

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Hala Sultan Tekke XII. Tomb 24, stone anchors, faunal remains and pottery provenance*, edited by Paul Åström & Karin Nys (SIMA 45:12), Sävedalen: Paul Åströms Förlag 2007. 62 pp., ill., tables. ISBN 978-91-7081-228-6.

The twelfth fascicle in the series of definitive reports devoted to the Swedish excavations at the Late Bronze Age site of Hala Sultan Tekke *Vyzakia* in Cyprus conforms to the principles and standards which Åström has consistently set himself in making the results publicly available. Starting in 1976 with an account of previous explorations at the site, while his own fieldwork was still ongoing, Åström has published his finds in stages so as to avoid the overwhelming accumulation of data which has deterred other archaeologists from going to print fully and in a timely fashion, if ever. At the same time he has not hesitated to keep up with the latest developments in analytical techniques and publishing ventures, and the volume under review reflects all the qualities that have made his fieldwork an exemplary exercise in archaeological scholarship.

The first noteworthy feature of his latest report is its consistency. Instead of yielding to the politically correct pressures and fads to which Cypriote prehistory, and history, are increasingly subject, Åström has chosen to retain Hala Sultan Tekke in the title of his work, as this is the name by which the site and the whole series of publications about its remains are customarily and familiarly known to the archaeological community. Changing names for other than sound academic reasons would only have had the effect of further confusing the intended readership, which has already to cope with the multiple variations in the ways site and locality names have over the years been transliterated, never mind re-invented. If there is no academic justification for archaeologists to change the names conventionally given to sites in the north of the island, which exist to-day only on paper, there is even less reason to follow the new toponymy in the south, which was devised without regard to its historicity or the need for academic continuity.

Likewise, instead of recording the tombs which he dug with a new series of numbers, Åström has sagaciously taken

into account the funerary deposits previously registered at Hala Sultan Tekke and continued numbering the Swedish tombs in the same order. Hence the current report contains a detailed description of the finds from Tomb 24, the last deposit of this kind cleared by Åström's expedition, though not the last of the tombs uncovered and unpublished at the site. Though the contents of Tomb 24 had been looted, Åström and Nys have given a thorough account of the material recovered, consisting almost entirely of pot sherds dating to Late Cypriote IB and the whole of Late Cypriote II. This is accompanied by valuable colour photographs which give an excellent feel for the colours and textures of the Wares. Going back to black and white illustrations in future will seem positively retrograde and anti-climactical.

Furthermore Åström and Nys continue to adhere to the *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* terminology for their pottery classification and relative chronology, eschewing fanciful revisions whose purpose is less to improve the systems for categorising Wares and dates than to deride empirically based taxonomies that allegedly lack scientific underpinning. As they tellingly point out, "based on a petrographic and geochemical analysis of Base-ring fabrics, Vaughan ... proposed an alternative typology of this ware. Although her aim was to provide archaeologists in the field with a practicable fabric typology ..., her proposal did not find a ready reception with her target audience. This is possibly due to the fact that she never published her study *in extenso* ..." (p. 9). They have also sensibly ignored Knapp's ill-conceived and misguided attempt to convert the relative chronology of Bronze Age Cyprus into Prehistoric and Proto-Historic periods.

The second guiding principle of his work is comprehensiveness. No aspect of the excavations or finds has been too insignificant for Åström's attention, and he has taken great care not only to retrieve every scrap which might shed light on the history and culture of this affluent Late Cypriote emporium on the south-east coast of the island, but to have them, to the maximum extent possible, scientifically studied. Whereas in the past a somewhat cavalier attitude was often shown bone fragments from settlement and cemetery

deposits, Åström has collected everything of potential value and had most of them expertly identified. Reese's analysis of the faunal remains from the Hala Sultan Tekke tombs is included in the twelfth fascicle under review and tells us as much about external trade relationships at this time as the imported pottery. While ostrich eggshells from the Levant or North Africa come as no surprise, the occurrence of imported Nile River catfish is most unexpected.

Not content with the conventional designation of the nature of the stone objects encountered at the site, Åström has sought specialist advice to ensure the geological *bien-fondé* of his terms. Hence the material of the anchors found *in situ* in Areas 8 and 22, which are included in the report's catalogue by Åström and Svensson, was identified by Philippe Claeys and Virginie Renson, co-authors of the section in the same volume on the lead isotopic analysis of clays. A more detailed examination of the stones is promised to follow. The potential of this procedure for tracing the origins of the anchors found at Hala Sultan Tekke is clearly appreciated by Åström who notes that according to earlier lithological analyses three anchors from Kition were made respectively in Egypt and in the west of Cyprus (Akamas) (p. 46). It is not, however, stated on what basis the stone vessel base from Tomb 24 is called "gypsum alabaster", when it should be only one substance or the other (p. 24).

Finally Åström has shown himself to be a strong believer in innovative scientific research. While others might have been daunted by the cost, delays and logistical problems in having inorganic materials investigated in new ways, he has made determined efforts to ensure that the fullest insights are obtained from laboratory testing and been prepared to support different and novel approaches. This is in evidence in the fascicle under review which contains the preliminary results of an original project to determine the provenance of pottery finds from Hala Sultan Tekke using lead isotopic analysis, normally applied to copper sourcing. The conclusions are as interesting methodologically as they are industrially, and are enhanced by the useful table giving Cypriote Bronze Age provenance studies since 1994 (p. 55). Recent scientific work on the location of Alashiya could have benefited from this extensive bibliography.

With succeeding volumes in this series on Hala Sultan Tekke planned to contain, *inter alia*, final reports on the architecture of the site, the contexts of the finds and systematic studies of the pottery wares and objects of arts and crafts, we are in no position yet to formulate an overarching and reliable view of the history of the site as a whole. Enough, however, has already been presented to confirm the impression that Hala Sultan Tekke was, in comparative terms, a major coastal centre with established local industries and substantial overseas contacts maintained by direct maritime traffic which brought goods from the Aegean and the Levant, including Egypt. While Åström has given

us a foretaste of his impressions in P. Åström & E. Herscher (eds.), *Late Bronze Age settlement in Cyprus: function and relationship* (Jonsered 1996) (pp. 9–14), it is to be hoped that he will wrap up this exhaustive account of his fieldwork with a synthesis of his own archaeological observations while they are still fresh in his memory, and give us some idea of the lessons he has learnt from the experience.

In this regard I especially look forward to his review of Hala Sultan Tekke's place in the hierarchy of Late Bronze Age sites in the island. In a penetrating study in *BASOR* 348, 2007 (pp. 1–23), Iakovou has, not without reason, cast a critical eye over the estimates of settlement size in this period and challenged the notion that spatial extent, even if it could be realistically calculated, should be the key factor in determining geo-political status. Given that, in the light of the evidence currently available, there is no other way of objectively differentiating between settlements, it is illogical to single out any one site, like Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos*, as pre-eminent, and doing so is simply an earnest of Iakovou's desire to keep in Cyprus a Late Bronze Age polity with a leading centre or capital, for the sake of its identification with Alashiya. The fact that Alashiya also existed in the first half of the second millennium B.C. when Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos* did not is conveniently overlooked. Iakovou's sceptical commentary on the size of Hala Sultan Tekke merits Åström's considered response.

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## WORKS DEALING WITH QUESTIONS CONCERNING ANCIENT GREEK VASES

The study of ancient Greek vases has lately been the subject of discussion. Voices have been raised declaring the subject to be limited and of interest only to a narrow circle of specialists. It is thus all the more pleasant to be able to present nine books on ancient pottery sent in to the *Opuscula Atheniensia* for review in the first years of the new millennium.

One is about the early study of Attic vases, focusing on the two very important personages, Beazley and Pottier: P. Rouet, *Approaches to the study of Attic vases. Beazley and Pottier*. Two are about painters, one about an important black-figure painter: O. Borgers, *The Theseus Painter. Style, shape and iconography*, and the other about a group of red-figure painters: T. Mannack, *The Late Mannerists in Athenian vase-painting*. A fourth book deals with non-Attic inscriptions on vases: R. Wachter, *Non-Attic Greek vase inscriptions*. Four books are volumes of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, one on vases from the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek

1 (Denmark 10) and three on vases from the Allard Pierson Museum and the University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam 3–5 (The Netherlands 9–11). The last is a *Festschrift* in honour of an eminent vase-man: *Essays in honor of Dietrich von Bothmer*, eds. A.J. Clark & J. Gaunt; of the 48 contributions to this *Festschrift* more than four-fifths are about vases or subjects related to pottery. All together, these volumes prove the versatility of vase-specialists and the many different fields where the study of vases will benefit the study of and augment our knowledge of antiquity.

P. Rouet, *Approaches to the study of Attic vases. Beazley and Pottier*, transl. by L. Nash (Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology), Oxford: Oxford University Press 2001. xiii + 167 pp., 21 pls. ISBN 0-19-815272-8.

The first book in our list deals with the history of the study of vases as a field of research, primarily based on a consideration of two of the specialists on Greek pottery most influential during the last century: Edmond Pottier, born 1855 and employed at the Louvre during the better part of his working life, and John Davidson Beazley, born 1885 and Professor at Oxford. This concentration on just those two vasologists is very rewarding, as each was the leading exponent of an important line of research in the field of Greek vases.

In an introductory chapter, Rouet first sketches the background to research on vases, starting in the 18th century with collectors and connoisseurs like the Comte de Caylus and Lord Hamilton. Because Greece was at this time a country rarely visited and the Etruscan graves had already been “excavated” to a large extent and found to contain thousands of vases, vases discovered in Etruria were at first considered Etruscan. They soon became popular as collectors’ pieces, because they were available in great numbers and were less expensive than sculpture. Ancient art was supposed to propagate good taste in latter-day artists (for instance, Josiah Wedgwood) and their customers. To this end, illustrated catalogues of vases, sometimes not without a mercenary intent, displayed the vases to their best, or even better than their best, advantage and spread knowledge of vases to eager customers.

The main topic at issue, however, is the work of Pottier and Beazley. During the time of Pottier, the ‘ancient pottery’ section of the Louvre was attached to the Department of Oriental Antiquities. It is possible that this had an impact on Pottier’s view of pottery. His interest in pottery was in identifying its place of origin and the people that had produced it. His first great work was a catalogue of ancient vases in the Louvre, *Vases antiques du Louvre*. A novelty was that Pottier, who was an eager photographer, wanted as many vases as possible illustrated. This work Rouet considers as a forerunner to the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, which Pottier was to initiate in 1922 and which is still being

published. Another important enterprise of Pottier’s was the *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* (Daremberg & Saglio). In it, vases are found under the headings ‘furniture, utensils, tools’, with the result that their utilitarian nature is stressed.

There is a chapter on Morelli and Berenson, the well-known connoisseurs of Italian Renaissance works, who believed that it was possible to recognize great artists by a careful study of the particular details of their works, which might be seen as a painted or sculpted language. After this, we are introduced to Beazley. He came to Oxford in 1903 as a student at Balliol College and died, still in Oxford, in 1970. There he studied *Literae Humaniores*, mainly consisting of Greek and Latin language and literature, combined with Greek and Roman history and philosophy but, strangely enough from the viewpoint of our days, very little archaeology. Beazley showed, from the start, a great interest in the aesthetic arts; he wrote poetry and was a great friend of the poet James Elroy Flecker. He also became a great lover of the early Renaissance. It is thus hardly surprising that he came to apply the techniques of a true connoisseur of the arts to ancient Greek vase painting, identifying masters, workshops, groups, circles, as well as painters near the master, ‘painting in the manner of’ or ‘belonging to the school of’ etc., although not always consistently throughout his work. Beazley’s minute study of details of drawing on the vases, did not, however, mean that he was unaware of the difference in quality between different painters.

A subsequent chapter deals with the reception of Beazley’s work in Pottier’s France, i.e. the conflict between two different ways of studying ancient vases: more specifically, an approach which looked for the man behind the work, or one which viewed artefacts not primarily as works by individual painters but consequences of race, milieu and culture. It is symptomatic that Pottier, initially, in 1919, wanted the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* to contain all ancient vases of the Mediterranean and the Near and Far East, pottery of Prehistoric Europe etc., a procedure abandoned before it was even tested.

For any vasologist Rouet’s book is essential reading, distinguishing as it does, two important traditions in the study of ancient vases

O. Borgers, *The Theseus Painter. Style, shape and iconography* (Allard Pierson Series, 16), Amsterdam 2004. xxv + 243 pp., 82 figs., 47 pls. ISBN 978-90-71211-41-6.

The Theseus Painter, so named by Haspels, although only six of the vases so far attributed to him show Theseus, was a late Athenian black-figure painter, active possibly between 515–510 and maybe as late as 480–475. Borgers calls him one of the last fairly competent Attic vase painters who worked in the black-figure technique. Most of the vases decorated by him are skyphoi but he decorated also other

minor shapes like lekythoi, pelikai, kalpides, olpai, oinochoai, cups and cup-skyphoi, all in all 211 vases, of which 126 are skyphoi. His skyphoi belong mainly among his earlier vases and are, for the most part, executed with a powerful and flowing style of incision. In the later stages of his career, his drawing was less original. The Theseus Painter seems to have had early connections with the Krokotos Group and the Sub-krokotos Group, as well as the White Heron Group and Heron Workshop, whereas he seems also to have had, in his later career, connections with other painters such as, for instance, the Athena Painter. The Theseus Painter is thus connected with several different workshops and the author suggests as an explanation that he may have been working as a “free-lance” painter, buying his pottery from different workshops, or that he changed workshop more than once during his probably long career.

The Theseus Painter was also innovative in his choice of subject matter, which is noteworthy for its diversity, and as with his drawing, much more so in the earlier phases than in the later. The reason for the new subject matter is discussed and it is tentatively suggested that it may have been the result of a change in function or customer demand. The fairly recent appearance of red figure as well as new literary forms like drama may have played a role, as well as personal inventiveness. His preferred motifs are quieter events, daily life, mythological personages in seemingly introspective moods. Gods are few.

The book is very clearly arranged. A general introduction surveys stylistic questions, potters’ work, workshops, time-frame, iconography as well as general problems with late black figure and the identification of workshops and, finally, provenances. The same themes are then dealt with in more detail in Section A, I–VII. Section B, VIII–XIII deals with iconography: deities and other mythological figures, ritual, theatre and everyday life. After a summary, there follow a catalogue, tables and graphs, which help to clarify the discussion, and finally indices, figures and plates.

The book gives a very detailed and clear picture of the personality of a painter at the turn of the century, 500 B.C. A minor criticism concerns the references between the text and the figures and plates: these seem not to have received a final editing. On the whole, though, this book can be recommended to anyone interested not only in this particular vase painter but also in the whole period in which he worked, a time of change where Athenian pottery is concerned.

T. Mannack, *The Late Mannerists in Athenian vase-painting* (Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology), Oxford: Oxford University Press 2001. xviii + 153 pp., 64 pls. ISBN 0-19-924089-2.

This book is mainly about the Later and Latest Mannerists; at the beginning of Mannack’s study, the Earlier Mannerists were already being taken care of by somebody else; they

have therefore not been included in the catalogue. The name of this red-figure workshop of the 5th century is Beazley’s, and Mannack carefully explains in the Introduction that the Mannerists were not artists but humble craftsmen and that workshop, here, means a place to work, a courtyard, kilns, shelves, and storage areas for clay and wood. The terms ‘teacher’ and ‘pupil’ are also defined. This is commendable, as these terms are usually not qualified at all. The structure of the book is clear, a chapter on Mannerism and vase painting, then chapters on the Earlier, the Later and the Latest Mannerists, in which all painters are treated one by one, followed by chapters on shapes, ornaments, iconography, chronology, a summary and catalogue.

The name of the ‘Mannerist’ workshop derives from its members’ habit of using elements of an older style, combining it with a new way of painting. The cause of this is not quite clear. The painters may have retained elements of styles from their teachers, who had been active during the Archaic period, or certain subjects may have been connected with more old-fashioned ways of painting, which may have been due to influences from famous wall paintings or sculpture. It cannot be shown that the painters of the workshop made vases for special religious ceremonies or that they catered for overseas buyers such as, for instance, the Etruscans, as the find-places of the vases are evenly distributed in Greece and Italy. The themes are more or less the same as that of their contemporaries.

This is an exemplary book on an Athenian workshop, written by someone who really knows his subject and containing a mine of information useful for anyone interested either in this particular workshop or, more generally, in the vase painting of its time.

R. Wachter, *Non-Attic Greek vase inscriptions* (Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology), Oxford: Oxford University Press 2001. xxi + 397 pp., 31 pp. figs., 32 pls. ISBN 0-19-814093-2.

The book contains all inscriptions on non-Attic Greek vases and pinakes from before 400 B.C. that are painted or incised by potter or painter. Inscriptions outside the pictorial field have not been considered. Graffiti, nonsense inscriptions and trade marks have been left out. As is stated in the introduction, this book is mainly a philological enterprise, one of its main purposes being to try trace foreign dialect-features and individual elements, in order to establish the origin of painters who were possibly moving around and introducing new stylistic elements. Other problems concern phonology, orthography and word-formation.

The scheme of the book is also presented in the introduction, making the book easy to use. After the catalogue, epigraphy, spelling and philology are dealt with, followed by different types of inscriptions, dedications to gods, potters’ and painters’ signatures, erotic inscriptions, prizes or other

dedications to humans, owners' inscriptions, abecedaria etc. An extensive chapter is devoted to so-called labelled scenes and genre scenes. A final chapter deals with literary language and is followed by a microcatalogue, references, an index of words, linguistic and epigraphical matters, vases and inscriptions, collections, provenances, ancient authors and their works, all of which are very helpful for users of the book.

The book is probably of greatest interest to philologists but students of vase painting and iconography also have a lot to learn from it. The chapter on daily life and the one on labelled scenes and their interpretation are of great importance discussing, among other things, how labels were used and how their placing in relationship to the figures, their spelling and the origin of the names have a bearing on how to interpret a scene and to determine its origin in, possibly, an identifiable literary source.

T. Fischer-Hansen, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1* (Denmark 10), Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters 2004. 165 pp., 132 pls. ISBN 87 7452 272 8.

The fifth volume is one in the series of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, the importance of which cannot be overstated. The series was started by Pottier in 1922 and volumes of the series are now well above 300 and are still coming out. Although the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen has not given vases the highest priority, the main object of the founder, Carl Jacobsen, being the acquisition of ancient sculpture, we are nevertheless presented with an impressive number of vases of high quality and great variety from Attic black figure, red figure and white ground; South Italian and Sicilian, to Etruscan and other Central Italian ware; Greek Hellenistic vases and, finally, East Greek and Corinthian figure vases.

After a short introduction, presenting the history of the collection and illustrated with some excellent colour photographs of the highlights of the collection, and a bibliography, there follows a careful and exhaustive catalogue of the 131 vases. The author has dispensed with the usual sub-headings, which makes for a restful and yet clear layout. In the text are found section-drawings of the vases and, most welcome, also, where it has been possible to discern it, the preliminary sketch of the pictures on the vases, shown against a faded photograph of the vase in question. Concordances and indices and a large number of very good photographs conclude this volume of the corpus, interesting not least because of the high quality and great variety of the vases, including, among many other interesting exhibits, the famous kylix with the double-bodied Gorgon.

W.D.J. van de Put, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Amsterdam 3. Allard Pierson museum, University of Amsterdam.*

*Black-figure, pattern and Six technique lekythoi* (The Netherlands 9), Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum 2006. XI + 71 pp., 40 pls., indices. ISBN 978-90-71211-38-6.

W.D.J. van de Put, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Amsterdam 4. Allard Pierson museum, University of Amsterdam. Red-figure and white-ground lekythoi* (The Netherlands 10), Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum 2006. XII + 94 pp., 7 figs., 39 pls. ISBN 978-90-71211-39-3.

O.E. Borgers & H.A.G. Brijder. *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Amsterdam 5. Allard Pierson museum, University of Amsterdam. Attic black-figure amphorae, pelikai, kraters, hydriai, olpai, oinochoai, and tripod kothon* (The Netherlands 11), Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum 2007. 81 pp., 45 figs., 64 pls., 4 indices. ISBN 978-90-71211-47-3.

The two volumes on lekythoi are very useful, not least for someone who is not studying lekythoi on an everyday basis. As pointed out in the introduction, the catalogue texts are accompanied by CT scans instead of profile drawings in scale 1:2. These scans, apart from being faster to do, also show the inner contour and thus do away with the idealized symmetry of profile drawings. Also new are the references to the Beazley Archive Pottery Database. The various types of lekythoi are introduced by a short note on previous research and useful information regarding periods, workshops and individual painters, before the description of individual vases. Especially interesting is the volume on red-figure lekythoi, because, as the author points out, we have a far less complete overview of red-figure lekythoi than of black-figure ones. The photographs of the white-ground lekythoi are published in colour. The seven figures at the end show traces of preliminary drawings on a few of the vases.

The third volume, on Attic black-figure vases, contains around a hundred vases or fragments in the Allard Pierson Museum. The shapes represented are vessels for water and wine and one tripod kothon/exaleiptron. A large number of the items are fragments. Some of the vases once belonged to the R.A. Lunsingh Scheurleer collection and those already published in *CVA Scheurleer 1* and *2* are republished. A few are on loan from Dutch private collections. Photographs, line drawings and CT scans are found at the end. To help those looking for a special vase, painter or subject, there are four useful indices, one of inventory numbers and plates, a concordance with *ABV*, *Para* and *Beazley Addenda*, indices of subjects and vase painters found at the end of all three of these volumes of *CVA*.

*Essays in honor of Dietrich von Bothmer*, 2 vols.: text and plates, eds. A.J. Clarc & J. Gaunt (Allard Pierson Series, 14), Amsterdam: Ter Burg Offset, Alkmaar 2002. 348 pp., 88 pls. ISBN 90-71211-35-5.

This book is a collection of short essays in honour of Dietrich von Bothmer, who hardly needs an introduction. After

studies in Berlin, Oxford, Chicago, and at the University of California, he spent most of his time from 1946 onwards at the Metropolitan Museum in New York guiding, teaching and helping innumerable persons in the quest for knowledge about ancient vases. 50 of these people have contributed to the volume, almost without exception writing about their gratitude for all the help and guidance they have received from the eighty-year-old honorand.

A biographical note sketches von Bothmer's career as curator, scholar, teacher, and friend, declaring among many other things: "Fragments are the building-blocks of Dietrich's scholarship; nothing pleases him more than joining together fragments separated by the caprice of time and circumstances", the truth of which I know from personal experience, Dietrich von Bothmer having once most graciously exchanged a sherd with a Gorgon's eye on it for another sherd, in order to allow a one-eyed gorgon on a skyphos in the Museum of Antiquities of the University at Lund to look upon the world again with both her eyes. The biographical note is followed by a list of publications containing almost 300 items.

The 48 essays are placed alphabetically after authors' names. Most common are, not surprisingly, essays about Attic red figure, which, together with Attic black figure, Athenian white ground, Chalcidian, East Greek, place the essays about vases in an absolute majority. Most of them are about individual vase painters, shapes or motifs, but others deal, for instance, with very unsuitable uses of vases or the meaning of a group of vases in an Etruscan tomb. There are, in addition, essays on a gold object (decoration for a Scythian relief for a sword-sheath), the famous silver cups by Chersiphos in Copenhagen, bronze vases from Argos, and other metal objects. There are also essays on stone sculptures, *inter alia* sculpture from the Parthenon and the Erechtheion, as well as a carving on an amber pendant. The remaining essays deal with the collecting of antiquities, an early excavation on Cyprus, a painting by Rubens, weights, a letter from Beazley to Ernst Langlotz about attributing vases, and an interesting suggestion that the myth of Romulus and Remus is about attachment and separation, and how early experiences in the lives of young children will rebound unexpectedly in later life. All in all, this is a volume full of interesting ideas and well worth reading and, as such, worthy of its dedicatee, who has in the course of many years given so much to research and researchers concerned with ancient vases.

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## THE COMPLEXITIES OF HELLENISM— A REVIEW ARTICLE

Constanze Güthenke, *Placing modern Greece: the dynamics of Romantic Hellenism, 1770–1840*, Oxford: OUP: Classical Presences 2008. x + 276 pp. ISBN 978-0-19-923185-0.

Yannis Hamilakis, *The nation and its ruins: antiquity, archaeology, and national imagination in Greece*, Oxford: OUP: Classical Presences 2007. xxii + 352 pp., 51 figs. ISBN 978-0-19-923038-9.

### Introduction

The relation between modern and ancient Hellenism has been complex ever since the emergence of a Neo-Hellenic identity in the late 18th century, and the subsequent establishment of the modern Greek state. A conceptual scheme that has become traditional, is based on two analytical pairings: Neo-Hellenism as distinct from Western Hellenism, and Neo-Hellenism as distinct from *Romiossini*. Hellenism denotes a discourse which casts classical Greek culture as the cultural origin of Western civilization, including modern Greece, and admires the achievements of the ancient Greeks. The discourse of Hellenism was formulated in Western Europe but, because it became foundational for modern Greeks, a distinction is made between Western Hellenism and Neo-Hellenism. Neo-Hellenism was largely formulated by a well-educated élite of Greeks in close contact with the European cultural settings in which Hellenism flourished. Neo-Hellenism is marked by an intrinsic ambivalence towards Western Hellenism. On the one hand, there is a recognition that Neo-Hellenism benefits from the western veneration of the ancient Greek past. On the other hand, in Western Hellenism modern Greeks are perpetually being compared with the ancient Greeks, and, in this comparison, the modern Greeks usually draw the short straw.

Neo-Hellenism was adopted as the official national ideology of the modern Greek state. The obvious external roots of this ideology subsequently created a divide between Neo-Hellenism and *Romiossini*. The terms *Romiossini* and *Romii* derive from the Ottoman designation of the Orthodox Christian population as *Rum millet*. The *Romii* identity is based on Greek-Orthodox Christianity and an affinity with the Byzantine Empire. Classical antiquity has a minor position in this ideology. The official adoption of Neo-Hellenism did not result in the wholesale abandonment of the *Romiossini* ideology by the population of the Greek state. Accordingly, modern Greek culture is often conceptualized as dual.

Two recent publications in the 'Classical Presences' series of the Oxford University Press, Constanze Güthenke's

*Placing modern Greece* and Yannis Hamilakis' *The nation and its ruins*, elaborate on appropriations of the classical legacy in modern Greece. Although differing in character, both books illustrate that Hellenisms are more complex notions than has been suggested above.

### Placing modern Greece

The book by Constanze Güthenke (hereafter CG) entitled, *Placing modern Greece: the dynamics of Romantic Hellenism, 1770–1840* (hereafter *PMG*), is an account of how Greece, as a place, was portrayed in the discourse of Romantic Hellenism. The Romantic Hellenist movement was promoted by two groups: first, by the German idealists such as Friedrich Hölderlin, Friedrich Schiller and other German authors, and, second, by lettered Greeks such as Andreas Kalvos and Dionysios Solomos. CG's main argument is that literary representations of Greece are permeated with imagery from nature. Modern Greece was not yet a state with fixed boundaries and representations of Greece refer often to an ideal place. The tension between a real and an ideal Greece runs through *PMG*. CG stresses that the idealization of Greece is not an attitude in direct opposition to a fascination with the real materiality of Greece. On the contrary, these two *topoi* mutually enforce each other (p. 3). The Romantic fascination with Greece had a philosophical and aesthetic foundation, too. A fundamental topic of philosophy at the time was the gradual estrangement of man from nature. Modernity, and modern life, was seen as opposed to nature and the past. In other words, at a time when the past was being demarcated from the present (because of the spread of modernity), men of letters turned to an imaginary Greece in order to bridge this increasing divide. Greece was therefore a central construction in Romantic aesthetics since it held a promise of counteracting the estrangement of man from nature (5, 19). CG situates *PMG* in a theoretical framework of constructivist landscape-studies (6–9). This framework, which stresses that our perceptions of landscapes are culturally constructed, is appropriate, given the topic of her analysis.

Greece had figured in western imagination well before the foundation of the modern Greek state. However, it was only with the advent of modernity—a result of the cultural wars between the ancients and the moderns in late 18th-century France—and only with the conceptual separation between past and present, that Greece emerged as a modern, contemporary place as well. The European concern with classical Greece secured a primary position for Greece in Romantic aesthetics. Aesthetic and philosophical concerns with freedom, individuality, nature, and landscape, were tenets that converged with particular distinctness in relation to Greece (21). CG turns to J.J. Winckelmann, J.G. Herder, and F. Schiller, in order to identify the characteristics of

18th-century Hellenism. Winckelmann associated artistic production with freedom and favourable political conditions (25–28). In his writings, Greece is a metaphor responding to the Romantic concern with freedom and nature. CG notes that Winckelmann often used images from nature to convey freedom. Herder prefers Greece because it is a notable example of a nation that has gone through a complete evolutionary cycle from birth, growth, acme, to decline. Schiller, in turn, established a conceptual link between nature and the ancient Greeks. According to his scheme, we have naïve emotions towards antiquity and nature. Naïve emotions, as opposed to sentimental emotions, are characterized by a feeling of desire and objectification. In Schiller's scheme, the experience of Greek nature epitomized the Romantic search for the sublime. Further, CG points to I. Kant's philosophy as foundational for Romantic Hellenism. His ontological dualism made it possible to regard experienced reality as symbolic, that is, as standing for something else. This facilitated a perspective in which the notion of Greece symbolized the distance between man and nature, an aesthetic landscape, and a place with authentic ruins and a past. Greece was constructed as a marginal place precariously situated on the boundary between culture and nature and between past and present.

Chapter two begins by recalling a long-forgotten Greek revolt against Ottoman rule in the 1770s. At the time, it received considerable attention and placed Greece on the European map of consciousness. The number of western travellers to Greece increased after 1770. It was common to publish travel-narratives which included vivid descriptions of nature and relate these to the contemporary philosophical concern with freedom and liberty. According to CG, travellers often articulate the notion that geographic conditions determine national characteristics (47–49). Greece also figured in fictional, or semi-fictional, narratives. For instance, Abbé Barthélemy's influential *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce* is a fictive travel account set in the Hellenistic period. CG concludes that Greece in Barthélemy's narrative is a place characterized by its physical beauty, but also that Greece is portrayed as an extension of French culture (58–59). Another example is Comte de Choisseul-Gouffier's *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, which is concerned with the description of ancient remains. CG continues with Gerhard von Halem's anthology *Blüthen aus Trümmern*, where Greece emerges as an idealized place holding the promise for freedom. In this and other works, CG observes frequent references to the Maniots. Maniotic wilderness, independence and fierce desire for freedom attracted German authors such as G. von Halem, F. von Stolberg, and W. Heinse (60–71). Next, CG investigates F. Hölderlin's works, particularly *Hyperion oder der Eremit in Griechenland* (71–92). CG's focuses on the representation of the ideal. Hölderlin portrays the natural landscape of Greece in great detail. He

is thus not imposing an ideal on a generalized view of a material reality. Hölderlin situates modern Greece between antiquity and the modern west. We can only approach antiquity, therefore, by way of modern Greece, and its landscape with ruins. Images of nature do not merely propel the narrative: they are also constructed as the opposite to modernity.

In chapter three CG investigates German Philhellenism, that is, support for the Greek struggle for independence, after the turn of the century. For a while, German Philhellenism hijacked the Romantic movement. Romanticism moved into a second phase, which had an aesthetic agenda of a more eclectic sort. *Biedermeier*, or “tamed Romanticism”, is characterized by its attention to local realism, religious symbolism, and a higher transcendental order. CG argues that representations of Greek landscape evolved from general, reflexive images to specific, more concrete, images (94). This conceptual shift is particularly noticeable around 1821. Another process was that Greek nature was politicized. Romantic Hellenism contributed to a double process of “nationalizing nature and naturalizing the nation” (102). According to this view of things, distinctive national characteristics are reflected in the natural environment of the nation, while, simultaneously, nature shapes a people’s moral and spiritual qualities. A nation is not only legitimized by a sense of historical continuity, it needs also a sense of naturalness. German political pamphlets from the 1820s portray Greek nature as violent and destructive. This portrayal mirrors, and legitimizes, the violent events of the Greek struggle for independence. Next CG turns to the popular genre of Greek folk-songs (111–115). Natural images feature prominently in them. Folk songs were preferred in the Romantic movement because Herder viewed them as authentic expressions of a people’s creativity. Another expression of the support for the Greek cause was the so-called *Griechendichtung* of, for instance, W. Müller. He deploys violent images of nature when he portrays the Maniots, who are cast as the descendants of the ancient Spartans. In Müller’s poetry, continuity between antiquity and modernity is often manifested. Another example is the Battle of Peta, 1822, which he likens to the Battle of Thermopylae.

In chapter four, CG shifts focus to the Greek literary scene. *PMG* has a meta-poetic level which I have not mentioned yet. CG interprets the texts, additionally, as expressions of a self-consciousness. The authors are seen as constructing their agency through them and situating themselves in a cultural and political setting. It is the Romantic concern with the estrangement of man from nature that resurfaces here. Western Hellenism conceptualized Greece from a distance: it constructed a discursive distance to Greece. This generated a problematic ambivalence for the Greek authors of Romantic Hellenism (142). The first-generation authors of the Greek state, the so-called Old

Athenian School, were western-oriented and well-connected Phanariots. In the work of Alexander Rizos Rangavis, CG traces influences from German Romantic Hellenism. CG investigates how Rangavis understands and constructs the poet’s position in Greek society and concludes that he “undermines any easy identification of the Greek character with his natural (and national) environment” (154). In Rangavis’ poetry, space is confined and restricted. This reflects a fundamental, contemporary, Greek concern with the many Greeks who lived outside the borders of the Greek state. Rangavis portrays the natural environment of Greece as threatening. Furthermore, he is primarily concerned with Greece as an ideal space (173–190). Panagiotis Soutsos, also a member of the Old Athenian School, refers often to ruins and classical antiquity in his work. The past comes through as a burden in Soutsos’ texts. Archaeological remains have negative obstructive connotations. Greek nature is desolate. Also in Soutsos’ work, an ideal Greece is given precedence (185). This generation of Greek authors relate to themes of Western Hellenism. However, in their work, they exhibit ambivalence towards it. The emphasis on an ‘otherworld’, as opposed to a problematic reality, can be seen as a Greek response to the concerns of Western Hellenism. CG concludes that this conforms with the characterization of modern Greek literature as having been late to respond to modernity.

In the last chapter, CG considers the poetry of Andreas Kalvos and Dionysios Solomos, both from the Ionian Islands. The political history of the Ionian Islands differs from the history of mainland Greece, since they were under Venetian rule for a long period. Ionian culture exhibits strong influences from Italy. From 1797, until they became Greek in 1864, the islands passed through the hands of France, Russia, the Ottoman Empire, and Britain. The Ionians viewed mainland Greece from the middle distance. Andreas Kalvos’ poetry is influenced by European literary trends and it was written for Philhellenic circles in Europe (197). CG characterizes his poetry as “aesthetics of distance” (195), in which Greece is primarily a *topos* of freedom. The last author considered in *PMG* is Dionysios Solomos. German influences, particularly from Schiller, were identified in Solomos’ poetry already in the influential introduction to his collected works, published in 1859. CG expands on this theme and emphasizes Hegel’s influence on Solomos (214). In his poems, nature is shaped by a theory of transcendentalism. There is a correspondence between subject/ideal and object/reality, where the latter pair is an extension and sublimation of the first pair (216–217). Solomos’ nature-images are of a fragmentary prismatic kind (221). In his poem *Free Besieged*, which deals with the siege of Missolonghi in 1826, nature is not a concrete space but an a-topian condensed symbol. In his *Hymn to Freedom*, the national anthem of Greece, nature is threatening. CG de-

texts allusions to the Bible in some poems, whereas Solomos seems to have avoided Homeric references (234–235). Thematically, his representation of Greek nature is in line with Western Hellenism. However, he re-formulated this theme in accordance with his agenda (238–239). In Solomos' poetry, Greece emerges as an elusive entity that escapes fixation.

In the concluding Epilogue, CG associates *PMG* to other important publications concerning the emergence of Neo-Hellenism. CG argues that we need to move beyond the binary pairs mentioned above in the introduction. Whereas a distant perspective to Greek 'placeness', that is a constructed sense of a place, suits Western Hellenism, Greeks appropriating this discourse constructed a 'placeness' that undermined and complicated its western original.

### *Critique of PMG*

*PMG* investigates how German and Greek authors in the Romantic Hellenist movement constructed Greece. Greece is not merely a real place. CG's interest lies in the construction of an ideal Greece. The ideal is not in polar opposition to the real. On the contrary, they nourish each other. I cannot claim expertise in Modern Greek Studies, and comments from me about neglected works, authors, or discourses would have little weight. My engagement with *PMG* stems from a general interest in the question of how classical antiquity has been appropriated in various settings. This is not a major theme for CG, although it surfaces occasionally. *PMG* opens up a literary panorama with Greece as its focal point. CG demonstrates that philosophical and aesthetic concerns other than an interest in antiquity have contributed to the high level of attention that Greece has received. Ancient temples did not dictate interest in Greece as much as the association of Greece with a struggle for independence and with the notion of freedom. Greece was constructed as a particularly natural place that had not been destroyed by modernity, and cast as a symbol for the Romantic concern with the estrangement of man from nature. The deployment of nature-images corresponds to the need to demonstrate the naturalness of an emerging nation. Whereas antiquity is used in order to establish historical continuity, nature is needed in order to establish naturalness, that is, a self-evident relation between a people and its natural environment. In a sense, the major theme of *PMG* complements an understanding of Neo-Hellenic ethnogenesis. Neo-Hellenism was not only legitimized by references to an ancient past, but also by references to a conceptual naturalness.

CG delimitation of her analytical focus to the use of nature-images in Romantic Hellenism serves her purposes well. The charting of the changing representations of Greek nature during the period of seventy years which she investigates illustrates the complexities of Hellenism. CG's reading of texts is sensitive and she points to the individual traits

of each author. Accordingly, she avoids the temptation to re-enforce a schematic difference between external and internal Hellenism. The Greek authors were influenced by themes, topics, and notions from Western Hellenism but they did not merely import them. Rather, as CG convincingly demonstrates, they re-formulated these themes in order to express their concerns with contemporary Greek national discourse.

It is often assumed that Western Hellenism was wholeheartedly accepted and used also by modern Greeks, at least during the initial phases of the Neo-Hellenism, and that Neo-Hellenism, as a discourse that differs from Western Hellenism, was formulated only later. *PMG* revises this image and CG demonstrates that Greek authors at least reshaped the discourse of Hellenism in order to answer their concerns.

### The nation and its ruins

In his book *The nation and its ruins: antiquity, archaeology, and national imagination in Greece* (hereafter *TNR*) Yannis Hamilakis (hereafter YH) elaborates on the complex associations between classical antiquity and national imagination in Greek public discourse. In *TNR*, classical antiquity refers exclusively to the material remains from antiquity. Furthermore, YH does not treat archaeology as an academic or professional practice, but focuses on public appropriations of archaeology. He is not concerned with how archaeology is conducted, but with how the "archaeological" is reproduced. In *TNR*, archaeology is a Greek public discourse. Furthermore, YH never aims to present an exhaustive account of the multi-faceted rôle which archaeology has in Greece, but to present a critique by means of case studies. The prismatic structure of *TNR* mirrors the tensions and contradictions in Greek public discourse. On a theoretical level, YH's concern is with the notion of "Indigenous Hellenism", that is "the appropriation of western Hellenism by local societies in Greece in the mid to late nineteenth century and its recasting as a novel, syncretic, and quasi-religious form of imagining time and place, past and present, of producing and reproducing national identities" (vii–viii).

The most substantial part of chapter one consists of a presentation of the theoretical framework. Initially, YH asserts that *TNR* is neither an anthropology of archaeology, an ethnography of a heritage-space, a social history of Greek archaeology, nor "a book on the nationalist use of archaeology in Greece" (10). YH finds the 1990s' concern with nationalist uses of archaeology shortsighted, since nationalism is conceptualized from a top-down perspective. Rather, YH is interested in "banal nationalism", that is everyday mundane practices by ordinary people that reproduce and re-enforce national ideologies. In other words, mundane engagements with archaeology are seen as being part of a

banal nationalism. In a wider perspective, YH views archaeology as a device of modernity which serves “the needs of the most powerful ideology of that modernity (nationalism)” (14). Methodologically, YH prefers “multi-sited ethnography” which views the analytical object as slippery, residing as it does in a wide variety of realms. Multi-sited ethnography aims not to favour one realm, or one kind of sources, but to give equal weight to all contexts. In other words, we can situate *TNR* in the second phase of the cultural turn. Scholars in this phase remain influenced by critical, post-modernist, theories but are more sensitive to local and empirical aspects than in the first phase of the cultural turn.

Chapter two is an account of the agencies providing for archaeology in Greece. The Central Archaeological Council is the supreme institutional body for heritage-management in Greece. It enjoys a high public profile, and advises the Ministry of Culture in all matters that deal with cultural heritage-management. The Greek Archaeological Service, founded as early as 1833, organizes the bulk of archaeological excavations in Greece. Archaeologists in the Greek Archaeological Service decide if, and which, land should be set apart for archaeological investigations. However, the meagreness of economic resources often results in long delays before actual investigations take place. This agency is forced to conduct hasty rescue digs. Resentment against archaeologists in the Greek Archaeological Service is common. In contrast to these archaeologists, who are assigned the ungrateful rôle of guarding the archaeological record, university archaeologists, foreign and Greek, have the means to conduct archaeological excavations which include an analytical, or interpretative, aspect (38). Nevertheless, all archaeologists enjoy a high social status in Greece. Often archaeologists are viewed as performing a national duty. YH regards Greek nationalism as a secular religion worshipping antiquity. In this discourse, archaeologists are the priests (39). There is a brief mention of archaeological activities supporting nationalism, such as the archaeological dimension of the Greek occupation of Western Anatolia, 1920–1922, and the Hellenization of place-names, particularly in northern Greece, in which archaeologists were instrumental. As priests, archaeologists guard antiquity and the purity of the Greek nation. This guardianship also has aesthetic dimensions. Archaeologists have a say about the appearance of the environment surrounding archaeological sites. Museums, which are part of the archaeological establishment in Greece, aestheticize the archaeological record in their exhibitions. The foreign schools in Greece are often viewed as expressions of imperialism and/or colonialism. YH reappraises this one-dimensional dismissal and illustrates how they are integrated in a partnership, albeit in an asymmetrical relation, with Greek archaeology. Finally, YH considers the 2002 archaeological law. He concludes

that it does not signal a departure from the nationalist, 19th-century framework, although it has been widened to include concerns of cultural property and cultural tourism.

In chapter three YH traces the gradual re-formulation of Western Hellenism into Indigenous Hellenism. Western Hellenism was adopted as the official national ideology when Greece became independent. However, ancient remains were visible before and local people had always related to them. In Greek nationalistic history, the re-use of antiquities by locals, whether living in medieval Frankish mini-kingdoms, or later in the Ottoman Empire, is presented as conscious practice by “Greeks”, aimed to rescue the antiquities (64–65). This interpretation projects contemporary notions backwards. YH presents another explanatory framework, according to which classical remains were seen as remains of a different world, perceived in religious terms, and a different, mythical, time. They represented a peculiar otherness. Ancient temples were often converted into places of worship. We are all familiar with the social history of the Parthenon, which has served both as a Christian church and as a Muslim mosque. The Ottoman traveller Evliya Celebi witnessed in 1660s Christians in Athens celebrating at the Tower of the Winds and Muslims worshipping at the columns of the Temple of Zeus Olympios. Ethnographic accounts confirm that classical remains were perceived as the works of the Hellenes, a race of giants with supernatural powers. Ancient fragments were not incorporated into buildings to be rescued, but to secure their apotropaic and protective properties (67). Another account tells how many blamed the destruction of one of the columns of the Temple of Zeus Olympios for the outbreak of an epidemic in 1759 (68–69). This kind of ethnography, called *laographia*, focuses on collecting folk-memories, and goes hand in hand with archaeology. Both discourses establish a conceptual continuity back to antiquity. However, *laographia* is also crucial because it bridges the divide between Western Hellenism and local indigenous appropriations of classical antiquity. Influences from Western Hellenism are detectable among Greeks even before the independence of Greece. The Philomousos Etaireia, founded in 1813, aimed to discover, collect, and present antiquities in museums. Ancient remains were treated in accordance with the notions of Western Hellenism. The separation of antiquities from everyday life illustrates that Western Hellenism is founded on modernity. During a period, from the late 18th to the early 19th century, a small, influential, urban, social élite of Greeks adopted Western Hellenism. Its members turned away from Christianity to a new enlightened secular world-view which venerated classical antiquity (83). However, the vast majority of people in Greece retained their Christian world-view and continued to view classical remains as sacred. YH argues that a process of a syncretism, which transformed ancient remains into relics of the secular religion of national-

ism, took place later. Archaeology is decisive here, since it is responsible for the transformation of insignificant material remains into national monuments. This process included three strategies; (1) the purification of the landscape through the removal of remains obstructing vestiges from the classical period, (2) the rebuilding or even recreation of symbolically significant buildings, (3) the designation and demarcation of archaeological sites. The purification was justified by aesthetic principles. It also related to a wider public discourse of purity and pollution. The aim was to purify archaeological sites from foreign pollutions. Initially, only Ottoman remains were viewed as polluting, but later Western remains, too, were cleansed (91). The spread of photography, with reproductions of clean monuments devoid of any social life, enhanced the notion of purification (95). Epistemologically, Greek archaeology pursued an empiricism that explicitly refrained from interpretations and explanations. Archaeologists confined their rôle to that of describing finds in order to let them speak for themselves (100). Naïve empiricism is the epistemological foundation of a national archaeology of guardianship. YH notes that national archaeology portrays itself as objective and neutral, yet it creates a past through deliberate procedures (102). One political consequence of Hellenism was that the Greek struggle for independence received support from Europe. Other contemporary rebellions were perceived as threats to a political order, but Hellenism neutralized the radical connotations of the Greek struggle (105). Western Hellenism generated tensions among the Greeks. The exaggerated attention paid to the classical past was perceived by some as an obstacle to the modern development of Greece (107). Furthermore, the Byzantine period and Orthodox Christianity had negative connotations in Western Hellenism, which contradicted a Balkan reality in which religion was a vehicle through which nationalism was channelled. These tensions were solved with the construction of Indigenous Hellenism in the mid-19th century. The influential historian Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos laid the ground for Indigenous Hellenism in his seminal *Istoria tou Ellinikou Ethnous*, published between 1860 and 1874. He argued for a spiritual continuity of Greekness from antiquity via the Byzantine period, and thus via Orthodox Christianity, to modern Greece (115–116). This syncretism was largely accepted and replaced Western Hellenism as the official ideology. The religious facet was not erased in this process of fusion and Indigenous Hellenism bears the marks of a semi-religious dogma.

Manolis Andronikos' career and position in Greek public discourse is investigated in chapter four. He was a celebrity well before his excavations of Vergina. The political tensions between Greece and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, which peaked in 1992, contributed also to Andronikos' fame. The 'sun', or 'star', of Vergina became the

prime symbolic weapon in the diplomatic war. Andronikos provided ammunition for the Greek counterattack. In early national narratives, ancient Macedonia was portrayed as a foreign conqueror. Its place in the national ideology was secured only with Indigenous Hellenism. Archaeologically, Macedonia was not incorporated in the national topography until Andronikos' finds (133). Another feature of Indigenous Hellenism that Andronikos articulated was its emphasis on the spiritual continuity of Hellenism. Dreams are a prominent metaphor in conceptualisations of Greek nationality. YH emphasizes Andronikos' frequent inclusion of dreams in his publications. For instance, the finding of the tomb of Philip II in Vergina is foretold by a dream received by a woman, unknown to him, in the USA (139). Andronikos was cunning and used his public standing to enhance his fame. The opening of the tomb of Philip II was carefully staged in order to achieve maximum publicity (142–143). In the end, Andronikos personified the archaeologist in Greece. He was the leading shaman in a secular religion.

In chapter five, YH discusses the use of antiquity by the régime of Metaxas in the 1930s, to all intents and purposes a fascist régime. Sparta and the Battle of Thermopylae were two key themes in Metaxas' propaganda. Spyridon Marinatos' excavations at Thermopylae attracted personal interest on the part of Metaxas. The Third Hellenic Civilization, after classical Greece and the Byzantine Empire, was the ideological foundation for Metaxas' régime. References to classical antiquity, and notably to the aspects of antiquity that mirrored the official policy, were frequent. YH identifies a principle of "selective glorification". Sparta was glorified by a theme in the propaganda according to which ordinary people should make sacrifices for the good of the state (177). Byzantium, on the other hand, legitimized a strong centralized state, a great leader, and the Christian religious foundation of the régime's ideology. Another side of the selective glorification was the active prohibition of, for instance, certain ancient dramas. The youth organization EON, with the Minoan double axe as its symbol, was crucial for the mediation of the propaganda. EON organized public festivals, parades, and visits to archaeological sites. It introduced a performative dimension to the appropriation of antiquity in Greece. The extensive use of photographs in EON's magazines featuring posing EON-youths in front of ancient monuments was effective in spreading the performative agenda. The images monumentalize both the anonymous youths and the remains. They are reminders of the régime's ideological self-portrayal as inheritors of the First Hellenic Civilization. Metaxas' régime was extremely anti-communistic, so left-wingers were outcasts of Greek society. Nonetheless, they too adhered to the ideology that portrayed classical antiquity as the origin of the national culture (191).

Chapter six is devoted to the use of antiquity in the concentration camps on Makronisos during the Civil War, 1945–1949. Left-wing political views were criminalized and left-wingers were often sent into inner exile on a barren island in 20th-century Greece. In the camps, the prisoners were ‘re-educated’ and ‘rehabilitated’. The only way out was to sign a “repentance statement” in which the abandonment of communist views was declared (211). In this setting antiquity was an educational tool imbuing the prisoners with politically correct, that is nationalistic, views. Conceptually, parallels were often drawn between Makronisos and classical Athens, both on a general national level and in the material directed to the prisoners. The Acropolis was chosen, for instance, as the symbol of the prisoners’ magazine (214–215). Rehabilitation consisted partly of the construction of miniature replicas of ancient monuments. This was seen as a purifying experience (217–220). This aggressive and forceful use of antiquity generated inversions of the official ideology. Prisoners began to refer to the Parthenon ironically and in mocking ways (225). The brutal methods on Makronisos were characterized as foreign and un-Hellenic by the prisoners. In other words, the prisoners did not turn against the classical legacy, but against the official appropriation of it. The moral authority of the classical past was never doubted (229).

In the last chapter, YH elaborates on the Parthenon marbles. YH begins with an account of the social, post-antique, history of the Parthenon and the Parthenon marbles. He emphasizes ideological aspects of this history and the importance of the Parthenon marbles in British ideology. YH mentions, for instance, that in 19th-century racist discourses the Parthenon marbles were said to have proved the Scandinavian/Saxon racial origins of the ancient Greeks (253). YH mentions the British Museum’s cleansing of the marbles, and the dinner parties organized in the exhibition rooms of the Parthenon marbles. The severe Greek reactions when these stories became known make sense in the light of Greek discourse concerning purity and pollution. However, YH is primarily interested in how the Parthenon marbles have been appropriated in Greek public discourse. Their importance reached unprecedented heights in the 1980s when Melina Mercouri, at that time Greek minister of culture, made their repatriation a prioritized, national, issue. YH does not shy away from pointing to the shortcomings of the Greek one-eyed emphasis on the repatriation of only the Parthenon marbles (265). The symbolic significance of the Parthenon marbles in Greece can hardly be overestimated. For many they symbolize the national body. The dismemberment of the Parthenon stands for the dismemberment of Greece (268). The strong emotions calling for the repatriation of the Parthenon marbles can thus be seen as a longing for completeness.

In the Conclusion, YH reiterates some of the topics. The

sacralisation of antiquity is mentioned. He concludes that all Greeks, regardless of political conviction, subscribe to an overarching national discourse which casts classical antiquity as the origin of Greece. Lastly, he emphasizes that modernity, as a discourse framing our understanding of the past, has not replaced older discourses. Indigenous Hellenism thus incorporates notions that pre-date modernity.

### *Critique of TNR*

*TNR* is a rich, well-argued, and thought-provoking book. Those of us who have taken an interest in YH’s earlier publications about archaeology in Greece will recognize that parts of *TNR* have been published earlier in the form of articles. YH’s engagement with the topics at issue stretches back for over a decade now, and *TNR* can be read as its conclusion. The narrative-theme that runs through *TNR* is the notion that classical antiquity is sacralised in modern Greece. The Greek appropriation of Western Hellenism gave birth to Indigenous Hellenism. This discourse merges a veneration of classical antiquity from Western Hellenism with Byzantine and Orthodox Christian notions. Within this discourse archaeologists function as priests of a secular religion. The concept of Indigenous Hellenism is presented in the second chapter, and then gradually explicated in the following chapters. This is the intellectual thrust of *TNR*.

However, *TNR* has some aspects that I find problematic. Indigenous Hellenism comes into view, brick by brick, through the presentation of examples that are not explicitly associated with it. *TNR* has a meandering narrative style, partly attributable to his ‘multi-sited’ ethnographic method. This adds to the impression of a rich book. However, some diversions, for instance about photography (94–98), and museums (46–48), are too short to add anything to the argument.

One of the major benefits of *TNR* is that YH demonstrates the connections between archaeology, nationalism, and modernity. He shows several times how archaeology and nationalism rest on modernity. Sometimes, however, I think that YH credits Greek nationalism with too much influence. That is, YH has a tendency to present phenomena which I regard as generic to western modernity, as problematic consequences of Greek nationalism. One of several examples is YH’s characterization of (Greek) nationalistic archaeology as disguising itself in a cloak of objectivity while it fails to openly discuss the constructed discursive and methodological techniques which are its foundations and through which it constructs a past (102). Although this certainly is a feature present in Greek archaeology, I fail to see it as a shortcoming specific to Greek archaeology and nationalism. The reluctance to discuss openly the conditions of the production of a discourse is generic to western normative sciences. In fact, it resembles Roland Barthes “reality effect”, which is applicable not only to literary texts but also to western normative science.

YH differentiates between archaeologists in the Greek Archaeological Service who have the rôle of custodians of the remains, and university and foreign archaeologists who conduct archaeology in a more analytical and interpretative fashion. The institutional landscape of Greek archaeology that YH paints is nuanced. However, I find it regrettable that he omits to elaborate on the effects of the institutional setting on the development of Greek archaeology. We can all appreciate that the meagre resources of the Greek Archaeological Service have forced its employees to conduct hasty rescue digs and publish them in descriptive accounts that let the finds speak for themselves (37, 100). It is quite understandable that the Greek Archaeological Service produces a naïve empiristic archaeology. However, YH does not elaborate to the same extent on how other institutions, such as universities and foreign schools, contribute to the preservation of a disciplinary discourse that is largely oblivious to other perspectives. Given the insight and capability that YH demonstrates in *TNR* it is unfortunate that he has omitted consideration of this matter.

One more topic is omitted from *TNR*. I think that *TNR* would have benefited from a discussion about illicit excavations and illicit trade of antiquities (mentioned only very briefly on 54). Illicit trade has plagued Greece from time immemorial and is, despite the nausea it causes us, a concrete and bodily appropriation of classical antiquity. The private illicit exploitation of classical antiquity contradicts the public sacralisation of classical antiquity. Illicit trade complicates Indigenous Hellenism since these practices invert the public sacralisation of the classical remains. It is an unfortunate fact that Indigenous Hellenism, which accommodates many, seemingly contradictory, public appropriations of classical antiquity, does not include certain private attitudes that contradict it. I find it hard to accept that agents participating in illicit trade view ancient remains as relics.

## Summary

Both *PMG* and *TNR* contribute to complicate our understanding of the dynamics of Hellenism. CG's investigation of Romantic Hellenism illustrates how the construction of an ideal Greece is related to the concrete landscape of Greece. *PMG* undermines thereby a conceptual divide between an imagined Greece and a different, real-world, Greek landscape. YH casts his net wider and investigates archaeology in Greece. By examining Indigenous Hellenism, YH develops a framework that makes Greek actions, reactions, and attitudes towards classical antiquity intelligible.

Although there are methodological differences, *PMG* and *TNR* are guided by a similar theoretical perspective. Both have a constructivist perspective guided by scepticism with regard to rigid structures. Dynamism and fluidity are essential principles for both authors. Furthermore, both publications have illustrated that we need to revise the analytical pairs mentioned in the introduction of this review. As so often, it is more fruitful to view analytical notions as extremes on a continuum and focus on the space in-between them. Last, but not least, both publications emphasize how the modern Greeks have appropriated and re-formulated a discourse concerning Hellenism in which they used to feature as second-rate extras.

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