἰς Τροιζῆνα καταθέσθαι  
 τ[.....] 20.....] τοῦ ἀρχηγέτου τῆς χώρας τ-  
 10 [οὺς δὲ π]ρεσβύτας καὶ τὰ κτήματα εἰς Σαλαμίνα καταθ-  
 έ[σθ]αι· τοὺς δὲ ταμίαις καὶ τὰς ἱερέας ἐν τῆι ἀκροπόλε-  
 [ί] μένειν φυλάττοντας τὰ τῶν θεῶν· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἀθη-  
 [ναίους ἀ]παντας καὶ τοὺς ξέ[ν]ους τοὺς ἠβῶντας εἰσβαί-  
 νειν εἰς τὰς ἐτοίμασθ[ε]ί[σ]α[ς] διακοσίας ναῦς καὶ ἀμύ-  
 15 νεσ[θαι] τὸν βάρβαρον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῆς τε ἑαυ-  
 τῶν [καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων] μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Κο-  
 ρινηθίων καὶ Αἰγινήτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν βουλομένων-  
 [ν] κοινω[ν]ήσειν τοῦ κινδύνου· καταστήσει δὲ καὶ τριη-  
 [ρά]ρχους διακοσίους ἕνα ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν ἐκάστην τοὺς [σ]-  
 20 [τρατηγ]οὺς ἀρχομένους τῆι αὔριον ἡμέραι ἐκ τῶν κ[εκ]-  
 τημέν[ω]ν γ[λῆ]ν [τ]ε καὶ [οἰκ]ίαν Ἀθή[ν]ησι καὶ οἷς ἄμ παῖδε[ς]  
 ὧσι γνήσιοι μὴ πρεσβυτέρο[υ]ς πενήτηκοντα ἐτῶν καὶ ἐ-  
 πικληρώσει αὐτ[ο]ῖς [τ]ὰς ναῦς ὅσ[α] καταλέξει δὲ καὶ ἐπι-  
 25 βάτας [δ]έκα [ἐφ' ἐκάστη]ν ναῦν ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ εἴκοσιν ἔτη [γ]-  
 εγονότω[ν] μέχρι τριάκοντα ἐτῶν καὶ τοξότας τέτταρ-  
 [α]ς διακλήρωσει δὲ καὶ τὰς ὑπηρεσίας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ὅτ-  
 [τα]μπερ καὶ τοὺς τριηράρχους ἐπικληρώσει· ἀναγράψα-  
 [ι] δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κατὰ ναῦν τοὺς στρατηγούς εἰς λε-  
 30 [υ]κώματα, τοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίους ἐκ τῶν ληξιαρχικῶν γρ-  
 αμματε[ῶ]ν, τοὺς δὲ ξένους ἐκ τῶν ἀπογεγραμμένων πα-  
 [ρά] τῶι [πο]λε[μ]ί[α]ρχ[ῳ]· ἀναγράψει δὲ νέμοντας κατὰ τάξ-  
 [ε]ις διακοσίας ἑκατὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ἐπιγράψα-  
 [ι] τῆι [τάξ]ει ἐκάστη τῆς τριήρους τοῦνομα καὶ τοῦ τρι-  
 ηράρχου καὶ τῆς ὑπηρε[σ]ί[α]ς ὅπως ἂν εἰδῶσιν εἰς ὁποῖ-  
 35 [αν] τριήρη ἐμ[β]ήσεται ἢ [τ]άξις ἐκ[ά]στη· ἐπειδὴν δὲ νεμη-  
 θῶσιν ἅπασ[α]ι αἱ τάξεις καὶ ἐπικληρωθῶσι ταῖς τριή-  
 [ρε]σι, πληροῦν ἑκάστης τὰς διακοσίας ναῦς τῆμ βουλῆν  
 καὶ τ[ο]ῦ στρατηγού[ς] θύσαντας ἀρεστήριον τῶι Διὶ τῶι  
 40 Παγκρατεῖ καὶ τῆι Ἀθηνᾶι καὶ τῆι Νίκῃ καὶ τῶι Ποσει-  
 δῶνι τῶι Ἀσφαλίει· ὅσ[α] ἐπειδὴν δὲ πεπληρωμένοι ὧσιν  
 αἱ νῆες, ταῖς μὲν ἑκατὸν αὐτῶν βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄρτεμισ-  
 [ί]ον τὸ Εὐβοϊκόν, ταῖς δὲ ἑκατὸν αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν Σαλαμ-  
 45 [ί]να καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀπτικὴν ναυλοχεῖν καὶ φυλάττειν  
 τὴν χώραν· ὅπως δ' ἂν καὶ ὁμονοῦντες ἅπαντες Ἀθηναῖοι  
 ἀμύνωνται τὸν βάρβαρον, τοὺς μὲν μεθεστηκότας τὰ [δ]-  
 [έ]κα ἔτη ἀπείναν εἰς Σαλαμίνα καὶ μένειν αὐτοὺς ἐ[κ]-  
 [ε]ἰς ἕως ἂν τι τῶι δήμῳ δόξηι περὶ αὐτῶν· τοὺς δὲ [ἀτίμου]-  
 [ς -----] ἰχνη γραμμάτων [-----]

## Free translation

Gods. Resolved by the council and people, Themistocles son of Neocles of the deme Phrearrioi said. The Athenians are to entrust the city to Athena, patron goddess of Athens, and to all the other gods, so that they will guard it and repel the barbarians for the good of the country. All the Athenians and foreigners resident in Athens are to send their children and wives to Troezen... of the founder of the country. They are to send the old men and movable property to Salamis. The treasurers and priestesses are to remain on the Acropolis to guard the property of the gods. All the other Athenians and foreigners who have reached adulthood are to embark on the two hundred ships that have been prepared and repel the barbarians for their own freedom and the freedom of the other Greeks, together with the Lakedaimonians and the Corinthians and the Aeginetans and any others who wish to share the danger. Starting tomorrow, the generals are to appoint two hundred trierarchs, one for each ship, from those who own land and are resident in Athens and who have legitimate children and are not over fifty years old. These are to be appointed by lot to the ships. Ten marines (epibatai) are to be assigned to each ship from amongst those who are between twenty and thirty years old, and four archers. The lesser officers (hyperesiai) are to be appointed by lot to the ships, when lots are drawn for the trierarchs. The generals are to record the others who serve on each ship (sc. the oarsmen) on white panels, the Athenians on the basis of the deme registers, and the foreigners from the lists deposited with the polemarchos. In this list, they are to divide them into two hundred groups of one hundred and each group is to have as a title the name of the trireme and the trierarch and the lesser officer, so that they will know on which trireme each group is to embark. When all the groups have been allocated and assigned by lot to the triremes, they are to be embarked on the two hundred ships by the council and the generals, after offering a propitiatory sacrifice to Zeus Pankrates and to Athena and to Nike and to Poseidon Asphaleios. When the ships are full, a hundred of them are to hasten to the aid of Artemision of Euboea, and the other hundred are to patrol around Salamis and the rest of Attica and protect the country. So that all the Athenians in harmony will defend themselves against the barbarian, and those condemned to ten year's exile are to go to Salamis and remain there until the assembly decides about them.

(S. Aneziri)

(transl. in English: D. Hardy)

## Selected bibliography

Jameson 1960, 198-223. Jameson 1962, 310-315. Meiggs - Lewis 1988<sup>2</sup>, 23. SEG 22, 274. S. Aneziri, Decree of Themistokles(?), in Lagogianni-Georgakarakos - Bourazelis 2009, 74-77.

Ei-L. Choremi



**231. Ostrakon (sherd)**

Ca. 470 BC  
Clay  
L. 0.09 m  
Athens, Areopagus area  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. A 11712

Sherd from the rim of a large open vase, probably a krater, with the incised inscription:

*Θεμισθοκλες/Φρεάρριο(ς)*

The sherd belongs to the ostracism vote which exiled Themistocles, probably in 471 or 470 BC. The admiral of the Athenians at the Battle of Salamis, son of Neocles from the deme of Phrearrioi (near Anavyssos), fled to Argos and, following his wanderings in several Greek cities, ended up at the court of the Persian king. He was appointed satrap of Magnesia on the Maeander, where he died in 459 BC without ever having returned to Athens.

**Selected bibliography**

Zahn 1897. For the ostracism of Themistocles, see Forsdyke 2005, 176-177.

*G. Kavvadias*

**232. Two ostraca (sherds)**

Ca. 443 or 442 BC  
Clay  
A 13830: L. 0.12 m., A 13834: L. 0.13 m  
Athens, Kerameikos, Agia Triada  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. nos. A 13830, 13834

A 13830: *Θοκυδίδη / Μελησίο*

A 13834: *Θοκυδίδες / Μελεσιο*

Two ostraca from the ostracism vote on Thucydides, son of Melesias, from the deme of Alopeke. Thucydides, perhaps the maternal grandfather of the historian of this name, was Cimon's successor in the leadership of the oligarchical faction in Athens and a fierce opponent of Pericles, especially of the latter's costly building program. After his exile in 443/2 BC, Thucydides travelled to Greek cities in Magna Grecia and Sicily.

**Selected bibliography**

Brückner 1915b, 8, no. 7 (A 13834), 11, no. 15 (A 13830). Forsdyke 2005, 168-169.

*G. Kavvadias*

**233. Two ostraca (sherds)**

Ca. 443 or 440 BC  
Clay  
A 13793: H. 0.065 m, A 13796: L. 0.07 m  
Athens, Kerameikos, Agia Triada  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. nos. A 13793, 13796

A 13793: *Κλειππίδες / Δεινίου / Άχανεύς*

A 13796: *Κλειππίδες / Δεινίο / Άχαρνέθ/εν*

Two ostraca from the ostracism vote against Kleippides, son of Deinias from Acharnai. Kleippides was one of the leading generals in the expedition sent by the Athenians in 428 BC to quell the rebellion of Mytilene against the Athenian League.

**Selected bibliography**

Brückner 1915b, 12, no. 18 (A 13793) and no. 20 (A 13796). Βιβλιοδέτης 1992-1998, 128-129. Kellogg 2013, 262.

*G. Kavvadias*



**234. Dikastic (judicial) allotment plate**

4th c. BC (378/7-322/1 BC)

Bronze

L. 0.115, w. 0.021 m

Trachones, Attica (from a tomb)

National Archaeological Museum

(previously, Komnenos Collection),

inv. no. X 17284

Plate with an incised two-line inscription including the name, patronymic, and demotic of the judicial candidate:

TEΛΕΣΩΝ ΤΕΛΕΣΙ( \_ )

ΑΛΙΜΟΣΙ(ΟΣ) vac.

In the upper left corner may be made out the letter Δ in a recessed square ("section letter", which determined one of the ten sub-groups on the basis of the ten tribes to which the prospective judge belonged). In the lower left corner there is a "primary" circular stamp with a faintly-discernible gorgoneion. A similarly worn "primary" stamp may also be made out in the centre of the right side. The "erased" area right of the second line of the inscription indicates previous use. Teleson must have died in the course of his judicial service, and the tablet accompanied him to his grave as an indication of his office.

**Selected bibliography**

Μυλωνάς 1879, 178-179, no. 4b (no mention of the section letter or primary stamps). Kroll 1972, 241, no. 153, fig. 276 (reproduction of the transcription from *IG II*, no. 906, where the section letter is given as E and there is no mention of the stamps). J. H. Kroll did not see the actual plate; relying on earlier publications, he included it in Unclassified, with final use Class VI(?). According to Kroll's classification, X 17284 could be included in Class III (Kroll 1972, 14).

On dikastic plates in general, see *The Athenian Agora* XXVIII, 59-61.

A. Chatzipanagiotou



**235. Dikastic (judicial) ballot**

Late 4th c. BC

Bronze

D. 0.063, l. of axle 0.036 m

Probably from Pnyx, Athens

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. X 8053

The central axle is solid, indicating a vote of "innocent" in one of Athens' law courts. Incised inscription ΨΗΦΟΣ : ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑ ("official ballot"). On the other side, two stamps in recessed squares: on one is the letter M, which probably indicates the ballot belonged to the Antiochis tribe; on the other there is an illegible letter, perhaps K, erased due to earlier use.

**Selected bibliography**

A. Ρουσσόπουλος, *AE* 1863, 305-307, pl. 46. de Ridder 1894, 130, no. 724. Boegehold 1976, 10-11, no. 15, pl. 6.2. Kakavas 2013, 79, no. 53 (N. Palaiokrassa).

A. Chatzipanagiotou



**236. Dikastic (judicial) ballot**

4th c. BC

Bronze

D. 0.065, l. of axle 0.035 m

Athens, Acropolis West Slope

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. X 12220

Pierced central axle, indicated of a vote for "guilty" in one of ancient Athens' law courts. On one side, the incised inscription ΨΗΦΟΣ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑ, and on the other stamp in a recessed square with the inscribed letter Z, probably indicating a tribe.

**Selected bibliography**

Körte 1896. Σβορώνος 1911, 123, no. 7, fig. 1. Boegehold 1976, 10, no. 13.

A. Chatzipanagiotou



### 237. Attic votive relief

Ca. 460 BC

Parian marble

H. 0.61, w. 0.495 m

Sounion, found near the Temple  
of Athena

National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Γ 3344

A young athlete is presented nude, setting on his head a metal wreath which would have been secured in the holes encircling the periphery of the skull. The athlete, who is clearly a victor, is crowning himself or preparing to dedicate his prize to the goddess Athena as a thank-offering for his victory. The latter must be connected with naval contests that would have been held in Piraeus and Sounion within the framework of the celebration of the Great Panathenaia.

#### Selected bibliography

Schäfer 1998. Garezou *et al.* 2014, 196, cat. no. 63 (E. Leka). Andreadaki-Vlazaki - Balaska 2014, 298-299, cat. no. 300 (E. Leka).

*E. Vlachogianni*



### 238. Attic red-figure pelike

420-410 BC

Attributed to the vase painter Aison

Clay

H. 0.37 m

Athens, Kerameikos

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 1185

The pelike features the departure of Theseus from his paternal home. The hero is depicted as a young warrior performing the liquid farewell offering (*spondē*) with his mother Aethra, in the presence of his father Aegeus. The scene's three mythical figures promote the exemplary Athenian family and epitomise the ideology of Athenian democracy, a component element of which was the citizen-hoplite's service to the city-state.

#### Selected bibliography

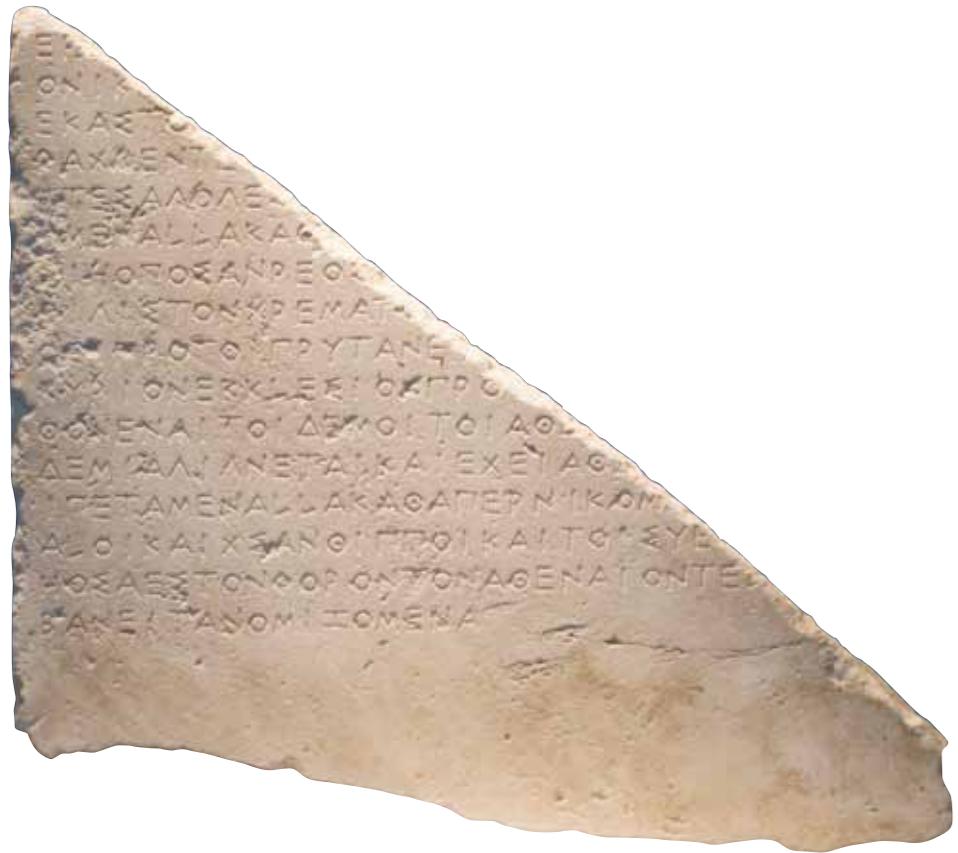
BAPD 215582. Παπαστυριδης-Καρούζου - Καρούζος, 1981, 75-76, pl. 87α-β.

G. Kavvadias

**239. The so-called “Spring-House” Decree**

Ca. 432/1 BC  
 Pentelic marble  
 H. 0.445, w. 0.495, th. 0.145 m  
 Athens, Acropolis  
 Epigraphic Museum, inv. no. EM 6849

The stele preserves parts of two amendments introduced in a decree that was inscribed on its upper portion and concerned a public project, possibly the improvement of the water supply system of Athens or the construction and repair of the city’s fountains. The work was planned with very little money (*ἀπὸ ὀλιγίστων χρημάτων*), but as a priority. From the second amendment of the decree it becomes evident that the project is associated with the family of Pericles, as his sons Paralos and Xanthippos are mentioned by name and are praised. It is most likely that the inscription relates to the programme launched by Pericles that dealt with public works and the sanctuaries prior to the Peloponnesian War.



**Ancient text**

-----  
 ερε ..... 49..... *hiph*]-  
 ὀνικός εἶπε (?) ..... 46 ..... ]  
 ἑκαστο[ ..... 35 ..... μισθὸν λαμβάνειν δ]-  
 ραχμὲν τῆ[ς ἡμέρας ἑκάστας, ἐπιμέλῃσθαι δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ τῆς κρένης κα]-  
 5 ἰ τῆς ἀγωγῆς [τῷ ὑδάτος ..... 23 ..... Νικόμαχος εἶπε: τ]-  
 [ὰ] μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῆ βολῆι, ..... 33..... ]  
 εἰ, ἥπος ἂν ῥέοσι] ..... 30..... ἥπος δ’ ἂν ἀπὸ ὀ]-  
 λιγίστων χρημάτων[ ..... 21..... , τὸς πρυτάνες ἡοὶ ἂν λάχ]-  
 10 οσι πρῶτοι πρυτανεύ[εν ..... 23..... ἐν τῆι πρῶτῆι τῶν]  
 κυρίον ἐκκλεσιῶν πρῶτ[ον μετὰ τὰ ἱερὰ ..... 21..... ἀγα]-  
 θὸν ἔναι τῶι δέμοι τοι Ἀθε[ναίων ..... 28..... με]-  
 δεμία γίνεταί καὶ ἔχει Ἀθε[ναίους ἡος ..... 23..... ε]  
 ἴπε: τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ Νικόμα[χος ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ Περικλεῖ καὶ Παρ]-  
 ἄλοι καὶ Χσανθίπποι καὶ τοῖς υἱέ[σιν: ἀπαναλίσκεν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων]  
 15 ἡσά ἐς τὸν φόρον τὸν Ἀθηναίων τελε[ῖται, ἐπειδὴν ἡε θεὸς ἐχς αὐτὸν λαμ]-  
 βάνει τὰ νομιζόμενα. *vacat*  
*vacat*

**Free translation**

-----  
 -----  
 Hipponikos said (?) ----- His payment shall be  
 one drachma a day and he shall be in charge of  
 the fountain and carrying water ----; Nikomachos  
 said: in other respects in accordance with the  
 council ---- so that it will flow --- so that it shall be  
 carried out with the least possible money ---- the  
 prytaneis, who shall be appointed by lot to hold  
 the first prytany ---- at the next main assembly  
 meeting, directly after the debate on sacred mat-  
 ters ---- it is good for the people of the Athenians  
 ---- not happen and the Athenians have ---- said...;  
 in other respects in accordance with Nikoma-  
 chos: that Pericles, Paralos and Xanthippos and  
 their sons(?) be praised; the money for the work to  
 be provided from the tribute deposited with the  
 Athenians, after the goddess has taken her share.  
 (transl. in English: D. Hardy)

**Selected bibliography**

IG I<sup>3</sup> 49. Hiller von Gaertringen 1919, 664-667. Meritt 1937,  
 17-20. Meritt 1945, 91-93. Wilhelm 1948, 128-129. Wood-  
 head 1973-1974, 751-761. E. Zavvou, The Springhouse  
 Decree, in Lagogianni-Georgakarakos - Bouraselis 2009,  
 49-50.

E Zavvou

## 240. Grave lekythos

Ca. 420 BC; the representation of the females dates back to the early 4th c. BC  
Pentelic marble  
H. 1.80 m (with the base),  
h. (without the restoration) 1.58 m  
Athens, area of Syntagma Square  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Γ 835

Two standing hoplites are depicted in a *dexiosis* scene. They wear short chiton and Corinthian helmet, both carrying shields, whereas the figure on the left side also holds a spear. To their left an epebe on horseback, dressed in chitoniskos and cuirass, wearing *petasos* on the head, is shown holding the reins of his horse as this stands up on his hind legs. The details of the scene are rendered in colour. Red paint can be discerned on the body of the lekythos. Previously, traces of blue paint were also visible. This imposing monument would have been erected in a private grave precinct, possibly in honour of the young members of the same family who lost their lives in battle during the Peloponnesian War. One generation later, in the context of a second use, the representation of two female figures to the left was carved in low relief under the handle of the vase and behind the horse. One woman is shown clad in sleeveless chiton and himation sitting on a stool gently raising her right hand that possibly carried some object. The second young figure stands right behind her touching with her hands the shoulders of the seated woman. Her hair is cut short as a sign of mourning. The movement of the fingers of the two females is particularly expressive. As Semni Karouzou has asserted, the lekythos draws its inspiration from a painted work and bears resemblance to similar figures that decorate white-ground lekythoi. Lead had been used for fixing the vase on its ancient circular base which bears a modern inscription. The upper parts of the neck and the handle and also the mouth have been restored with plaster.

### Selected bibliography

Conze, no. 1073, pls. 218-219. Stais 1910, 149-150, no. 835. Καρούζου 1967, 80-81. Schmaltz 1970, 118 A 1. Proukakis - Christodouloupoloulos 1970, 59, 65, 69, 73, pl. 25. I. Proukakis 1971, 282, no. 2, pl. II. Stupperich 1977, 156, no. 39. Παλασπιρίδη-Καρούζου - Καρούζος 1981, 71-72, pl. 81α-β. Woysch-Méautis 1982, no. 16, pl. 5. Salta 1991, 26. Clairmont 1993, no. 4.650. Καλοτσάς 2001, 150, no. 290. Posamentir 2006, no. 16.

M. Salta



## 241. Figurine of an actor

Third quarter of the 4th c. BC  
Probably from an Attic workshop  
Bronze  
Max. preserved h. 0.095,  
max. preserved w. 0.063 m  
Sanctuary of Zeus, Dodone  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Kap. 18

The figure wears a mask, a one-piece fitted garment, a short sleeveless chitoniskos belted at the waist, a closed shoe on his surviving right leg, and he has a long phallus. He would hold some object (a tray?) in his raised hands. With his raised and bent right leg, he gives the impression of running an obstacle course. He has the customary clothing and equipment of Old and Middle Comedy actors playing male roles.

### Selected bibliography

Carapanos 1878, 32, no. 14, 184, pl. XIII.5. Webster 1978, 15, 117, AB 3. Καλοτσάς 2004, 311, no. 188 (A. Χατζηπαναγιώτου).

A. Chatzipanagiōtou

## 242. Portrait head of the poet Menander

Late 1st c. AD  
Pentelic marble  
H. 0.19 m  
Athens  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Γ 3292

The poet is represented as a mature, beardless man with gaunt cheeks and deep wrinkles in the forehead and at the outer corners of the eyes, which underscore his age and above all, his intellectuality. The portrait is a Roman copy of the head of a seated portrait statue of the comic poet Menander (342/1-293/2 BC), the chief representative of New Comedy, a new type of drama born in Athens at the end of the 4th c. BC.

### Selected bibliography

Fittschen 1991, 251, no. 59. Καλτσάς - Δεσπίνης 2007, 208, cat. no. 70 (Χ. Παπασταμάτη-Φων Μόοκ).

*E. Vlachogianni*



## 243. Figurine of an actor

150-50 BC  
Workshop of Myrina, Asia Minor  
Brownish-pink clay  
H. 0.20 m  
Myrina, Asia Minor  
I. Misthos Collection  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. A 5048

The figure wears a chitoniskos and himation secured by clasps at the shoulders. He has his right leg forward, his hands are outstretched, and his head is turned up and to his left. He wears the actor's mask with a broad beard, semi-circular below. His head is covered by a large wreath with ribbons falling to his shoulders.

The figurine with this mask corresponds to the old slave type *hegemon* (πάριος or ἐπίσειστος ἡγεμών, Pollux, *Onomasticon* 4.148-149) of New Comedy. Slaves were popular and frequent characters in Middle and New Comedy. Their actions embellished the comic plot, particularly in family affairs and youthful romances, beloved themes of New Comedy.

### Selected bibliography

Winter 1903, II, 427, no. 4. Robert 1911, 11-12, figs. 22-23. Φιλαδελφεύς 1928, pl. 24, 8. Bieber 1939, fig. 236. Bieber 1961, 103, fig. 399. Webster 1961, 83, no. MT 28. Webster 1995, 32-34, 204, no. 3DT 41a (Mask 27). Καλτσάς 2007, 392.

*M. Chidioglou*



**244. Theatre mask***2nd c. BC**Pentelic marble**H. 0.32 m**Kerameikos, found near the Dipylon Gate  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Γ 3373*

Theatre mask of a comic male bearing the distinctive features of *hegemon therapon* (the leading servant), a character of New Comedy as described by Julius Polydeuces. The mask's findspot suggests that it was related to a funerary monument or, most likely, to the Bouleuterion (Council House) of the Dionysian artists, which according to Philostratus (*Lives of the Sophists* II, 8, 2) was located near the Dipylon Gate.

**Selected bibliography**

Brückner 1915a, 32-36, pls. iv-vi. Παπασπυρίδη-Καρούζου - Καρούζος 1981, 93-94. Ζουμπάκη 1987, 52, no. 21, pl. 8β. Krien-Kummrow 1988, 72. Bizaki 2014, 267, fig. 4.

*Ch. Tsouli***245. Theatre mask***50 BC-50 AD**Pentelic marble**H. 0.54 m**Athens, found near the Iera Odos  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Γ 1977*

Theatre mask of a tragic male figure with intricate hairstyle that is arranged with twisted curls and a built-up hairpiece (*onkos*) on the top of the head. On the basis of its findspot, the mask probably belonged to the decoration of an actor's grave. Stone masks are encountered as votive offerings or as part of the decoration of buildings associated with theatrical competitions from the mid-4th c. BC onwards, a time in which this democratic institution reached its peak.

**Selected bibliography**

Φίλιος 1904, 78, 86, fig. 10. Webster 1978, 114, AS 30. Ζουμπάκη 1987, 60-61, no. 39, pl. 12δ. Picón - Hemingway 2016, 144, no. 51a (Ch. Tsouli).

*Ch. Tsouli*

### 246. Cycladic figurine

2800-2300 BC (Early Cycladic II period)  
 Marble  
 H. 0.225 m  
 Cyclades, Keros  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Π 3908

A small number of Cycladic figurines depict males, standing or seated on elaborate thrones playing musical instruments: pan pipes, flutes, double pipes, and harps. The "Keros harpist" is claimed to come from the same tomb as the figurine of the flutist (NAM 3910), giving us an idea of the importance of music in prehistoric Cycladic society.

#### Selected bibliography

Younger 1998.

*K. Kostanti*



### 247. Sherd from an Attic red-figure vase

Ca. 500-490 BC  
 Attributed to the Kleophrades Painter  
 Clay  
 H. 0.074 m  
 Acropolis of Athens  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Akp. 609

The sherd shows part of the face and breast of a kithara-player (*kitharistes*). The musician is depicted wreathed and wearing luxurious clothing. Undoubtedly he was the victor in some musical contest, perhaps the Panathenaia. The sherd preserves traces of the "Persian fire" that destroyed the Acropolis of Athens in 480 BC when the Persians occupied the city.

#### Selected bibliography

Graef - Langlotz 1933, pl. 47. BAPD 201740.

*G. Kavvadias*



### 248. Attic red-figure pelike

Last quarter of the 5th c. BC

The Painter of Athens 1183

Clay

H. 0.368, max. d. 0.27, d. rim 0.211 m

Athens

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 1183

The scene presents a significant moment for a city-state, the organization of a contest (*agon*). In this musical competition, the kithara-player is flanked by two Nikes. One is offering him a red fillet, while the other, who is carrying a vase on her shoulder and another one in her hand, has turned her look towards the judge of the competition, awaiting his final decision. The oinochoe in front of the musician is the prize for victory in the contest.

#### Selected bibliography

Τζάκου-Αλεξανδρή 1989, 316, no. 202 (Ε. Στασινοπούλου-Κακαρούγκα). Καλτσάς 2004, 276, cat. no. 158 (Ε. Στασινοπούλου-Κακαρούγκα).

*E. Oikonomou*

### 249. Attic red-figure hydria

440-430 BC

Group of Polygnotos

Clay

H. 0.40, d. rim 0.162 m

Vari, Attica

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 1260

Sappho reads a poem from the scroll she is holding to her three friends-pupils who are listening attentively. One of them stretches out her hand to wreath the poetess, while the other offers her a lyre. Sappho was the "tenth Muse" according to Plato and this scene renders honour to her, as she was the only woman who earned acceptance equal to that of the great male poets of antiquity.

#### Selected bibliography

Τζάκου-Αλεξανδρή 1989, 316, no. 201 (Ε. Στασινοπούλου-Κακαρούγκα). Τζεδάκις 1995, 146-147, no. 77. Καλτσάς 2004, 262, no. 146 (Α. Γκαδόλου).

*E. Oikonomou*



**250. Attic red-figure calyx krater***400-375 BC**The Uppsala Painter**Clay**H. 0.30, d. rim 0.317, d. base 0.15 m**Unknown provenance**National Archaeological Museum,**inv. no. A 11559*

The scene on this vase depicts a symposium taking place in an Athenian house. A group of men are reclining, holding symposium vessels like a rhyton and phiale, and enjoying their wine (*potos*), which is being served by a nude cupbearer (*oinochoos*) in the accompaniment of music performed by a young female flute-player. In front of them are set small tables with delicacies, equal in number on each table in a declaration of equality among the participants.

**Selected bibliography**

ARV<sup>2</sup> 1963, 1437.14. Καθάρτου 2002, 360, 434, pl. 82A

*E. Oikonomou*

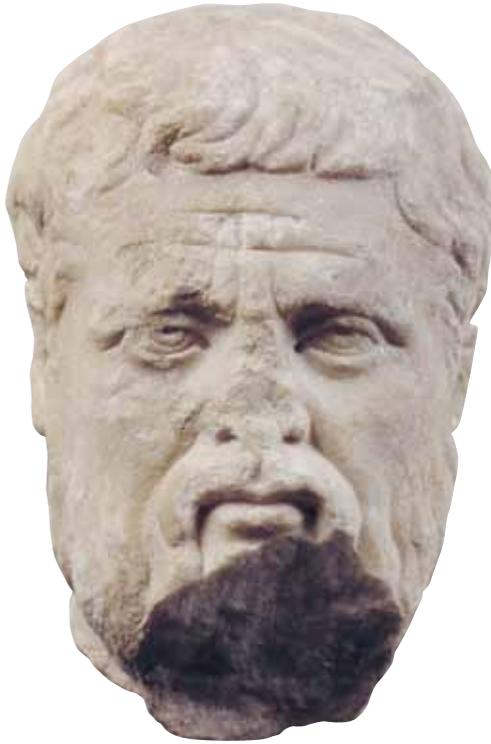
**251. Portrait bust of Socrates***Roman period**Marble**H. 0.48 m**Unknown provenance**National Archaeological Museum,**inv. no. Γ 4897*

The bust, which possibly formed part of a herm, is half-finished and preserves the measuring points of the copyist. The Athenian philosopher has been portrayed bearing the physical appearance of a Silenus: wide, bald forehead, and flat nose. However, his large and moist eyes expressed his morality and honesty. An original portrait of the philosopher had been created by the Sikyonian sculptor Lysippos.

**Selected bibliography**

Richter 1965, I, 115, fig. 527.

*Ch. Tsouli*



**252. Portrait head of Plato**

*Roman copy of an original work dated from about 360 BC  
Pentelic marble  
H. 0.18 m  
Athens  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Γ 3735*

The portrait copies the head of a famous statue that depicted Plato at an advanced age, possibly created by the Athenian sculptor Silanion before the mid-4th c. BC. The statue had been set up in the Gymnasium of Plato's Academy, a place where the philosopher, who led the Athenian philosophy to its zenith, engaged in teaching and produced his literary works.

**Selected bibliography**

Hekler 1934, 260, no. 5, figs. 7-8. Boehringer 1935, 26, no. xiv, pls. 70-72. Schefold 1943, 82, fig. 206. Kaltsas 2008, 123, no. 18 (Ch. Tsouli).

*Ch. Tsouli*



**253. Double-faced head of Aristotle from a herm**

*Roman copy of an original work from the last quarter of the 4th c. BC  
Pentelic marble  
H. 0.42 m  
Athens, found near the Enneakrounos  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Γ 3772*

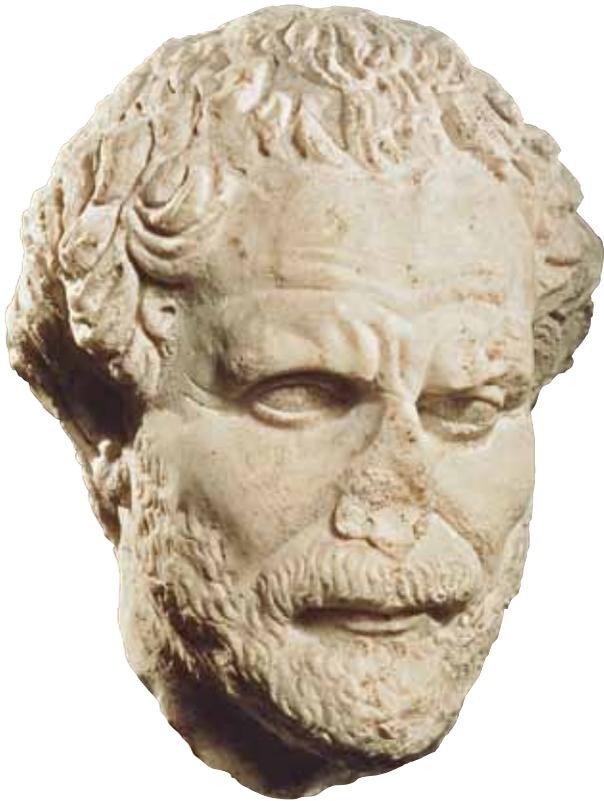
Both heads depict the philosopher at an advanced age. The individual facial features have been rendered in accordance with ancient writers' accounts. The original work has been attributed to the sculptor Gryllion, who had been commissioned by Aristotle to make the statues of his relatives, or to the sculptor Lysippos from Sikyon.

Aristotle established in Athens his own school in the Gymnasium of the Lyceum, and apart from philosophy he also engaged in scientific research and therefore he is considered the father of many scientific disciplines.

**Selected bibliography**

Bernoulli 1901, 96, no. 6. Richter 1965, 173-174, nos. 16-17, figs. 1004-1005, 1009-1010. Kaltsas 2008, 122, no. 17 (Ch. Tsouli).

*Ch. Tsouli*



**254. Portrait head of the orator Demosthenes**

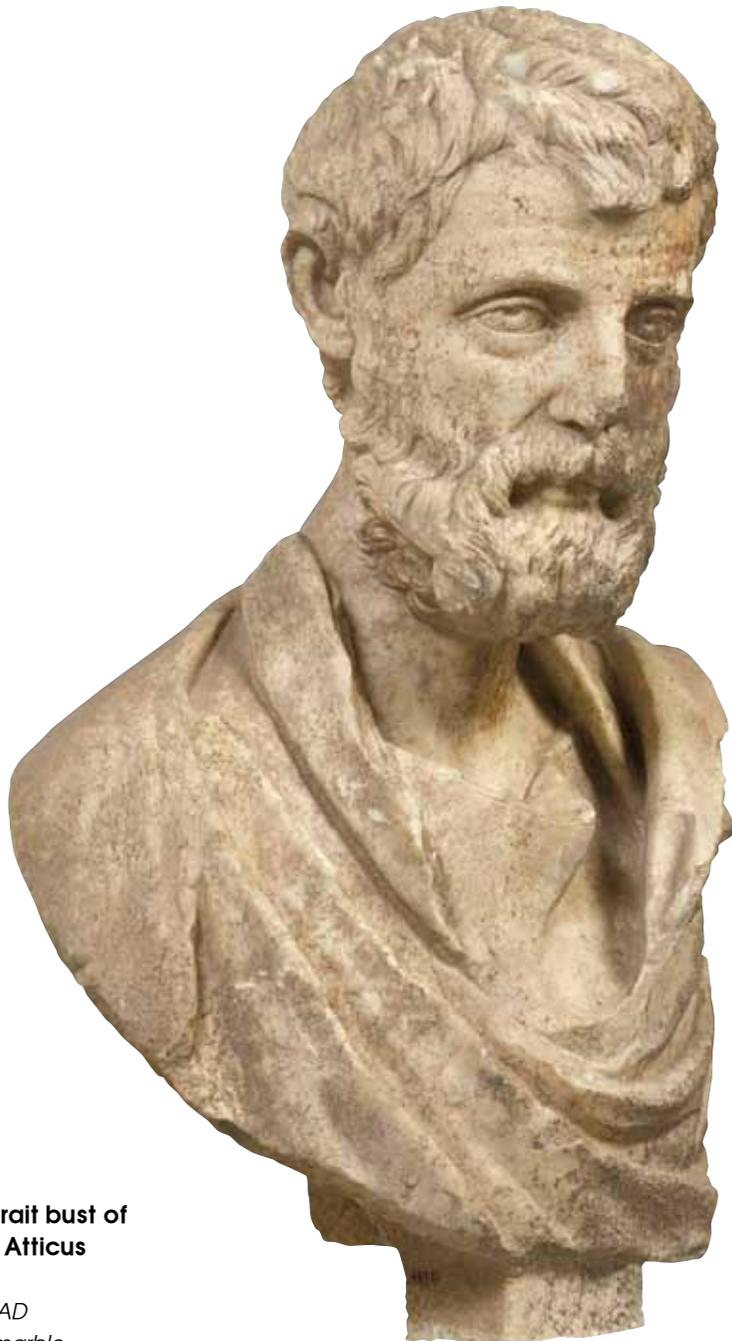
*2nd c. AD*  
*Pentelic marble*  
*H. 0.28 m*  
*Athens, National Garden*  
*National Archaeological Museum,*  
*inv. no. Γ 327*

The orator Demosthenes (384-322 BC) is depicted in this portrait at a mature age. An enthusiastic supporter of Athenian democracy, Demosthenes vehemently opposed the imposition of rule by Philip II and Alexander III, and wrote fiery speeches against them. The Athenians honoured him after his death with a bronze portrait statue, the work of the Athenian sculptor Polyeyktos, which they set up in 280/79 BC in the Ancient Agora of Athens. This portrait is a Roman copy of that work.

**Selected bibliography**

Richter 1965, 220, no. 41, figs. 1489-1490. Andreadaki-Vlazaki - Balaska 2014, 347, cat. no. 351 (E. Leka).

*E. Vlachogianni*



**255. Portrait bust of Herodes Atticus**

*150-160 AD*  
*Pentelic marble*  
*H. 0.64 m*  
*Kifissia, Attica*  
*National Archaeological Museum,*  
*inv. no. Γ 4810*

The portrait is that of the immensely wealthy Athenian orator and sophist Herodes Atticus (101-178 AD). His bony face and the deep wrinkles on the forehead are indications of his age and above all, his intellect. He was the leading representative of the Second Sophistic, a rhetorical, philosophical, and literary movement of the late 1st and

2nd c. AD which returned to the Greek classical past. He was a student of the sophist Polemon and teacher of the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.

**Selected bibliography**

Richter 1965, 286, fig. 2047. Καλτσός 2002, 346, cat. no. 734. La Rocca - Parisi Presicce 2012, 313-314, cat. no. III.20 (R. di Cesare).

*E. Vlachogianni*



### 256. Portrait head of Herodes Atticus

130-150 AD  
Pentelic marble  
H. 0.31 m  
Attica  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Γ 435

The head portrays an aged philosopher with unkempt hair, lean oval face, deeply engraved forehead wrinkles, and profound eyes that accentuate the spirituality of the figure. The eminent Athenian, who was an orator, a sophist, and benefactor of the city, was inspired in his public and private life by the Emperor Hadrian (*imitatio Hadriani*). The sculpture possibly comes from one of his luxurious villas.

#### Selected bibliography

Σταυρίδη 1994-1995, 161-162, pl. 33. Tobin 1997, 73-76. Danguillier 2001, 232-233, no. 28a.

Ch. Tsouli



### 257. Portrait bust of the sophist Polemon(?)

130-140 AD  
Pentelic marble  
H. 0.645 m (with base)  
Athens, area around the Olympieion  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Γ 427

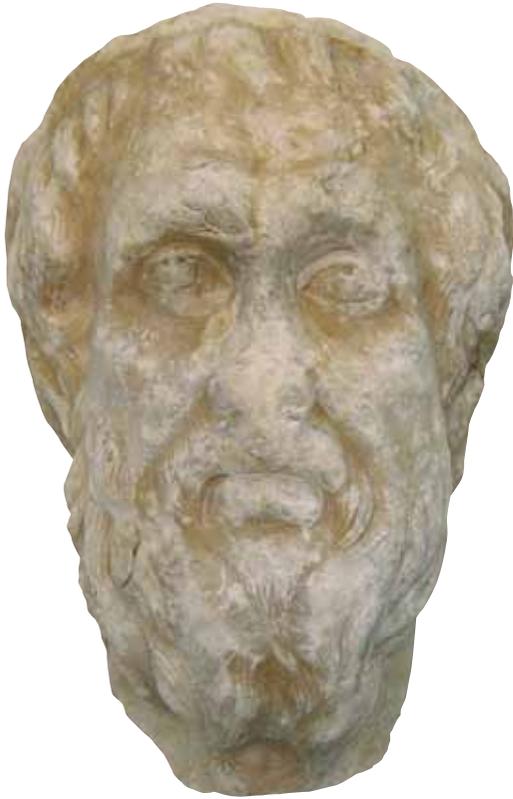
The portrait depicts a mature, bearded man turning his head upward along with the haughty gaze. It has been suggested that he be identified as the sophist Polemon (88-145 AD) from Laodicea in Syria, one of the most prominent representatives of the Second Sophistic, the rhetorical, philo-

sophical, and literary movement of the late 1st and 2nd c. AD which turned to the Greek classical past.

#### Selected bibliography

Richter 1965, 285, figs. 2034-2037. Danguillier 2001, 126, 131, 215, 217, cat. no. 27, fig. 57. Calandra - Adembri 2014, 144-145, cat. no. 5 (E. Vlachogianni).

E. Vlachogianni



**258. Head of Homer**

*Roman copy of an original  
of the late 4th or early 3rd c. BC  
Pentelic marble  
H. 0.33 m  
Probably from Athens  
Donated by Ch. Bakalos  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Γ 15378*

The portrait depicts a mature bearded man. The forehead is engraved with deep wrinkles and the hair is tied at the back of the head with a *strophion*. The age, the insightful gaze, the long beard, and the strophion denote that the depicted person is a man of intellect. The sculpture conforms to the Apollonius of Tyana type which depicted the great poet Homer.

**Selected bibliography**

Καλιτσάς 2009, 349-357.

A. Klonizaki



**259. Heads of Xenophon and Hypereides or Isocrates from a double-faced herm**

*Copy from 250-270 AD  
of an original from the second half  
of the 4th c. BC  
Parian marble  
H. 0.32 m  
Athens  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Γ 538 (Stone Collection Inv. 3797)*

The surviving sculpture depicts the heads of two bearded male figures. Most scholars identify the best preserved head, bearing rich hair, with the historian Xenophon, whereas the fragmentary head of the mature male with the thin hair over the forehead that is corrugated into deep wrinkles resembles the portraits of the orator Isocrates rather than those of the politician Hypereides. Portrait heads of intellectual men often decorated the upper part of herms during the Roman period, usually combining two figures.

**Selected bibliography**

Richter 1965, II, 168, no. 2\*, figs. 967-970.  
Minakaran-Hiesgen 1970, 121-126, 131, 141-146, figs. 4, 10, 13. von den Hoff 1994, 56, note 28.

Ch. Tsouli

CONSTITUTION



# Odysseys

Οδύσσειες

## Eros

ὥς ἄρα τῆ ἀσπαστὸς ἔην πόσις εἰσοροῶση,  
δειρῆς δ' οὐ πω πάμπαν ἀφίετο πήχεε λευκῶ.

*Ομήρου Οδύσσεια, ψ 239-240*

so welcome to her was her husband, as she gazed upon him,  
and from his neck still did not loosen her white arms at all

*Homer, The Odyssey, XXIII 239-240*

It is union, he said,  
of man and woman, of silence and sound, of life and creation [...]

*Y. Ritsos, When the Stranger Comes*

the sea will be born again, and the wave will again fling  
forth Aphrodite

*G. Seferis, Memory I'*



### 260. Cut-out

Second half of the 16th c. BC  
(Late Helladic I period)

Gold

H. 0.051 m

Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Shaft Grave III  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Π 27

Cut-out in the shape of a nude female deity with birds (dove and eagles) on her head and elbows. The depiction of the figure with the arms folded below the chest and the emphasized pubic triangle, may indicate that it is a fertility deity, while nudity is attributed to eastern influences as it is an element not found in the female figures of Cretan-Mycenaean art.

#### Selected bibliography

Karo 1930-33, 48, pl. XXVII:27.

*E. Konstantinidi-Syvridi*



### 261. Pendant of the goddess Kadesh

New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty; reign  
of Amenhotep III (1391-1353 BC)

Bluish faience

H. 0.057, w. 0.046 m

Possibly Thebes, Egypt. Donated  
to the National Archaeological Museum  
by the Greek expatriate  
in Egypt Ioannis Dimitriou  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Aγ. 944

The goddess Kadesh is depicted naked standing on the back of a lion, holding a serpent on the right hand and lotus flowers and buds in her left hand.

Kadesh is an eastern deity of Syrian origin who is imported initially into Memphis and she is comparable to the Egyptian goddess Hathor. During the New Kingdom she becomes highly popular in Thebes. She is also depicted standing between the Egyptian god Min and her husband Resheph, forming a trinity of fertility gods of sexual pleasure that provided protection against disease.

#### Selected bibliography

Unpublished, simple mention in Helck 1971, 464.

*E. Tourna*



### 262. Fragment of a red-figure kylix

Late 6th c. BC

In the style of the Carpenter Painter  
Clay

H. 0.04 m

From the excavations of the fill  
on the Acropolis of Athens  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Αקר. 189

An erotic couple is most likely presented in the tondo. The head of a beardless, wreathed youth and the nose, lips, and hands of a woman are preserved. The female figure is tightly embracing with her left arm the head of the youth. Her right fingertips gracefully caress his hair. The young man is shown in profile and is about to kiss the woman. Letters of an inscription are preserved.

#### Selected bibliography

BAPD 275086.

*M. Selekou*



**263. Black-figure kylix**

490-480 BC

*The Aimon Painter*

Clay

D. 0.295 m

Unknown provenance

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. 651

The outside of the vase, on both sides, is decorated with one of the labours of Heracles. The hero is presented at the moment he attacks the Cretan Bull. Behind him, a female figure leads a four-horse chariot (*tethrippon*).

An erotic couple is depicted in the tondo: a standing man and woman embrace, wrapped in the same himation and with their faces uncovered.



**Selected bibliography**

BAPD 331610.

*M. Selekou*



### 264. Attic red-figure squat lekythos

480-470 BC

The Douris Painter

Pinkish clay

H. 0.10 m

Athens, ancient cemetery

at the Royal Stables

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 15375

Attic red-figure lekythion (squat lekythos) with a scene of a young man being pursued by winged Erotes. The youth, dressed in a himation, is running towards the right, with his head turned back. To right and left of the youth, adolescent winged Erotes fly towards him. The Eros at left holds a whip in his right hand, while that at right extends his hands protectively towards the youth. Parallel to the wings of the Eros holding the whip is the inscription *Ἀσωποδώρω ἢ λήκυθος* (this lekythos (belongs to) Asopodoros).

Above the young man is the inscription *Δόρις ἐποίησεν*. Douris was one of the most important vase painters and potters known by name from the first half of the 5th c. BC. The scene on the squat lekythos is a commentary on the power and domination of Eros, who acts as a positive and negative force on his victims, especially young men. Eros was characterized as "the most formidable of the gods" (*ὁ δεινότατος τῶν θεῶν*) (Alkaios, Lobel - Page 1955, frag. 327), and as "limb-loosening" (*λυσιμελής*), "bitter-sweet" (*γλυκύπικρος*), and "pain-bringing"



### 265. Attic red-figure hydria

Ca. 470 BC

The Pan Painter

Clay

H. 0.341-0.349, d. rim 0.142,

d. base 0.17 m

Liosia, Attica

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 13119

(*ἀλγεσιδωρος*) (Sappho, Lobel-Page 1955, frags. 130, 173, 188). He is often mentioned and depicted as armed, mostly as an archer (Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*, 649-650, 902. Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 530-532. Euripides, *Medea*, 530-531. Euripides, *The Trojan Women*, 255. Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, 547-549). Whips, chiefly in the hands of chariot-drivers, were already known from the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and Herodotus (*Il.* V 366, 748, 768 and XI 532. *Od.* VI 81-82. Herod. 1.114.3 and 4.3.4).

#### Selected bibliography

ARV<sup>2</sup> 426, 447, 274, 1653. *Add<sup>2</sup>* 241. BAPD 205321. Παπασπιριδῆ - Κυπαρίσσης 1927-1928, 91-110. Haspels 1936, 93, 127, 2, 132-133. Dugas 1946, 173, fig. 1. Bielefeld 1952, 14, pl. XX, fig. 26a, b. Greifenhagen 1957, 57-58, figs. 43-45. Φιλιππάκη 1973, 86-87, fig. 37. Robertson - Beard 1991, 5-6, fig. 1. Buitron-Oliver 1995, pls. 56, 85. Kaltsas 2006, 108, fig. 3.

M. Chidioglou

The Thracian god Boreas, a personification of the north wind, in pursuit of the Athenian princess Oreithyia. Boreas' pursuit of Oreithyia was a popular subject in 5th-century Attic vase painting. This was probably owed to the assistance the god gave to the Athenians in the Persian Wars, in 492 BC at Mt Athos and in 480 BC at Artemision. Following their victory, the Athenians built a sanctuary in honour of the god on the River Ilissos, which may be indicated by the altar depicted at the right of the scene

#### Selected bibliography

Kakavas 2013, 180, no. 165 (Ch. Avronidaki), with older bibliography. BAPD 14282.

Ch. Avronidaki

**266. Red-figure lidded pyxis**

470-460 BC

*The Amphitrite Painter*

Clay

H. 0.14, d. 0.104 m

Aegina

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 1708

The pursuit of Amphitrite by Poseidon is depicted. In the centre of the scene, the god, holding his trident, seizes Amphitrite by the hand. Startled, she remains immobile in front of him. A bearded male with human body and fishtail, identified as Triton or Nereus, the girl's father, announces the unpleasant news to her mother Doris. Female figures, a dolphin, and an altar surround the scene. In front and in the back of Poseidon's head the inscription *ΚΑΛΟΕΣ* can be discerned. Traces of the same inscription are visible above the altar.

**Selected bibliography**

BAPD 212136.

*M. Selekou***267. Red-figure kylix-skyphos**

Ca. 450 BC

*The Painter of Athens 1237*

Clay

H. 0.09 m

Probably from Athens

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 1237

On one side of the vase, Dionysos is depicted seated on a rock. The god holds a scepter in his left hand and with his right extends a kantharos to a Satyr dancing in front of him. On the other side, a Satyr is depicted with a wide gait, chasing a Maenad with a thyrsus.

**Selected bibliography**BAPD 211389. ARV<sup>2</sup> 865.3. Τσαγκάρη 2011, 87, no. 189 (Γ. Καββαδίας).*P. Koutsiana*



### 268. Attic red-figure lekythos

440-430 BC

*In the style of the Achilles Painter*

Clay

H. 0.34 m

Unknown provenance

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 16283

On the shoulder of the vase between two palmettes, a young man (Theseus?) with a javelin pursues to the right a young woman. The male figure wears a chlamys and *petasos* tossed over his back; the woman's *peplos* is belted at the waist. Both wear diadems in their hair.

#### Selected bibliography

BAPD 214061. ARV<sup>2</sup> 1003.24. Oakley 1997, 165, no. L.24

*P. Koutsiana*



### 269. Attic red-figure lekythos

460-450 BC

*The Painter of Athens 12778*

Clay

H. 0.19, d. 0.075, d. rim 0.037 m

Eretria

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 12778

The scene presents a customer and courtesan transaction. In front of a seated woman who is spinning, a young man is standing, relying on his cane (*bakteria*) and holding a purse-pouch (*phormiskos*) in his hand. Obviously enough, that pouch, which he offers to the woman in order to persuade her to give in to him, is where he keeps his money.

#### Selected bibliography

ABV<sup>2</sup> 663.3. *Add<sup>2</sup>* 277. Dierichs 2008, 89, fig. 67.

*E. Oikonomou*

### 270. Attic red-figure pelike

Ca. 430 BC

The Polygnotos Painter

Clay

H. 0.33, max. d. 0.23, d. rim 0.172 m

Rhodes, Kameiros

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 1441

On the vase is depicted a scene of an erotic exchange. A man offers a purse-pouch to a seated woman in payment for the services he wishes to enjoy. Behind her another woman holds a plemochoe, where the creams and aromatic oils, with which the courtesan would take care of her body, were stored. Courtesans were charming women who enjoyed their independence and exerted great influence on prominent members of society.

#### Selected bibliography

ARV<sup>2</sup> 1032, 56. *Add<sup>2</sup>* 318 (1032.56). Matheson 1995, 34, 61, 359, cat. no. P61, pl. 48.

*E. Oikonomou*



### 271. Attic red-figure epinetron

430-420 BC

The Eretria Painter

Clay

L. 0.26, h. 0.16 m

Eretria

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 1629

On the front part of the epinetron, a relief protome of goddess Aphrodite and a scene of Peleus wrestling Thetis. Wedding scenes are depicted on the two sides. On one side, the bride Alcestis is shown with her friends on the day

after her wedding (*Epaulia*). On the other is the bride (H)armonia, surrounded by the patron goddesses of marriage.

Women fitted this clay vessel on their thigh for carding wool.

#### Selected bibliography

Τζεδάκις 1995, 96, no. 49 (Α. Κοτταρίδου).

*M. Selekou*





### 272. Attic red-figure loutrophoros

425-420 BC

*The Washing Painter*

Clay

H. 0.68 m

Athens, Stadiou Street, excavation  
of the Royal Stables

National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. A 16279

A wedding scene is depicted on the body of the vase: the groom leads the bride, holding her by the wrist. Between them, a small winged Eros playing a double flute. Following the couple is the *nymphentria* and women holding gifts (a lebes and a pyxis). The mother holding torches welcomes the newlyweds to the new home. On the other side of the vase, two more female figures, one holding a basket, are pictured.

#### Selected bibliography

BAPD 214895.

*M. Selekou*



### 273. Attic red-figure pyxis

370-360 BC

Clay

H. (without lid) 0.081, h. (with lid) 0.11,

d. rim 0.168, d. lid 0.212 m

Eretria

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 1630

On the lid is depicted the adorning of the bride, who, seated on a chair, raises an edge of her himation in the gesture of *anakalypsis* ("unveiling"). Opposite her stands her attendant (*nympheutria*), holding a mirror and a small chest. The couple is surrounded by young men, women, and Erotes.

On the body of the pyxis is the wedding procession, which brought the couple to their new household. The nucleus of the scene is composed of the cart with the bride and bridegroom and a flying Eros as torch-bearer. A groom leads the horses, while the mother of the bride stands behind the cart holding torches.



#### Selected bibliography

Σαμπολίδης - Τασούλας 2009, 187-189, no. 154 (X. Αβρονιδάκη), with older bibliography. BAPD 431.

Ch. Avronidaki

**274. Boeotian red-figure bell krater**

420-410 BC

*The Painter of the Dancing Pan*

Clay

H. 0.192-0.196, d. rim 0.213,

d. base 0.093-0.095 m

Thebes

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 1367

Scene from the women's quarters. Eros, holding a strigil and aryballos, is seated on a *louterion* (basin). He is surrounded by a girl Pyrrhic dancer and a female figure adorning herself, gazing at her image in the mirror.

The depiction of the Pyrrhic dance (*pyrrhichios*) in the women's quarters is linked with the rituals associated with the transition from girlhood to adulthood. In these rituals, the roles of the two sexes were reversed, and so female adolescents temporarily adopted male activities like the *pyrrhichios*, a quintessentially male adolescent dance.

**Selected bibliography**

Avronidaki 2008, 20, no. 1 and passim, pls. 3.1-2, 5.4-5, 6.1-2. Sabetai 2012a, 85, fig. 4. Sabetai 2012b, 127-128, figs. 8-9.

*Ch. Avronidaki*

**275. Attic red-figure lidded lebes gamikos**

420-410 BC

*In the style of the Meidias Painter*

Clay

H. 0.17, d. rim 0.087 m

Eretria

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 1659

A scene from the women's quarters. On the obverse, the future bride bends left to tie her shoe, observing a small Eros who draws near with an offering of an alabaster. The bride is flanked by two female figures, one of whom is observing her and gesturing, while the second holds out a small box and cloth. Below the handles, winged figures (Nikes) holding lighted torches. On the reverse, a standing female figure facing left.

**Selected bibliography**

BAPD 220560. Kaltsas - Shapiro 2008, 322, no. 144 (E. Stasinopoulou-Kakarouga). Reeder *et al.* 1995, 173-174, no. 28.

*P. Koutsiana*

**276. Attic red-figure hydria**

Late 5th c. BC  
 The Kadmos Painter  
 Clay  
 H. 0.27 m  
 Unknown provenance  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. A 1484

On the body, a scene from the world of women is depicted. A seated female figure turns her gaze to right towards a winged Eros. She is surrounded by two pairs of female figures, of which three hold a fillet, an alabaster, and a branch. The reverse carries palmettes.

**Selected bibliography**

BAPD 215725, ARV<sup>2</sup> 1187.35.

*P. Koutsiana*

**277. Attic red-figure chous**

Late 5th c. BC  
 Style of the Meidias Painter  
 Clay  
 H. 0.14 m  
 Agioi Theodoroi (near Liosia), Attica  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. A 1263

In the centre of the scene, a seated female figure playing the *barbitos* is depicted. In front of her is a standing male holding a spear (Paris and Helen?). Between them is a winged Eros, leaning on the man's shoulder and addressing him as he points to the female figure. Behind the seated figure, a standing woman holds her himation.

**Selected bibliography**

BAPD 220951. ARV<sup>2</sup> 1324.38. Burn 1987, 109, MM52.

*P. Koutsiana*





### 278. Boeotian red-figure skyphos

Late 5th-early 4th c. BC

One side is by the Argos Painter,  
while the other is in the manner  
of the Mystai Painter

Clay

H. 0.196-0.199, d. rim 0.204-0.21,

d. base 0.154 m

Boeotia

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 1406

On one side of this skyphos Eros holds a fillet intended for the female figure seated in front of a *louterion* on the other side of the vase. The woman, wearing a bridal crown and veil, is looking at her image in the mirror. Eros holds out a wreath to her, while three Satyrs peek from behind the hill-line.

The presence of the Satyrs and the gesture of raising the hand to shield the eyes (*apokopein*) made by one of them suggest the expectation of the arrival of Dionysos and lead to the identification of the female figure as a Dionysian bride, perhaps some mortal woman or even Ariadne herself.

#### Selected bibliography

Αβρονιδάκη 2007, 43-44, nos. 14, 95-97, 118-120 and passim, pls. 27, 50a, 55δ, 58γ-δ, 75-76, 95a. Sabetai 2012a, 87, 89-91, fig. 11.

Ch. Avronidaki





### 279. Attic red-figure lidded pyxis

410-400 BC

*The Painter of Athens 1243*

(name vase of the Painter)

Brownish-pink clay

H. (with lid) 0.09, h. body 0.065,

d. body 0.12, d. lid 0.155 m

Athens, Agia Triada

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 1243

On the lid, the *peplos*-clad Aphrodite wearing a diadem and holding a scepter in her left hand, is depicted seated with a small deer in front of her. The goddess is about to receive a woman coming towards her holding a basket with offers in her left hand. A wreath is depicted between the two figures. Diametrically opposite Aphrodite and the woman, a pair of nude, pre-pubescent Erotes fly over an altar. The Eros on the right is playing a double flute and that on the left is playing a drum. The two parts of the scene are separated by spiral shoots. Added white colour covers the Eros holding a drum. Between the figures are leafy stems. In the centre of the lid, traces

from the insertion of a copper hoop-button knob. On the interior of the base, the incised inscription A N.

The scene on this vase presents elements linked with the cult of Aphrodite. The altar and two Erotes with their musical instruments reflect cult rituals in honour of the goddess. The double presence of Eros may reflect the two faces of the god or different, related figures like Himeros and Pothos. Apart from their decorative role, the spiraling tendrils in the scene can probably be seen as a reference to Aphrodite's role as a nature goddess, and the deer as her symbol or sacrificial victim. According to the ancient sources (Paus. 1.19.2), there was a sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens near the Ilissos river in Athens, which was verdant in antiquity.

#### Selected bibliography

ARV<sup>2</sup> 1319, 2. *Add<sup>2</sup>* 363. BAPD 220539. Roberts 1978, 152, fig. 17a, pl. 88.1. Burn 1987, 103. Kaltsas - Shapiro 2008, 116-117, no. 50 (A. Gadolou).

M. Chidiroglou



### 280. Folding mirror

Ca. 390 BC

Euboean workshop, probably Chalcidian  
Bronze

D. 0.185, d. of covers 0.152 m

Eretria, Euboea

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. nos. X 7670 +7670a

A bifacial mirror disc with two covers, both with a medallion carrying relief decoration. On one, Aphrodite is seated on a rock with Eros in her arms, while on the other Dionysos and Ariadne are seated in a rocky landscape locked in an erotic embrace.

#### Selected bibliography

de Ridder 1894, 45-46, nos. 161-162. Schwarzmeyer 1997, 243, no. 10. Καλιτσάς *et al.* 2010, 209, no. 131 (N. Παλαιοκρασσά).

A. Chatzipanagiotou





### 281. Folding mirror

380-370 BC

Bronze

D. 0.185 m

Eretria

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. nos. X 7417+7418

Folding mirror with two covers with relief scenes. In the first one, Aphrodite appears on a swan, to which she offers food or water in a phiale. In the second, Aphrodite or Selene (the moon) is setting and greets the rising Helios (the sun). She is on a horse galloping over the sea symbolized by a dolphin. Around the edges of the mirror disc are the Lesbian leaf (ornamental moulding) and astragaloi decorate the lip. Sheets (*giglymoi*) with palmette motifs attach the covers to the disc and are secured with a latch in the shape of a dove.



#### Selected bibliography

Kaltsas 2007, 354. *LMC* II, s.v. Aphrodite, 96, 98, nos. 900 and 937 (A. Delivorrias).

*K. Bairami*



### 282. Attic red-figure hydria

375-350 BC

The Hippolytos Painter

Clay

H. 0.29, d. base 0.086, max. d. 0.215,  
d. rim 0.10 m

Euboea

National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. A 1424

On the belly of the vase the winged Eros is depicted holding a hydria with which he waters flowers (possibly poppies). On one side he is flanked by Dionysos who is depicted seated on his himation holding a thyrsus, and on the other side by two standing female figures (Maenads), one of which stretches out her arm towards Eros, while the second female holds a tympanum. The back side of the vase below the handles is occupied by palmettes.

#### Selected bibliography

Σταμπολίδης - Τασούλας 2009, 99, no. 28 (Ε. Ζώση). Schefold 1934, no. 139, pl. 11:2. Metzger 1951, 56-58.

P. Koutsiana



### 283. Figurine of Aphrodite

Second half of the 4th c. BC

Corinthian workshop

Light orange clay

H. 0.11 m

Corinth (confiscation)

National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. A 4164

The figurine depicts Aphrodite emerging from a sea-shell supported on a cylindrical base. The goddess' hair is gathered in a bun at the back of her head. She is holding a thin wrinkled cloth, open in front of her knees. The shell imitates the form of the Mediterranean marine crustaceans of the family *Veneridae*.

According to one version of the myth (Hesiod, *Theog.*, 154-206), the goddess emerged from the sea foam which carried away the genitals cut off by Kronos from his infanticide father, Ouranos. The waves transported the goddess to the islands of Cythera and Cyprus. In contrast, in epic (*Iliad*, V 312, 370-371) Aphrodite, as the daughter of Zeus and Dione, was the oldest of the Olympian

gods. Both myths stress the generative power of erotic union and birth.

#### Selected bibliography

Winter 1903, II, 202, no. 1. Delivorrias 1987, 214, no. 110 (M. Brouskari). *Corinth* XVIII.iv, 176, note 355, 234, nos. H 269, H 270, pls. 46, 47, 79. Cf. *LMC* II, s.v. Aphrodite, 103-104, pls. 99-100 (A. Delivorrias - G. Berger-Doer - A. Kossatz-Deissmann). On Aphrodite, see Burkert 1993, 324-331. On shells, see Ζερβουδάκη 2001, 11-26.

M. Chidiroglou



### 284. Red-figure calyx krater

340-330 BC

*The Erotostasia Painter*

Clay

H. 0.47 m

Unknown provenance

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 12544

An *erotostasia* scene is depicted. On the obverse, Aphrodite, dressed in chiton and himaton, weighing Eros and Anteros. Her companion Hermes, dressed in chiton and wearing a *petasos*, is observing and gesturing. The woman's face and chiton, Hermes' *petasos*, and the figures of Eros and Anteros are rendered with added white colour. On the reverse, two bearded standing men. Between them a column.

#### Selected bibliography

BAPD 218273. ARV<sup>2</sup> 1456.1. *LIMC* II, s.v. Aphrodite, 120, no. 1249, 127, no. 1337 (A. Delivorrias - G. Berger-Doer - A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

*P. Koutsiana*



### 285. Figurine of Aphrodite and Eros

3rd c. BC

*Corinthian workshop*

Light orange clay

H. 0.28 m

From the region of Corinthia

(confiscation)

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. 4160

The goddess is depicted standing, wearing a *polos* and *kalyptra* (veil) on her head, and dressed in a belted chiton and himation. With her right arm she embraces the winged, pre-pubescent Eros standing to her right. The Eros is nude with his legs crossed in repose.

The iconographic type of the clothed Aphrodite with Eros as a child or near-adolescent was connected with similar depictions of the two gods in Late Classical and Hellenistic statues. There were sanctuaries of Aphrodite in many ancient Greek harbour cities, including Corinth and others.

#### Selected bibliography

Winter 1903, II, 6, no. 5. Kleiner 1942, 168-169, 173, pl. 37c. Züchner 1942, 187-188, fig. 90. Παπασπυρίδη-Καρούζου 1956, 174-177, figs. 7-10, pl. 6. Lehmann 1973, 8-9, 25-27, fig. 31. Lattimore 1987, 419-420, fig. 5, with bibliography. *LIMC* II, s.v. Aphrodite, 41, no. 281 (A. Delivorrias - G. Berger-Doer - A. Kossatz-Deissmann). *LIMC* III, s.v. Eros, 920, no. 837 (A. Hermary - H. Cassimatis). *Corinth* XVIII.iv, 129-130, 132, pl. 78a. Nicholls 1995, 427.

*M. Chidiroglou*



### 286. Group of Aphrodite, Pan and Eros

Ca. 100 BC

Parian marble

H. (with base) 1.55 m

Delos, House of the Poseidoniasts

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. Γ 3335

An entirely nude Aphrodite in the bath holds up her sandal ready to strike Pan, who is attacking her with a fiercely-erotic appetite. The would-be lover grabs her right hand, with which she is attempting to conceal her pubic area, while simultaneously pulling her towards him. The little Eros flutters about smilingly between them. He is endeavoring to push Pan away from his mother, having seized him by one of his horns.

#### Selected bibliography

Marquardt 1995, 227-236, pl. 23,3-4. Καλτσός 2002, 294, cat. no. 617. Vorster 2007, 301, fig. 291.

*E. Vlachogianni*



**287. Figurine of Aphrodite and Eros**

1st c. BC  
 Reddish-orange clay  
 H. 0.23 m  
 Myrina, Asia Minor  
 I. Misthos Collection  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. A 4907

The semi-nude goddess is standing beside a small pillar and near a winged Eros, whom she threatens with the sandal she holds in her raised right hand. Eros is shown as a child, with two braids in his hair.

The iconographic motif of Aphrodite scolding Eros is also known from vase painting and sculpture. The marble group cat. no. 286 is similar in iconographic conception.

**Selected bibliography**

Φιλαδέλφεις 1928, 22. Winter 1903, II, 208, no. 1. Reinach 1903, 205-206, pl. 3. *LIMC* II, s.v. Aphrodite, 121, no. 1254 (A. Delivorrias - G. Berger-Doer - A. Kossatz-Deissmann). Ζερβουδάκη 2003, 204-206. Σταμπολίδης - Τασούλας 2009, 93, no. 22 (Ευ. Βιβλιοδέτης). Cf. *LIMC* II, s.v. Aphrodite, 121, no. 1253, pl. 126. *LIMC* III, s.v. Eros, 920, no. 841, pl. 657 (A. Hermary - H. Cassimatis - R. Vollkommer). *LIMC* III, s.v. Eros in Peripheria Orientali, 948, nos. 87-88, pl. 675 (Ch. Augé - P. Linant de Bellefonds).

M. Chidiroglou



**288. Pair of earrings**

Second half of the 3rd c. BC  
 Gold  
 Total l. 0.045 m  
 Egypt. Donated to the National  
 Archaeological Museum by the Greek  
 expatriate in Egypt Ioannis Dimitriou  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Aγ. 1542

Pair of hook-pierced earrings with the visible part of the hook bearing a palmette motif on which a golden disc decorated with a rosette is attached, whereas on the lower part the cast figure of infant Eros dangles. Eros is depicted holding a theatrical mask in one hand and a phiale in the other.

**Selected bibliography**

Τζάχου-Αλεξανδρή 1995, 172, no. 8. Jackson 2006, 166, pl. 14D, 2.

E. Tourna



### 289. Figurine of a winged Eros

Ca. 200 BC  
Brownish-red clay  
H. 0.305 m  
Myrina, Asia Minor  
I. Misthos Collection  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. A 4947

Eros is in flight or moving lightly on tiptoe, with his arms raised. His wavy hair is gathered into a top knot (*lampadion*) on his head, with the beginning of the knot formed by a hair-braid. White slip and traces of pink on the body and wings and of reddish-brown on the hair.

Terracotta Eros figurines from Myrina are representative products of the high artistic culture of the Hellenistic period in which influences from sculpture are attested.

#### Selected bibliography

Winter 1903, II, 341, no. 3. Cf. Burn - Higgins 2001, 124, no. 2296, pl. 54.

M. Chidioglou



### 290. Earring with a kithara-playing Eros pendant

Second half of the 2nd-early 1st c. BC  
Gold, pearls  
H. 0.059 m  
From the Antikythera shipwreck  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Xp. 1646

The earring consists of an oval plaque with three settings, which would have contained precious stones or glass, a suspension hook, and a pendant in the form of a winged Eros. The whole was surrounded by small pearls fixed on loops.

The small Eros, in a dance pose, plays the *kithara* smiling and lowering his wreathed head.

#### Selected bibliography

Kaltsas - Vlachogianni - Bouyia 2012, 148-149, no. 118 (E. Stasinopoulou), with older bibliography.

Ch. Avronidaki



**291. Figurine of Eros bound**

*Late 2nd-early 1st c. BC  
Clay  
H. 0.46 m  
Myrina, Asia Minor  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. A 5080*

The little nude, winged boy with his hands bound behind him –“Eros bound”– lowers his wreathed head and laughs, apparently indifferent to his punishment. Unknown in myth and ignored by vase painting, the theme of Eros being punished (by Aphrodite, Nemesis, Psyche, or Peitho?) was particularly popular during Hellenistic times, an era of intense philosophical investigation into his nature.

**Selected bibliography**

*Ζερβουδάκη 2003, esp. 202-206, figs. 15-19.  
Ch. Avronidaki*

**292. Statuette of Aphrodite**

*1st c. BC  
Marble  
H. 0.70 m  
Argos, found near the theatre  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Γ 3248*

Aphrodite is presented as semi-nude, wearing only a himation which leaves both breasts bare. She rests on her right leg, while stepping on a goose with the left. The statuette is a Late Hellenistic variation on the type of the Pheidias Aphrodite Ourania stepping on a tortoise, which according to Platonic philosophy (*Symposium*, 180d-181c) incorporated the higher form of spiritual love as well as the guileless love of children.

**Selected bibliography**

*LIMC II, 1, s.v. Aphrodite, 75, no. 660 (A. Delivorrias). Καλτσός 2002, 293, cat. no. 613.  
E. Vlachogianni*



### 293. Statuette of Aphrodite

*First half of the 1st c. AD*

*Marble*

*H. 0.55 m*

*Epidauros, Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas*  
*National Archaeological Museum,*

*inv. no. Γ 1811*

Aphrodite is depicted as semi-nude, in the Louvre/Naples type better known as the Fréjus Aphrodite, the original of which was the work of an unknown sculptor (Alkamenes, Polykleitos, or Kallimachos?) dating to ca. 420 BC. The finely-woven chiton, as if wet, clings sensuously to her body and reveals her pubic area, the curves of her hips, and the volume of her right breast. The apple she holds functions allusively to refer both to her fertile nature and her participation in the Judgement of Paris.

#### **Selected bibliography**

Karanastassis 1986, 280, no. AI 4, pl. 50,1-2  
Καλιός, 2002, 123-124, cat. no. 231.

*E. Vlachogianni*





#### 294. Head of Aphrodite

*1st c. AD*  
*Marble, perhaps Parian*  
*H. 0.40 m*  
*Athens, Roman Agora*  
*National Archaeological Museum,*  
*inv. no. Γ 1762*

This head belonged to a statue of Aphrodite, larger than life-size, of the Aspremont-Lynden/Arles type. The beauty of the woman depicted is impressive, appropriate both to the goddess of beauty as well as the model, the famous hetaira Phryne, who would have posed for Praxiteles for the original (370-360 BC). With the triumph of Christianity, crosses were carved on her face and chin, and her eyes were "struck".

#### Selected bibliography

Καλτσάς - Δεσπίνης 2007, 122-123, cat. no. 25  
 (A. Corso). Lazaridou 2011, 148, cat. no. 115  
 (N. Kaltsas). Drandaki *et al.* 2013, 60, cat. no. 6  
 (M. Salta).

*E. Vlachogianni*



#### 295. Statuette of Aphrodite - Isis

*1st-2nd c. AD*  
*Copper alloy, solid*  
*H. 0.20 m*  
*Egypt. Donated to the National*  
*Archaeological Museum by the Greek*  
*expatriate in Egypt Ioannis Dimitriou*  
*National Archaeological Museum,*  
*inv. no. ΑΙΥ. 1638*

This syncretic deity is depicted standing and nude, bearing the necklace, the coiffure, and the crown of Isis, the goddess of fertility, vegetation, and magic. She holds an apple or a pomegranate, the sacred fruit of Aphrodite that symbolizes prosperity and fecundity. It is believed that this type and its numerous variants were created in the workshops of the Nile Delta and it was particularly popular in Egypt and Syria.

#### Selected bibliography

Sánchez - Escobar 2015, 427 (E. Tourna).

*E. Tourna*



### 296. Statuette of Eros

1st c. AD

Bronze

Total h. 0.74, h. of figure 0.68 m

Ampelokipoi, Athens

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. X 16771

Winged Eros, crowned with ivy and fruits, is depicted as a nude boy. In his right hand he holds a musical key and likely had a *kithara* or *lyra* in his left. On

the back, between the wings, is a conical socket from which a shaft would have attached a lamp, permitting the interpretation of the Eros as a lampstand. The winged lion's paw at the edge of the rectangular base was possibly used to support a lyra.

#### Selected bibliography

Κρυστάλλη-Βότση 2014, 24-27, pls. 3-4.

K. Bairami



### 297. Statue of Aphrodite

2nd c. AD

Parian marble

H. 1.80 m

From Baiae in South Italy,  
near the Bay of Naples. It was  
purchased by M. Empeirikos  
from the collection of Lord Hope  
and donated to the National  
Archaeological Museum (1924)  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Γ 3524

Aphrodite is depicted semi-nude, her left hand holding a himation, which is wrapped around the hips in front of the genitals. She lifts the right arm modestly in front of the chest; the right breast, however, remains exposed. The statue, which bears repairs by the famous 18th-century neoclassical sculptor A. Canova, belongs to the Aphrodite of Syracuse type, which was an Imperial age transformation of the Late Hellenistic type of the Capitoline Venus.

#### Selected bibliography

Schmidt 1997, 203, no. 93, pl. 138. Καλτσός, 2002, 256, cat. no. 534.

*E. Vlachogianni*

**298. Statuette of a sleeping Eros***2nd c. AD**Marble**L. 0.57, w. 0.37 m**Unknown provenance**National Archaeological Museum,**inv. no. Γ 5753*

Eros is depicted as a little boy with chubby legs, sleeping light-heartedly on a rocky surface he has covered with the himation. He uses the left arm as a pillow. The sleeping Eros type was especially beloved in Hellenistic and Roman funerary art. The chthonian character of this statuette is further accentuated by the flowers and small lion appearing from beneath the himation.

**Selected bibliography**

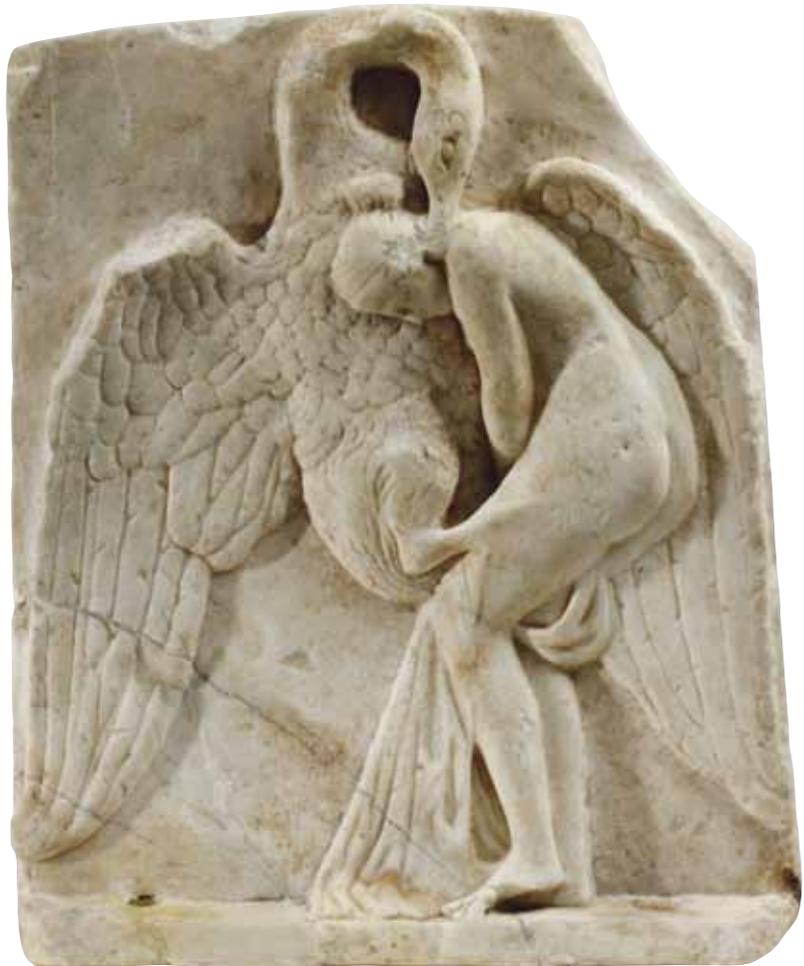
Ρωμιοπούλου 2001, 94-95, figs. 3-4. Σταμπολιδής - Τασούλας 2009, 156-157, cat. no. 126 (Χ. Τσούλη).

*E. Vlachogianni***299. Relief plaque***2nd c. AD**Pentelic marble**H. 0.51, w. 0.41, th. 0.03 m**Brauron, Attica**National Archaeological Museum,**inv. no. Γ 1499*

The relief portrays a nude Leda in an erotic embrace with a magnificent swan. According to the Peloponnesian myth, Zeus, transformed into a swan, joined with Leda, wife of the Spartan king Tyndareus, on the banks of the Eurotas River. The fruit of this union was Helen of Troy and Polydeuces, one of the two Dioscuri. According to the Attic version of the myth, Leda was the stepmother of Helen of Troy, who was born from the egg laid by Nemesis.

**Selected bibliography**

Kaltsas - Pasquier 1989, 77-79, cat. no. 24 (G. Touratsoglou). Σταμπολιδής - Τασούλας 2009, 161-162, cat. no. 130 (Ε. Βλαχογιάννη).

*E. Vlachogianni*



### 300. Statuette of Eros

*Early 3rd c. AD*  
*Pentelic marble*  
*H. 0.32 m*  
*Coast of Palaia Epidauros*  
*National Archaeological Museum,*  
*inv. no. Γ 5245*

A nude ephebe with long hair is depicted. His identification as Eros is confirmed by the holes in his shoulders for the attachment of separately-made wings. The statuette belongs to the Eros (Cupid) of the Centocelle type, the original of which some attribute to Praxiteles, others connect with post-Polykleitan creations of the late 5th-early 4th c. BC, and still others believe to have been a Late Hellenistic work influenced by older models.

#### **Selected bibliography**

Καλιτσάς - Δεσπίνης 2007, 136-137, cat. no. 34  
 (N. Καλιτσάς).

*E. Vlachogianni*

### 301. Table support with a Group of Maenad and Satyr

250-275 AD  
 Pentelic marble  
 H. 0.74 m  
 Gytheion, Laconia  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Γ 2703

The Maenad is shown in a bold dance move, her back facing the viewer and her head raised aloft, and holding the drum. Her chiton, which was belted high below the breasts, has been swept aside by the wild dance and left her buttocks entirely naked. She is accompanied by a Satyr, who extends his right hand towards her. Ecstasy and eroticism dominate this group.

#### Selected bibliography

Σεφανίδου-Τιβερίου 1993, 259, no. 76, pls. 38-39. Καλτσάς 2002, 364, cat. no. 776.

*E. Vlachogianni*



# Odysseys

Οδύσσειες

## Death

πὰρ δ' ἴσαν Ὠκεανοῦ τε ῥοὰς καὶ Λευκάδα πέτρην,  
ἠδὲ παρ' Ἡλίοιο πύλας καὶ δῆμον ὀνείρων  
ῥῆσαν· αἶψα δ' ἴκοντο κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα,  
ἔνθα τε ναίουσι ψυχαί, εἶδωλα καμόντων.

*Ομήρου Οδύσσεια, ὠ 11-14*

Past the streams of Oceanus they went,  
past the rock Leucas, past the gates  
of the sun and the land of dreams,  
and quickly came to the meadow of asphodel,  
where the ghosts dwell, phantoms  
of men who have done with toils

*Homer, The Odyssey, XXIV 11-14*

There are no asphodels, violets, or hyacinths;  
how then can you talk with the dead?  
The dead know the language of flowers only;  
so they keep silent  
they travel and keep silent, endure and keep silent,  
beyond the community of dreams, beyond the community  
of dreams

*G. Seferis, Stratig Thalassinos Among the Agapanthi*



### 302. Funerary stele

*Middle Kingdom, 12th Dynasty  
(1991-1783 BC)*

*Limestone*

*L. 0.32, w. 0.23 m*

*Egypt. Donated to the National  
Archaeological Museum by the Greek  
expatriate in Egypt Alexander Rostovitz  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Aγ. Α. 131*

The engraved hieroglyphic inscription bears the names of the dead couple Meru and Mereru(t) and their mothers. The couple is shown in front of an offering table in low relief painted in red and black. The woman, according to the magical and religious beliefs of the Egyptians, is depicted breathing the "sweet breath of life" from a half-bloomed bud of the sacred blue lotus.

The lotus is seen as a sign of eternal rebirth and rejuvenation and also of beauty and female sexuality.

#### **Selected bibliography**

Τζάκου-Αλεξανδρή 1995, 107, no. 6. Stefanovic 2010, 209-211, fig. 2

*E. Tourna*



**303. Nun phialae**

New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty,  
 Reign of Thutmose III-Amenhotep III  
 (1479-1353 BC)

Blue faience

A: D. 0.25 m

B: D. 0.29 m

Egypt. Donated to the National  
 Archaeological Museum by the Greek  
 expatriate in Egypt Alexander Rostovitz  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Aγ. 1782, Π.976

Phialae of Nun, the primordial god of the primeval waters of chaos. Their painted decoration rendered in black colour includes flowers and lotus buds,

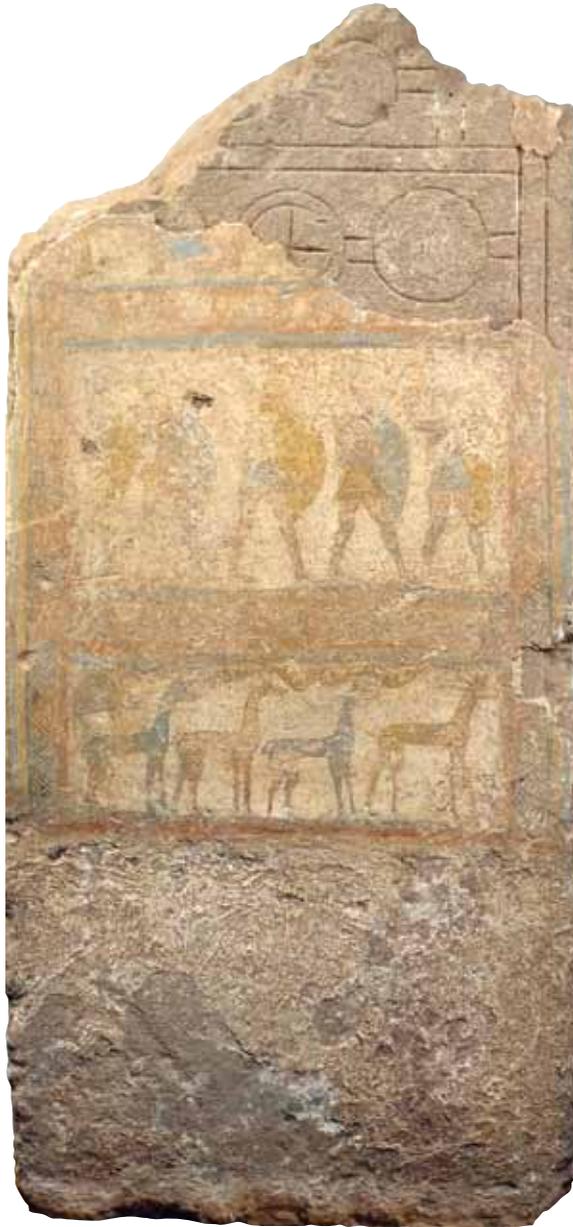
fish (*tilapia nilotica*) (Aγ. 1782) and a lake filled with a checkerboard pattern (Aγ. Π.976), symbols associated with rebirth after death. The back side is occupied by a lotus flower in full bloom.

Such phialae served as votive offerings dedicated by women to the goddess Hathor or were intended for funerary use.

**Selected bibliography**

Τζάκου-Αλεξανδρή 1995, 122, nos. 1-2. Maravelia 2002, 66-69 (Aγ. 1782), 70-71 (Aγ. Π.976).

E. Tourna



### 304. "Stele of the warriors"

12th c. BC (Late Helladic III C period)  
 Poros stone  
 H. 0.91, w. 0.42, th. 0.14 m  
 Mycenae, Chamber Tomb 70  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Π 3256

A 16th-c. BC grave stele, similar to the known examples from the Grave Circles at Mycenae, was reused four centuries later with the covering of one of its sides by a fresco. Originally decorated with engraved geometric motifs, the newer surface was divided into three successive panels. In the lowest are depicted animals in a line (deer and hedgehog), in the central is a proces-

sion of warriors and in the upper, which is barely preserved, a seated figure with a "worshipper" or a scene of animal sacrifice, according to a recent study. The similarities in artistic execution of the warriors with the corresponding scene on the krater of Mycenae cat. no. 197 indicate on the one hand their manufacture by the same painter and on the other the turbulent times that dawned after the fall of the palaces.

#### Selected bibliography

Ξενάκη-Σακελλαρίου 1985, 202, 203-204. Ηλιόπουλος 2012.

K. Paschalidis



### 305. "Vase of the mourners"

12th c. BC (Late Helladic III C period)  
 Clay  
 H. 0.162, d. rim 0.237 m  
 Perati Cemetery, Attica, Chamber  
 Tomb 5  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Π 9143-7

A large open vase with calyx-shaped body and two handles which support two cups. Attached around the rim of the vessel are four female figurines with hands raised in a gesture of mourning. It is a ritual vase aimed at acknowledging the pain of death, with the clay mourners expressing their grief and the funnel-shaped cups providing the offerings that will heal it.

#### Selected bibliography

Ιακωβίδης, 1969-1970, vol. A, 72, vol. B, 253, vol. Γ, pl. 177,65.

K. Paschalidis

### 306. Attic Geometric amphora

755-750 BC

*The Dipylon Painter*

Clay

H. 1.62 m

Athens, Sapountzakis plot

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 804

Monumental funerary amphora with ovoid body and cylindrical neck. The decoration that covers the entire surface of the vase is arranged in horizontal bands running around its circumference. These bands bear geometric motifs as well as rows of animals and birds. The centre of the body of the vase is occupied by a "prothesis" scene (the ritual display of the body of the dead). The deceased lies on a bier covered with a shroud surrounded by mourners who are depicted with raised arms.

Such large-scale vases served as markers of the graves of wealthy Athenians and this one in particular constitutes one of the emblematic displays of the National Archaeological Museum.

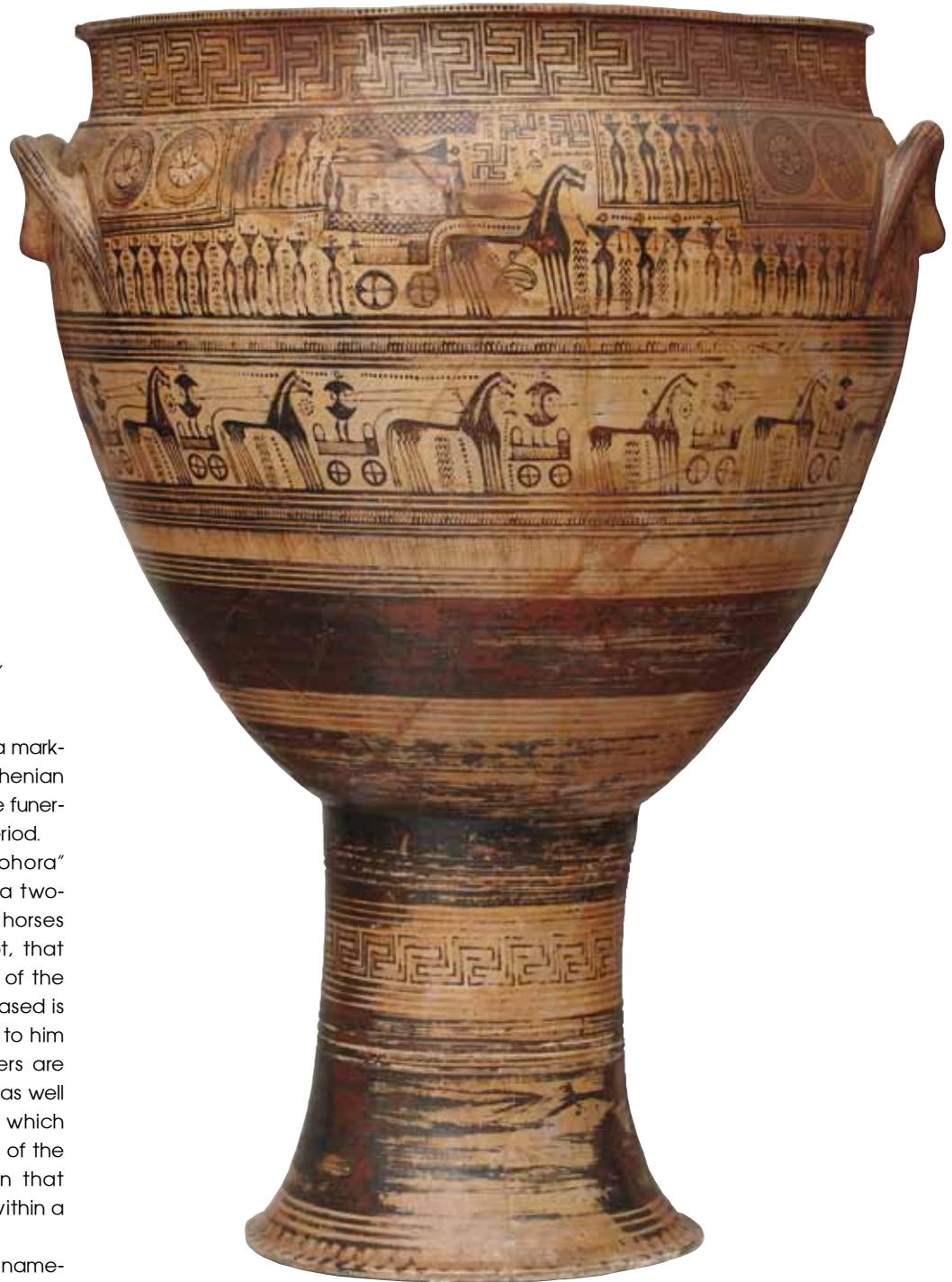
#### Selected bibliography

CVA Athènes Musée National 1, III Hd, pl. 8.

Τιβέριος 1996, 239-240, fig. 2.

*E. Zosi*





### 307. Attic Geometric krater

745-740 BC

*The Hirschfeld Painter*

Clay

H. 1.23 m

Athens, Kerameikos

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 990

This imposing vase served as a marker set up on the grave of an Athenian nobleman, in accordance with the funerary practices of the Geometric period.

The vase displays an "ekphora" scene as its central subject. On a two-wheeled chariot drawn by two horses lies the funeral bier. The chariot, that faces right, occupies the centre of the main decorative band. The deceased is covered with a shroud and next to him stand men and women. Mourners are depicted also under the handles as well as on the back side of the vase which is poorly preserved. In the middle of the body of the vase a procession that comprises ten chariots is shown within a thinner pictorial register.

This monumental krater is the name-vase of the Hirschfeld Painter. The anonymous vase painter has been conventionally named so after the first scholar who studied his works.

#### Selected bibliography

Coldstream 1968, 41.

*E. Zosi*



### 308. Figurine of a mourner

Late 7th/early 6th c. BC  
 "Workshop of the Mourners of Tanagra"  
 Clay  
 H. 0.24, d. base 0.083 m  
 Probably from Tanagra, Boeotia  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. A 4157

This figurine depicts a standing female figure, with hands held up high on her head in the characteristic gesture of lamentation. Her mournful character is underscored by the black garment, which contrasts strongly with the red of her face and neck, and her white arms. Her eyes are also white, while her hair and narrow belt are reserved.

#### Selected bibliography

Σαμπολίδης - Οικονόμου 2014, 76, no. 19 (Χ. Αβρονιδάκη), with older bibliography.  
 Ch. Avronidaki



### 309. Model of a funerary wagon

700-650 BC  
 Attic workshop  
 Clay  
 H. (with mourners) 0.337, l. 0.46 m  
 From an offering trench in the tumuli  
 cemetery of the ancient deme  
 of Anagyrous (east of Vari)  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. A 26747

The bier is being transported on a wagon driven by a standing charioteer. The wagon consists of three sections placed atop one another, of which the top two are detachable. The deceased is schematically rendered with a cylinder on the couch, which has a headrest. The corpse is covered by the shroud, on which there lies a little child raising its arms in a gesture of mourning, and a bird. Four women mourn around the bier, while the isolated rider, who would have held a shield in his left hand, was also a member of the *ekphora* procession.

#### Selected bibliography

Σαμπολίδης - Οικονόμου 2014, 81, no. 22 (Ε. Βιβλιοδέτης), with older bibliography.  
 Ch. Avronidaki



### 310. Grave statue of a kore

Ca. 550-540 BC

Parian marble; the base of the statue is made of hard limestone

H. (with the base) 1.76,

h. (with the pedestal) 2.02 m

National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Γ 4889

The statue was found together with the kouros cat. no. 311 in a deposit at the site of Merenda (ancient Myrrhinous) near Markopoulo in Attica. The pedestal, which was known already since 1730, was set into a wall of the church of Panagia situated within short distance of the location of the kore.

The kore is depicted standing in a frontal pose, slightly advancing her right leg. She is clad in long chiton, belted around the waist, and wears high-soled sandals. With her right hand she lifts the chiton at her side, whereas in her left hand she holds a lotus flower in front of her chest. On the richly ornamented purple chiton, incised rosettes with yellow and black petals alternating with meander crosses, stars, and broad meander bands are preserved. The lower part of the garment, right above the sandals, bears leaved decoration. The jewels of the maiden include a necklace, which is marked by three ornaments in the form of pomegranate, earrings, and bracelets. Her hair, which is parted down the middle, falls over the shoulders and back in shapely locks, tied at the back of the head in "Heracles knot" with a band decorated with an incised meander. A tall stephane ornamented with flowers and lotus buds adorns her head. Colour highlighted the individual facial features. The colour of the iris was black and so were the eyelashes and the eyebrows. Around the base of the statue the ring-shaped pour-channel for lead which was used for fixing the statue to its pedestal has been preserved.

The front side of the pedestal bears the following epigram in *stoichedon* style, incised in the Attic alphabet:

Σ Ε Μ Α Φ Ρ Α Σ Ι Κ Λ Ε Ι Α Σ  
Κ Ο Ρ Η Κ Ε Κ Λ Η Σ Ο Μ Α Ι  
Α Ι Ε Ι Α Μ Τ Ι Λ Α Μ Ο  
Π Α Ρ Α Θ Ε Ω Ν Τ Ο Υ Τ Ο  
Λ Α Χ Ο Υ Σ Ὀ Ν Ο Μ Α

Σῆμα Φρασικλείας

Κόρη κεκλήσομαι

αἰεὶ ἀντὶ γάμου

παρὰ θεῶν τοῦτο

λαχοῦσ' ὄνομα

Sema of Phrasikleia

I will always be called maiden

since the gods gave me this name

instead of marriage

At the right side of the pedestal the signature of the sculptor that created the work has been incised:

Ἀριστίων Πάρι(ος μ' ἐπι)ό(ε)σε

Aristion of Paros made me

#### Selected bibliography

IG I<sup>3</sup> 1261. Μαστροκώστας 1972, figs. 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13-18 and col. pl. 3. Ζαφειρόπουλος 1986, 99, 102-103. Floren 1987, 164, note 37, pl. 10. Niemeyer 1996, 13. Καλτσάς 2001, 48, no. 45. Karakasi 2001, pls. 235-237. Kaltsas 2002, 7-26, pls. 1-12. Brinkmann 2003, 47, fig. 62. Βιβλιοδέτης 2007, 58-59, fig. 11. Κακαβογιάννης 2007. Adornato 2010, 314, fig. 11. Τζάκου-Αλεξανδρή 2012, 58, 61-62. Δεσπίνης - Καλτσάς 2014, 46-51, no. I.1. 15 (N. Καλτσάς).

M. Salta



### 311. Grave statue of a kouros

*Ca. 540-530 BC*

*Parian marble*

*H. 1.89 m*

*Merenda, cemetery of the ancient deme of Myrrhinous*

*National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Γ 4890*

The left leg of the figure is advanced and the arms hang down at the sides slightly separated from the thighs. The long hair is crowned with a diadem over the forehead. The statue was discovered together with the kore Phrasikleia (cat. no. 310) in a pit, where both sculptures had been disposed probably by the relatives of the deceased in order to protect them from possible destruction (either by the Persian invaders or political opponents). The statues would have decorated the graves of an eminent family of the deme of Myrrhinous, given the fact that the kore, which is slightly earlier than the kouros, had been created by a renowned sculptor of the time.

#### **Selected bibliography**

Μαστροκώστας 1972, 299-300, 314, figs. 4, 5, 7, 8, 12. Kaltsas 2002, 26-37, figs. 23-25, 35, pls. 13-20. Δεσπίνης - Καλτσάς 2014, 199-202, no. I.1.184, figs. 637-647 (N. Καλτσάς).

*Ch. Tsouli*





**312. Part of an Attic black-figure grave plaque (pinax)**

540-530 BC

Attic workshop. Attributed to a follower of Exekias

Clay

H. 0.374, w. 0.32, th. 0.05 m

Unknown provenance

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 12697

The plaque (*pinax*) depicts women mourners during the *prothesis*, the display of the deceased so that the relatives and friends could bid farewell. The women were those entrusted with attending the funeral of the deceased of their *oikos*, in accordance with social dictates and legislation. Their pronounced gestures, while performing a dirge, demonstrate the unspeakable pain of separation, within a strictly-determined framework of the funerary ritual.

#### Selected bibliography

Wolters 1888, 183. Alexiou 2002, 31-36. Μανακίδου 2005. Σαμπολίδης - Οικονόμου 2014, 74 (Α. Γκαδόλου).

*E. Oikonomou*



**313. Two parts of an Attic black-figure funerary plaque (pinax)**

Ca. 530 BC

Attic workshop. Close to the style of the Painter of Munich 1381

Clay

H. 0.39, w. 0.41, th. 0.032 m

Kerameikos

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. nos. A 2410, 2413

The plaque (*pinax*) depicts a scene of funerary ritual. Men in procession raise their right hands in a gesture of mourning. This was a male chorus which approached the deceased with ritual solemnity, performing a customary mourners' dirge. The preserved inscription states that the plaques adorned the grave marker (*sema*) of a man

whose name was probably indicated in the part of the inscription which has not been preserved.

#### Selected bibliography

Wolters 1888, 183. Alexiou 2002, 31-36. Μανακίδου 2005. Σαμπολίδης - Οικονόμου 2014, 74 (Α. Γκαδόλου).

*E. Oikonomou*

### 314. Grave statue of a kouros

Ca. 530 BC

Parian marble

H. 1.94 m

Anavysos, Attica. The statue was stolen in 1936 and repatriated from France in 1937

National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Γ 3851

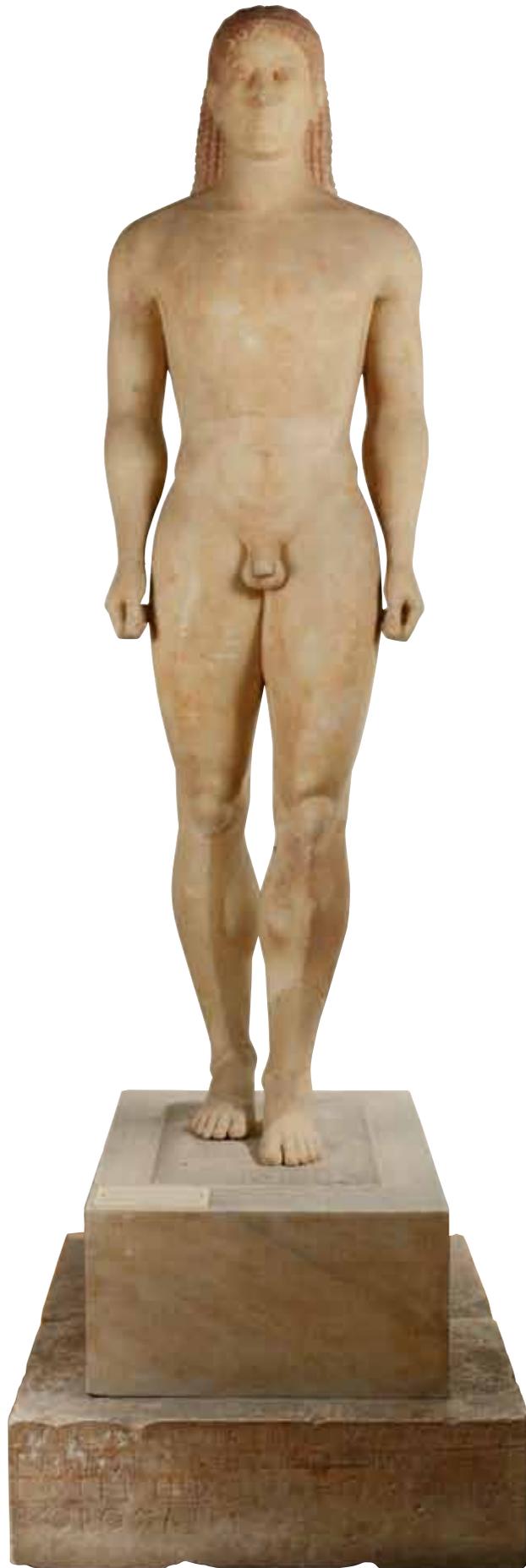
A nude young man is depicted as a kouros: a robust, strong body with left leg forward, arms lowered on his thighs, and long hair bound with a fillet falling down his back. From the epigram on the middle step of the three-step base on which he stands, we learn that the young aristocrat, Kroisos by name, fell nobly in battle fighting on the front lines:

*Στήθι: καὶ οἴκιτρον: Κροίσου  
παρὰ σῆμα θανόντος: Ἦόν  
ποτ' ἐνὶ προμάχοις ᾤλεσε  
θοῦρος Ἄρης*

Stop and show pity beside the  
marker of Kroisos, dead, whom,  
when he was in the front ranks,  
raging Ares destroyed.

#### Selected bibliography

Καλτσάς 2002, 58, cat. no. 69. Δεσπίνης -  
Καλτσάς 2014, 202-207, cat. no. I.1, 185, figs.  
650-657 (kouros) and 207-211, cat. no. I.1,  
185a, figs. 658-663 (base) (Π. Καραναστιάση).  
*E. Vlachogianni*



### 315. Fragment of a grave stele

Ca. 520 BC  
 Hymettian marble  
 H. 0.38, w. 0.44 m  
 Anavyssos, Attica  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Γ 4472

From the relief decoration only a part of the face of a female, which is shown in profile facing right, and her left hand in which she tenderly holds the head of an infant gazing at her have been preserved. A part of the woman's himation is visible between the two figures and also on the outer face of her hand. The woman was possibly seated carrying the child on her lap. The background of the stele bears red paint. On the top right edge, the apex of the crowning is preserved which consists of angled volutes and a central palmette.

The special significance of this stele, unfortunately so destroyed, lies in the fact that it introduces for the first time the subject of a mother and child, or a grandmother and grandchild, which will become particularly popular in funerary monuments of the Classical period. Also the way the figures interact with each other, which exceeds mere arraying, is unusual, and endows the work with expressiveness and vitality.

#### Selected bibliography

Daux 1958, 672, fig. 9. Vanderpool 1958, 321, pl. 86, fig. 5. Richter 1961, 42, no. 59, figs. 151-153. Καρούζος 1961, 61-62. Παπαποστόλου 1966, 109ff. Καρούζου 1967, 20. Deyle 1969, 28, 30, pl. 3. Floren 1987, 289, note 49. Viviers 1992, 208-211, fig. 56. Καλιτσάς 2001, 64, no. 87. Δεσπίνης - Καλιτσάς 2014, 418-421, no. I.1, 376, figs. 1231-1233 (I. Τριάντη).

*M. Salta*





### 316. Attic white lekythos

460-450 BC  
*The Inscription Painter*  
 Clay  
 H. 0.36-0.366, d. mouth 0.069,  
 d. base 0.081 m  
 Eretria, Euboea  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. A 1958

A rare and moving scene from a visit to a grave is depicted. In front of a grave stele stands a woman wiping away her tears with an edge of her garment. In her right hand she holds a *sakkos* (snood), a grave offering, leading to the hypothesis that the deceased occupant of the tomb may have been a woman. To the right, another female figure with short, cropped hair (either a

sign of mourning or a feature identifying her as a slave) holds a basket full of fillets and pomegranates. Two lekythoi are suspended high in the background.

#### Selected bibliography

Σταμπολιδής - Οικονόμου 2014, 119, no. 52 (X. Αβρονιδάκη), with older bibliography. BAPD 209239.

*Ch. Avronidaki*



### 317. Attic white lekythos

445-440 BC  
*The Achilles Painter*  
 Clay  
 H. 0.32 m  
 Eretria, Euboea  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. A 1821

A visit to the tomb is depicted. In the centre, a grave stele with a tall base, decorated with coloured ribbons and below with a wreath. On either side of the funerary monument, a woman in a pale yellow chiton and red himation holding an exaleiptron as an offering, and the deceased youth dressed in a red chlamys, a *petasos* tossed over his back, high yellow footwear (*emvades*), holding an upright spear in his hand.

#### Selected bibliography

Oakley 1997, 145, no. 229, pl. 120 C-D. Τζάκου-Αλεξανδρή 1998, 131-134, no. 13.

*M. Selekou*

### 318. Attic white lekythos

Ca. 440 BC

The Bosanquet Painter

Brownish-red clay

H. 0.49 m

Eretria

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 1935

A visit to a tomb is depicted. A young man understood as the deceased stands at left facing his grave stele. The stele rests on a tall six-stepped base. From the right side, a female figure is climbing the steps at the base of the stele, holding a basket full of offering wreaths to adorn the funerary monument. The deceased man is beardless. He wears a chlamys clasped with a fibula, a *petasos* tossed back over his shoulders, and he is holding a spear. The woman wears a chiton and himation and has her hair gathered in a bun at the back of her head. Lekythoi, wreaths, fruits, and ribbons, all funerary offerings, have been deposited at the base of the funerary monument and behind it. The stele is decorated with a band and it bears a palmette top. Behind the stele the oval outline of the burial mound is discerned, the top of which is adorned with branches. A mirror and a lekythos hang above the female figure.

The visit to the tomb was a popular theme for the Bosanquet Painter, whose artistic activity encompassed most of the third quarter of the 5th c. BC. In ancient Greek cities, visits, offerings, and rituals were conducted at graves at regular intervals during the first year after burial, as well as at celebrations for honouring the dead, including the *Genesis*, *Epitaphia*, *Nekysia*, and others.



#### Selected bibliography

ARV<sup>2</sup> 1227, 1. Add<sup>2</sup> 350. Para 466. BAPD 216329. P. Kavvadias, *AD* 1889, 136, no. 1. Bosanquet 1899, 169-171. Collignon - Couve 1902, 544-545, no. 1692. Engelmann 1907, 119, fig. 40. Fairbanks 1914, 205, 22, Group V. Beazley 1938, 17, pl. 4, 1. Trecanni - Ferrabino - Bartolini 1959, II, 141, fig. 213. Riezler 1914, 102-103, pl. 23. Kardara 1960, 155, note 30. Athusaki 1970, 50. Σικιλάρντι 1975, 93, note 5, 94. Φιλιππάκη 1973, 106-

107, fig. 47. Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 86. Rahn 1986, 197, note 11. Kurtz 1989, 31, pl. 20, 1. Τιβέριος 1996, 230, 356-357, no. 216. *Eretria* IX, 101, no. N 200. Χατζηπαναγιώτη 1998, 88-89, no. 3. Oakley 2004, 11, 236, note 89. Walter-Karydi 2015, 148, fig. 77. On burial customs, see e.g. Kurtz - Boardman 1971, 142-148.

M. Chidiroglou



**319. Attic white lekythos**

Ca. 420 BC  
 The Reed Painter  
 Clay  
 H. 0.28 m  
 Athens  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. A 1759

Charon, bent over his pole, is depicted holding his boat among reeds on the bank of the Acheron River. Opposite him, on the shore, stands the dead woman waiting for him to take her to the Underworld. The expression on her face denotes pain as she prepares to embark on Charon's boat, lifting her garment and bending her knee.

White lekythoi were intended to hold oil and perfumes, and they had a funerary use.

**Selected bibliography**

BAPD 217661.

*M. Selekou*

**320. Attic red-figure loutrophoros**

Ca. 430 BC  
 Attributed to the Kleophon Painter  
 Clay  
 Preserved h. 0.10 m  
 Unknown provenance  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. A 1700

The scene transports us to an Attic cemetery in the 5th c. BC, perhaps the *Demosion Sēma* (public cemetery), where Athenians who had fallen in war were buried. Three decorated funerary stelae, two hoplites, a horseman, and an elderly man are depicted. The emotional weight of the scene is focused on the



hoplite, who leans sorrowfully towards his stele, and on the elderly man (probably his father), who expresses his pain over the loss of his son in a gesture of lament.

**Selected bibliography**

BAPD 215190. Κατσάς 2007, 282, cat. no. 167.

*G. Kavvadias*

### 321. Grave stele

Ca. 430-420 BC  
 Pentelic marble  
 H. 1.05, w. 0.85 m  
 Salamis or Aegina  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Γ 715

The stele is surmounted by a projecting cornice with alternating palmettes and lotus flowers. It depicts a youth who turns his head towards a cage on his right while holding a bird in his left hand. Under the cage a cat rests lazily on a pillar whereas on the front a boy servant stands with the expression of his face reflecting the grief for the loss of his master.

The sensitivity which is evident in the way in which the figures have been modelled and in their psychological disposition, establish a connection between this work – one of the earliest Attic funerary monuments of the Classical period – and the creations of one of the great sculptors of the 5th c. BC, possibly Agorakritos.



#### Selected bibliography

Himmelmann-Wildschultz 1956, 13, 15, figs. 10-12. Salta 1991, 114-115. Clairmont 1993, no. 1550. Καλτσάς 2001, 148, no. 287.

Ch. Tsouli

### 322. Grave stele of Hegeso

Late 5th c. BC  
 Pentelic marble  
 H. 1.58, w. 0.97 m  
 Athens, Kerameikos  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Γ 3624

The stele has the shape of a naiskos with pilasters. The relief depicts the Athenian lady Hegeso, (daughter) of Proxenos – as the inscription on the horizontal cornice of the pediment above the figure informs us – sitting on a *klismos* chair. Her raised right hand held a jewel, which was rendered in colour. The open jewellery box on her lap is carried by her maidservant, who stands before her and whose expression denotes grief. Hegeso is clad in chiton and himation and her hair is gathered in an *opisthosphendone* covered with veil, whereas her slave wears the characteristic long-sleeved barbarian tunic and a *sakkos* over her hair. The background of the representation was painted blue. The imposing figure of the deceased lady – the veil has been interpreted as an indication of a priestly office which she possibly held – in combination with the sumptuousness of the grave precinct of her family, from which the stele was recovered, reveal her noble ancestry. The work has been attributed to the sculptor Kallimachos and his workshop.



#### Selected bibliography

Conze, no. 68, pl. 30. Diepolder 1931, 27, pl. 27. *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 1289. Καρούζου 1967, 77-78, pl. 32. Stupperich 1977, 162, no. 146. Παπασπυριδη-Καρούζου - Καρούζος 1981, 78-79, pl. 93a-β. Schmaltz 1983, 2-3, 7-23, figs. 1-2. Lygkopoulos 1983, 12, no. 6.20. Salta 1991, 15. Clairmont 1993, no. 2.150. Καλιτσάς 2001, 156-157, no. 309. Weber 2001. Geominy 2004, 261-262, fig. 195. Weber 2011. Breder 2013, 34-35, fig. 7.

M. Salta

### 323. Grave stele of Mnesagora and Nikochares

Ca. 420 BC

Pentelic marble

H. 1.18, w. 0.74 m

Vari, Attica, area of the ancient deme of Anargyrous

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. Γ 3845

This plain stele, which is surmounted by epistyle and sparse Ionic kymation, depicts two siblings in a carefree moment of their life. The young maiden Mnesagora is depicted standing to the right, dressed in sleeved chiton, himation, and sandals, offering a little bird, holding it by its wings, to Nikochares, a naked infant on the ground, who tries to stand up and reach out his hands towards the bird. In contrast to the novel, yet somewhat awkward rendering of the infant, the solemn figure of Mnesagora adheres to the common classical models, whereas her undulating hair is tied in a *krovylos*, which is typical of her age. This is one of the first representations of children on Attic funerary monuments of the Classical period and the earliest known of that same period originating from the specific location.

According to the epigram which has been inscribed on the epistyle, the monument was erected by the parents of the two children, who passed away tragically young, most likely in a peaceful interval of the long-lasting Peloponnesian War, possibly during the Peace of Nicias – a time in which the family presumably returned to their deme from Athens where they had sought refuge together with other inhabitants of Attica.

*Μνήμα Μνησαγόρας και Νικοχάρως  
τόδε κείται.*

*Αὐτῶ δὲ οὐ παραδείξει. ἀφέλετο  
δαίμονος αἴσα,*

*πατρὶ φίλῳ και μητρὶ λιπόντε ἀμφοῖμ  
μέγα πένθος,*

*ὄνεκα ἀποφθιμένῳ βήτην δόμον  
Ἄιδος ἔσω.*

This is the monument to Mnesagora and Nikochares

They cannot show themselves. Destiny has carried them away,

leaving behind their beloved father and mother in great sorrow

since the two deceased have entered the realm of Hades.



#### Selected bibliography

Conze, no. 887, pl. 172. Diepolder 1931, 12, pl. 5. IG II<sup>2</sup>, 12147. Καρούζου 1967, 48. Clairmont 1970, 89, no. 22, pl. 11. Daux 1972, 528-529. Stupperich 1977, no. 158. Humphreys 1980, 104, note 16. Woysch-Méautis 1982, no. 115, pl. 19. Salta 1991, 43. Clairmont 1993, no. 1.610. Καλτσός 2001, 146-147, no. 281. Kreikenbom 2004, 228, fig. 167. Oakley 2009, 201-202, fig. 9.

M. Salta

### 324. Grave naiskos

*Third quarter of the 4th c. BC*  
*Pentellic marble; the base is made*  
*of Hymettian marble*  
*H. 2.64, w. 1.49-1.57 m*  
*Athens, Kerameikos, found near*  
*the Dipylon Gate*  
*National Archaeological Museum,*  
*inv. no. Γ 737*

A bearded warrior, Prokles, son of Prokleides, of the ancient deme of Aigilia is depicted standing, facing left. He is clad in chiton, cuirass, and himation. He holds a sword in his left hand whereas with his right hand he greets Prokleides, his elder father who is shown seated. In the background, between the two men, a standing female figure lifts with her hand the himation that covers her head. She is Archippe, daughter of Meixiades of Aigilia, possibly the mother of Prokles.

The names of the figures have been inscribed on the epistyle of the naiskos, but they are known also from other monuments of the same grave precinct. Later, the name of Prokleides, son of Pamphilos, was incised on the naiskos with smaller lettering. The holes on the seat of the aged man were designed for fixing part of the backrest. The taxiarch Prokleides who is referred to in an honorary decree of the Antiochis tribe at Kynosarges Γ 3491 (*SEG* III 116, 5, 10ff.) is apparently a member of the same family.



#### Selected bibliography

Conze, no. 718, pl. 141. Brückner 1926, 130-133.  
 Diepolder 1931, 54, 59, pl. 46. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 5376.  
 Καρούζου 1967, 118-119. Schmalz 1970,  
 18-19. Αθουσάκη-Φραγκάκη 1972, figs. 2-3.  
 Stupperich 1977, 155, no. 14. Humphreys  
 1980, 119. Palagia 1980, 10, fig. 12.1. Lygko-  
 poulos 1983, 51, no. 29. Yfantidis 1984, 19,  
 no. 16, pl. 2.1-2. Vierneisel-Schlörb 1988, 32-  
 33, note 3, 108-109, note 7a. Clairmont 1993,  
 no. 3.460. Καλτσός 2001, 198, no. 394. Vorster  
 2004, 406-407, fig. 94.

*M. Salta*

### 325. Grave relief ("stele of the Ilissos")

Ca. 340 BC

Pentelic marble

H. 1.68, w. 1.10 m

Athens, bed of the Ilissos River

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. Γ 869

A naked youth is shown leaning against a pillar with his legs crossed. A himation is draped over his left arm as he holds a *lagobolon*, a device which together with the dog that sniffs the ground behind him indicate that he was a hunter. On the right side of the stele his aged father stares at him devastated leaning on a staff. Small holes at the side of and above the hair of both men were intended for the attachment of metal wreaths. At the left corner the boy servant of the deceased is depicted sitting on steps with half-closed eyes and rests his head on his folded arms over his knees. The plasticity of the youth's body, which dominates space with its monumental magnificence, and the powerful expression of the face, denotes that the figure was inspired from a free-standing statue of a hero, possibly Heracles.

This exquisite monument, which was originally in the form of a naiskos, has been attributed to the Parian sculptor Scopas or his school. Variations on the subject have been encountered in other grave stelae as well.

#### Selected bibliography

Conze, no. 1055, pl. 211. Diepolder 1931, 51, pl. 48. Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1956. Καρούζου 1967, 109, pl. 39. Schmaltz 1983, 72-74. Lygkopoulos 1983, 80, no. 52. Vierneisel-Schlöb 1988, 28, note 3, 31-32, note 2, 33, note 3, 36, 55-56, note 4. Himmelmann 1990, 113ff. Clairmont 1993, no. 2.950. Moreno 1994, 70-81, figs. 79, 83. Himmelmann 1999, 84, 86, εικ. 44, 47, 48. Himmelmann 2000. Καλτσάς 2001, 193-194, no. 381. Salta 2015, 151-152, fig. 11.

M. Salta





### 326. Grave statue of a dog

Second quarter of the 4th c. BC  
 Pentelic marble  
 H. 0.53, l. 0.80 m  
 Piraeus  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Γ 3574

The dog is depicted seated to the right while its head turns toward the viewer. The plasticity with which the head and neck of the dog and also its front leg that curves outwards have been rendered, bestow upon the figure a distinctive naturalism. The breed is identified with today's Greek Shepherd. Large Sheepdogs were used in antiquity not just as guardians of livestock, but also as guards in military camps in times of war. This fact is also confirmed by the ancient testimony that in Stoa Poikile, aside from the portraits of the heroes of the Battle of Marathon, there was a representation of the dog which had stood by its Athenian master in the battlefield. Besides, funerary monuments and inscriptions dedicated to

these loyal and beloved animals were common.

A series of statues of animals, mainly dogs, lions, and bulls that were created possibly in local sculpture workshops, has been preserved in the burial complexes of Piraeus. Similar monuments are known from the neighbouring island of Salamis. In the locality of the cove of Kremmydarou, the place of origin of the dog's statue, there was the grave precinct of the family of Kallippos son of Philon from Aixone, a famous general of the 4th c. BC.

#### Selected bibliography

Καστριώτης 1924-1925, Παράρτημα 31, fig. 28.  
 Καρούζου 1967, 116. Vedder 1985, 287, cat. no. T 19. Todisco 1993, 90, fig. 181. Καλτσάς 2001, 186, no. 366. Σταμπολίδης - Οικονόμου 2014, 108, no. 41 (Μ. Σάλια).

M. Salta



### 327. Boeotian figurine of a woman mourning at a stele

Late 4th/3rd c. BC  
 Clay  
 Max. h. 0.198 m  
 Tanagra  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. A 4720

Beside the grave stele is seated a woman with loose hair, resting her head on her left hand in a gesture of profound grief. Her hydria, covered by the fillets destined to decorate the tomb, stands forgotten beside her.

#### Selected bibliography

Σταμπολίδης - Οικονόμου 2014, 120-121, no. 53 (Χ. Αβρονιδάκη), with older bibliography.

Ch. Avronidaki

### 328. Group of a peacock and a female figure

*Roman period*  
*Pentelic marble*  
*H. 0.61 m*  
*Athens, Amalias Avenue*  
*National Archaeological Museum,*  
*inv. no. Γ 3875 (BE 383/1940)*

The head of the female, her right hand and the object that she possibly held in it, and also the tip of the horn which she carries in her left hand, are missing. Also the heads of the sea bulls at the base of the group are missing. The beak and the tail of the peacock are chipped.

Statuette of a peacock with spread tail feathers around its body in the shape of a conch. Between the legs of the bird lies a female figure clad in a transparent garment, belted below the chest, and himation that falls over the left shoulder covering the lower part of the torso and the thighs. The figure bears in her left hand the horn of Plenty, whereas in her raised right hand she probably held a torch. The figures step on a rock with a cavern underneath from which four sea bulls, members of the thiasos of Poseidon, dash out radially over the waves.

The work has a clear eschatological connotation, even though it was recovered from a Roman building, possibly a villa, within the city's walls. The depiction of Hera Phosphoros holding a torch and the horn of Plenty in combination with the peacock, which is associated with the cult of the goddess being a symbol of marital fidelity, could be interpreted as a representation of the benevolent spirit that guarded the owner of the sculpture in life and death.

The scene on its own could also suggest a deified deceased woman who is carried away, according to the Orphic Teachings, over the waves of the sea that separates afterlife from the earth, to the Elysian Fields and the Isles of the Blessed.

#### Selected bibliography

Amandry 1940/1941, 231, no. 7. Walter 1942, col. 100. Walter 1958, 100-113, fig. 43.

*M. Salta*





### 329. Ostotheke

150-200 AD

Docimium marble, Asia Minor

L. 0.90, w. 0.43, h. 0.45 m

Attaleia (Lycia), Asia Minor

It was purchased in Megisti (Kastellorizo),

Dodecanese

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. Γ 1189

Ostotheke rendered in the form of sarcophagus richly decorated with relief representations on all four sides. One of the long sides depicts the larceny of the Palladion by Diomedes and Odysseus during the Fall of Troy. Diomedes is shown nude as he moves away to the left holding the Palladion and stares at Odysseus. On the right the half-naked figure of Aphrodite and a hero are portrayed and in-between lie a trochaeum and two shields. The work was produced in Asia Minor.

#### Selected bibliography

Καλτσάς 2002, 350-351, no. 741. Ρωμιοπούλου 1997, 98-99, no.10. Τσαγκάρη 2011, 25, cat. no. 5 (Ε. Βλαχογιάννη).

A. Klonizaki

### 330. "Fayum" funerary portrait of a man

*Hadrian's reign (117-132 AD)*

*Tempera on limewood*

*L. 0.35, w. 0.19, th. 0.005 m*

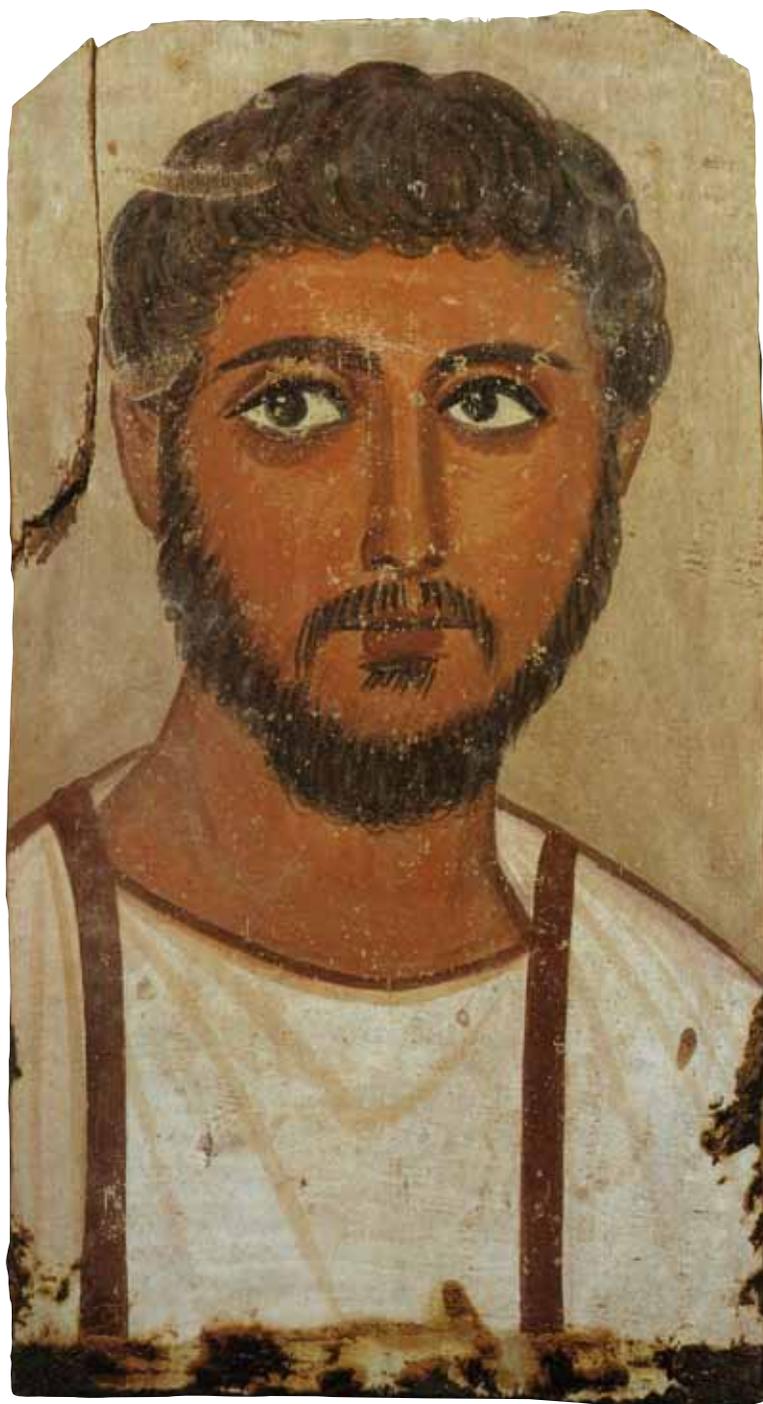
*Egypt. Donated to the National Archaeological Museum by the Greek expatriate in Egypt Ioannis Dimitriou  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Arq. 1627*

The Greek and the local population of Fayum placed over the face of the deceased a portrait which had been rendered while the depicted person was alive. According to the funerary beliefs of the Egyptians, the portrait helped the two elements of the human spirit the "Ka" and the "Ba", which were released from the corpse following the death of the person, recognize the dead body and reunite with it, and so the deceased gained eternal life.

#### **Selected bibliography**

Parlasca 1980, 26, no. 510, pl. 124,2 Δοξιάδη 1995, 178-179, 223, no. 118.

*E. Tourna*



### 331. "Fayum" funerary portrait of a woman

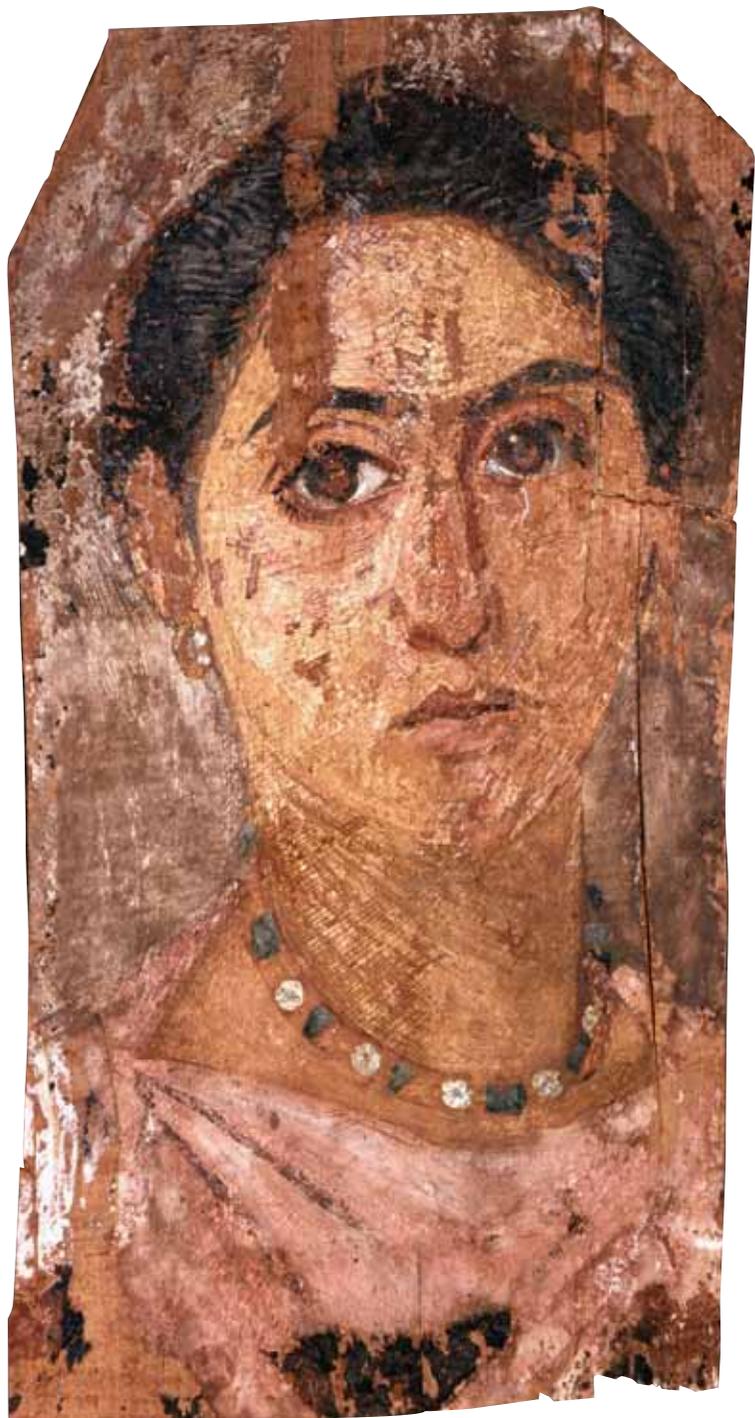
*Early Antonine period (138-161 AD)  
Encaustic (pigments mixed with heated or cold beeswax and resin) on wood  
(small thickness panel)  
L. 0.355, w. 0.18, th. 0.005 m  
Egypt. Donated to the National  
Archaeological Museum by the Greek  
expatriate in Egypt Ioannis Dimitriou  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Aiy. 1628*

In Roman Egypt, in accordance with the Roman law, and particularly the decrees of the Twelve Tables dated from the 5th c. BC and the *Lex Oppia* which was instituted in the 3rd c. BC, it was prohibited to bury anyone, either man or woman, wearing jewellery. Therefore, the depiction of jewels on the female "Fayum" portraits mainly – which, based on the Egyptian funerary practices, substitute for real jewels – has contributed significantly to our knowledge of Roman jewellery.

#### **Selected bibliography**

Parlasca 1977, no. 466, pl. 113.4. Δοξιάδη 1995, 182, 223, no. 122.

*E. Tourna*









Odysseys

~~Odysseys~~ Odysseys

## EXODUS

And it is like an exodus from time, like a nailing down of time, like  
its abolition  
by the swiftness of thought and memory and dreams  
and by the endurance of human achievement

*Y. Ritsos, When the Stranger Comes*

### 332. Statue of Nike

Ca. mid-6th c. BC  
 Naxian marble  
 H. 0.90 m  
 Delos  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Γ 21

This is the earliest known statue of a Nike made of stone. It is preserved in fragmented condition. Nike is depicted running to the left in rapid motion with her knees bent (*en gounasi dromos*) – a conventional rendering of the running pose in ancient Greek art. She is clad in chiton and *peplos* and bears a *stephane* with metal ornaments on her head. The hair is ornate and consists of wavy and spiral curls on the forehead and long locks reaching the chest. It was made by a sculptor from the islands. In the past it had been attributed to Archermos of Chios.

#### Selected bibliography

Stewart 1990, 116, fig. 92. Sheedy 1985, 619-626. Καλιτσάς 2001, 54-55, no. 21.

A. Klonizaki





### 333. Panathenaic amphora

*During the archonship of Kallimedes (360/59 BC)*  
*The Painter of Athens 12592*  
 Clay  
 H. 0.716, d. mouth 0.213 m  
 Eretria  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. A 20046

On the obverse, the goddess Athena Promachos brandishes her spear and holds her shield. On the columns framing her is the sculptural group of Eirene and Ploutos by the sculptor Kephisodotos. Beside the left column is written the inscription *ΤΟΝ ΑΘΗΝΕΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΟΝ* ("from the games at Athens").

On the reverse, a group of wrestlers is depicted. A Nike flies above the group, ready to bind the fillet on the victor. At left, Nike stands with the judge's branch. At right, the reserve athlete.

#### Selected bibliography

Βαλαβάνης 1991, 30-34, pls. 8, 20, 21. Bentz 1998, pls. 112-113, 4052. Καλτσός 2004, 230, no. 120 (Ε. Στασινοπούλου-Κακαρούγκα).

*P. Koutsiana*



### 334. Statuette of Nike

*Late 4th c. BC*  
 Parian marble  
 H. 0.81 m  
 Epidauros, Temple of Artemis  
 at the Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas  
 and Asklepios  
 National Archaeological Museum,  
 inv. no. Γ 159

The statuette was the left acroterion of the west pediment of the Temple of Artemis at the Asklepieion of Epidauros. The figure is depicted wearing a high-belted Laconian *peplos* that leaves the right breast exposed. As Nike flies forward, her right leg advances uncovered. The pleated garment highlights the silhouette of the lower part of her body. It is believed that this charming and

ethereal Nike is a work of a great sculptor who was involved in the architectural sculptures that decorated the Temple of Artemis when the Sanctuary was in its heyday.

#### Selected bibliography

Γαλούρης 1967, 29-30. Delivorias 1974, 193ff. Καλτσός 2001, 179, no. 356.

*A. Klonizaki*



### 335. The “Nike from Megara”

Ca. 320-300 BC

Marble

H. 2.50 m

Megara, Attica

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. Γ 225

The colossal headless statue depicts Nike wearing a *peplos* that billows as she flies forward. She is shown striding with the left foot protruding under the garment. The wings were made of a separate piece of marble that was attached to the shoulders. The statue was set up in front of the Theseion in 1841 and was eventually transferred to the National Archaeological Museum in 1889.

#### Selected bibliography

Purgold 1881, 275-283, pl. 10-11. Gulaki 1981, 79-88, fig. 36. Δεονίνης 2010, 13-20, fig. 1.

Ch. Tsouli



### 336. Figurine of a winged Nike

2nd c. BC

Reddish-orange clay

H. 0.40 m

Myrina, Asia Minor

I. Misthos Collection

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 5085

Nike wears a wreath on her head and is dressed in a *peplos* with over-fold belted above the waist. Her right arm is raised. The lower ends of the peplos billow in the wind, revealing the entire length of her right leg. Her hair is arranged in two rows of spiraling curls around her face and gathered in a bun at the back of her head. On the back of her wings are the inscriptions: *Κράτη, Κρατήρα*. Traces of white slip over most of the surface; traces of blue on the folds of the peplos, and of red on the hair.

This popular type was connected with the spirit of contests, of sportsmanship, and with beliefs about the Afterlife and victory over death.

#### Selected bibliography

Φιλαδέλφειος 1928, pl. XII, 1. Cf. Burn - Higgins 2001, 121-122, nos. 2285-2286, pl. 52. *LIMC* VI, s.v. Nike, 885-888, nos. 462-560, pls. 593-597 (A. Moustaka - A. Goulaki-Voutira - U. Grote). Sources for Nike: *LIMC* VI, s.v. Nike, 850-851 (A. Goulaki-Voutira).

M. Chidioglou



### 337. Figurine of a winged Nike

2nd c. BC

Clay

H. 0.37 m

Myrina, Asia Minor

I. Misthos Collection

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. A 5084

Nike wears a *peplos* with overfold belted above the waist and a wreath on her head. Her slightly-raised arms probably held a fillet. The lower ends of the peplos billow in the wind, revealing the entire length of her right leg. Her hair is arranged in parallel sections in the so-called "melonfrisur" and gathered in a bun at the back of her head. Series of scaly relief feathers adorn her wings. Traces of white slip and yellow paint on the figure's left wing.

#### Selected bibliography

Φιλαδέλφους 1928, pl. XII, 3. Βιβλιοδέτης - Αβρονιάκη 2013, 39. Cf. *LIMC* VI, s.v. Nike, 885-888, nos. 462-560, pls. 593-597 (A. Moustaka - A. Goulaki-Voutira - U. Grote). Sources for Nike: *LIMC* VI, s.v. Nike, 850-851 (A. Goulaki-Voutira).

M. Chidioglou



### 338. Figurine of Zeus Kerauneios

490-480 BC

Workshop possibly of Corinth or north-western Greece

Bronze

H. 0.191 m

Ambracia, Aetolia-Acarnania

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. X 14984

Zeus, being god of the sky and weather, is depicted in art as "Kerauneios" during the late 6th c. BC, whereas the type continues to be popular in the first half of the 5th c. BC. He carries his symbols, the thunderbolt, the rumble, and the lightning, with which he trounces his enemies, asserts his presence, and imposes his will, whereas the eagle, adopted by Zeus as his bird, frequently sits on the god's hand.

The figurine possibly decorated a vase or some other artefact which served as votive offering to one of the sanctuaries of the god.

#### Selected bibliography

Ρωμαίος 1920/1921, 169-171, figs. 3-6. *LIMC* VIII, s.v. Zeus, 324, no. 62d, (M. Tiverios). Kaltsas 2008, 144, no. 44 (R. Proskynitopoulou).

N. Palaiokrassa



### 339. Statue of a young diadoumenos

Ca. 100 BC  
Parian marble  
H. 1.95 m  
Delos, "House of the Diadoumenos"  
National Archaeological Museum,  
inv. no. Γ 1826

A young, nude male is depicted tying a fillet around his head. He has been considered a victorious athlete. The statue was once gilded. The quiver leaning against a tree trunk and the divine facial features of the young man reflect the Apollonian view of the model athlete, according to which the victor was equal to the god (*isotheos*). A Late Hellenistic copy dating to about 100 BC of a bronze statue produced around 420 BC by the sculptor Polykleitos.

#### Selected bibliography

Maderna-Lauter 1990, 298, 312, 324, figs. 176, 177a-b. Χατζηδάκης 2003, 75-76. Bol 2004, 130-132, fig. 85a-d.

E. Vlachogianni

### 340. Two Linear B tablets with fingerprints

Late 13th c. BC

(Late Helladic III B2 period)

Clay

Pylos, Palace of Ano Englianos

A: H. 0.162, w. 0.0934, th. 0.0174 m

B: L. 0.165, h. 0.0283, th. 0.0148 m

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. nos. PY Ae72, PY Fn79



Tablet Ae72 belongs to the large series registering the numerous and diverse people who worked in and were determined by the palace complex of Pylos, whereas Tablet Fn79 forms part of a record of various agricultural products. On closer examination of the reverse and the lateral sides of the tablets, the fingerprints of people who produced them and inscribed accounting records on their surface 3,200 years ago can be clearly discerned.

Wet clay is ideal for putting in writing various pieces of information, either purposefully or accidentally, and therefore some clay artefacts preserved, albeit faintly, fingerprints and palm prints of those people who touched and used them. The palaeographic study of Linear B tablets has provided the necessary knowledge so as to delve into the "private" world of the scribes of the Mycenaean palaces, estimate their number, and identify different "hands".

The tablets preserve the handwriting, fingerprints, and moments of tedium of the scribes when they prick their edges with the back of their styluses – without realizing it –, and also the rare occasions in which their creative expression is disclosed when they turn over their tablet to sketch a labyrinth pattern or a male figure, the errors they amended, the pieces of information they recorded and then expunged.



Hence the tablets help us re-enact moments of the daily life of this small community of literate, important people, whose work and also the flames that devoured the palaces, and yet were beneficial for us, fired and preserved them, thereby turning them into the means by which the earliest testimonies of the Greek language were preserved. Thus words, deeds, stories, names, and moments of the distant past are "heard" again and revive.

#### Selected bibliography

Palaima 2011.

*K. Kostanti*



### 341. “The Antikythera Mechanism” (82 fragments)

150-100 BC

Bronze and wood

Max. dim.: fragment A: 0.177 m,

fragment B: 0.118 m,

fragment C: 0.105 m

From the Antikythera Shipwreck

National Archaeological Museum,

inv. no. X 15087

The mechanism consists of at least thirty-two gear wheels, scales, axles, pointers, and protective plates. It was kept safe in a wooden frame. The inscriptions of the Mechanism, written in Greek, refer to astronomical and calendrical calculations and also to the instructions on how to use the device.

It is the earliest astronomical portable calculator that indicated the positions of the Sun, the Moon, and possibly the five planets which were known in antiquity, namely Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. Furthermore, it was used for the calculation of the

solar and lunar eclipses, keeping an accurate multi-year calendar, and also for the determination of the date of the Pan-Hellenic Games, the Olympic, the Nemean, the Isthmian, the Pythian, and the Naian.

The technology of the Mechanism recalls the successors of Archimedes, Hipparchus and the School of Poseidonius on Rhodes, and stemmed from the development of philosophy and the exact sciences that had been achieved in Greece until that time.

#### Selected bibliography

Σβορώνος 1903, 44-52, no. 21, pl. X (Π. Ρεδιάδης).

Price 1974, 5-70. Ζαφειροπούλου 2012, 241-

248. Antikythera Mechanism Research Project 2012, 256-272. Μάγκου 2012, 232-240.

N. Palaiokrassa



# Odysseys



Receive the thunderbolt from Zeuses  
And the world obeys you. Onward then  
Spring depends on you. Quicken the lightning

*O. Elytis, The Little Seafarer*

## POETIC SOURCES

- Ελύτης, Ο. 1980. *Το Αξιόν Εστί*, Ίκαρος, Αθήνα.  
Ελύτης, Ο. 2006. *Το Φωτόδεντρο και η δέκατη τέταρτη ομορφιά*, Ίκαρος, Αθήνα.  
Ελύτης, Ο. 2007. *Ο μικρός ναυτίλος*, Ίκαρος, Αθήνα.  
Καβάφης, Κ. Π. 1991. *Τα ποιήματα (1897-1918)*, επιμ. Γ. Π. Σαββίδης (νέα έκδοση), Ίκαρος, Αθήνα.  
Ρίτσος, Γ. 1990. *Τέταρτη Διάσταση*, Κέδρος, Αθήνα.  
Σεφέρης, Γ. 2014. *Ποιήματα* (νέα έκδοση), Ίκαρος, Αθήνα.  
Όμηρος, *Οδύσσεια*, μετάφραση Ζ. Σίδερης, 1990, Αθήνα.  
Όμηρος, *Οδύσσεια*, μετάφραση Α. Εφταλιώτης, 1997, Αθήνα.  
Όμηρος, *Οδύσσεια*, μετάφραση Δ. Ν. Μαρωνίτης, 2001, Αθήνα.  
Όμηρος, *Οδύσσεια*, μετάφραση Ν. Καζαντζάκης - Ι. Κακριδής, 2006, Αθήνα.  
Constantinos Cavafy 1992. *Collected Poems*. Translated by E. Keeley and P. Sherrard, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

## ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AAA	Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα ες Αθηνών
ABV	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters</i> , Oxford 1956
Add <sup>2</sup>	T. H. Carpenter - T. Mannack - M. Mendonca, <i>Beazley Addenda. Additional References to ABV, ARV<sup>2</sup> and Paralipomena</i> , Oxford 1989.
AE	Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς
AEM	Αρχείο Ευβοικών Μελετών
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AM	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung
AntK	Antike Kunst
AntPl	Antike Plastik
ARepLond	Archaeological Reports
ARV <sup>2</sup>	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters</i> , Oxford 1963
BABesch	Bulletin Antieke Beschaving. Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology
BAR IS.	British Archeological Reports. International Series
BAPD	Beazley Archive Pottery Database ( <a href="http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk">www.beazley.ox.ac.uk</a> )
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BÉFAR	Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London
BSA	The Annual of the British School at Athens
CalifStCIant	California Studies in Classical Antiquity
CQ	The Classical Quarterly
CMS	Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel
CRAI	Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres. Comptes rendus des séances
CSCA	Californian Studies in Classical Antiquity
CVA	Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum
EAD	Exploration Archéologique de Délos
EGF	Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta

- Odysseus Elytis 1997. *The Collected Poems of Odysseus Elytis*. Translated by J. Carson and N. Sarris, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.  
Odysseus Elytis 1988. *The Little Mariner*. Translated by O. Broumas, Port Townsend: Copper Canyon Press.  
Homer, *The Odyssey* 1974. Translated by A. T. Murray, London: Harvard University Press, Vols. 1-2.  
Yannis Ritsos 1993 *The Fourth Dimension*. Translated by P. Green and B. Bardsley, London: Anvil Press Poetry.  
Yannis Ritsos 1974. *Eighteen Short Songs of the Bitter Motherland*. Translated by A. Mims. Minneapolis, Minnesota: The North Central Publishing Company.  
George Seferis 1967. *Collected Poems (1024-1955)*. Translated by E. Keeley and P. Sherrard, Princeton: Princeton University Press.  
Nikos Kazantzakis 1958. *The Odyssey*. A modern sequel. Translation by Kimon Friar. New York: Touchstone, Simon and Schuster, Inc.  
The Official Website of the Cavafy Archive <http://www.kavafis.gr/poems/content.asp?id=81&cat=1>

EMC	Echos du monde classique
FGH	Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker
GöttMisZ	Göttinger Miszellen, Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion
GRBS	Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies
HASB	Hefte des Archäologischen Seminars der Universität Bern
Historia	Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte
Ήραος	Ήραος, Αρχαιολογικό περιοδικό
IEE	Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους
IstForsch	Istanbuler Forschungen
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
INE/EE	Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Ερευνών / Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών
INSTAP	Institute for the Aegean Prehistory
JAS	Journal of Archaeological Science
Jdl	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
JHS	The Journal of Hellenic Studies
JIAN	Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique
ΚρητΧρον	Κρητικά Χρονικά
JSav	Journal des Savants
LIMC	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae
MüJB	Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst
OF	Olympische Forschungen
ÖJh	Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien
ΠΑΕ	Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας
Para	Paralipomena. Additions to Attic Black-figure
PP	La Parola del Passato
RA	Revue Archéologique
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
ThesCRA	Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum
TransactAmPhilosSoc	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

## BIBLIOGRAPHY - ABBREVIATIONS OF THE CATALOGUE ENTRIES \*

- Αβρονιδάκη, Χ. 2007. *Ο Ζωγράφος του Άργου. Συμβολή στην έρευνα της βοιωτικής ερυθρόμορφης κεραμικής στο β' μισό του 5ου αιώνα π.Χ.*, Αθήνα.  
Αδάμ-Βελένη, Π. - Ε. Σεφανή 2012. *Έλληνες και Φοίνικες στα Σταυροδρόμια της Μεσογείου*, Exhibition Catalogue, Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Θεσσαλονίκης, Θεσσαλονίκη.  
Adornato, G. 2010. "Bildhauerschulen": un Approccio, in G. Adornato (ed.), *Scolpire il marmo. Importazioni, artisti itineranti,*

- scuole artistiche nel Mediterraneo antico. Atti del convegno di studio tenuto a Pisa. Scuola Normale Superiore, 9-11 novembre 2009*, Milano, 309-337.  
Αθυσάκη-Φραγκάκη, Κ. 1972. Συμπλήρωσις τριών επιτύμβιων του Εθνικού Μουσείου, *AAA* 5, 102-107.  
Albersmeier, S. (ed.) 2009. *Heroes. Mortals and Myths in Ancient Greece*, The Walters Art Museum Baltimore, Baltimore.  
Alexiou, M. 2002. *Ο τελετουργικός θρόνος στην ελληνική παράδοση*, Αθήνα.

\* The Bibliography of Part A is quoted at the end of each chapter.

- Amandry, P. 1940/1941. Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1940 et 1941, *BCH* 64/65, 231-253.
- Amiran, R. 1969. *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land*, Jerusalem.
- Amyx, D. A. 1988. *Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period*, vol. I, Berkeley.
- Andreadaki-Vlazaki, M. - A. Balaska (eds.) 2014. *The Greeks. Agamemnon to Alexander the Great*, Exhibition Catalogue, Athens.
- Andrae, B. (ed.) 1999. *Odysseus. Mythos und Erinnerung*, Exhibition Catalogue, Munich: Haus der Kunst, Mainz.
- Andrikou, E. - A. Goulaki-Voutira - Ch. Lanara - Z. Papadopoulou (eds.) 2004. *Gifts of the Muses, Echoes of Music and Dance from Ancient Greece*, Exhibition Catalogue, Megaron, The Athens Concert Hall, Athens.
- Ανδρόνικος, Μ. 1953/1954. Περί της στήλης του «οπλιτοδρόμου», *ΑΕ* II, 317-326.
- Antikythera Mechanism Research Project 2012. Antikythera Mechanism Research Project, Functions and models of the Antikythera Mechanism, recent research, in Kaltsas - Vlachogianni - Bouyia 2012, 256-272.
- Arias, P. E. - M. Hirmer 1960. *A History of Greek Vase Painting*, London.
- Aruz, J. - K. Benzel - J. M. Evans (eds.) 2008. *Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.*, Exhibition Catalogue, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York - New Haven.
- Aruz, J. - S. B. Graff - Y. Rakic (eds.) 2014. *Assyria to Iberia, at the Dawn of the Classical Age*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York - New Haven - London.
- Ashton, S.-A. 2001. *Ptolemaic Royal Sculpture from Egypt. The Interaction between Greek and Egyptian Traditions*, BAR I.S. 923, Oxford.
- The Athenian Agora XXVIII*. A. L. Boegehold et al. 1995. *The Athenian Agora XXVIII. The Lawcourts at Athens: Sites, Buildings, Equipment, Procedure, and Testimonia*, Princeton - New Jersey.
- Athusaki, K. 1970. Drei weissgrundige Lekythen, *AM* 85, 45-53.
- Atkinson, T. D. - R. C. Bosanquet - C. C. Edgar - A. J. Evans - D. G. Hogarth - D. Mackenzie - C. Smith - F. B. Welch 1904. *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos*, The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies: Supplementary Paper No. 4, London.
- Avronidaki, C. 2008. Boeotian Red-Figure Imagery on Two New Vases by the Painter of the Dancing Pan, *AntK* 51, 8-22.
- Badisches Landesmuseum* 2011. *Kykladen - Lebenswelten einer frühgriechischen Kultur*, Karlsruhe.
- Baitinger, H. 2001. Die Angriffswaffen aus Olympia, *OF* XXIX.
- Bajnóczi, B. - G. Schöll-Barna - N. Kalicz - Z. Siklósi - G. H. Hourmouziadis - F. Ifantidis - E. Kyparissi-Apostolika - M. Pappa - R. Veropoulidou - C. Ziota 2013. Tracing the Source of Late Neolithic Spondylus Shell Ornaments by Stable Isotope Geochemistry and Cathodoluminescence Microscopy, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 40, 874-882.
- Βαλαβάνης, Π. 1991. *Παναθηναϊκοί αμφορείς από την Ερέτρια*, Αθήνα.
- Βαλαμώτη, Σ. Μ. 2009. *Η αρχαιοβοτανική έρευνα της διατροφής στην προϊστορική Ελλάδα*, Θεσσαλονίκη.
- Barber, R. 1987. *The Cyclades in the Bronze Age*, London.
- Basch, L. 1987. *Le musée imaginaire de la marine antique*, Athens.
- Βασιλικού, Ντ. 1995. *Ο Μυκηναϊκός κόσμος*, Αθήνα.
- Βασιλικού, Ντ. 1997. *Μυκηναϊκά σφραγιστικά δαχτυλίδια*, Αθήνα.
- Beazley, J. D. 1931. *Der Pan-Maler*, Berlin.
- Beazley, J. D. 1938. *Attic White Lekythoi*, London.
- Beazley, J. D. 1974. *The Pan Painter: Revised 1944 and 1947*, Mainz.
- Beck, H. - P. C. Bol - M. Bückling (eds.) 1990. *Polyklet. Der Bildhauer der griechischen Klassik*, Exhibition Catalogue, Frankfurt, Liebieghaus Museum alter Plastik, Mainz.
- Beck, H. - P. C. Bol - M. Bückling (eds.) 2005. *Ägypten, Griechenland, Rom: Abwehr und Berührung*, Exhibition Catalogue, Städtischen Kunstinstitut Frankfurt, Tübingen.
- Bellia, A. 2012. *Strumenti musicali e oggetti sonori nell'Italia meridionale e in Sicilia (VI-III sec. a.C.)*, Lucca.
- Bendall, L. M. 2007. *Economics of Religion in the Mycenaean World: Resources Dedicated to Religion in the Mycenaean Palace Economy*, Monograph no. 67, Oxford.
- Bennett, J. 2011. The Geography of the Mycenaean Kingdoms, in Y. Duhoux - A. Morpurgo Davies (eds.), *A Companion to Linear B: Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World*, vol. 2, Bibliothèque des Cahiers de l'Institut de Linguistique de Louvain 127, Leuven, 137-168.
- Bennett, E. L. Jr. - J.-P. Olivier 1973. *The Pylos Tablets Transcribed. Part 1: Texts and Notes*, Incunabula Graeca 51, Roma.
- Bentz, M. 1998. *Panathenäische Preisamphoren. Eine Athenische Vasengattung und ihre Funktion vom 6.-4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, *AntK* 18, Basel.
- Benzi, M. 1975. *Ceramica micenea in Attica*, Milano.
- Bérend, D. 1989. Histoire de poulpes, in G. le Rider - G. K. Jenkins - N. M. Waggoner - U. Westermark (eds.), *Kraay-Mørkholm Essays. Numismatic Studies in Memory of C. M. Kraay and O. Mørkholm*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 33-39.
- Bernoulli, J. 1901. *Griechische Ikonographie*, II, München.
- Βερσάκης, Φ. 1916. Το ιερόν του Κορύνθου Απόλλωνος, *ΑΔ* 2, 65-118.
- Βιβλιοδέτης, Ε. 1992-1998. Επεπίγραφο όστρακο από την πλατεία Μητροπόλεως, *Ήρος* 10-12, 127-131.
- Βιβλιοδέτης, Ε. 2007. *Ο δήμος του Μυρρινούντος. Η οργάνωση και η ιστορία του*, Αθήνα.
- Βιβλιοδέτης, Ε. - Χ. Αβρονιδάκη 2013. *Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο. Τα πήλινα ειδώλια*, Αθήνα.
- Bieber, M. 1939. *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, Princeton - New Jersey.
- Bieber, M. 1961. *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, second edition, Princeton - New Jersey.
- Bielefeld, E. 1952. *Zur griechischen Vasenmalerei des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts vor Christus*, Halle.
- Biesantz, H. 1965. *Die Thessalischen Grabreliefs*, Mainz.
- Bizaki, V. 2014. Marble Theatre Masks from Attica, in L. M. Calio - E. Lippolis - V. Parisi (eds.), *Gli Ateniesi e il loro modello di città. Seminari di Storia e Archeologia Greca*, Roma, Thiasos Monografie 5, Roma, 263-274.
- Blamire, A. 2001. Athenian Finance, 454-404 B.C., *Hesperia* 70, 114-115.
- Βλαχογιάννη, Ε. 2006-2008. Το αγαλμάτιο Σκύλλας 3913 του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου: εικονογραφικές παρατηρήσεις, *Το Μουσείον* 6, 15-28.
- Blegen, C. 1934. Inscriptions on Geometric Pottery from Hymettos, *AJA* 38, 10-28.
- Blegen, C. 1937. *Prosymna: The Helladic Settlement Preceding the Argive Heraeum*, Cambridge.
- Blegen, C. W. 1939. Prosymna: Remains of Post-Mycenaean Date, *AJA* 43, 410-444.
- Blegen, C. W. 1962. Early Greek Portraits, *AJA* 66, 245-247.
- Blinkenberg, Ch. 1931. *Lindos, Fouilles de l'Acropole 1902-1914. I. Les petits objets*, Berlin.
- Blok, J. 2014. The Priestess of Athena Nike: A New Reading of IG13 35 and 36, *Kernos* 27, 99-126.
- Blümel, C. 1927. *Griechische Bildhauerarbeit*, *Jdl* Erg. 11, Berlin.
- Blümel, C. 1940. *Griechische Bildhauer an der Arbeit*, Berlin.
- Boardman, J. 1957. Early Euboean Pottery and History, *BSA* 52, 1-29.
- Boegehold, A. 1976. Ten Distinctive Ballots: The Law Court in Zea, *CalifStClAnt* 9, 7-20.
- Boehringer, R. 1935. *Platon. Bildnisse und Nachweise*, Breslau.
- Boffa, G. 2011. L'astuzia del polpo. Simbologia monetale e identità in Eretria arcaica, *PP* 66, 401-430.
- Böhlaus, J. 1887. Frühattische Vasen, *Jdl* 2, 33-66.
- Βοκοτοπούλου, Ι. 1980. Πίλος Λακωνικός, *Στήλη. Τόμος εις μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος*, Αθήνα, 236-241.

- Βοκοποπούλου, Ι. 1997. *Ελληνική Τέχνη. Αργυρά και χάλκινα έργα τέχνης στην αρχαιότητα*, Αθήνα.
- Bol, P. C. 1972. *Die Skulpturen des Schiffsfundes von Antikythera*, Berlin.
- Bol, P. C. (ed.) 2004. *Die Geschichte der antiken Bildhauerkunst II. Klassische Plastik*, Mainz.
- Bol, P. C. 2004. Die hohe Klassik: Die großen Meister, in Bol 2004, 123-143.
- Bol, P. C. (ed.) 2007. *Die Geschichte der antiken Bildhauerkunst III. Hellenistische Plastik*, Mainz.
- Borda, M. 1972. *Arte Dedalica*, Roma.
- Bosnanquet, R. C. 1899. Some Early Funerary Lekythoi, *JHS* 19, 169-184.
- Bottini, A. et al. 1988. *Antike Helme: Sammlung Lipperheide und andere Bestände des Antikensmuseums Berlin*, Mainz.
- Βουτυράς, Ε. 1991/1992. Παίδων χορός, *Εγνατία* 3, 29-55.
- Bradeen, D. W. - M. F. McGregor 1974. *Φόρος, Tribute to B. D. Meritt*, Locust Valley.
- Braun, K. 1966. *Untersuchungen zur Stilgeschichte bärtiger Köpfe auf attischen Grabreliefs und Folgerungen für einige Bildnis-köpfe*, München.
- Breder, J. 2013. Zur Architektur attischer Grabbezirke klassischer Zeit, in K. Sporn (ed.), *Griechische Grabbezirke klassischer Zeit. Normen und Regionalismen. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums am Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Abteilung Athen*, Athenia 6, München, 29-44.
- Brinkmann, V. 2003. Kleine Helden und Götter. Farbige Modelle von den Giebeln des Aphaia-Tempels, in V. Brinkmann - R. Wünsche (eds.), *Bunte Götter. Die Polychromie antiker Skulpturen*, Exhibition Catalogue, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptotek, München.
- Broodbank, C. 2000. *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades*, Cambridge.
- Brückner, A. 1915a. Maske aus dem Kerameikos, in M. Bieber - A. Brückner (eds.), *SKENIKA*, Fünfundsiebzigstes Programm zum Winkelmannsfeste der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin, Berlin, 32-36.
- Brückner, A. 1915b. Mitteilungen aus dem Kerameikos. Einleitung und I. Ostraka, *AM* 40, 1-26.
- Brückner, A. 1926. Mitteilungen aus dem Kerameikos II, *AM* 51, 128-141.
- Brückner, A. - E. Pernice 1893. Ein Attischer Friedhof, *AM* 18, 6-191.
- Brun, P. 1983. *Eisphora, Syntaxis, Stratiotika: Recherches sur les finances militaires d'Athènes au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.*, Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, 284, Paris.
- Bouyia, Π. 2012. The Ship, the Era, in Kaltsas - Vlachogianni - Bouyia 2012, 36-39, 273-292.
- Buitron-Oliver D. 1995. *Douris, A Master-Painter of Athenian Red-Figure Vases*, Mainz.
- Bundgaard, J. 1974. Le sujet de IG I<sup>2</sup> 24, *Mélanges helléniques offerts à G. Daux*, Paris, 43-49.
- Burkert, W. 1993. *Αρχαία ελληνική θρησκεία. Αρχαϊκή και κλασική εποχή* (μτφρ. Ν. Π. Μπεζαντάκος - Α. Αβαγιανού), Αθήνα.
- Burn, A. R. 1984. *Persia and the Greeks. The Defence of the West, c. 546-478 B.C.*, London.
- Burn, L. 1987. *The Meidias Painter*, Oxford Monographs of Classical Archaeology, Oxford.
- Burn, L. - R. F. Higgins 2001. *Catalogue of Greek Terracottas in the British Museum*, London.
- Γεροντάκου, Ε. 2010. Ο ψαράς και η ψαριά του στο προϊστορικό Αιγαίο, *Τετράδια Εργασίας* 33, ΙΝΕ/ΕΙΕ, 11-27.
- Γιαλούρης, Ν. 1967. Τα ακρωτήρια του ναού της Αρτέμιδος, *ΑΔ* 22, Μελέται, 25-37.
- Calandra, E. - B. Adembri (eds.) 2014. *Adriano e la Grecia. Villa Adriana tra classicità ed ellenismo: studi e ricerche*, Exhibition Catalogue, Tivoli, Villa Adriana, Antiquarium del Canopo, Roma.
- Carapanos, C. 1878. *Dodone et ses ruines*, Paris.
- Carpenter, T. H. 1997. *Dionysian Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens*, Oxford.
- Carter, J. B. 1984. *Greek Ivory Carving in the Orientalizing and Archaic Periods*, Ann Arbor.
- Caskey, J. L. 1964. Excavations in Keos, 1963, *Hesperia* 33, 314-355.
- Caubet, A. 2009. Ivory, Shell and Bone, in J. Aruz - K. Benzel - J. M. Evans (eds.), *Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.*, Exhibition Catalogue, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York - New Haven, 406-418.
- Charalambidou, X. 2011. Developments in Euboea and Oropos at the End of the "Dark Ages" (ca. 700 to the Mid-Seventh Century BC), in A. Mazarakis-Ainian (ed.), *The "Dark Ages" Revisited. Acts of an International Symposium in Memory of William D. E. Coulson, University of Thessaly, Volos, 14-17 June 2007*, Volos, 831-855.
- Chatzidimitriou, A. 2010. Transport of Goods in the Mediterranean from the Geometric to the Classical Period. Images and Meanings, *Bolletino di Archeologia Online* 2010, Vol. Speciale, Roma, 1-20, [www.archeologia.beniculturali.it/pages/pubblicazioni.html](http://www.archeologia.beniculturali.it/pages/pubblicazioni.html).
- Chidiroglou, M., forthcoming. A Contribution to the Study of the Coroplastic Workshops of Euboea, Greece, *International Conference on Terracotta Figurines in the Greek and Roman Eastern Mediterranean. Production, Diffusion, Iconography and Function*, Izmir, Turkey, 1-6 June 2007.
- Christakis, K. 2005. *Cretan Bronze Age Pithoi. Traditions and Trends in the Production and Consumption of Storage Containers in Bronze Age Crete*, INSTAP Prehistory Monographs 18, Philadelphia.
- Claire, J. (ed.) 2005. *Melancholie. Genie und Wahnsinn in der Kunst*, Berlin.
- Clairmont, C. W. 1970. *Gravestones and Epigramm*, Mainz on Rhine.
- Clairmont, C. 1993. *Classical Attic Tombstones*, Kilchberg.
- Cline, E. H. 1994. *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea. International Trade and the Late Bronze Age Aegean*, BAR I.S. 591, Oxford.
- Coldstream, J. N. 1968. *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London.
- Coldstream, J. N. 2008. *Greek Geometric Pottery: A Survey of Ten Local Styles and Their Chronology*, Liverpool.
- Collignon, M. 1911. *Les statues funéraires dans l'art grec*, Paris.
- Collignon, M. - L. Couve 1902. *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes*, Paris.
- Connelly, J. B. 2007. *Portrait of a Priestess: Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece*, Princeton.
- Conze, A. 1893-1922. *Die attischen Grabreliefs I-IV*, Berlin.
- Cook, J. M. 1934-1935. Protoattic Pottery, *BSA* 35, 165-219.
- Cook, R. M. 1960. *Greek Painted Pottery*, London.
- Corinth XVIII.iv. G. S. Merker, *Corinth XVIII.iv. The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, Terracotta Figurines of the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Princeton - New Jersey 2000.
- Couilloud, M.-T. 1974. *Les monuments funéraires de Rhénée*, EAD 30, Paris.
- Couve, L. 1897. *Αμφορείς ρυθμού Πρωτοαττικού*, *AE*, 67-86.
- Couve, L. 1898. *Notes céramographiques*, *BCH* 22, 273-302.
- Crouwel, J. H. 1992. *Chariots and Other Wheeled Vehicles in Iron Age Greece*, Allard Pierson Series, vol. 9.
- Danguillier, C. 2001. *Typologische Untersuchungen zur Dichter- und Denkerikonographie in römischen Darstellungen von der mittleren Kaiserzeit bis in die Spätantike*, BAR I.S. 977, Oxford.
- Daumas, M. 2003. Το Ιερό των Καβίρων, in S. Athanasopoulou - Y. Tzedakis (eds.) 2003. *The Bull in the Mediterranean World. Myths and Cults*, Exhibition Catalogue, Athens.

- Daux, G. 1958. Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1957, *BCH* 82, 644-830.
- Daux, G. 1972. Stèles funéraires et épigrammes, *BCH* 96, 503-566.
- Davies, J. K. 1971. *Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 B.C.*, Oxford.
- Davis, E. N. 1977. *The Vapheio Cups and Aegean Gold and Silver Ware*, New York - London.
- Dawkins, R. M. 1929. *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. Excavated and Described by Members of the British School at Athens, 1906-1910*, *JHS* Suppl. 5, London.
- Delivorrias, A. 1974. *Attische Giebelskulpturen und Akrotäre des 5. Jh.* (Tübinger Studie zur Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte, 1).
- Delivorrias, A. 1987. *Greece and the Sea*, Exhibition Catalogue, Amsterdam, De Nieuwe Kerk, Athens.
- de Ridder, A. 1894. *Catalogue des bronzes de la Société Archéologique d'Athènes*, Paris.
- de Ridder, A. 1896. *Catalogue des bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes*, *BÉFAR* 74, Paris.
- Despinis, G. I. 2009. Der Torso Athener Nationalmuseum Inv. 3045. Fragment einer Giebelkomposition mit Athenageburt?, *AA*, 1-10.
- Δεσπίνης, Γ. 2010. Μεγαρικά, Μέγαρο.
- Δεσπίνης, Γ. - Ν. Καλτσάς (eds.) 2014. *Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο. Κατάλογος Γλυπτών Ι.Ι. Γλυπτά των αρχαϊκών χρόνων από τον 7ο αιώνα έως το 480 π.Χ.*, Αθήνα.
- Deyle, W. 1969. Meisterfragen der archaischen Plastik Attikas, *AM* 84, 1-64.
- Δημακοπούλου, Α. (ed.) 1988. *Ο Μυκηναϊκός Κόσμος Πέντε αιώνες πρώιμου ελληνικού πολιτισμού 1600-110 π.Χ.*, Αθήνα.
- Δημακοπούλου, Α. 1990. *Τροία, Μυκήνες, Τίρυνς, Ορχομενός. Εκατό χρόνια από το θάνατο του Ερρίκου Σλήμαν*, Αθήνα.
- Δημακοπούλου, Κ. (ed.) 1998. *Κοσμήματα της Ελληνικής Προϊστορίας. Ο Νεολιθικός Θησαυρός*, Αθήνα.
- Dickins, G. 1906-1907. Damophon of Messene, II, *BSA* 13, 357-384.
- Diepolder, H. 1931. *Die attischen Grabreliefs des 5. und 4. Jh. v. Chr.*, Berlin.
- Dierichs, A. 2008. *Erotik in der Kunst Griechenlands*, Mainz.
- Dillon, M. 2002. *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, London - New York.
- Dinsmoor, W. B. 1923. The Inscriptions of Athena Nike, *AJA* 27, 318-321.
- Δοξιάδη, Ε. 1995. *Τα Πορτρέτα του Φαγιούμι*, Αθήνα.
- Doumas, C. 1983. *Thera. Pompeii of the Ancient Aegean, Excavations at Akrotiri 1967-79*, London.
- Doumas, C. 1993. *The Wall Paintings of Thera*, Athens.
- Dow, S. 1962. The Purported Decree of the Themistokles: Stele and Inscription, *AJA* 66, 353-368.
- Drandaki, A. - D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi - A. Tourta (eds.) 2013. *Heaven & Earth. Art of Byzantium from Greek Collections*, Exhibition Catalogue, Washington: National Gallery of Art, Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, Athens.
- Dugas, Ch. 1946. Lécythe aryballisque athénien, *BCH* 70, 172-178.
- Duhoux, Y. 2008. Mycenaean Anthology, in Y. Duhoux - A. Morpurgo Davies (eds.) 2008. *A Companion to Linear B: Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World*, vol. 1 (Bibliothèque des Cahiers de l'Institut de Linguistique de Louvain 120), Leuven.
- Edmunds, L. 2016. *Stealing Helen. The Myth of the Abducted Wife in Comparative Perspective*, Princeton - New Jersey.
- Engelmann, R. 1907. Noch einmal die Vase Vagnonville, *ÖJh* 10, 117-126.
- Eretria IX. K. Gex, Eretria. *Ausgrabungen und Forschungen IX. Rotfigurige und weissgrundige Keramik*, Lausanne 1993.
- Ζαφειρόπουλος, Ν. 1986. Αρχαϊκές κόρες της Πάρου, in N. Kyrielleis (ed.), *Archaische und Klassische Plastik. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums vom 22.-25. April 1985 in Athen*, I, 93-106.
- Zapheiroupolou, M. 2012. Old and New Fragments of the Antikythera Mechanism and Inscriptions, in Kaltsas - Vlachogianni - Bouyia 2012, 241-248.
- Ζερβουδάκη, Η. 2001. Μαρμάρινοι κόχλοι, *Το Μουσείον* 2, 11-26.
- Ζερβουδάκη, Η. 2003. Ο δέσμιος Έρωσ, Μικρή συμβολή σε ένα ελληνιστικό θέμα, in Δ. Δαμάσκος (ed.), *Επιτύμβιον Gerhard Neumann, Μουσείο Μπενάκη, Παράρτημα 2*, Αθήνα, 197-211.
- Ζουμπάκη, Σ. 1987. Θεατρικά προσωπεία του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου, *ΑΔ* 42, Μελέτες, 35-66.
- Fabricius, E. 1885. Alterthümer auf Kreta, *AMX*, 59-72.
- Fairbanks, A. 1914. *Athenian White Lekythoi*, Humanistic Series VI, London.
- Fittschen, K. 1969. *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagen Darstellungen bei den Griechen*, Berlin.
- Fittschen, K. 1991. Zur Rekonstruktion griechischer Dichterstatuen I. Teil: Die Statue des Menander, *AM* 106, 243-279.
- Floren, J. 1987. *Die griechische Plastik*, I, München.
- Forsdyke, S. 2005. *Exile, Ostracism, and Democracy: The Politics of Expulsion in Ancient Greece*, Princeton - Oxford.
- Fraser, P. M. - E. Matthews 1987. *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. I. The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica*, Oxford.
- French, E. 1971. The Development of Mycenaean Terracotta Figurines, *BSA* 66, 101-187.
- Fuchs, W. 2008. *Das Reiterrelief Albani, Thetis* 15.
- Furtwängler, A. 1906. *Aegina. Das Heiligtum der Aphaia*, München.
- Gagarin, M. 1986. *Early Greek Law*, Berkeley - Los Angeles.
- Gagarin, M. 2008. *Writing Greek Law*, Cambridge.
- Gallet de Santerre, H. 1951. Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1950, 1ère partie, Tableau d'ensemble de l'activité archéologique en Grèce, *BCH* 75, 101-129.
- Garezou et al. 2014. Garezou, M.-X. - M. Lagogianni-Georgakarakos - S. Makkas - S. Petrounakos (eds.), *Nautilus: Navigating Greece*, Exhibition Catalogue, Athens.
- Gauss, W. 2000. Neue Forschungen zur prähistorischen Akropolis von Athen, in F. Blakomer (ed.), *Akten der Tagung Österreichische Forschungen zur Ägäischen Bronzezeit 1998*, Wiener Forschungen zur Archäologie 3, Wien.
- Geominy, W. 2004. Die Zeit von 390 bis 360 v. Chr., in *Bol* 2004, 259-302.
- Ghisellini, E. 1999. *Atene e la corte tolemaica. L'ara con Dodekateion nel museo greco-romano di Alessandria*, Roma.
- Gill, D. 2001. The Decision to Build the Temple of Athena Nike, *Historia* 50, 257-278.
- Goette, H. R. 2009. Images in the Athenian "Demotion Sema", in O. Palagia (ed.), *Art in Athens during the Peloponnesian War*, Cambridge, 188-206.
- Gomme, A. W. - K. Andrewes - K. J. Dover 1970. *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, vol. IV, Oxford.
- Graef, B. - E. Langlotz 1933. *Die Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* II, III, Berlin.
- Greifenhagen, A. 1957. *Griechische Eroten*, Berlin.
- Grundmann, K. 1953. Figurliche Darstellungen in der neolithischen Keramik Nord und Mittelgriechenlands, *Jdl* 68, 1-37.
- Guggisberg, M. A. 1996. *Frühgriechische Tierkeramik: Zur Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Tiergefäße und der hohlen Tierfiguren in der späten Bronze- und frühen Eisenzeit*, Mainz.
- Gulaki, A. 1981. *Klassische und klassizistische Nikedarstellungen: Untersuchungen zur Typologie und zum Bedeutungswandel*, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, Bonn.
- Hammond, N. G. L. 1982. The Narrative of Herodotus VII and the Decree of Themistocles at Troezen, *JHS* 102, 75-93.

- Hampe, R. 1936. *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder in Bötien*, Athen.
- Haskell, H. W. et al. 2011. *Transport Stirrup Jars of the Bronze Age Aegean and East Mediterranean*, Prehistory Monographs 33, Philadelphia.
- Haspels, C. 1936. *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi*, Paris.
- Hatzivassiliou, E. 2010. *Athenian Black Figure Iconography between 510 and 475 B.C.*, Rahden.
- Hawhee, D. 2004. *Bodily Arts. Rhetoric and Athletics in Ancient Greece*, Austin, University of Texas Press.
- Heilmeyer, W.-D. 1969. Gießereibetriebe in Olympia, *Jdl* 84, 1-28.
- Heilmeyer, W.-D. 1979. *Frühe Olympische Bronzefiguren. Die Tiervotive*, OF XII.
- Heilmeyer, W.-D. 1988. *Antikemuseum Berlin. Die ausgestellten Werke*, Berlin.
- Heilmeyer, W.-D. - N. Kaltsas - H.-J. Gehrke - G. E. Hatzis - S. Bocher 2012. *Mythos Olympia - Kult und Spiele, Martin-Gropius-Bau*, München.
- Hekler, H. 1934. Sitzung am 9. Januar 1934, *AA*, 260.
- Helck, W. 1971. *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Wiesbaden.
- Herrmann, H.-V. 1979. *Die Kessel der Orientalisierenden Zeit*, OF XI.
- Hignett, C. 1963. *Xerxes' Invasion of Greece*, Oxford.
- Hiller, S. 2011. Mycenaean Religion and Cult, in Y. Duhoux - A. Morpurgo Davies (eds.), *A Companion to Linear B: Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World*, vol. 2, Bibliothèque des Cahiers de l'Institut de Linguistique de Louvain 127, Louvain-la-Neuve.
- Hiller von Gaertringen, F. 1919. *Voreuklidische Steine, Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.
- Himmelmann, N. 1990. Ideale Nacktheit in der griechischen Kunst, *Jdl* Ergh. 26.
- Himmelmann, N. 1999. *Attische Grabreliefs*, Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vorträge GG 357.
- Himmelmann, N. 2000. Quotations of Images of Gods and Heroes on Attic Grave Reliefs of the Late Classical Period, in G. R. Tsetskhladze - A. J. N. W. Prag - A. M. Snodgrass (eds.), *PERIPLUS. Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology Presented to Sir John Boardman*, London, 136-144.
- Himmelmann-Wildschütz, N. 1956. *Studien zum Illisos-Relief*, München.
- Ηλιόπουλος, Θ. 2012. Μια εικονογραφική παρατήρηση επί της YE IIIΓ «τραπής Σήλης» των Μυκηνών, in Π. Αδάμ-Βελένη - Κ. Τζαναβάρη (eds.), *Διμήθεσσα. Τιμητικός Τόμος για την Κατερίνα Ρωμοπούλου*, Θεσσαλονίκη, 35-45.
- Hoff, von den R., 1994. *Philosophenporträts des Früh- und Hochhellenismus*, München.
- Hofstetter, E. 1990. *Sirenen im archaischen und klassischen Griechenland*, Würzburg.
- Holtzmann, B. 2003. *L'Acropole d'Athènes. Monuments, cultes et histoire du sanctuaire d'Athéna Polias*, Paris.
- Hood, S. 1978. *The Arts in Prehistoric Greece*, Harmondsworth.
- Houser, C. - D. Finn 1983. *Greek Monumental Sculpture*, London.
- Hübinger, U. 1992. On Pan's Iconography and the Cult in the Sanctuary of Pan on the Slopes of Mount Lykaion, in R. Hägg (ed.), *The Iconography of Greek Cult in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, KERNOS, Supplement 1, 189-212.
- Humphreys, S. C. 1980. Family Tombs and Tomb Cult in Ancient Athens: Tradition or Traditionalism?, *JHS* 100, 96-126.
- Hurwit, J. M. 2007. The Problem with Dexileos: Heroic and Other Nudities in Greek Art, *AJA* 111, 35-60.
- Θεοφανειδης, Β. Δ. 1927-1928. Νέα Προσκτήματα του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου, *ΑΔ*, 11, Παράρτημα, 1-13.
- Θεοφανειδης, Β. Δ. 1939-1941. Νέα Προσκτήματα Εθν. Αρχ. Μουσείου κατά τα έτη 1930, 1931, 1932, *ΑΕ* Παράρτημα - Αρχαιολογικά Χρονικά, 1-23.
- Ιακωβίδης, Σ. Ε. 1969-1970. *Περατή. Το Νεκροταφείον*, vols. Α-Γ, Αθήνα.
- Immerwahr, S. A. 1990. *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age*, London.
- Immerwahr, S. A. 1990. Swallows and Dolphins at Akrotiri: Some Thoughts on the Relationship of Vase Painting to the Wall Paintings, in D. A. Hardy - C. G. Doumas - J. A. Sakellarakis - P. M. Warren (eds.), *Thera and the Aegean World*, III, *Proceedings of the Third International Congress, Santorini, 3-9 September 1989*, London, 237-245.
- Jackson, M. M. 2006. *Hellenistic Gold Eros Jewellery. Technique, Style and Chronology*, BAR I.S. 1510, Oxford.
- Jameson, M. H. 1960. A Decree of Themistokles from Troizen, *Hesperia* 29, 198-223.
- Jameson, M. H. 1962. Revised Text of the Decree of Themistokles from Troizen, *Hesperia* 31, 310-315.
- Jeffery, L. H. 1963. *The Local Scripts of the Archaic Greece*, Oxford.
- Jenkins, R. J. H. 1932/1933. Laconian Terracottas of the Daedalic Style, *BSA* XXXIII, 66-79.
- Johansson, M. 2001. Inscription from Troizen: A Decree of Themistocles?, *ZPE* 137, 69-92.
- Καβαβιδίας, Π. 1888. Ανασκαφαί εν τη Ακροπόλει, *Δελτίον Αρχαιολογικόν*, 2, 54-55.
- Καβαβιδίας, Π. 1897. Περί του Ναού της Απτέρου Νίκης κατ' επιγραφήν εκ της Ακροπόλεως, *ΑΕ*, 174-194.
- Kaempf-Dimitriadou, S. 1986. Ein attisches Staatsgrabmal des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., *AntK* 29, 23-36.
- Καθάρου, Κ. 2002. *Το εργαστήριο του Ζωγράφου του Μελεάγρου και η εποχή του*, Θεσσαλονίκη.
- Kakavas, G. (ed.) 2013. *Leaving a Mark on History. Treasures from Greek Museum*, Exhibition Catalogue, Athens.
- Κακαβογιάννης, Ε. Χ. 2007. Αναμνήσεις από τη Φρασίκλεια, in Π. Βαλαβάνης (ed.), *Μεγάλες στιγμές της ελληνικής αρχαιολογίας*, Αθήνα, 332-337.
- Καλλιγιάς, Π. 1980. Το ιερό του Απόλλωνα Υπερτελεάτα στη Λακωνία, *Λακωνικά Σπουδαία* V, 10-30.
- Kallipolitis-Feytmans, D. 1963. Tombes de Callithéa en Attique, *BCH* 87, 404-430.
- Kalogeropoulos, K. 1998. *Die frühmykenischen Grabfunde von Analipsis (südöstliches Arkadien)*, Athen.
- Καλτσάς, Ν. 2001. *Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, Τα Γλυπτά*, Αθήνα.
- Καλτσάς, Ν. 2002. *Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, Τα Γλυπτά*, 2nd edition, Αθήνα.
- Kaltsas, N. 2002. Die Kore und der Kouros aus Myrrhinous, *AntPl* 28, 7-38.
- Καλτσάς, Ν. (ed.) 2004. *Αγών*, Exhibition Catalogue, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, 15 Ιουλίου-31 Οκτωβρίου 2004, Αθήνα.
- Καλτσάς, Ν. (ed.) 2006. *Αθήνα - Σπάρτη*, Exhibition Catalogue, Θυγατρικό Κοινωνοφελές Ίδρυμα Αλ. Ωνάσης, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, 6 Δεκεμβρίου 2006-12 Μαΐου 2007, Αθήνα.
- Kaltsas, N. (ed.) 2006. *Athens-Sparta*, New York.
- Καλτσάς, Ν. 2007. *Το Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο*, Αθήνα.
- Καλτσάς, Ν. 2008. *Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο*, Αθήνα.
- Kaltsas, N. (ed.) 2008. *Agon. The Spirit of Competition in Ancient Greece*, Exhibition Catalogue, Athens.
- Καλτσάς, Ν. 2009. Κεφαλή Ομήρου στο Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, in Στ. Δρούγου - Δ. Ευγενίδου (eds.), *Κεράμια Φιλίας. Τιμητικός Τόμος για τον Ι. Τουράτσογλου*, vol. Β, Αθήνα, 349-357.
- Καλτσάς, Ν. - Γ. Δεσπίνης (eds.) 2007. *Πραξιτέλης*, Exhibition Catalogue, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, Αθήνα.
- Καλτσάς, Ν. - S. Fachard - A. Ψάλτη - Μ. Γιαννοπούλου (eds.) 2010. *Ερέτρια. Ματιές σε μια αρχαία πόλη*, Exhibition Catalogue, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, 27 Απριλίου-24 Αυγούστου 2010, Αθήνα.

- Kaltsas, N. - A. Pasquier (eds.) 1989. *Eros Grec. Amour des Dieux et des Hommes*, Exhibition Catalogue, Paris - Athènes.
- Kaltsas, N. - A. Shapiro (eds.) 2008. *Worshipping Women, Ritual and Reality in Classical Athens*, Exhibition Catalogue, Athens - New York.
- Kaltsas, N. - E. Vlachogianni - P. Bouyia (eds.) 2012. *The Antikythera Shipwreck, the Ship, the Treasures, the Mechanism*, Exhibition Catalogue, National Archaeological Museum, Athens.
- Καραγιώργης, Β. 2003. *Αρχαία Κυπριακή Τέχνη στο Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Αθηνών*, Αθήνα.
- Karakasi, K. 2001. *Archaische Koren*, München.
- Karanastassis, P. 1986. Untersuchungen zur kaiserzeitlichen Plastik in Griechenland I. Kopien, Varianten und Umbildungen nach Aphrodite-Typen des 5. Jhs. v. Chr., *AM* 101, 207-291.
- Karanastassis, P. 1987. Untersuchungen zur Kaiserzeitlichen Plastik in Griechenland II: Kopien, Varianten und Umbildungen nach Athena-Typen des 5. Jhs. v. Chr., *AM* 102, 323-428.
- Kardara, C. P. 1960. Four White Lekythoi in the National Museum of Athens, *BSA* 55, 149-158.
- Karo, G. 1930-33. *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai*, München.
- Karo, G. 1931. Archäologische Funde vom Sommer 1930 bis Juni 1931. Griechenland und Dodekanes, *AA*, 211-308.
- Καρούζος, Χ. Ι. 1961. *Αριστόδοκος. Από την ιστορία της αττικής πλαστικής των υστεροαρχαϊκών χρόνων και του επιτυμβίου αγάλματος*, Αθήνα.
- Καρούζος, Χ. 1930-1931. Ο Ποσειδών του Αρτεμισίου, *ΑΔ* 13, 41-104, pls. 1-5.
- Καρούζου, Σ. 1967. *Εθνικόν Αρχαιολογικόν Μουσείον. Συλλογή Γλυπτών*, Αθήνα.
- Καρούζου, Κ. 1980. Τα ταξίδια μιας «Άρπυιας», *Σήλη. Τόμος εις μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος*, Αθήνα, 75-81.
- Καστριώτης, Π. 1924-1925. Νέα προσκτήματα Εθνικού Μουσείου από του 1923-1925, *ΑΔ* 9, Παράρτημα, 18-35.
- Kekulé, R. 1869. *Die antiken Bildwerke im Theseion zu Athen*, Leipzig.
- Kellogg, D. L. 2013. *Marathon Fighters and Men of Maple: Ancient Acharnai*, Oxford - New York.
- Kleiner, G. 1942. *Tanagrafiguren. Untersuchungen zur hellenistischen Kunst und Geschichte*, Berlin.
- Koehl, R. 2006. *Aegean Bronze Age Rhyta*, Philadelphia.
- Koehler, C. 1986. Handling of Greek Transport Amphoras, in J.-Y. Empereur - Y. Garlan, *Recherches sur les amphores grecques*, *BCH* Suppl. XIII, 49-67.
- Koerner, R. 1993. *Inscriptliche Gesetzestexte der frühen griechischen Polis*, Cologne - Weimar - Vienna.
- Kokkorou-Alewaras, G. 1975. *Archaische naxische Plastik*, München.
- Konstantinidi, E. 2001. *Jewellery Revealed in the Burial Contexts of the Greek Bronze Age*, Oxford.
- Kontorli-Papadopoulou, L. 1999. Fresco Fighting Scenes as Evidence for Warlike Activities in the LBA Aegean, in R. Laffineur (ed.), *POLEMOS. Le contexte guerrier en Égée à l'Âge du Bronze, Aegaeum* 19, Liège/Austin, 331-340.
- Körte, A. 1896. Attische Ψήφος, *AM*, 450-453.
- Kosmopoulou, A. 2002. *The Ikonography of Sculptured Statue Bases in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, Madison.
- Kossatz-Deissmann, A. 1978. *Dramen des Aischylos auf Westgriechischen Vasen*, Mainz.
- Κουγέας, Σ. 1936. *Ελληνικά* 9, Θεσσαλονίκη, 11-12, pls. 3-4.
- Koui, M. - P. Papandreopoulos - E. Andreopoulou-Mangou - L. Papazoglou-Manioudaki - A. Priftaj-Vevecka - F. Stamati 2006. Study of Bronze Age Copper-Based Swords of Type Naue II and Spearheads from Greece and Albania, *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 6, 49-59.
- Κουρίνου, Ε. 2007. Το ανάγλυφο αριθ. ευρ. 4471 του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου από τις Μυκήνες, *Πρακτικά του Ζ' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών*, vol. B, Αθήνα, 389-400.
- Κουρουγιώτης, Κ. 1910. Ανασκαφή Ερέτριας, *ΠΑΕ*, 267-269.
- Κουρουγιώτης, Κ. 1914. Πύλου Μεσσηνιακής Θολωτός Τάφος, *ΑΕ*, 107-109.
- Κουρουγιώτης, Κ. 1937. Ελευσινιακή Δαδουχία, *ΑΕ*, 223-253.
- Kreikenbom, D. 2004. Der Reiche Stil, in P. C. Bol (ed.) 2004, *Die Geschichte der antiken Bildhauerkunst. II Klassische Plastik*, Mainz am Rhein, 185-258.
- Krien-Kummrow, G. 1988. Eine Theatermaske aus dem Kerameikos, in J. H. Betts - J. T. Hooker - J. R. Green (eds.), *Studies in Honour of T. B. L. Webster*, ii, Bristol.
- Κριτσέλη-Προβίδη, Ι. 1982. *Οι τοιχογραφίες του Θρησκευτικού Κέντρου των Μυκηνών*, Αθήνα.
- Kroll, J. H. 1972. *Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates*, Massachusetts.
- Κρυστάλλη-Βότση, Π. 2014. *Τα χαλκά των Αμπελοκήπων*, Αθήνα.
- Krzyszowska, O. 2005. *Aegean Seals. An Introduction*, Institute of Classical Studies, Cornell, BICS Supplement 85, London.
- Kübler, K. 1950. *Altattische Malerei*, Tübingen.
- Kurtz, D. C. (ed.) 1989. *Greek Vases: Lectures by J. D. Beazley*, Oxford.
- Kurtz, D. C. - J. Boardman 1971. *Greek Burial Customs*, London.
- Kyrieleis, H. 1975. *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer*, Berlin.
- Λαγογιάννη-Γεωργακαράκου, Μ. 2011. Μικρά έργα χαλκοπλαστικής από το Ιδαίον Άντρον, *Πεπραγμένα Ι' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, vol. A5. *Ιστορικοί Χρόνοι*, Χανιά, 293-310.
- Lagogianni-Georgakarakos, M. - K. Bouraselis 2009. *Έδοξεν τη βουλή και τω δήμωι. Athenian Democracy, speaking through its inscriptions*, Athens.
- Landels, J. G. 1999. *Music in Ancient Greece and Rome*, London - New York.
- Lange, K. 1880. Die Varvakeion Athena, *AM* 5, 370ff.
- La Rocca, E. - C. Parisi Presicce (eds.) 2012. *L'età dell'equilibrio, 98-180 d.C.: Traiano, Adriano, Antonino Pio, Marco Aurelio*, Exhibition Catalogue, Musei Capitolini, Roma.
- La Rocca, E. - C. Parisi Presicce - A. Lo Monaco 2014. *Auguste, Exposition organisée par la Réunion des musées nationaux, Grand Palais et le Musée du Louvre, en collaboration avec l'Azienda Speciale Palaexpo-Scuderie del Quirinale et les Musei Capitolini, Rome-Paris*, Paris.
- Lattimore, S. 1976. *The Marine Thiasos in Greek Sculpture*, Los Angeles.
- Lattimore, St. 1987. Skopas and the Pothos, *AJA* 91, 411-420.
- Lazaridou, A. (ed.) 2011. *Transition to Christianity. Art of Late Antiquity, 3rd-7th Century AD*, Exhibition Catalogue, New York, Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, Athens.
- Lehmann, P. 1973. *Skopas on Samothrace*, Northampton.
- Λεμπέση, Α. 2002. *Το Ιερό του Ερμή και της Αφροδίτης στη Σύμη Βιάννου*, III. *Τα χάλκινα ανθρωπόμορφα ειδώλια*, Αθήνα.
- Λεμπιδάκη, Ε. 2013. Η λατρεία της Αθηνάς Νίκης στην Ακρόπολη των Αθηνών. Από την Αθηνά την Νίκη στη Νίκη Άπτερο, in Ε. Σιουμπάρα - Κ. Ψαρουδάκης (eds.), *Θεμέλιον. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Πέτρο Θέμελη*, Αθήνα, 367-393.
- Lygkopoulos, T. 1983. *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Plastik des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.*, Bonn.
- Maderna, C. 2004. Die letzten Jahrzehnte der spätclassischen Plastik, in P. C. Bol (ed.), *Die Geschichte der antiken Bildhauerkunst II. Klassische Plastik*, Mainz am Rhein, 303-382.
- Maderna-Lauter, C. 1990. Polyklet in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit, in Beck - Bol - Bückling 1990, 298-327.
- Magou, E. 2012. Archaeometric Research of the Antikythera Mechanism during the Century Following its Recovery, in kaltsas - Vlachogianni - Bouyia 2012, 232-240.
- Malagardis, N. 1999. Le peintre de Heidelberg et le milieu des novateurs du céramique d'Athènes au VIème siècle. A propos d'un vase trouvé à Sellada, in N. Σταμπολίδης (ed.), *Φως Κυκλαδικόν. Μνήμη Ν. Ζαφειρόπουλου*, Αθήνα, 202-219.

- Μανακίδου, Ε. 2005. Συγγενείς εξ αίματος και συγγενείς εξ αγχιστείας στις αττικές μελανόμορφες σκηνές πρόθεσης, *Αρχαιολογία* 13.1, 89-103.
- Mannack, Th. 2001. *The Later Mannerists in Athenian Vase-Painting*, Oxford.
- Μαντέλη, Κ. 1998. Ένα νεολιθικό λίθινο ειδώλιο από τη Θεσσαλία(ς), *ΠΕΡΙΑΠΤΟ* 1, Νοέμβριος, 10-13.
- Manteli, K. 2011. Spearhead with a Rat-Tailed Tang, in V. Şahoğlu (ed.), *Across: The Cyclades and Western Anatolia during the 3rd Millennium BC*, Ankara, 243, 360-361.
- Μάντης, Α. 1990. *Προβλήματα της εικονογραφίας των ιερειών και των ιερών στην αρχαία ελληνική τέχνη*, Αθήνα.
- Maran, J. 2006. Coming to Terms with the Past: Ideology and Power in Late Helladic IIIc, in S. Deger-Jalkotzy - I. S. Lemos (eds.), *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*, Edinburgh, 123-150.
- Marangou, L. I. 1969. *Lakonische Elfenbein- und Beinschnitzereien*, Tübingen.
- Marangou, L. 1971. Ptolemäische Fingerring aus Bein, *AM*, 163-172.
- Maravelia, A. A. 2002. Faience Objects of the Ancient Egyptian Collection at the National Archaeological Museum, *GöftMisz* 189, 61-80.
- Μαρθάρη, Μ. 2005. Σύρος, in Α. Γ. Βλαχόπουλος (ed.), *Αρχαιολογία. Νησιά του Αιγαίου*, Αθήνα, 226-229.
- Marinatos, S. 1999, I-III. *Excavations at Thera I-III (1967-1969 seasons)*, The Archaeological Society at Athens Library, no. 178, second edition, Athens.
- Marinatos, S. 1999, IV-V. *Excavations at Thera IV-V (1970-1971 seasons)*, The Archaeological Society at Athens Library, no. 179, second edition, Athens.
- Marinatos, S. 1999, VI-VII. *Excavations at Thera VI-VII (1972-1973 seasons)*, The Archaeological Society at Athens Library, no. 180, second edition, Athens.
- Mark, I. 1993. *The Sanctuary of Athena Nike in Athens: Architectural Stages and Chronology*, *Hesperia* Suppl. XXVI.
- Markoe, G. 1985. *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean*, *Classical Studies* 26, University of California.
- Marquardt, N. 1995. *Pan in der hellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Plastik*, Bonn.
- Μαστροκόστας, Ε. 1972. Η κόρη Φρασίκλεια Αριστίωνος του Παρίου και κούρος μαρμάρινος ανεκαλύφθησαν εν Μυρρινούντι, *AAA* 5, 298-324.
- Ματθαίου, Α. - Στ. Κουμανούδης 1986. *Αρχαίες Ελληνικές Επιγραφές*, Αθήνα.
- Matheson, S. B. 1995. *Polygnotos and Vase Painting in Classical Athens*, Madison.
- Mathiesen, T. J. 1999. *Apollo's Lyre: Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Lincoln - London.
- Mattingly, H. B. 1961. The Athenian Coinage Decree, *Historia* 10, 148-188.
- Mattingly, H. B. 1981. The Themistokles Decree from Troizen: Transmission and Status, in G. S. Shrimpton - D. J. McCargar (eds.), *Classical Contributions. Studies in honour of the M. F. McGregor*, New York, 79-86.
- Mattingly, H. 1982. The Athena Nike Temple Reconsidered, *AJA* 86, 381-385.
- Mattingly, H. 1987. The Athenian Coinage Decree and the Assertion of Empire, Coinage and Administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires, in I. Carradice (ed.), *The Ninth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, Oxford, 65-72.
- Mattingly, H. 1996. *The Athenian Empire Restored: Epigraphical and Historical Studies*, Ann Arbor.
- Meiggs, R. 1972. *The Athenian Empire*, Oxford.
- Meiggs, R. - D. Lewis 1969. *Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford.
- Meiggs, R. - D. Lewis 1988. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford.
- Mercklin von, E. 1926. Marmorne Grabvasen mit Greifenprotomen, *AM* 51, 98-116.
- Meritt, B. D. 1937. *Documents on Athenian Tribute*, Cambridge (Mass.).
- Meritt, B. D. 1945. Attic Inscriptions of the Fifth Century, *Hesperia* 14, 91-93.
- Meritt, B. D. 1964. Greek Inscriptions, *Hesperia* 33, 175-177.
- Meritt, B. - H. Wade-Gery 1962-1963. Dating of Documents to the Mid-Fifth Century, Parts I and II, *JHS* 82/83, 67-74, 100-118.
- Meritt, B. D. - H. T. Wade-Gery 1963. The Dating of the Documents to Mid-Fifth Century-II, *JHS* 53, 100-117.
- Meritt, B. D. - H. T. Wade-Gery - M. F. McGregor 1949. *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Princeton.
- Metzger, H. 1951. *Les Représentations dans la céramique attique du IV siècle*, Paris.
- Meyer, H. J. 1982. Zum Grabmal des Aristonantes, *HASB* 8, 21-26.
- Minckler-Hiesgen, E. 1970. Untersuchungen zu den Porträts des Xenophon und des Isokrates, *JdI* 85, 112-157.
- Mitsopoulos-Leon, V. 2006. Ein geometrischer Bronzekäfer aus dem Artemisheiligtum in Lousoi, in N. X. Σταμπολίδης (ed.), *Γενέθλιον. Αναμνηστικός τόμος για την συμπλήρωση είκοσι χρόνων λειτουργίας του Μουσείου Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης*, Αθήνα, 87-93.
- Mollard-Besques, S. II, III. *Musée national du Louvre : Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs, étrusques et romaines*, Paris, II, 1963, III, 1971-1972.
- Moore, P. R. S. 1971. *Catalogue of the Ancient Persian Bronzes in the Ashmolean Museum*, London.
- Moreno, P. 1994. *Scultura ellenistica*, Roma.
- Morrison, J. S. - R. T. Williams 1968. *Greek Oared Ships, 900-322 B.C.*, Cambridge.
- Moundrea-Agrafioti, A. 2008. Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Flaked Industry of Ayios Dhimitrios (Lepreo), in K. Zachos (ed.), *Ayios Dhimitrios. A Prehistoric Settlement in the Southwestern Peloponnese: The Neolithic and Early Helladic Periods*, BAR I.S. 1770, 231-266.
- Mountjoy, P. 1993. *Mycenaean Pottery: An Introduction*, Oxford.
- Mountjoy, P. 1999. *Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery*, Rahden.
- Μουστάκα, Α. 2000. Πελοπόννησος και Μακεδονία. Παρατηρήσεις στα λεγόμενα κράνη ιλλυρικού τύπου, in Π. Αδάμ-Βελένη (ed.), *Μύριος. Μελέτες στη μνήμη της Ιουλίας Βοκοιτοπούλου*, Θεσσαλονίκη, 393-410.
- Moustaka, A. 2001. Aulos und Auletik im archaischen Ionien. Zu einem Aulos aus dem Heraion von Samos, in S. Böhm - V. von Eickstedt (eds.), *ΙΘΑΚΗ. Festschrift für Jörg Schäfer zum 75. Geburtstag am 25. April 2001*, Würzburg, 131-136.
- Μπακαλάκης, Γ. 1953. Θερμαίος, *AE* 1953-1954, 221-229.
- Μπέλλας, Τ. (ed.) 1998. *Από την Ενάλια Κύπρο στον Μυχό του Πολυδίψιου Άργους. Το Ναυάγιο του Ακρωτηρίου Ιρίων*, Αθήνα.
- Müller, K. 1909. Alt Pylos - Die Funde, *AM* 34, 269-328.
- Müller, W. 2012. Concepts of Value in the Aegean Bronze Age: Some Remarks on the Use of Precious Materials for Seals and Finger Rings, in M.-L. Nosch - R. Laffineur (eds.), *Kosmos: Jewellery, Adornment and Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 13th International Aegean Conference, University of Copenhagen, Danish National Research Foundation's Centre for Textile Research, 21-26 April 2010*, *Aegaeum* 33, Leuven - Liege, 463-469.
- Mylonas, G. E. 1959. *Aghios Kosmas: An Early Bronze Age Settlement and Cemetery in Attica*, Princeton.
- Μυλωνάς, Γ. Ε. 1973. *Ο Ταφικός Κύκλος Β των Μυκηνών*, Αθήνα.
- Μυλωνάς, Κ. Δ. 1879. Σύμμικτα Αρχαιολογικά, *BCH* 3, 176-179.
- Μυλωνας, K. D. 1881. Νέα προσκτήματα του εν τω Βαρβακείω Μουσείου, *BCH* 5, 357-361.

- Mylonas-Shear, I. 1999. The Western Approach to the Athenian Akropolis, *JHS* 119, 86-127.
- Nakassis, D. 2013. *Individuals and Society in Mycenaean Pylos*, Mnemosyne Supplements 358, Leiden - Boston.
- Nick, G. 2002. *Die Athena Parthenos. Studien zur griechischen Kultbild und seiner Rezeption*, *AM* 19.
- Nichols, R. V. 1995. The Stele-Goddess Workshop: Terracottas from Well U 13:1 in the Athenian Agora, *Hesperia* 64, 405-493, pls. 101-113.
- Niemeyer, H. G. 1964. Attische Bronzestatuetten der spätar-chaischen und frühklassischen Zeit, *AntPl* III, 7-31.
- Niemeyer, H. G. 1996. *SEMATA. Über den Sinn griechischer Standbilder*, Hamburg.
- Nightingale, G. 2008. Tiny, Fragile, Common, Precious. Mycenaean Glass and Faience Beads and other Objects, in C. Jackson - E. C. Wager (eds.), *Vitreous Materials in the Late Bronze Age Aegean: A Window to the East Mediterranean World*, Oxford, 64-104.
- Νικολέντζος, Κ. 2011. *Μυκηναϊκή Ηλεία: Πολιτιστική εξέλιξη, εθνολογικά δεδομένα και προβλήματα*, Ph. D. Thesis, Αθήνα.
- Xagorari, M. 1996. *Untersuchungen zu frühgriechischen Grabsitten: figurliche plastische Beigaben aus geschlossenen Grabfunden Attikas und Euböas des 10. bis 7. Jhs. v. Chr.*, Mainz.
- Ξανάκη-Σακελλαρίου, Α. 1985. Οι θαλαμωτοί τάφοι των Μυκηνών, ανασκαφές Χρ. Τσουντά (1887-1898) / *Les Tombes à Chambre de Mycènes. Fouilles de Chr. Tsountas (1887-1889)*, Paris.
- Xenaki-Sakellariou, A. 1989. Techniques et évolution de la bague-cachet dans l'art Crétomycénien, in W. Müller (ed.), *Fragen und Probleme der Bronzezeitlichen Ägäischen Glyptik*. 3. *Internationaler Marburger Siegel-Symposium*, 5-7. September 1985, CMS Beiheft 3, Berlin, 323-338.
- Xenaki-Sakellariou, A. - Ch. Chatziliou 1989. "Peinture en Métal" à l'époque mycénienne, Athènes.
- Oakley, J. H. 1997. *The Achilles Painter*, Mainz.
- Oakley, J. H. 2004. *Picturing Death in Classical Athens. The Evidence of the White Lekythoi*, Cambridge.
- Oakley, J. H. 2009. Τα παιδιά στην αθηναϊκή ταφική τέχνη κατά τη διάρκεια του Πελοποννησιακού πολέμου, *Εγνατία* 13, 193-210.
- Οικονόμος, Γ. 1931. Ο εκ του Αργείου Ηραίου πήλινος οικίσκος κατά νέαν συμπλήρωσιν, *AE* 1-53.
- Olsen, B. A. 2014. *Women in Mycenaean Greece. The Linear B Tablets from Pylos and Knossos*, London - New York.
- Olympia V. W. Dittenberger - K. Purgold (eds.), *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Berlin 1896.
- Osborne, R. 2010. *Athens and Athenian Democracy*, Cambridge.
- Owens, G. 2009. Was there a script in Final Neolithic Greece?, in J. Marler - M. Robbins Dexter (eds.), *Signs of Civilization. Neolithic Symbol System of Southeast Europe*, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Novi Sad Branch, Institute of Archaeomythology, Sebastopol, CA, 193-200.
- Palagia, O. 1980. An Attic Head in Oxford, *Boreas* 3, 5-11.
- Palaima, T. G. 2011. Scribes, Scribal Hands and Paleography, in Y. Duhoux - A. Morpurgo Davies (eds.), *A Companion to Linear B: Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World*, vol. 2, Bibliothèque des Cahiers de l'Institut de Linguistique de Louvain 127, Leuven, 33-136.
- Παντερμαλής, Δ. (ed.) 1997. *Αλέξανδρος και Ανατολή*, Exhibition Catalogue, Οργανισμός Πολιτιστικής Πρωτεύουσας της Ευρώπης Θεσσαλονίκη '97, Θεσσαλονίκη.
- Paolucci, G. - S. Sarti (eds.) 2012. *Musica e Archeologia: reperti, immagini e suoni dal mondo antico*, Roma.
- Papadopoulos, T. - L. Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1984. Notes from Achaea, *BSA* 79, 221-227.
- Papadopoulou, Z. 2004. Musical Instruments in Cult, *ThesCRA* II 4 c, 347-355.
- Παπάρογλου, Α. 2004. Το φορτωμένο γαϊδουράκι της Κύπρου, in Α. Γιαννικουρή - Η. Ζερβουδάκη *et al.* (eds.), *Χάρης Χαίρε: Μελέτες στη μνήμη της Χάρης Κάντζα*, vol. B, Αθήνα, 319-332.
- Παπάρογλου-Μανιουδάκη, Ε. 2005. Προϊστορική Συλλογή, *ΑΔ* 60, Χρονικά, 12-13.
- Παραζογλου-Μανιουδάκη, Λ. - Α. Ναφλιότι - J. H. Musgrave - A. J. N. W. Prag 2010. Mycenae Revisited Part 3. The Human Remains from Grave Circle A at Mycenae. Behind the Masks: A Study of the Bones of Study Graves I-V, *BSA* 105, 157-224.
- Παπαθανασόπουλος, Γ. (ed.) 1996. *Ο Νεολιθικός Πολιτισμός στην Ελλάδα*, Αθήνα.
- Παπαποστόλου, Ι. Α. 1966. Ανάγλυφο από τη Βελανιδέζα, *ΑΔ* 21, Μελέται, 102-115.
- Παπασυριδής-Καρούζου, Σ. 1956. Ελληνιστικά αντίγραφα και επαναλήψεις αρχαίων έργων, *AE* 95, 154-180.
- Παπασυριδής, Σ. - Ν. Κυπαρίσσης, 1927-1928. *Νέα λήκυθος του Δούριδος*, *ΑΔ* 11, 91-110.
- Παπασυριδής-Καρούζου, Σ. - Χ. Καρούζος 1981. *Ανθολόγημα θησαυρών του Εθνικού Μουσείου*, Αθήνα.
- Parinson, E. 2000. *The Light of the Gods. The Role of Light in Archaic and Classical Greek Art*, London.
- Parlasca, K. 1977. *Ritratti di Mummie, Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto Greco-Romano*, Serie B, vol. II.
- Parlasca, K. 1980. *Ritratti di Mummie, Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto Greco-Romano*, Serie B, vol. III.
- Paschalidis, C. 2007. Euboea in the Crossroads of Metals Trade. The Aegean and the Pontic Sea in the Late Bronze Age, in I. Galanaki - H. Thomas - Y. Galanakis - R. Laffineur (eds.), *Between the Aegean and Baltic Seas, Prehistory across the Borders, University of Zagreb (Croatia), 11-14 April 2005, Zagreb, Mimara Museum, Aegaeum* 27, Liege, 433-445, pls. 107-108.
- Paschalidis, C. 2008. Helmet, in Aruz - Benzel - Evans 2008.
- Paton, J. M. - G. P. Stevens - L. D. Caskey - H. N. Fowler - T. W. Heermance 1927. *The Erechtheum*, Cambridge.
- Payne, H. - T. J. Dunbabin - A. Blackway 1940. *Pérachora. The Sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia. Excavations of the British School of Archaeology at Athens 1930-1933. Architecture, Bronzes, Terracottas*, vol. I, Oxford.
- Perlès, C. 2001. *The Early Neolithic in Greece. The First Farming Communities in Europe*, Cambridge.
- Persson, A. W. 1931. *The Royal Tombs at Dendra near Midea*, Lund.
- Persson, A. W. 1942. *New Tombs at Dendra near Midea*, Lund.
- Picón, C. - S. Hemingway (eds.) 2016. *Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World*, Exhibition Catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, April 18-July 17, 2016. New Haven - London.
- Pirson, F. 2014. *Ansichten des Krieges. Kampfreiefs klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit im Kulturvergleich*, Wiesbaden.
- Πιπτάκης, Κ. Σ. 1862. Το εν τω Ερεχθειώ ευρεθέν πλοίον, *AE* 1, 91-94.
- Πλάτων, Ν. 1949. Ο τάφος του Στάφυλου και ο μινωικός πολιτισμός της Πεπαρήθου, *ΚρητΧρον* 3, 550.
- Pollard, J. 1975. *Birds in Greek Life and Myth*, London.
- Posamenti, R. 2006. *Bemalte attische Grabstelen klassischer Zeit*, München.
- Postolacca, A. 1881. *Sammlung ägyptischer Altertümer der hellenischen Nation geschenkt von Giovanni de Demetrio*, Leipzig.
- Poursat, J.-C. 1977. *Catalogue des Ivoires Mycéniens du Musée National d'Athènes*, Athènes - Paris.
- Powell, J. 1996. *Fishing in the Prehistoric Aegean*, Jonsered.
- Préaux, C. 1947. *Les Grecs en Égypte d'après les archives de Zénon*, Collection Lebégue 78, Bruxelles.
- Price, D. de S. 1974. Gears from the Greeks: The Antikythera Mechanism - A Calendar Computer from ca. 80 B.C., *Transact-AmPhilosSoc* 64.7, 5-70, New York.

- Prittwitz, von, H.-H. und Gaffron, 2007. Die hellenistische Plastik von 160 bis 120 v. Chr., in P. C. Bol (ed.), *Die Geschichte der Antiken Bildhauerkunst III. Hellenistische Plastik*, Mainz am Rhein, 241-271.
- Proskynitopoulou, R. 2006. Athenian Metalworking, in Kaltsas 2006, 142-146.
- Proukakis, A. 1971. *The Evolution of the Attic Marble Lekythoi and their Relation to the Problem of Identifying the Dead among the Figures Shown on the Funerary Reliefs*, London.
- Proukakis-Christodouloupoulos, A. 1970. Einige Marmorlekythen, *AM* 85, 54-99.
- Psaroudakis, S. 2014. The Aulos of Poseidonia, in A. Bellia (ed.), *Musica, culti e riti nell'Occidente Greco*, Roma.
- Puglisi, M. 2004. Il simbolismo del polpo, in M. Caccamo Caltabiano - D. Castrizio - M. Puglisi (eds.), *La tradizione iconica come fonte storica. Il ruolo della numismatica negli studi di iconografia, Atti dell'Incontro di Studio del Lexicon Iconographicum Numismaticae, Messina 6-8 Marzo 2003*, Reggio Calabria, 159-172.
- Pulak, K. 2008. The Uluburun Shipwreck and Late Bronze Age Trade, in Aruz - Benzel - Evans 2008, 289-310.
- Pulak, K. 2009. The Uluburun Tin Ingots and the Shipment of Tin by Sea in the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean, *Turkish Academy of Sciences Journal of Archaeology (Tüba-Ar)* 12, 189-207.
- Purgold, K. 1881. Nike aus Megara, *AM* 6, 275-282.
- Rahn, P. J. 1986. Funeral Memorials of the First Priestess of Athena Nike, *BSA* 81, 195-207.
- Rambach, J. 2000. *Kykladen I, II, Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie des Mittelmeer-Kulturräumes*, Bonn.
- Reeder, E. D. et al. 1995. *Pandora, Women in Classical Greece*, Baltimore.
- Reinach, S. 1903. Aphrodite et Éros, groupe de Myrina au Musée d'Athènes, *RA* 1, 205-212.
- Richter, G. M. A. 1960. *Kouroi. Archaic Greek Youths*, London.
- Richter, G. M. A. 1961. *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica*, London.
- Richter, G. M. A. 1965. *The Portraits of the Greeks*, I-III, London.
- Richter, G. M. A. 1968. *Korai. Archaic Greek Maidens*, London - New York.
- Richter, G. M. A. 1974. *A Handbook of Greek Art*, second edition, London.
- Ridgway, B. S. 2000. *Hellenistic Sculpture II. The Styles of ca. 200-100 B.C.*, Madison, Wisconsin.
- Riezler, W. 1914. *Weissgrundige attische Lekythen*, München.
- Rigsby, K. J. 2009. Notes on Sacred Laws, *ZPE* 170, 73-80.
- Robert, C. 1911. *Die Masken der neueren attischen Komödie*, Halle.
- Roberts, S. 1978. *The Attic Pyxis*, Chicago.
- Robertson, M. - M. Beard 1991. Adopting an Approach, in N. Spivey - T. Rasmussen (eds.), *Looking at Greek Vases*, Cambridge, 1-35.
- Robertson, N. 1982. The Decree of Themistocles in its Contemporary Setting, *Phoenix* 36, 1-44.
- Rodenwaldt, G. 1912. Votivpinax aus Mykenai, *AM* 37, 129.
- Rodenwaldt, G. 1921. Ein archaischer Torso in Athen, *AM* 46, 27-35.
- Rodenwaldt, G. 1923. *Das Relief bei den Griechen*, Berlin.
- Rogers, J. D. 1901. Fragments of an Archaic Argive Inscription, *AJA* 5, 159-174.
- Rolley, C. 1961. Une amphore inédite du "Peintre de la Gorgone", *BCH* 85, 539-543.
- Rolley, C. 1994. *La sculpture grecque*, Paris.
- Rolley, C. 1999. *La sculpture grecque 2, La période classique*, Paris.
- Ruipérez, M. S. - J. L. Melena, 1996. *Οι Μυκηναίοι Έλληνες*, μτφρ. Μ. Παναγιωτίδου, Αθήνα.
- Rutter, J. 2014. The Canaanite Transport Amphora within the Late Bronze Age Aegean: A 2013 Perspective on a Frequently Changing Picture, in D. Nakassis - J. Gulizio - S. James (eds.) 2014, *KE-RA-ME-JA: Studies Presented to Cynthia W. Shelmerdine*, Prehistory Monographs 46, Philadelphia, 53-69.
- Ρωμαίος, Κ. Α. 1920/1921. Ειδήσεις εκ της 8ης Αρχαιολογικής Περιφέρειας κατά τα έτη 1920-1921, *ΑΔ* 6, Παράρτημα, 169-171.
- Ρωμιοπούλου, Κ. 1997. *Ελληνορωμαϊκά γλυπτά του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου*, Αθήνα.
- Ρωμιοπούλου, Κ. 2001. Πτηνοί έρωτες ύπνω εύδοντες, *Ευλιμένη* 2, 93-96.
- Sabetai, V. 2012a. Boeotian Red-Figure Vases: Observations on their Contexts and Settings, in S. Schierup - B. B. Rasmussen (eds.), *Red-Figure Pottery in its Ancient Setting. Acts of the International Colloquium held at the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen, November 5-6, 2009*, Aarhus, 81-98.
- Sabetai, V. 2012b. Looking at Athenian Vases through the Eyes of the Boeotians: Copies, Adaptations and Local Creations in the Social and Aesthetic Culture of an Attic Neighbor, in S. Schmidt - A. Stähli (eds.), *Vasenbilder im Kulturtransfer: Zirkulation und Rezeption griechischer Keramik im Mittelmeerraum*, München, 121-137.
- Sakellarakis, J. A. 1990. The Fashioning of Ostrich-Egg Rhyta in the Creto-Mycenaean Aegean, in D. A. Hardy - C. G. Doumas - J. A. Sakellarakis - P. M. Warren (eds.), *Thera and the Aegean World III. 1: Archaeology. Proceedings of the Third International Congress, Santorini, Greece, 3-9 September 1989*, The Thera Foundation, London.
- Sakellariou, A. 1964. *Die minoischen und mykenischen Siegel des Nationalmuseums in Athen*, CMSI, Berlin.
- Salis, von, A. 1926. *Das Grabmal des Aristonantes*, Berlin.
- Salta, M. 1991. *Attische Grabstelen mit Inschriften. Beiträge zur Topographie und Prosopographie der Nekropolen von Athen, Attika und Salamis vom Peloponnesischen Krieg bis zur Mitte des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.*, Tübingen.
- Salta, M. 2015. El ideal heroico. La muerte bella, in Sánchez - Escobar 2015, 136-152.
- Samons, L. J. 2000. *Empire of the Owl: Athenian Imperial Finance*, Stuttgart.
- Samos IX. U. Gehrig, *Die Greifenprotomen aus dem Heraion von Samos*, Samos IX, Bonn, 2004.
- Sánchez, C. - I. Escobar (eds.) 2015. *Dioses, héroes y atletas. La Imagen del cuerpo en la Grecia antigua*, Exhibition Catalogue, Museo Arqueológico Regional, Alcalá de Henares, Madrid.
- Σβορώνος, Ι. Ν. 1903. *Το εν Αθήναις Εθνικόν Μουσείον. Ο Θησαυρός του ναυαγίου των Αντικυθήρων*, vol. Α, Αθήνα.
- Σβορώνος, Ι. 1911. Ηπειρωτών Ψήφοι Δικαστικάί εκ Δωδώνης και Νομίσματα Ηπειρωτών κοπέντα εν Μακεδονία επί Πύρρου, *JIAN* 13, 121-126.
- Schäfer, J. 1968. Poseidon von Melos, *AntPl* 8, 55-68.
- Schäfer, T. 1998. Dikella, Terma und Tettix: Zur Palästritenstele von Sunion, *AM* 111, 109-140.
- Schefold, K. 1943. *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker*, Basel.
- Schefold, K. 1934. *Untersuchungen zu den kertzler Vasen*, Leipzig.
- Scheibler, I. 1961. Olpen und Amphoren des Gorgomalers, *Jdl* 76, 1-47.
- Schilardi, D. U. 1987. New Evidence about the Hoplite Relief (Athens, National Museum 1959), *BSA* 82, 265-281.
- Schmaltz, B. 1970. *Untersuchungen zu den attischen Marmorlekythen*, Berlin.
- Schmaltz, B. 1980. *Metallfiguren aus dem Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben, Die Statuetten aus Bronze und Blei*, Berlin.
- Schmaltz, B. 1983. *Griechische Grabreliefs*, Darmstadt.
- Schmid, S. 2001. Neue Luristanbronzen aus Griechenland, *AM* 116, 11-34.
- Schmidt, E. 1934. Silanion, der Meister des Platonbildes, *Jdl* 49, 190-204.
- Scholl, A. 1996. *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.*, Berlin.

- Schultz, P. 2002. *Το εικονογραφικό πρόγραμμα του ναού της Αθηνάς Νίκης στην Ακρόπολη*, Ph.D. Thesis, Αθήνα.
- Schürmann, W. 1989. *Katalog der antiken Terrakotten im Badischen Landesmuseum*, Karlsruhe, Göteborg.
- Schwarzmeier, A. 1997. Griechische Klappspiegel, Untersuchungen zu Typologie und Stil, *AM* 18.
- Sgouritsa-Polychronakou, N. - K. Nikolentzos, forthcoming. The Amber in Greece during the LBA and its Presence at Kakovatos, Western Greece, *Le Vie dell'Ambra, MILLENI, Studi di Archeologia Preistorica*, 167-176.
- Sheedy, K. A. 1985. The Delian Nike and the Search for Chian Sculpture, *AJA* 89, 619-626.
- Shelmerdine, C. W. 1985. *The Perfume Industry of Mycenaean Pylos*, Göteborg.
- Σιγάλας, Α. 1936. *Ιστορία Ελληνικής Γραφής*, Θεσσαλονίκη.
- Six, J. 1887. Ein Porträt des Ptolemaios VI Philometor, *AM* 12, 212-222.
- Σικιάρντι, Δ. Ο. 1975. Ανασκαφή παρά τα Μακρά Τείχη και η Οινόκη του Ταύρου, *ΑΕ* 114, 66-149.
- Smith, C. 1896-1897. Excavations in Melos, 1897, *BSA* 3, 20-25.
- Smith, D. C. 2011. *The Context of Wall Brackets during the Late Bronze Age on Cyprus*, Masters Research Thesis, Arts - School of Historical Studies, The University of Melbourne.
- Στάης, Β. 1917. Ανασκαφαί Σουνίου, *ΑΕ* 168-213.
- Stais, V. 1910. *Marbres et Bronzes du Musée National*, Athènes.
- Σαμπολίδης, Ν. - Μ. Γιαννοπούλου (eds.) 2012. *Πριγκίπισσες της Μεσογείου στην αυγή της Ιστορίας*, Exhibition Catalogue, Αθήνα.
- Σαμπολίδης, Ν. - Σ. Οικονόμου (eds.) 2014. *Επέκεινα. Ο Θάνατος και η Μεταθανάτια Ζωή στην αρχαία Ελλάδα*, Exhibition Catalogue, Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης - Κοινωφελές Ίδρυμα Αλέξανδρος Σ. Ονάσης, Αθήνα.
- Stamplidis, N. - P. Sotirakopoulou 2011. Early Cycladic Pottery, *ACROSS. The Cyclades and Western Anatolia during the 3rd millennium B.C.*, Istanbul, 42-50.
- Σαμπολίδης, Ν. Χρ. - Γ. Τασούλας (eds.) 2009. *Έρωτας Από τη Θεογονία του Ησιόδου στην Ύστερη Αρχαιότητα*, Exhibition Catalogue, Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης, Αθήνα.
- Σαμπολίδης, Ν. Χρ. - Γ. Τασούλας 2014. *Ίασις, Υγεία, Νόσος. Θεραπεία από τον Όμηρο στον Γαληνό*, Exhibition Catalogue, Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης, Αθήνα.
- Σταυρίδη, Α. 1994-1995. Συμβολή στην εικονογραφία του Ηρώδη Αττικού (II), *ΑΔ* 49-50, Μελέτες, 161-164.
- Σταυρόπουλος, Φ. 1965. Αθήναι - Αττική, Γ' Εφορεία Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων, *ΑΔ* 20, Χρονικά, 41-109.
- Στεφανίδου-Τιβεριού, Θ. 1993. *Τραπεζοφόρα με πλαστική διακόσμηση: η αττική ομάδα*, Αθήνα.
- Stefanovic, D. 2010. Four Middle Kingdom Stelae from the National Archaeological Museum, Athens, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 10, 207-215.
- Stewart, A. 1977. *Skopas of Paros*, New Jersey.
- Stewart, A. 1990. *Greek Sculpture*, London.
- Stewart, A. 2008. *The Persian and Carthaginian Invasions of 480 BCE and the Beginning of the Classical Style. Part 1: the Stratigraphy, Chronology and Significance of the Acropolis Deposits*, *AJA* 112, 377-412.
- Stibbe, C. M. 1996. *Das andere Sparta*, Mainz.
- Stibbe, C. M. 2008. Laconian Bronzes from the Sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas near Phoiniki (Lakonia) and from the Acropolis of Athens, *BABesch* 83, 17-45.
- Strøm, I. 1998. The Early Sanctuary of the Argive Heraeum and its External Relations (8th-early 6th c. B.C.), in S. Dietz - S. Isager (eds.), *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens*, II, Athens.
- Stupperich, R. 1977. *Staatsbegräbnis und Privatgrabmal im klassischen Athen*, Ph.D. Thesis, Münster.
- Sweeney, J. - T. Curry - Y. Tzedakis 1988. *The Human Figure in Early Greek Art*, Athens.
- Σωτηριάδης, Γ. 1898. Περί των εν Θέρμω Ανασκαφών, *ΠΑΕ*, 104-110.
- Τζάχος, Ε. Ε. 2001. Μια επανεκτίμηση της αθηναϊκής τριήρους, in Α. Αλεξανδρή - Ι. Λεβέντη (eds.), *Καλλίστευμα. Μελέτες προς τιμήν της Όλγας Τζάχου-Αλεξανδρή*, Αθήνα.
- Τζάχου-Αλεξανδρή, Ό. (ed.) 1989. *Το Πνεύμα και το Σώμα. Οι αθλητικοί αγώνες στην αρχαία Ελλάδα*, Αθήνα.
- Τζάχου-Αλεξανδρή, Ό. (ed.) 1995. *Ο κόσμος της Αιγύπτου στο Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο*, Exhibition Catalogue, Αθήνα.
- Τζάχου-Αλεξανδρή, Ό. 1998. *Λευκές λήκυθοι του Ζωγράφου του Αχιλλέως στο Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο*, Αθήνα.
- Τζάχου-Αλεξανδρή, Ό. 2012. Πρώιμη αρχαϊκή κόρη από την Ανάβυσσο, in G. Kokkorou-Alevras - W.-D. Niemeier (eds.), *Neue Funde archaischer Plastik aus griechischen Heiligtümern und Nekropolen. Internationales Symposium, Athen, 2-3. November 2007 / Νέα ευρήματα αρχαϊκής γλυπτικής από ελληνικά ιερά και νεκροπόλεις. Διεθνές Συμπόσιο, Αθήνα, 2-3 Νοεμβρίου 2007*, Athenia 3, München, 51-72.
- Τζάχου-Αλεξανδρή, Ό. - Έ. Σπαθάρη (eds.) 1987. *Ταξιδεύοντας με το πλοίο της Κερύνειας στο Χρόνο και στο Μύθο*, Exhibition Catalogue, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, Ιούλιος-Σεπτέμβριος 1987, Αθήνα.
- Τζεδάκις, Γ. (ed.) 1995. *Από τη Μήδεια στη Σαπφώ - Ανυπότακτες γυναίκες στην Αρχαία Ελλάδα*, Exhibition Catalogue, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, Αθήνα.
- Theodoropoulou-Polychroniadi, Z. 2015. *Sounion Revisited: The Sanctuaries of Poseidon and Athena at Sounion in Attica*, Oxford.
- Thimme, J. 1976. *Kunst der Kykladen*, Karlsruhe.
- Thimme, J. 1986. *Antike Meisterwerke im Karlsruher Schloss*, Karlsruhe.
- Thimme, J. - P. Getz-Preziosi (eds.) 1977. *Art and Culture of the Cyclades*, Karlsruhe.
- Thompson, W. E. 1971. Leagros, *Athenaeum* 40, 329-332.
- Thöne, C. 1999. *Ikongraphische Studien zu Nike im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, *Archäologie und Geschichte*, vol. 8, Heidelberg.
- Τιβέριος, Μ. 1996. *Ελληνική Τέχνη. Αρχαία αγγεία*, Αθήνα.
- Tobin, J. 1997. *Herodes Attikos and the City of Athens: Patronage and Conflict under the Antonines*, Amsterdam.
- Tod, M. N. 1985. *Greek Historical Inscriptions from the Sixth Century B.C. to the Death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C.*, Chicago.
- Todisco, L. 1993. *Scultura greca del IV secolo*, Milano.
- Touloupa, E. 1986. Das bronzene Reiterstandbild des Augustus aus dem Nordägäischen Meer, *AM* 101, 185-205.
- Tournavitou, I. 1992. Practical Use and Social Function in Mycenaean Pottery, *BSA* 87, 181-210.
- Tournavitou, I. 1995. *The "Ivory Houses" at Mycenae*, *BSA Suppl.* 24, London.
- Tracy, S. 1984. Hands in Fifth-Century BC Inscriptions, in A. L. Boegehold (ed.), *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow on his Eightieth Birthday*, *GRBS Suppl.* 10, Durham, 277-282.
- Trecanni, G. - A. Ferrabino - D. Bartolini 1959. *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Classica e Orientale*, Roma.
- Τσαγκάρη, Δ. (ed.) 2011. *Μύθος και Νόμισμα. Παραστάσεις Συμβολισμοί και Ερμηνείες από την Ελληνική Μυθολογία*, Exhibition Catalogue, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο - Νομισματικό Μουσείο, 16/4-8/2011, Αθήνα.
- Τσαγκάρη, Δ. (ed.) 2014. *Η Ευρώπη της Ελλάδος. Αποικίες και Νομίσματα από τη Συλλογή της Alpha Bank*, Exhibition Catalogue, Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Θεσσαλονίκης, Απρίλιος 2014-Απρίλιος 2015, Αθήνα.
- Τσουντας, Χ. 1887. Αρχαιότητες εκ Μυκηνών, *ΑΕ*, 155-172.
- Τσουντας, Χ. 1889. Έρευνα εν τη Λακωνική και ο τάφος του Βαφειού, *ΑΕ*, 130-172.
- Τσουντας, Χ. 1898. Κυκλαδικά I, *ΑΕ*, 137-212.
- Τσουντας, Χ. 1899. Κυκλαδικά II, *ΑΕ*, 73-134.

- Τσούντας, Χ. 1908. *Αι Προϊστορικά Ακροπόλεις Διμηγίου και Σέσκλου*, Αθήνα.
- Tuna-Nörling, Y. 1995. Die attisch-schwarzfigurige Keramik und der attische Keramikexport nach Kleinasien, Die Ausgrabungen von Alt-Smyrna und Pitane, *IstForsch* 41.
- Tzedakis, Y. - H. Martlew (eds.) 2002. *Minoans and Mycenaeans. Flavours of their Time*, Athens.
- Vanderpool, E. 1958. News Letter from Greece, *AJA* 62, 322-325.
- van Effenterre, H. - F. Ruzé 1994. *Nomima. Recueil d'inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l'archaïsme grec*. I. Rome.
- Vedder, U. 1985. *Untersuchungen zur plastischen Ausstattung attischer Grabanlagen des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.*, Frankfurt am Main - Bern - New York.
- Ventris, M. - J. Chadwick 1973. *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, second edition, Cambridge.
- Verger, S. 2011. *Les objets métalliques du Sanctuaire de Pérachora et la dynamique des échanges entre Mers Ionienne, Adriatique et Tyrrhénienne à l'époque archaïque*, Pisa, 19-59.
- Vermeule, C. C. C. 1959. Hellenistic and Roman Cuirassed Statues, *Berytus* 13:1, 1-82.
- Vermeule, E. - V. Karageorghis 1982. *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting*, Cambridge.
- Vierneisel-Schlörb, B. 1988. *Glyptothek München, Katalog der Skulpturen*, vol. III, *Klassische Grabdenkmäler und Votivreliefs*, München.
- Viviers, D. 1992. *Les ateliers de sculpteurs et la cité d'Athènes à l'époque archaïque: Endoios, Philergos, Aristoklès*, Belgique.
- Vollkommer, R. 1991. Zur Deutung der Löwenfrau in der frühgriechischen Kunst, *AM* 106, 47-64.
- Vorster, C. 2004. Die Porträts des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., in *Bol* 2004, 383-428.
- Vorster, C. 2007. Die Plastik des späten Hellenismus - Porträts und rundplastische Gruppen, in *Bol* 2007, 273-331.
- Wace, A. J. B. 1953. Mycenae, 1939-1952: Part I. Preliminary Report on the Excavation of 1952, *BSA* 48, 1-18.
- Wachsmann, S. 2009. *Seagoing Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant*, Texas.
- Waldstein, Ch. 1902. *The Argive Heraeum*, I, Boston - New York.
- Waldstein, Ch. 1905. *The Argive Heraeum*, II, Boston - New York.
- Wallis, H. 1898. *Egyptian Ceramic Art. The MacGregor Collection. A Contribution towards the History of Egyptian Pottery*, London.
- Walter, O. 1942. Archäologische Funde in Griechenland von Frühjahr 1940 bis Herbst 1941, *AA*, 99-258.
- Walter, O. 1958. Eine Marmorstatuette römischer Zeit in Athen, *ÖJh* 43, 100-113.
- Walter-Karydi, E. 1987. *Alt-Ägina II, 2. Die Äginetische Bildhauerschule*, Mainz.
- Walter-Karydi, E. 2015. *Die Athener und ihre Gräber (1000-300 v. Chr.)*, Berlin - Boston.
- Weber, M. 2001. Koroibos, ein Architekt des Perikles, und der Grabbezirk XVIII seiner Familie im Kerameikos, *Thetis* 8, 77-96.
- Weber, M. 2011. Die Lekythos in Athen NM 1044 auf der Basis mit der Hegesostele NM 3624 im Bezirk XVIII des Kerameikos, *Thetis* 18, 1-7.
- Webster, T. B. L. 1961. *Monuments Illustrating Old and Middle Comedy*, *BICS* II, London.
- Webster, T. B. L. 1978. *Monuments Illustrating Old and Middle Comedy*, *BICS* Suppl. 39, London.
- Webster, T. B. L. 1995. *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy*, *BICS* Suppl. 50, London.
- Wegener, S. 1985. *Funktion und Bedeutung landschaftlicher Elemente in der griechischen Reliefkunst archaischer bis hellenistischer Zeit*, Frankfurt.
- Weinberg, G. D. - M. C. McClellan 1992. *Glass Vessels in Ancient Greece. Their History Illustrated from the Collection of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens*, Αθήνα.
- West, M. L. 1992. *Ancient Greek Music*, Oxford.
- Wiegartz, H. 1965. Zur Deutung der "Waffenläufer-stele", Marburger Winkelmann-Programm, 46.
- Wilhelm, A. 1948. Notes on the Second Decree of Kallias, *JHS* 68, 128-129.
- Winter, F. 1903. *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten I-II (Die antiken Terrakotten III. 1-2)*, Berlin - Stuttgart.
- Wolters, P. 1888. Πήλινοι εξ Αττικής Πίνακες, *AE* 180-191.
- Wolters, P. 1892. Βοιωτικά Αρχαιοτήτες, *AE* 232-233.
- Woodhead, A. G. 1973-1974. The Date of the "Springhouse Decree" (*JGIP* 54), *Archeologia Classica* 25-26, 751-761.
- Woysch-Méautis, D. 1982. *La représentation des animaux et des êtres fabuleux sur les monuments funéraires grecs de l'époque archaïque à la fin du IVe siècle av. J.-C.*, Lausanne.
- Wünsche, R. 1979. Der "Gott aus dem Meer", *Jdl* 94, 77-111.
- Φάππας, Ι. 2009-2010. Έλαιον ευώδες, τεθυωμένον: Τα αρωματικά έλαια και οι πρακτικές χρήσης τους στη Μυκηναϊκή Ελλάδα και την αρχαία Εγγύς Ανατολή (14ος-13ος αι. π.Χ.), *Κρητική Εστία* 13, Χανιά.
- Φιλαδελφεύς, Α. 1907. Ευρήματα εκ Χαλκίδος, *AE* 65-90.
- Φιλαδελφεύς, Α. 1920-1921. Βάσεις μετ' αναγλύφων αρτίως ανευρεθείσες εν Αθήναις, *ΑΔ* 6, 1-20.
- Φιλαδελφεύς, Α. 1928. Πήλινα ειδώλια εκ Μυρίνης - Συλλογή Ι. Μισθού- εν τω Εθνικώ Μουσείω Αθηνών, Αθήνα.
- Φίλιος, Δ. 1899. Χαλκούν Άγαλμα Ποσειδώνος εκ Βοιωτίας, *AE* 59-74.
- Φίλιος, Δ. 1903. Ανάγλυπτος αρχαϊκή στήλη, *AE* 42-56.
- Φίλιος, Δ. 1904. Ανασκαφή τάφων παρά την Ιεράν Οδόν, *AE* 60-87.
- Φιλιππάκη, Β. 1973. *Αγγεία του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Αθηνών*, Αθήνα.
- Χατζηδάκης, Π. Ι. 2003. *Δήλος*, Αθήνα.
- Χατζηδημητρίου, Α. 2010. Η αλιεία και τα προϊόντα της στην εικονογραφία και τις φιλολογικές πηγές των αρχαϊκών και κλασικών χρόνων, in Δ. Δημητρόπουλος - Ε. Ολυμπίτου (eds.), *Ψαρεύοντας στις ελληνικές θάλασσες. Από τις μαρτυρίες στη σύγχρονη πραγματικότητα*, Αθήνα, 29-53.
- Χατζηπαναγιώτη, Μ. 1998. Επιτύμβιες στήλες στα κλασικά αγγεία. Θέματα Κλασικής Αρχαιολογίας, *Ριθμυμα* 5, Πανεπιστήμιο Κρήτης.
- Χουρμουζιάδης, Γ. 1994. *Νεολιθικά ειδώλια*, Θεσσαλονίκη.
- Yalouris, N. 1985. Die Skulpturen des Asklepiostempels von Epidauros, in N. Kyrieleis (ed.), *Archaische und Klassische Plastik. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums vom 22-25 April 1985 in Athen*, I.
- Yalouris et al. 1980. N. Yalouris - K. Rhomiopoulou - M. Andronikos, *The Search for Alexander*, New York.
- Yfantidis, K. 1984. *Die Polychromie der Hellenistischen Plastik*, Ph.D. Thesis, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz.
- Younger, J. G. 1998. *Music in the Bronze Age*, Jonsensed.
- Zahn, R. 1897. Ostrakon des Themistokles, *AM* 22, 345-348.
- Züchner, W. 1942. *Griechische Klappspiegel*, Berlin.