ARTICLE

Early Prehistoric Research on Amorgos and the Beginnings of Cycladic Archaeology

YANNIS GALANAKIS

Abstract

Amorgos is widely known for its Early Cycladic antiquities, which now predominantly adorn private collections and numerous museums outside Greece. Some of the finest Cycladica associated with the island emerged before the first systematic excavations were conducted in 1894 by Christos Tsountas. With the exception of brief references, this early period of Cycladic exploration is little known. This article attempts to identify and reconstruct the private excavations that took place on Amorgos and the organization, operation, and trafficking of the island's Early Cycladic antiquities between 1880 and 1894. By integrating archival and archaeological material, this study offers glimpses of the cultural history of late 19th-century Amorgos and of some of the protagonists who paved the way for the systematic investigation of the early Cyclades.*

INTRODUCTION

Cycladic antiquities of the earliest times have attracted the interest of scholars and collectors for centuries. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, diplomats and politicians, army officers, artists, travelers, and antiquarians were all involved in the acquisition of Cycladica, which became increasingly popular in private collections and major European museums. Although originally described as stiff, inexpressive, crude, and barbarian, Early Cycladic (late fourth- and third-millennium B.C.E.) antiquities were presented as gifts to distinguished visitors to Greece as early as the 1830s.[1] Scholarly interest in the islands' early history developed—especially after the travels to the Cyclades of Ludwig Ross, the first inspector of antiquities in Greece[2]—and rekindled the desire of individuals and institutions to introduce smaller, portable antiquities into their collections. In the 1840s and 1850s, several art dealers eager to profit from the ever-growing demand in antiquities established shops in Athens. To replenish their stock in Cycladica, they most frequently had to resort to private, unsupervised, and largely unauthorized activities, though infrequently they would ask the central authorities for permission to excavate on the islands.[3]

It was around that time that the exploration of prehistoric remains on the Cyclades started to produce enough material to allow scholars to place them in cultural groups and construct chronological synchronisms. Similar discoveries in neighboring regions meant that a broader discussion of the available data was necessary for a better understanding of the Aegean's early history. The excavations in the late 1860s on Rhodes in the Dodecanese, especially at Ialysos, and Heinrich Schliemann's work at Troy and Mycenae in the 1870s led to the identification of an early period

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[1] E.g., the Crown Prince of Denmark, later King Christian VIII, in 1838 received an Early Cycladic figurine as a gift from Ludwig Ross (Riis et al. 1989, 26–7, cat. no. 12; Arnott 1990, 4 n. 11).

[2] Ross 1845. On early research in the Cyclades, see Fitton 1989, 6–11; Doumas 1991; Sherratt 2000, 10–24; Tzachili 2006, 32–62; Hattler 2011; Horst 2011.

[3] Requests for private excavations are listed in Eustratiades' (1863–1884) daybooks. On the first official excavations in the Cyclades, see Vasilikou 2006. On illicit excavations and forgeries, see Marthari 2001; 2005, 137–39; Lekakis 2006.

associated with Troy and of a later one associated with Mycenae and Ialysos. In an attempt to bridge the gap, geographical as well as chronological, between the two groups and to identify the "origins and spread" of the Trojan and Mycenaean material cultures, scholars once more turned their attention to the Cyclades. The work and studies of, among others, Fouqué, Dumont, Furtwängler, and Löschcke led to the identification of a "Theran type" or "Type de Santorin," which was chronologically placed between the material cultures of Troy and Mycenae/Ialysos.[4]

Amorgos was already well known in the philological and historical literature of the 19th century as a source of numerous inscriptions and coins and of the towers that marked its landscape.[5] During the 1880s, however, the island became such a fertile ground for Early Cycladic antiquities that today some of the finest Cycladica are said to come from Amorgos. Amorgian antiquities enjoyed great popularity in late 19th-century museums and private collections, so much so that before the introduction of the term "Cycladic" by the Greek archaeologist Christos Tsountas, the Early Bronze Age in the islands was often referred to as the "Period of Amorgos."[6] Yet very little is now known about the circumstances of the objects' discovery and of the people involved in their trafficking. Taking into account the extremely fragmentary nature of the evidence, I aim to shed light on the key players who explored Amorgos' prehistoric past between 1880 and September 1894, when Tsountas conducted the first systematic investigation of its Early Cycladic cemeteries.[7] I hope to retrace, to the extent possible, the movements of these private diggers and dealers, to revisit the objects they discovered, and to assess their operation within the framework of the first archaeological law of Greece (1834–1899).

DÜMMLER AND AMORGOS

In October 1885, the art historian, philologist, and philosopher Georg Ferdinand Dümmler (1859–1896) visited Amorgos to learn more about its prehistoric necropoleis. By "happy coincidence" some graves had recently been opened, and he was able to inspect them.[8] From a reliable—yet unnamed—source in Athens he received more information about the contents of these and other graves, the location of which he indicated on a map (fig. 1).[9] Without expecting it, he came across material as early as, and comparable in style to, that already known from other Cycladic islands, such as Melos, Syros, Paros, Antiparos, Naxos, Rheneia, Ios, Thera, Therasia, and the Erimonisia (Lesser Cyclades). The publication by Dümmler of a number of tombs and their contents made Amorgos the most important source of data for the early Cyclades and heated up the debate regarding the origin of the islands' early population.[10] In addition, this new material allowed Dümmler to produce the first synthesis and "the most careful study yet made of the Island civilization,"[11] a study that established the position of the Cyclades as cultural intermediaries between Troy and Mycenae.

Dümmler's work on the island can now be reconstructed based on his 1886 article and the posthumously amplified 1901 version,[12] as well as on some indirect and rather fragmentary information from secondary sources. His unpublished *Skizzenbuch* (sketchbook), now in the Deutsche Archäologische Institut (DAI) in Athens, includes numerous drawings and provides additional information.[13]

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[4] Fouqué 1879; Furtwängler and Löschcke 1879; Dumont 1888, 19–42. For a brief summary of the early theories, see Tzachili 2006, 92–4; see also Myres 1933, 275 (with references); Hattler 2011.

[5] Marangou (2002, 367–68) offers a detailed list of publications on inscriptions. On the towers, see Marangou 2005, 3–11.

[6] E.g., Bosanquet 1895–1896; Tsountas 1898, 137 n. 1.

[7] Tsountas 1898, 1899. Even before the publication of Tsountas' results, Amorgos was the Cycladic island with the most data (Blinkenberg 1896, 55–64).

[8] Dümmler 1886, 16.

[9] Dümmler 1886, Beilage 1 (inset). There is some discrepancy between the number of crosses per site on the 1886 map and the number per site on the 1901 version (Dümmler 1901, 46). In this article, I follow the 1886 map throughout, which was not superseded until 1983 (Marangou 1983). Tsountas (1898, 137–38) notes that most of the sites described by Dümmler as "cemeteries" yielded a very small number of tombs.

[10] Dümmler (1886) chose to ascribe the primitive island culture to the Leleges and the more advanced Mycenaean culture to the Carians based on historical sources that dated much later, principally Thucydides (1.8). By the early 1890s there was a lot of skepticism around this connection (Perrot and Chipiez 1892, 328–30). The idea was finally rejected by Tsountas (1893, 202–12, 247, 249–56; 1898; see also Tsountas and Manatt 1897, 257–58) and Blinkenberg (1896, 1897) because of the 1,000-year gap between Thucydides' description and the pre-Mycenaean island civilization. Blinkenberg (1897, 60) noted that "en réalité, nous ne savons pas quelle nation a inhumé ses morts dans les anciennes sépultures prémycénniennes." On the Carian debate, see also Hattler 2011, 220–21.

[11] Tsountas and Manatt 1897, 258 n. 2. Bent's (1884a, 1884b, 1885) work on Antiparos clarified further the chronological affinities between the early Cyclades and Schliemann's finds at Troy.

[12] Dümmler 1886, 1901.

[13] Dümmler (n.d.). The drawings in the *Skizzenbuch* were probably made between October 1885 and January 1886, when Dümmler submitted his article for publication.

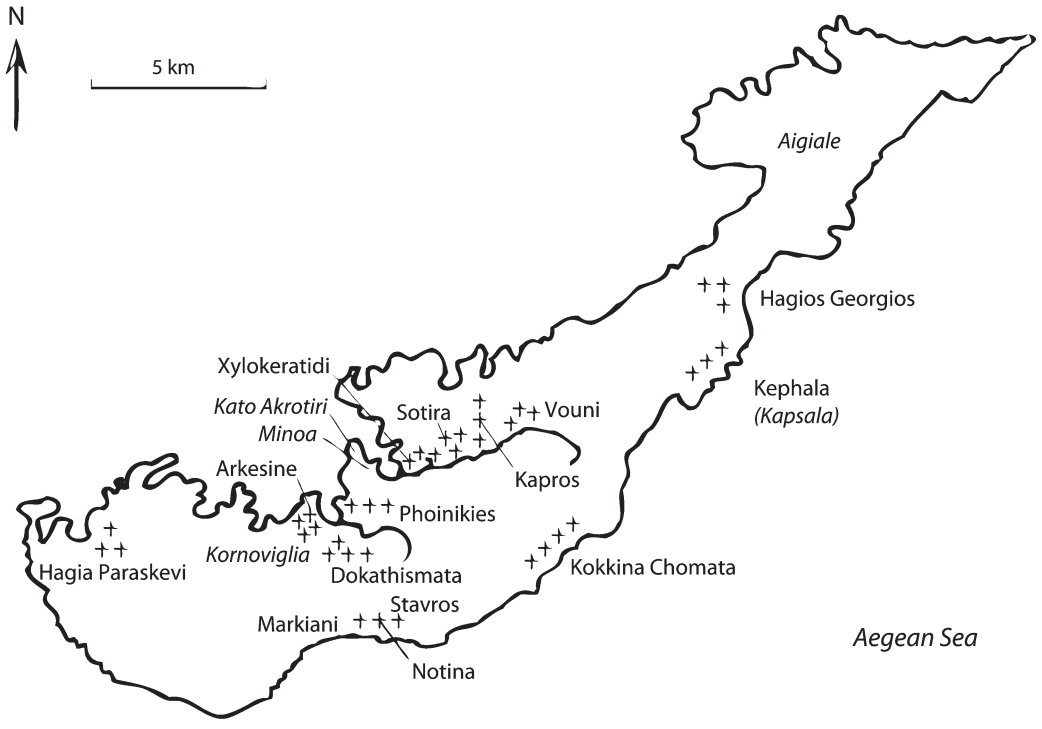

Fig. 1. Map of Amorgos, showing the prehistoric cemeteries known to Dümmler (after Dümmler 1886, Beilage 1). Site names in italics were added by the author.

In his article, Dümmler briefly describes the architecture of the tombs, commenting on their small size, which was adequate for burials in contracted position, and presents seven tomb assemblages (A–G). For five of these (A, B, C, E, and F), he derived his information from "Autopsie" (table 1).[14] Yet his familiarity with the architecture of the tombs and the presence of otherwise-unknown details in his *Skizzenbuch* suggest that his information was not merely the result of a personal inspection but the outcome of his own excavations.[15] That Dümmler was very cautious and went to some lengths in his published account to conceal his unauthorized excavations and his informants in Athens by avoiding any reference to them suggests that he was aware of the legal framework in existence in Greece and its possible repercussions.

The graves that Dümmler was able to inspect and excavate were said to be located at Dokathismata, on a slope about an hour on foot to the northeast of the modern village of Arkesine and half an hour from the coast, only a few hundred feet over a narrow brook valley.[16] The *Skizzenbuch*, however, is more detailed, recording the location as "Kornovigli (Dokathismata)"[17]—a site that should probably be identified with Kornoviglia, which is located almost midway between the ancient cities of Arkesine and Minoa. Now a listed archaeological site, Kornoviglia has yielded a Late Neolithic ax, Early Cycladic (EC) I–II sherds, obsidian blades, and first-millennium B.C.E. material.[18] A marble Early Cycladic figurine head, said to be from Kornoviglia,[19] was presented to the Louvre by Delamarre, who visited the site during his epigraphic

[14] Dümmler 1886, 17–19, 21.

[15] Myres 1898, 178; 1958, 136; see also Tsountas (cited in Vasilikou 2006, 44–9); Duncan Mackenzie to the Ashmolean Museum, 22 November 1900, inv. no. AN 1896-1908 AE 415ff, Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

[16] Dümmler 1886, 16. By "Arkesine" Dümmler usually refers to the ancient city by the coast. Yet in this instance, he notes that Dokathismata is "nordöstlich von Arkesine," probably referring to the modern village with the same name.

[17] Dümmler (n.d.), 1.

[18] For Kornoviglia, see Marangou 1990, esp. 167 nn. 33–4; 175 nn. 73–4; 2002, 347, 385.

[19] Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. Ma 3094. This piece should not be confused with the large Cycladic head (inv. no. Ma 2709) in the Louvre, once said to be from Amorgos and now correctly assigned to Keros (Getz-Preziosi 1987, 108, 161, cat. no. 48; Marangou 1990, 167 nn. 33–4).

Table 1. The Amorgian Tombs Recorded by Dümmler.[a]

Tomb No. (Dümmler n.d.)	Group No. (Dümmler n.d.)	Tomb No. (Dümmler 1886)	Date	Location	Current Location of Objects
1	I	A	EC II	Kornoviglia (Dokathismata)	Antikensammlung Berlin (hut-pyxis only)
–	IV	B	EC I–II	unknown	unknown
–	II	C	EC II–III	unknown	unknown
–	–	D	EC I–II	Kapros	Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), British Museum (London), National Museum of Denmark (Copenhagen), Staatliche Antiken-sammlungen (Munich)
3	III	E	EC I–II	Kornoviglia (Dokathismata)?	unknown
4	–	F	EC I	Kornoviglia (Dokathismata)?	unknown
–	from a tomb at Arkesine	G	EC III–MC I	Arkesine	Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), National Museum of Denmark (Copenhagen)
5	–	–	EC I–II	Kornoviglia (Dokathismata)?	unknown
Hagia Paraskevi Tomb 1	–	Tomb 1	EC I?	Hagia Paraskevi	unknown
Notina	–	Notina	EC I	Notina	unknown
Notina	–	Notina	EC II	Notina	unknown

EC = Early Cycladic; MC = Middle Cycladic

[a] Dümmler (n.d.), 1886; see also n. 22 herein.

explorations in the 1890s and noted the presence of so-called Dipylon-style pottery and "des têtes d'idoles de marbre . . . de petits vases en marbre . . . des lames de poignards, en un mot, toutes pièces bien connues du mobilier funéraire primitif des îles."[20]

On Dümmler's 1886 map, the site of Dokathismata is marked by four crosses. It is quite possible that these crosses correspond to the tombs excavated by Dümmler at the site. Indeed, in his unpublished *Skizzenbuch*, the first page bears the heading "Kornovigli

[20] Delamarre 1897, 90.

(Dokathismata)."[21] Following this heading is a plan and a brief description of a tomb and its contents. In the following page, three more tombs are listed. Since they follow the same numbering and no heading precedes them, it is possible that they might also be associated with "Kornovigli (Dokathismata)." Dümmler refers to these tombs by Arabic numerals in his *Skizzenbuch* and by letters in the 1886 article (the former are given in parentheses): A (1), E (3), F (4), and no letter (5).[22]

Of these four tombs, only Tomb A (1) is provided with a plan and a somewhat more detailed description in Dümmler's *Skizzenbuch* (fig. 2).[23] As this was the only known Early Cycladic tomb on Amorgos prior to Tsountas' excavations, the archaeology of which can now be partially reconstructed, it deserves special mention. To avoid confusion with the different numbering systems employed by Dümmler, I give his final numbering of the objects in parentheses throughout.[24]

Tomb A (1) was a trapezoidal cist consisting of six slabs: four standing side slabs, a floor slab, and a cover slab.[25] The maximum depth of the tomb was 50 cm below the modern surface. Slab CD (see fig. 2), described as the "vorderen Vertikalplatte," was 5 cm taller than the other side slabs and was found 30 cm below the modern surface.[26] At point G, Dümmler found a skull fragment at a depth of 42 cm. More bones, including what appears to be a 13 cm long bone, were found at a depth of 43 cm near corner A.[27] Bones were also observed between points A and B. The concentration of objects along the CB axis and the presence of bones along the AB axis suggested to Dümmler that the longest side of the tomb was used for burials in contracted position. At point H, at a depth of 50 cm, was a broken, handleless plate of white marble with a hole drilled in the area of the rim and with traces of red color inside. Next to it were an obsidian pestle (A3; ht. 9 cm) and a "Pfeilspitze," perhaps an obsidian flake (the latter is illustrated and mentioned in Dümmler's

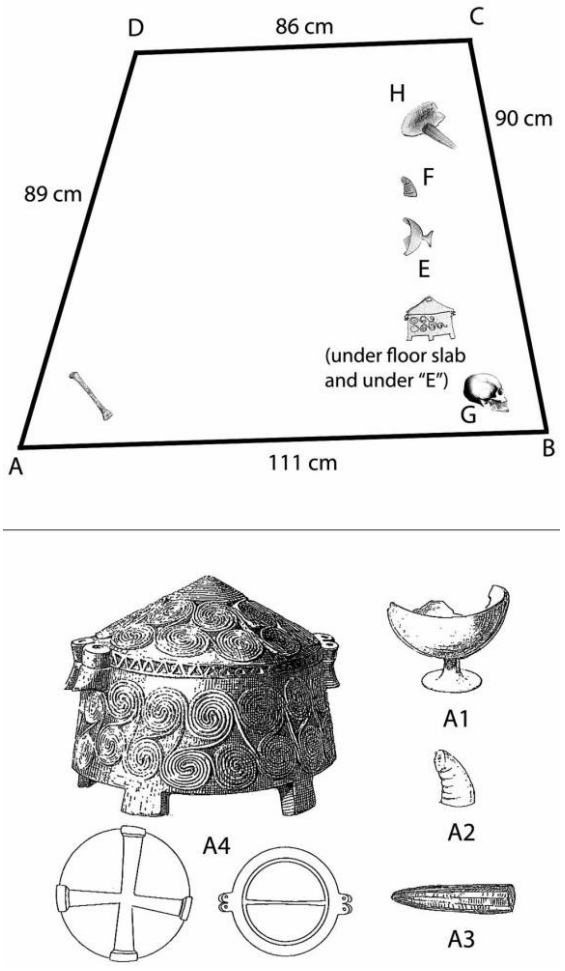

Fig. 2. Tomb A (1) at Kornoviglia and associated finds: *top*, plan showing the four corners of the tomb (A–D) and findspots of objects found inside (E–H) (the unnumbered stone-lidded pyxis was added by the author for reference; labels follow Dümmler's [n.d.] original numbering) (adapted from Dümmler [n.d.], 1; courtesy DAI Athens); *bottom*, drawings of objects found in the tomb (labels follow Dümmler's [1886] final numbering) (after Dümmler 1886, Beilage 1; courtesy DAI Athens). Objects not in same scale.

[21] Dümmler (n.d.), 1; 1886, 17–20 (Tombs A–C), 21 (Tombs E, F); cf. Dümmler 1886, 20 (Tomb D), 21–3 (Tomb F).

[22] Dümmler's (n.d.) unpublished *Skizzenbuch* contains two different numbering systems: Arabic numbers are used for Tombs 1, 3, 4, and 5 (with no mention of a Tomb 2). Roman numerals are used for object groupings (assemblages): I, II, III, and IV. Tomb 1 is the same as Group I; Tomb 3 equals Group III. Yet there seems to be no correspondence between Tomb 4 and Group IV, and we cannot assume that Group II refers to "Tomb 2," since the latter is not mentioned. Some sherds from Tomb 5 are illustrated in the *Skizzenbuch*, but they do not appear again under any particular assemblage/grouping, and for this reason they never received a Roman numeral. To add to the confusion, in the official publication (Dümmler 1886), the Roman numerals were replaced by letters: Group I became Tomb A; Group II became Tomb C; Group III became Tomb E; and Group IV became Tomb B. The Arkesine grave assemblage became Tomb G. Although in the *Skizzenbuch* the seal and silver bowl are illustrated, their provenance is not recorded. Yet in the published article (Dümmler 1886) they are identified with Kapros Tomb D. Finally, Tomb 4 became Tomb F. All this is summarized in table 1 herein.

[23] Dümmler (1886) does not give the depths and dimensions of the other graves. Yet in his *Skizzenbuch* he mentions the depths for Tombs 3 (70 cm) and 4 (68 cm) and the dimensions of Tomb 5 (57 x 48 x 65 cm) (Dümmler [n.d.]).

[24] Dümmler 1886.

[25] On Cycladic cist tombs, see Tsountas 1898, 141–44; Doumas 1977.

[26] Dümmler (n.d.), 1.

[27] The difference in depth probably reflects the position of the tomb on a hillside.

Skizzenbuch only).[28] These three objects found together at point H were probably used for the preparation of pigments. At point F, not far from point H, Dümmler discovered a slashed handle (A2; ht. 3.5 cm), perhaps from a collared jar (stamnos), at a depth of 35 cm from the modern surface.[29] At the same depth at point E, he found a broken marble-footed goblet (A1; ht. 6 cm; diam. 10 cm). The cavity of the goblet, as well as the earth found inside, bore clear traces of blue pigment. The most remarkable discovery, however, was the "Gefäß aus grünlichem Marmor mit Deckel und sehr gut gearbeitet" noted in the *Skizzenbuch*[30]—a stone hut-lidded pyxis with carved spiraliform decoration (A4; ht. 9.4 cm; diam. 11.3 cm); it was acquired by the Antiquarium (now the Antikensammlung) in Berlin in 1889 directly from Dümmler.[31] The findspot is not shown in the *Skizzenbuch* plan, although the object is briefly mentioned and sketched. According to Dümmler's published article, the stone pyxis was found under the floor slab below the area of the goblet.[32] The tombs' architecture, associated mortuary practices, and finds suggest an EC II date.

From the other three tombs possibly excavated at Kornoviglia, Tomb E (3) yielded an EC I–II marble one-handled bowl (E1) at a depth of 70 cm, while in Tomb F (4) a broken EC I cylindrical pyxis (F1) was found at a depth of about 68 cm. The last of these three tombs (5) was a triangular cist grave comprising three side slabs (57 x 48 x 65 cm). It yielded only sherds. According to Dümmler's notes, the covering slab was still preserved. In the small cavity underneath, at a depth of 44 cm belowground, there were red and black clay vessels in fragments wedged between the stone slabs. Dümmler surmised that they were broken intentionally when deposited in the grave. In his *Skizzenbuch*, he illustrated the neck of a jug and the bottom half of a globular vessel with vertical lugs and a concave base (probably a kandila or a pedestal-based jar).[33] These fragments would date Tomb 5 to EC I–II.

Although three more tombs were published by Dümmler (B, C, and an unnumbered one), they are only briefly mentioned or illustrated in his *Skizzenbuch*,[34] and their location is unknown (fig. 3). Tomb

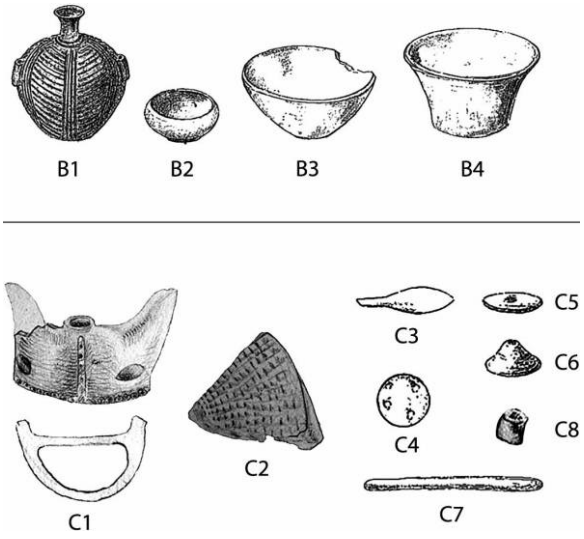

Fig. 3. Drawings of objects from Tomb B (*top*) and Tomb C (*bottom*) (after Dümmler [n.d.], 4–5; 1886, Beilagen 1, 2; 1901, 50; courtesy DAI Athens). Objects not in same scale.

B yielded a broken marble plate and 10 EC I–II clay pots (e.g., B1–4), including a Kampos-type bottle with incised decoration and vertical perforated lugs (B1). Tomb C yielded a brazier or masklike support vessel for a wooden rod or spit (C1),[35] a pestle fragment, obsidian fragments, the base of a large vessel with a mat impression on the underside (C2; diam. 13 cm; thickness 2.5 cm), a bronze ornament (C3), a lead object of unclear use (C4), two spindlewhorls (C5, C6), an elongated object made of sandstone (C7; lgth. 14.5 cm), and a clay handle fragment (C8; thickness 2.5 cm)—all probably EC II–III. The unnumbered tomb consisted of six slabs and yielded only sherds.[36] It is likely that many more tombs were inspected or dug up by Dümmler, but only the most notable ones (in terms of finds) were published.[37] Even in Dümmler's *Skizzenbuch*, the documentation of the graves and their finds is hasty. For example, he includes drawings of a rare clay kandila with three legs (ht. 12.5 cm) and its lid (diam. 10.3 cm) from Hagia Paraskevi Tomb 1, an

[28] Dümmler (n.d.), 1.

[29] For similar vessels, see Marangou et al. 2006, 149, cat. no. 10, fig. 7.22, pl. 36.

[30] Dümmler (n.d.), 1.

[31] Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. no. 8102 (Thimme 1976, 337, 516, cat. no. 361). Dümmler probably excavated on private property and bought the finds from the proprietor(s). He still required an export license, but given the rarity and special importance of the pyxis, the authorities would not have granted it. I have been unable to find evidence that he ever applied for an export license.

[32] Dümmler 1886, 18; 1901, 49.

[33] Dümmler (n.d.) (reverse side of p. 2).

[34] Dümmler (n.d.), 4–5.

[35] Cf. Marangou et al. 2006, 153–55, fig. 7.25, pls. 34, 37.

[36] Dümmler 1886, 21; 1901, 55.

[37] Dümmler's (1886, 62–3, Beilage 1) map records additional tomb sites, as well as some "Bronzewaffen" from Vouni, that are not described in the text.

object probably dating to EC I (fig. 4).[38] It is unclear, however, whether he dug up this tomb or whether he simply saw or bought the object while on Amorgos.

DÜMMLER'S TOMBS D AND G

In addition to these graves, Dümmler inspected in Athens the contents of two more tombs that were already in private possession. Tomb D was reportedly found at "στον κάπρον" (Ston Kapron), and Tomb G at ancient Arkesine. Although drawings of the entire group of objects associated with Tomb G are included in his *Skizzenbuch*, from Tomb D only two objects are illustrated: a cylinder seal and a silver vessel, now both at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.[39]

Without going into any great detail, as the contents of these two graves have been published and discussed fully elsewhere,[40] it is worth mentioning that the assemblage of Tomb D, as presented in the 1886 report (itself based on an unnamed "authentischer Angabe"), consisted of the following objects: three silver and four green stone beads and a few drop-shaped stone pendants reconstructed as a necklace (D1); two stone handles, the best preserved of which (D2) bore a hole at the base and fit a metal pin found in the same grave; a silver bowl (D3); a bone fragment decorated with concentric circles (D4); a small cushion bead of a whitish-yellow stone softer than quartz (D5; current location unknown); a green cylinder seal (D6); and four marble female figurines, two of them only 6–8 cm high, with arms indicated by protuberant stumps.[41] Dümmler also mentioned the fragment of a bent silver wire (which he said he found inside the bowl) and a small vessel of fine, red-colored clay, which disintegrated between his fingers.[42] In 1891, Wolters published a supplementary account that amplified Dümmler's publication. Wolters assigned a silver ring-like handle to Tomb D based on information he acquired in Athens (D3b),[43] and he published, for the first time, drawings of the four figurines said to be from the same grave (D7–D10).[44] The drawings were based on sketches made by Franz Winter the year before in Athens (fig. 5).[45] Like Dümmler, Wolters cautiously concealed the source of his information.

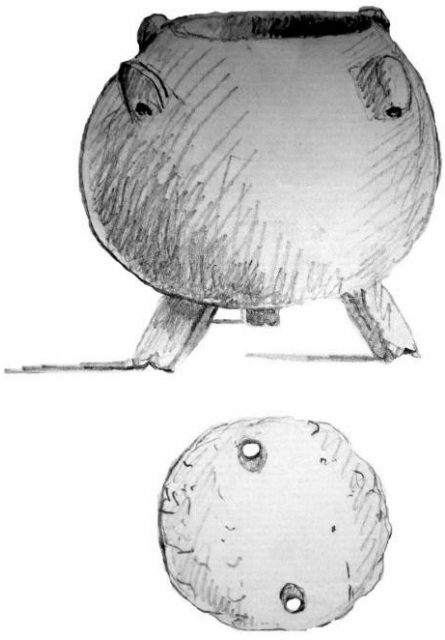

Fig. 4. The three-legged vessel with its lid said to be from Hagia Paraskevi Tomb 1 (Dümmler [n.d.], 1–2; courtesy DAI Athens).

The date and integrity of the Kapros Tomb D assemblage have been questioned, not least because of the inconsistencies observed in its composition and the complex post-excavation life of the objects. In 1889, Greville Chester bought the green stone cylinder seal together with a marble drop-shaped bead in

[38] Dümmler (n.d.) (unnumbered page between pp. 1 and 2). Tsountas (1898, 138) observed only one tomb there. Cf. Dümmler (1886, Beilage 1), where three crosses mark the site.

[39] Dümmler (n.d.), 8.

[40] For Tomb D, see Dümmler 1886, 20–1; 1901, 52–4; Wolters 1891, 49; Renfrew 1967, 6–7, 18; 1984, 48, 54; Thimme 1976, 570–73; Rambach 2000, 221–22; Sherratt 2000, 25–47; Galanakis 2011a. For Tomb G, see Dümmler 1886, 21; 1901, 55–8; Blinkenberg 1896; 1897, 30–3; Bossert 1954; Sherratt 2000, 90–1, 102–3; Nawracala 2011.

[41] Dümmler 1886, 20–1; Wolters 1891, 49.

[42] For the cushion bead, see Dümmler 1886, 20, Beilage 1, no. D5. In the posthumous republication of his article, there is also a reference to "zweier Geräte aus feinem Ton" (Dümmler 1901, 54).

[43] Wolters 1891, 50–1. The current whereabouts of the silver ring-like handle are unknown. This object was numbered "D3b" in Dümmler 1901, 53, fig. 49a.

[44] Wolters 1891, 49, figs. 1–4. The figurines were numbered "D7–D10" in Dümmler 1901, 54, figs. 53–6.

[45] Wolters (1891, 48) also listed the objects from a "new" Amorgos grave, which at the time were in private possession in Athens. It consisted of a marble figurine, two copper daggers, and a marble bowl. The figurine and one of the daggers are now at the Ashmolean Museum (Wolters 1891, 48, figs. 1, 3 [Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. nos. AE 178, AE 229]). The second dagger is at the Badisches Landesmuseum (Wolters 1891, 48, fig. 4 [Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, inv. no. 1873]). I owe this information to Steinmann (Steinmann et al. [forthcoming]).

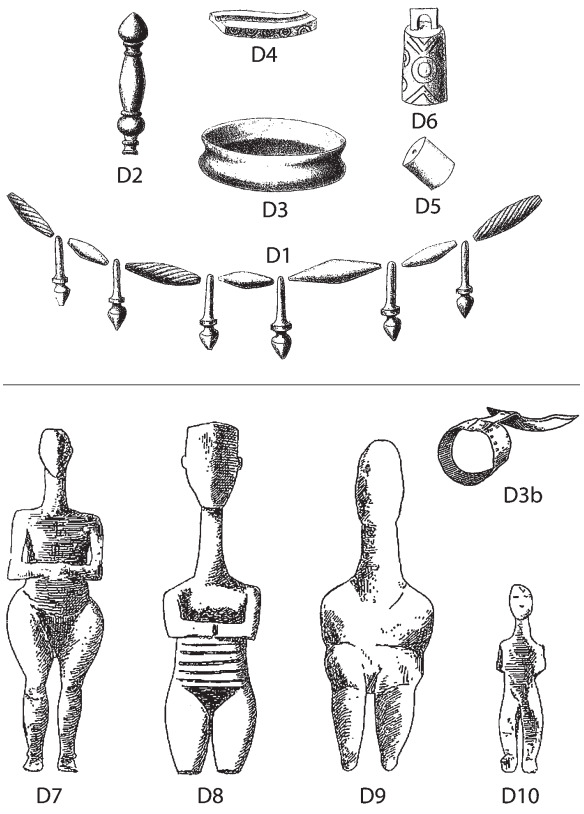

Fig. 5. Objects associated with Tomb D: *top*, drawings of objects (D1–D6) said to come from Tomb D at Kapros (Dümmler 1886, Beilage 1; courtesy DAI Athens); *bottom*, the four figurines (D7–D10) and the silver ring-like handle (D3b) as drawn by Winter (Wolters 1891, 49–50; courtesy DAI Athens). Objects not in same scale.

Athens. He gave both objects to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, but the provenance of the seal was registered as the island of "Mylos."[46] In 1890, Chester bought one of the four figurines illustrated by Wolters and soon afterward sold it to the British Museum. Another of Wolters' illustrated figurines ended up in the Staatliche Antikensammlungen.[47] All the other objects are now at the Ashmolean Museum, having been purchased in Athens in 1893 by Arthur Evans from the same dealer who used to trade with Chester.[48] Most of the finds from Tomb D, as illustrated in 1886 and 1891,[49] appear to date to EC I–II, with the exception of the bone object (D4; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. AE 165), which could be post–Bronze Age.

One should be very cautious in using the objects from Tomb D to reconstruct the chronology of the early Cyclades.[50] For example, the Ashmolean's Kapros Tomb D assemblage now contains four figurines (fig. 6). Yet only two of these can be identified with those illustrated by Wolters.[51] Since no drawings of the Kapros figurines were included in Dümmler's 1886 article, it is impossible to tell whether the four pieces shown in Wolters' article are the same as those seen by Dümmler.[52] What is certain is that at least one of the four figurines illustrated in Wolters' article had already been sold prior to Evans' purchase of the Kapros Tomb D material for the Ashmolean Museum in 1893. It is possible that the Munich figurine was also sold before that date. This would explain the addition of two more figurines to the "original group" by the art dealer who sold the objects to Evans in 1893. Wanting to maintain an "assemblage" closely resembling Dümmler's 1886 description, the art dealer appears to have replaced the two already-sold figurines with new ones, previously unknown (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. nos. AE 154, AE 157). Moreover, Dümmler and Wolters both assured their readers that all four Kapros figurines were female and made of marble, despite that some of them are schematic and made of shell (*Spondylus gaederopus*).[53] Thus, the composition of Dümmler's Tomb D figurines had probably changed by the time Winter drew them in Athens in 1890 for Wolters' publication,

[46] *CMS* 6, no. 1; Chester 1889, 2; Sherratt 2000, 29 nn. 15–16; Aruz 2008, 34–6. It is unclear whether the £3 mentioned by Chester refers to the amount he spent to buy the seal in Athens or to that paid by the Ashmolean.

[47] London, British Museum, inv. no. 1890.921.5; Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, inv. no. 10.112 (Wolters 1891, 49, figs. 1, 2); see also Thimme 1976, 245, 446, cat. no. 105. I have been unable to find the source and date of acquisition behind Munich's Kapros D figurine.

[48] Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. nos. AE 154–66. The two Chester objects were identified as coming from "Kapros grave D" in 1893 when Evans' Athenian purchases were added to the register of the Ashmolean Museum. Around the same time, C.F. Bell noted in the Ashmolean's register that Evans' objects were purchased in Athens from "the same Athenian dealer" as Chester's objects (Sherratt 2000, 26 n. 2).

[49] Dümmler 1886, Beilage 1; Wolters 1891, 52–4.

[50] Sherratt 2000, 25–31 (cf. Renfrew 1967, 6–7, 18, cat. nos. 17–29; 1984, 48); see also Galanakis 2011a.

[51] Wolters 1891, 49, figs. 3 (Dümmler 1901, 54, no. D9), 4 (Dümmler 1901, 54, no. D10) (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. nos. AE 155, AE 158).

[52] Dümmler 1886; Wolters 1891.

[53] Three of the Ashmolean Kapros D figurines are of unidentified sex (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. nos. AE 155–57). Moreover, inv. nos. AE 156 (Wolters 1891, 49, fig. 4) and AE 157 (one of the two "new" figurines added to the group in 1893) are made of shell, not marble. Another inconsistency is Dümmler's (1886, 20; 1901, 52) reference to "vier Perlen aus einem grünlichen durchscheinenden Steine"; yet five stone beads are now associated with Tomb D at the Ashmolean (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. AE 162).

Fig. 6. The group of objects associated with Kapros Tomb D now at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, inv. nos. AE 154–66 (courtesy Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford).

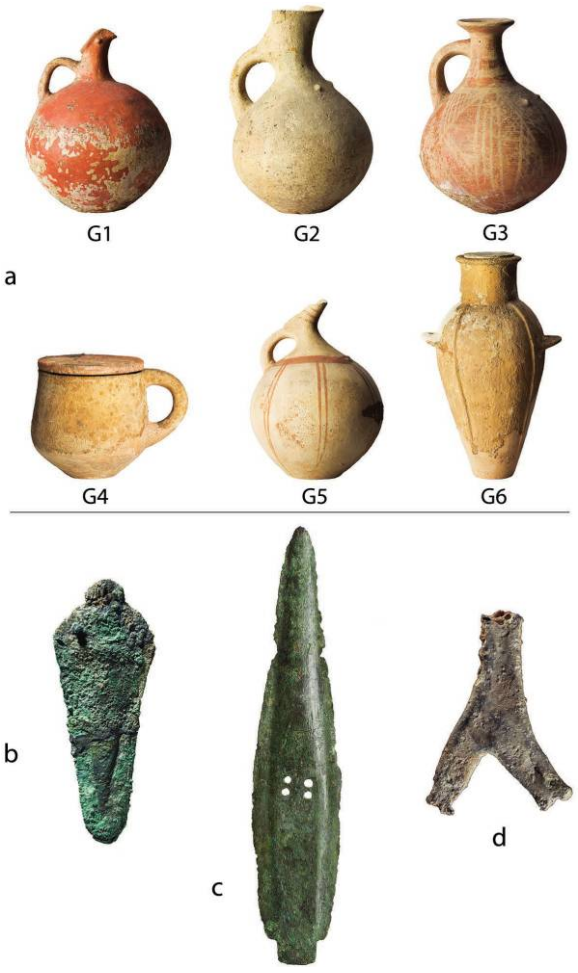

Fig. 7. Objects associated with Arkesine Tomb G: *a*, Copenhagen, National Museum of Denmark, inv. nos. 3264–68a; *b*, Copenhagen, National Museum of Denmark, inv. no. 3269 (courtesy National Museum of Denmark); *c*, *d*, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. nos. AE 231, AE 243 (courtesy Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford). Objects not in same scale.

and again when Evans decided to purchase the "group" in 1893. These discrepancies raise serious concerns about the very existence of Tomb D.

Unlike Tomb D, the composition of Tomb G, allegedly a two-story tomb at ancient Arkesine, did not change over time (fig. 7). The tomb yielded material that can be dated to EC III–MC I: from the upper chamber, a bronze spearhead; from the lower chamber, six clay pots (G1–6), a shapeless piece of bronze, and a copper dagger. With the last was found a piece of lead cast in the shape of a "Y," which was perhaps intended as an anthropomorphic figurine. Although some doubts have been cast over its association with the Arkesine grave, the lead fragment was drawn by Dümmler as part of the group of objects he saw in Athens associated with Tomb G.[54] With the exception of the shapeless piece of bronze (whereabouts unknown) and the two objects purchased by Evans in 1893 and now held at the Ashmolean Museum (the lead fragment and the bronze spearhead), all the other Tomb G pieces are now in the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen.[55]

There is something elusive about these early graves and their "assemblages" that has clouded the beginnings of Early Cycladic archaeology. It is the attempt of Dümmler not just to conceal his own excavations but

[54] Dümmler (n.d.), 6.

[55] Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. nos. AE 231, AE 243; Copenhagen, National Museum of Denmark, inv. nos. 3264–69.

also to veil the source(s) for the objects associated with Tombs D and G—the Athens dealer(s) who had many of these objects in "private possession." How did these objects end up there, and who were these people? How did they operate and organize their trade? What did the law actually prescribe with regard to the sale of antiquities? Thanks to the available archival evidence, it is possible to identify the individual(s) behind these "private collections" and to partially reconstruct their work on the island and the trafficking of Amorgian antiquities to Athens and beyond. In doing so, one has to recount the stories of these individuals.

THE PRIEST, THE TRAVELER, AND THE ARCHAEOLOGIST

Tsountas and Mackenzie recorded independently that Dümmler was assisted in his excavations on Amorgos by his local guide, a priest named Dimitrios Prasinos.[56] The priest is actually mentioned twice by Dümmler: once in relation to a possible prehistoric wall at Ston Kapron, from which the German scholar extrapolated the existence of prehistoric dwellings,[57] and then in relation to the contents of graves allegedly found at Notina, on the southwest side of the island, about 1 km to the west of the fortified settlement of Markiani.[58] Scholarship often credits Dümmler with the excavation of these tombs,[59] but there is nothing in his *Skizzenbuch* to suggest that he was involved. On the contrary, Dümmler praised the priest's excellent observation skills. Prasinos' skills enabled Dümmler to make sketches of some of the objects found there. One of the Notina graves yielded a marble EC I kandila, which Dümmler illustrated in 1886 on the basis of information supplied by the priest.[60] Yet the most exceptional tomb at Notina was an unusually rich grave that allegedly yielded two silver goblets, two bronze daggers, three chisels, a silver bowl, a worked bone filled with blue color (probably a tattooing tube), a marble figurine, and a rare marble pedestal-based vessel with horizontal lugs (fig. 8).[61]

Prasinos is also mentioned by Theodore Bent, the other pioneer of the early Cyclades, who visited Amorgos with his wife in 1883. The Bents were shown

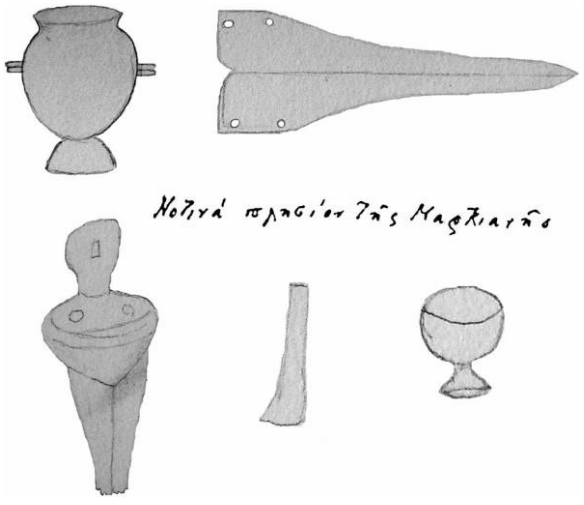

Fig. 8. Drawings of objects said to have been found in a tomb at Notina (after Dümmler [n.d.], 3; courtesy DAI Athens). Objects not in same scale.

around the island by the priest, whom they described as "the only man who knows anything about Amorgos" and "devoted to archaeology."[62] In his house,

> he had collected all sorts of odds and ends from all parts of his native island: he, his stalwart wife, and his quiverful all dwelt in two rooms, with hardly any furniture in them except antiquities—fine, large amphorae, an interesting stele representing Charon in his boat handing in the dead. . . . Then there were all sorts of ancient tools—basalt instruments for polishing marble, weights and measures, plummet lines, &c., baskets full of lamps and heads.[63]

As part of the tour, the priest took the Bents around the most important sites on Amorgos, including its three ancient cities. Ancient Arkesine, which Ross used inscriptions to locate at the modern site of Kastri, was the property of Prasinos' father, "an old man of eighty, who tills the ground, and as he does so rakes up numerous archaeological treasures for his son."[64] The priest gave them a tour of the ruins, which he knew

[56] Supra n. 15. Scholarship now describes Dümmler as the excavator of these tombs (e.g., Marangou et al. 2006, 3).

[57] Dümmler 1886, 28 n. 1, 99; 1901, 60–1, 65 n. 1. Tsountas (1898, 165–66) considered the priest's description inaccurate and the wall modern.

[58] Tsountas (1898, 138) records four tombs with marble figurines at Notina; see also Karantzali 1996, 41.

[59] E.g., Marangou et al. 2006, 3.

[60] Dümmler 1886, 24, Beilage 1, fig. 3. Blinkenberg (1897, 3) warned readers about the accuracy of this discovery.

[61] Dümmler 1886, Beilage 1, figs. 4, 5 (and perhaps figs. 6, 9).

[62] Bent 1885, 473, 488 (respectively). On the Bents' trip to Amorgos, see Bent 1884a; 1885, 488–501.

[63] Bent 1885, 488. Cf. Reinach (1884, 454), who downsizes the priest's collection: "le papas Prasinos possède, à Arcésine et à Castro, une petite collection d'antiquités, parmi lesquelles quelques figures en terre-cuite trouvées dans l'île, d'une terre rouge et d'un travail grossier, et un certain nombre d'anses d'amphores."

[64] Ross 1840, 172–86; Bent 1885, 496.

by heart, "for he had been born and bred in their very midst."[65] When the Bents visited the house of Prasinos' father, they saw that "into the crannies of the stone wall the old man had stowed away a lot of the antiquities that had come to hand recently whilst digging."[66] On their arrival, the objects were placed at their disposal. The couple probably bought from Prasinos three Early Cycladic figurines, a marble pestle, and a stone scrubber(?), which are now in the British Museum.[67]

The priest's archaeological activity on the island between the 1870s and the early 1900s is better documented. It may have begun even earlier than 1870, since a collection of "quelques grossiers utensiles de ménage"—probably prehistoric obsidian cores and blades—in the possession of "M[onsieur] Prasinos" was mentioned by Dumont in 1867. Although Dumont may have been referring to the priest's father, his account does suggest that the Prasinos family had had an interest in ancient objects for a very long time.[68] In June 1883, the Greek geographer Antonios Miliarakis described how the "owner of Arkesine, Papa D. Prasinos, had found, while excavating and conducting agricultural works, numerous reliefs and inscriptions, almost all broken, as well as grave goods such as stone tools, clay and marble vessels, pestles, and other small finds that he has kept for his own collection."[69]

Prasinos' interests in archaeology made him a first port of call for all the travelers and antiquarians who visited the island. His name is recorded in numerous studies on Amorgos, especially in relation to the publication of inscriptions, many of which he discovered, gathered on his property, transcribed, and made copies.[70] In one instance, he is mentioned as the "*epistates* [curator] of the antiquities of Amorgos."[71] In 1901, Théophile Homolle, director of the French School at Athens, lectured on an important Early Christian metal amulet discovered by Prasinos on Amorgos in 1900. Homolle thanked the priest for his contribution to archaeology, especially for assisting French travelers, antiquarians, and archaeologists who stayed and worked on the island.[72] Being a priest and coming from a well-established family, Prasinos was able to carry out his explorations without much disturbance[73]—and, judging from an inscription he discovered on Kouphonisi,[74] his activities were probably not limited to Amorgos but extended to the smaller neighboring islands.

An interesting story about the priest is preserved in the work of Gaston Deschamps, a member of the French School at Athens and the first person to conduct official excavations (i.e., with permission from the Greek government) in the island's three ancient cities (Arkesine, Minoa, and Aigiale). He excavated over a period of just six weeks (16 February–11 April 1888), primarily in search of statues and inscriptions.[75] According to Deschamps, during the excavations at Arkesine his workers discovered a treasure of gold Byzantine coins, now known as the Arkesine Treasure (674–677/8 C.E.). The priest, who acted as foreman, had witnessed the discovery but, having been threatened by the workers not to reveal it, withheld the story from Deschamps and Panagiotis Kastromenos, the Greek archaeologist sent from Athens. When he finally decided to disclose the discovery of the treasure to Deschamps, the latter claimed to have been upset by the priest's action and accused him of breaking the law. Prasinos finally presented the treasure to Kastromenos, who counted 60 coins. Yet, a day before, Deschamps had seen 68 coins. When asked again, the priest admitted that he had kept a few of the coins, simply because he wanted to give some to Deschamps. In the end, however, he decided to return the remaining coins to Kastromenos. Deschamps records that Dimitrios did so because he was one of the most honest people in the Cyclades.[76]

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[65] Bent 1885, 497.

[66] Supra n. 65.

[67] London, British Museum, inv. nos. 1884.1213.6–8, 1884.1213.19, 1884.1213.74 (Bent 1884b, 51). Bent (1884a, 200) mentions that the objects placed at his disposal included "old plummets for lines, old weights and measures and implements for polishing marble."

[68] Dumont 1867, 143. Around the same time, Emmanuel Ioannides, schoolmaster of Amorgos, was forming his important collection of prehistoric tools (Deschamps 1892a, 220–30; Marangou 1985, 199–200; Fotiadis 2006, 10).

[69] Miliarakis (1884, 48–50) mentions that the only house at the site of Arkesine is that of Prasinos, "a hospitable destination for all travelers." The priest was Miliarakis' (1884, 71 n. 1) guide on the island.

[70] E.g., *IG* 12 7, p. ix.; Weil 1876, 344, 346–47; Radet 1888, 234, 236–37; Delamarre 1897, 88; Hauttecoeur 1899, 165; see also "Αρχαιολογικαί ανακοινώσεις εν τη Γαλλική Σχολή," *Εφημερίς* (21 December 1892) 2. Greek press reports mentioned in this article are available online from the Aristotle University of Thessalonika: http://invenio.lib.auth.gr/collection/.

[71] "Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον των μηνών Μαρτίου και Απριλίου 1886," *Ώρα* (23 May 1886) 2–3 (reproducing the 12 May 1886 report of the General Ephorate of Antiquities).

[72] Homolle 1901, esp. 412–30.

[73] Bent 1885, 489: "everyone knew and worshipped Papa Demetrios—he had but to command, and the thing was done."

[74] Homolle 1891, 288.

[75] Deschamps 1888; 1892a, 243–47; 1892b, 178–85. For a critique of Deschamps' work, see Marangou 2002, 109–11.

[76] Deschamps 1892b, 185. Prasinos is today remembered as the person who saved the treasure (Touratsoglou 1999, 348; Marangou 2002, 76). The hoard contains 60 coins and is now housed in the Numismatic Museum in Athens. As Deschamps embellished his story, it is unclear whether the additional eight coins, mentioned only by him, ever existed.

There are many ways to read Deschamps' story, which may reveal more about the French scholar, his collaboration with the Greek Ephor, and the complexities of early archaeological work than about Prasinos. Yet it highlights a certain carelessness in disclosing information about new discoveries, which may be attributable to a lack of proper supervision, even when a member of the Greek Archaeological Service was present. Moreover, it suggests that the archaeological law and its repercussions were well known not just to the foreign archaeologists working in Greece but also to private diggers, collectors, and dealers, such as Prasinos.[77]

According to the first archaeological law of Greece, in use between 1834 and 1899, Prasinos had the right to ask for permission to excavate his property in search of antiquities (Article 103).[78] In addition, the law specified that he and the state would share ownership of any antiquities he might find on his property (Article 64). The law also conditionally permitted the sale of objects originating from private excavations within Greece (Articles 78–80) but prohibited the unauthorized exportation of all antiquities, public and private (Article 76). Private excavations required official permission, were regulated by a number of conditions, and had to be inspected by the authorities (Articles 100–9). Even when antiquities were discovered by chance, they had to be reported and, in some cases, catalogued (Articles 67–71). Yet despite the provisions of the pioneering Greek law, the lack of personnel, funding, and political determination made enforcement impossible. In practice, these private activities were hardly ever closely monitored in Athens, let alone outside the capital. The difficulties in enforcing the law and its inconsistencies with regard to ownership and the circulation of antiquities offered collectors, dealers, and diggers scope to develop their creative, and often aggressive, operations. European museums, along with their local agents, benefitted from the situation, even when it involved the illicit exportation of antiquities.

That Prasinos was aware of the law is made clear in Deschamps' anecdote; indeed, he himself made use of Article 80. According to this article, the landowner who discovered antiquities on his property had to offer them for sale to the state. If he found the price unsatisfactory, he then had the right to sell to the highest bidder—often to an agent of a major foreign museum, to an Athens dealer, or to collectors, travelers, or antiquarians. In the late 1880s, the marble heads of Hygeia and Asklepios (now in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens) were discovered on Prasinos' property at Arkesine. He sold them to the authorities for 200 drachmas,[79] probably a large amount for the priest,[80] but a relatively low price given the very good condition of the heads and the remunerative prices of the Athens art market.[81]

That Prasinos was indeed selling antiquities is attested in Bent's account and remarks made by the British archaeologist Duncan Mackenzie, who commissioned the priest, among other individuals from Paros, Naxos, and Ios, to excavate in 1901 on his behalf in search of Cycladic antiquities—an action most probably encouraged by Mackenzie's employer, Evans.[82] Although there is no indication that this activity took place in 1901, Mackenzie had already bought objects from Prasinos in 1900 for a relatively small amount (£1, or 25 drachmas).[83] His sales to Bent and Mackenzie were meager when compared with the trafficking of antiquities in Athens. The priest can thus hardly be considered a professional "dealer" or tomb digger who was trying to make a major profit. By selling objects of small value that he had dug up on his private property, the priest was following a widespread practice in Greece, one that was difficult for the authorities to monitor. Although a facilitator, Prasinos sat at the bottom of the ladder in the antiquities trade of 19th-century Greece.

THE ATHENS ANTIQUITIES DEALER AND TOMB DIGGER

When Tsountas visited Amorgos in September 1894, he was, at first, impressed by the archaeological knowledge of Prasinos,[84] who acted as his guide. Tsountas

[77] Deschamps 1892b, 184.

[78] The 1834 law is available in Petrakos 1982, 123–41.

[79] Kavvadias 1888, 52–3, cat. no. 3; 1890–1892, 242, nos. 323, 324; Collignon 1889, 41; Marangou 2002, 45, figs. 59, 60.

[80] The professor Athanasios Rhousopoulos paid Georgios Ghiouroukis ("Barbagiorgos") 40 drachmas for just three days' work searching for obsidian tools on Melos. Barbagiorgos, who in 1896–1897 was the Melian foreman at the British School's Phylakopi excavations, remembered this amount as the "best day's pay that had ever been earned in Melos in the memory of man" (Sherratt 2000, 26 n. 1).

[81] Margaret Evans (1886, 14) noted in her diary (23 June 1886) one example of the remunerative prices: "Rosopoulos has . . . one of the most beautiful terra-cotta figurines . . . a Venus unloosing a sandal for which R only wants £5,000."

[82] Momigliano 1999, 27–8. The employment of local people, such as Prasinos, in search of antiquities was not a novelty. E.g., Spiros Frankoulis of Paros, who was Mackenzie's muleteer in 1897 and foreman in Tsountas' excavations on the island, searched for antiquities on behalf of Mackenzie in 1901.

[83] The objects are now at the Ashmolean: a marble weight (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. AE 427), a stone spoon (inv. no. AE 428), a stone pestle (inv. no. AE 429), two stone axes (inv. nos. AE 430, AE 431), and a clay flask or bottle (inv. no. AE 434) (Sherratt 2000, 64–5, 175, 177–78, 205). The price is equivalent to that paid by Mackenzie the same year for a marble kandila from Naxos.

[84] "Γινώσκει άριστα την νήσον και τας αρχαιότητας αυτής"

suggested that a small reward should be given to the priest since his local friendships enabled him to excavate in a number of private fields.[85] Yet at the end of his short expedition, it became clear to Tsountas that the two largest Early Cycladic cemeteries on the island, those at Kapros and Dokathismata, had already been rifled by "Palaiologos, Papaprasinos, Dümmler, and other local tomb robbers," leaving not a single grave unlooted.[86] At this point, the experienced digger and inexhaustible dealer Ioannis Palaiologos from Athens enters the story.

Palaiologos had already dug officially in the early 1860s as part of the Archaeological Society at Athens excavations at the Kerameikos, along with Athanasios Rhousopoulos, a university professor, famous collector, and dealer of antiquities. He had also dug privately, with permission from the authorities, in the outer Kerameikos, where he was responsible for the 1871–1872 excavations, which yielded some spectacular finds that helped define the Geometric style in ancient Greek art.[87] Palaiologos was active in Attica, central Greece, the Peloponnese, and the Cyclades from the 1850s to ca. 1900. The first time he was implicated in the trade of Cycladic antiquities was in 1868, when George Finlay exchanged some figurines he had collected on Ios for coins from Athens and Aegina from the Athenian dealer "I.S.P." (Ioannis Spyridonos Palaiologos).[88] In the 1870s, Palaiologos conducted excavations on the islands (e.g., on private land on Kythnos in 1873) with permission from Panagiotis Eustratiades, the superintendent of antiquities (1863–1884).[89]

According to Tsountas, "some years" prior to his own investigations, Palaiologos had excavated a field at Kapros that belonged to the Monastery of Panagia Chozoviotissa.[90] By the time Tsountas started his work at the site, he found most of the tombs already looted. Tsountas gathered information that suggested about 20 tombs had been excavated by Palaiologos. For his illicit business on the island, the Athenian dealer was actually arrested once on Amorgos.[91] In September 1894, Viktor Vourlis, a second lieutenant in the Greek police force, confiscated the antiquities that Palaiologos was trying to smuggle to Athens. The confiscation took place on the grounds that the discovery of the objects had not been announced to the authorities, as prescribed by the articles of the law (Articles 65–72), and that the dealer failed to produce a permit that showed he was the legal owner of the objects in question. The objects confiscated from Palaiologos were inspected by Tsountas, who wrote a report for the General Ephorate of Antiquities and Museums in Athens.[92] They comprised a clay kandila and a marble phiale (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. NAM 5253, NAM 5254), both Early Cycladic; three clay figurines of the third century B.C.E.; and a black-figure kylix.[93]

(Vasilikou 2006, 45, 178, letter no. 25 [Tsountas to the president of the Archaeological Society at Athens, 9 September 1894]).

[85] Vasilikou 2006, 48–9. It was not until 18 February 1893 that a special law (no. 2167) gave the right to the Greek state to expropriate private land for the conservation or search of antiquities on grounds of "public exigency" (updated by two additional laws of 2 and 7 March 1896). The term "public exigency" was open to interpretation and debate, thus delaying and complicating further the process of investigation (Kalpaxis 1993, 43).

[86] Vasilikou 2006, 45–6, 178–81, letter nos. 26 (Tsountas to Athanasios Koumanoudis, curator of the museums of the Archaeological Society at Athens, 23 September 1894), 27 (Tsountas to the president of the Archaeological Society at Athens, 16 October 1894); see also Mercouri 2002, 42 n. 25, letter no. 7 [Tsountas to the General Ephorate of Antiquities and Museums, 4 September 1894]).

[87] Galanakis 2011b.

[88] At least two of the figurines collected by Finlay on Ios were given to Palaiologos. They were subsequently bought by the Archaeological Society at Athens and were in 1891 deposited in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (inv. nos. NAM 3916, NAM 3935) (Arnott 1990, 4–8, cat. nos. 7, 8, 17, 42; see also Hussey 1973, 224–25; Marthari 2001, 165).

[89] Eustratiades 1863–1884 (entry for 1 August 1873). In an attempt to keep some control over their activities, the general superintendent tried to stay on good terms with the Athens dealers and diggers, who, after all, were the most productive excavators of the time (Galanakis 2011b, 177).

[90] Mercouri 2002, 42–3, letter no. 7 (Tsountas to the General Ephorate of Antiquities and Museums, 4 September 1894); Vasilikou 2006, 45, 178, letter no. 25 (Tsountas to the president of the Archaeological Society at Athens, 9 September 1894).

[91] In 1888, a collaboration between the Greek and French police led to the raid and confiscation of a number of antiquities in the possession of a Greek citizen in Paris. Among the objects was a "shapeless" figurine of the early period from Amorgos, about to be sold for FF 50–100 (£2–4) ("Οι εν Παρισίοις Έλληνες Αρχαιοκάπηλοι," *Εφημερίς* [20 May 1888] 1–2).

[92] They raided the house of Palaiologos, "resident of Athens, who lives on Amorgos for some time now" based on "credible suspicions" of his involvement in the illicit antiquities trafficking (Mercouri 2002, 47–9, letter nos. 9, 10 [Tsountas to the General Ephorate of Antiquities and Museums, 26 September 1894 and 11 October 1894]).

[93] Mercouri 2002, 47, letter no. 9 (Tsountas to the General Ephorate of Antiquities and Museums, 26 September 1894). In his letter, Tsountas singled out the kandila as an object "of some value for the Museum." At the same time, he bought, with approval from the Archaeological Society at Athens, two silver objects that had been found on private property on Amorgos: a dented diadem and a ram-head pin (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. NAM 4729, NAM 4730) (Vasilikou 2006, 48).

Although published reports of illicit excavations and the trafficking of antiquities in the 1880s and 1890s on Amorgos are rare, Miliarakis offers a vivid description of the situation. By 1883, when he visited the island, the trafficking of Amorgian antiquities had become a profit-making business for the locals. Miliarakis, who condemns the situation and asks the government to take additional measures, mentions that the owners of property near that of Prasinos in ancient Arkesine dig up tombs "in search of gold and silver grave goods and coins, which they either turn into jewelry for their wives or give to the goldsmiths of Syros or sell them to traveling antiquities looters."[94] The last were particularly interested in small and intact antiquities that were easy to hide from the authorities and had become extremely popular among collectors.[95] Palaiologos appears to have been among the "traveling antiquities looters" mentioned by Miliarakis.

PALAIOLOGOS AND THE TRAFFICKING OF AMORGIAN ANTIQUITIES

In 1884, Ulrich Köhler, then director of the DAI Athens, published the now iconic Early Cycladic figurines of the Harpist and the Flutist.[96] The figurines had been purchased early in the 1880s by the Archaeological Society from a dealer in Athens and are now in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (inv. nos. NAM 3908, NAM 3910). Allegedly found together with two other female figurines with folded arms,[97] the Harpist and the Flutist were said to have come from a cist tomb on the small island of Keros, which at that time was owned by the Monastery of Panagia Chozoviotissa on neighboring Amorgos.[98] In the same article, Köhler mentioned another grave, one allegedly excavated on Amorgos in 1883. He was able to inspect the contents in Athens, most likely while they were still in private possession. This new grave reportedly yielded two bracelets of silver wire,[99] a bronze spearhead, a bronze chisel or flat ax, a shallow marble plate and two well-preserved obsidian blades, and a core (thickness 4 cm). Köhler placed the finds from the Amorgos grave in the same "pre-Hellenic" group as the Keros tomb and suggested that this "Island civilization" centered on Naxos and Amorgos and the smaller islands in between (i.e., the Erimonisia).[100]

The manuscript catalogue of the National Archaeological Museum of Athens records that the Harpist and the Flutist were purchased from Palaiologos, as was one of the two figurines also associated with the Keros tomb (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. NAM 3918). The fourth figurine, now in the British Museum, was purchased in the early 1880s by Greville Chester in Athens.[101] It is possible that Palaiologos was once again the dealer behind the sale of this figurine. If so, then Palaiologos may have been the source for the other Cycladica purchased by Chester in 1889 (the seal and bead from Kapros Tomb D) and 1890 (the figurine associated by Wolters with the Kapros Tomb D assemblage). This point is strengthened by the fact that Palaiologos was indeed the main source for fine Cycladica in the 1880s. According to the catalogue of the National Museum in Athens, some of the most impressive Amorgos pieces adorning its Early Cycladic displays were bought by the Archaeological Society at Athens from Palaiologos, such as the famous painted head (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. NAM 3909; ht. 29 cm) that formed Wolters' key object in his 1891 publication and a very large Cycladic figurine (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. NAM 3978; ht. 153 cm), among numerous other figurines, tools, and vessels.[102] Although it is impossible to determine whether Palaiologos actually

[94] Miliarakis 1884, 49–50.

[95] Miliarakis 1884, 6–7.

[96] Köhler 1884, 156–59; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 45 n. 6 (with extensive bibliography on the two figurines).

[97] The other two figurines are now generally identified with inv. no. NAM 3913 in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens and inv. no. 1882.1014.3 in the British Museum in London (Getz-Preziosi 1987, 148 n. 57; Fitton 1989, 56–7; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 45 n. 7).

[98] The monastery owned Keros until 1952 (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 45 n. 7). It also owned the most fertile land on Amorgos and had several properties on other islands (Miliarakis 1884, 36–7). For the difficulties of state archaeologists who wished to excavate on private land, including that owned by the monastery, see Mercouri 2002, 29, 41–2, letter nos. 5 (Tsountas to the venerable abbots of the monasteries in the Cyclades, 22 August 1894), 6 (Tsountas to the police authorities in the Cyclades, 22 August 1894), 7 (Tsountas to the General Ephorate of Antiquities and Museums, 4 September 1894).

[99] One of these might actually be inv. no. AE 255 at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (Gale and Stos-Gale 1981, 183; Sherratt 2000, 97).

[100] Köhler 1884, 160–62.

[101] Chester was the main provider of Amorgian figurines to the British and Ashmolean Museums in the 1880s. In 1881, he gave a head fragment to the Ashmolean (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. AE 153 [now lost]); in 1882, he gave the Keros figurine to the British Museum (London, British Museum, inv. no.1882.1014.3); in 1889, he sold three figurines to the Ashmolean for £5 and one to the British Museum (inv. no. 1889.521.2), which also received, in 1890, one of Wolters' Kapros D figurines (inv. no. 1890.921.5).

[102] E.g., Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. NAM 3913, NAM 3919–27, NAM 3978, NAM 3995–99. On the famous head, see Archaeological Society at Athens 1888, 62–3; Wolters 1891.

excavated the objects or whether he bought them on Amorgos and neighboring islands, what is certain is that by the 1880s and 1890s he had a stock of many outstanding pieces associated with this particular island. His dealings with the Monastery of Panagia Chozoviotissa (e.g., the land he bought at Kapros)[103] support the possibility that many of the objects he was selling originated from his excavations.

Research in the registers of the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen has revealed that the Athens art dealer responsible for the 1887 sale of the six clay vessels (Copenhagen, National Museum of Denmark, inv. nos. 3264–68a) and the bronze dagger (inv. no. 3269) from Arkesine Tomb G was Palaiologos.[104] In 1896, the National Museum of Denmark bought 31 more objects from Palaiologos (Copenhagen, National Museum of Denmark, inv. nos. 4673–703): a large marble head from a fine Cycladic figure with traces of paint (inv. no. 4697; ht. 24.6 cm); four marble violin-shaped figurines of the "Dokathismata" varieties (inv. nos. 4695, 4696, 4698, 4699); a knife and a chisel, both bronze (inv. nos. 4673, 4674); a silver bracelet (inv. no. 4675);[105] numerous obsidian cores and blades (inv. nos. 4676–86); and a collection of marble vessels, including bowls, cups, a palette, and a kandila (inv. nos. 4687–94). A letter sent from Christian Blinkenberg to Sophus Müller, director of the National Museum of Denmark, provides details about this acquisition and additional information on Palaiologos. The objects were allegedly found on Amorgos in 1893, according to the information the dealer gave to Blinkenberg.[106] In the same purchase were four Early and Middle Cycladic beak-spouted pots found in 1894 (inv. nos. 4700–3). Blinkenberg paid the significant amount of £50 (1,250 drachmas) to acquire these pieces, which are now among the highlights of the Cycladic collection in Copenhagen. Moreover, Blinkenberg mentioned in his letter to Müller that the Athens dealer had property on Amorgos, where he spent his summers.

It is clear that Palaiologos was operating on a more professional basis than Prasinos. He was also trading high-profile objects, making considerable profit. Yet the quality of the objects traded by Palaiologos raises a number of questions about the frequency with which he was able to present to his clients fine Cycladica and "assemblages." By the time Köhler, Dümmler, and Tsountas decided to focus their attention on Amorgos, many of the figurines there had already been taken into private possession. The rifling of tombs prior to Tsountas' excavations may explain the higher percentage of high-quality figurines in Palaiologos' stock of Cycladica in his house-cum-shop as opposed to those discovered in excavations supervised by the state authorities.[107] Yet it is also possible that Palaiologos sourced some of his figurines from neighboring islands, including Keros, which in the late 1950s experienced heavy looting that produced the "Keros Hoard," an Early Cycladic deposit of large quantities of broken marble vessels and figurines.[108] That Keros was one of the sources for many of the figurines now associated with Amorgos has been raised as a possibility by several scholars, not least by Marangou, who, with her expert knowledge of the island's archaeology, has questioned the Amorgian provenance of numerous 19th-century antiquities that came from unauthorized activities rather than from systematic archaeological investigation.[109] The confusion about the exact provenance most likely stemmed from the facts that the smaller islands between Naxos and Amorgos were, at one point, known as "islands of Amorgos" and that Keros was owned by the Monastery

[103] According to Tsountas, buying or leasing land in search of antiquities was common (Mercouri 2002, 42–3, letter no. 7 [Tsountas to the General Ephorate of Antiquities and Museums, 4 September 1894]; Vasilikou 2006, 45, 178, letter no. 25 [Tsountas to the president of the Archaeological Society at Athens, 9 September 1894]). Even notarial deeds were signed for that purpose (Lekakis 2006, 8 n. 43).

[104] It is tempting to link Palaiologos with the large Cycladic figurine (ht. 49.6 cm), also in the National Museum in Copenhagen (inv. no. 1624), acquired in 1881 from "a dealer in Athens" (Riis et al. 1989, 20–1, cat. no. 9).

[105] This piece is virtually identical to the silver bracelet at the Ashmolean Museum, also said to be from a cist grave on Amorgos, purchased by Evans in Athens in 1896 (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. AE 253 [Arnott 1989, 120, cat. nos. 3, 4; Sherratt 2000, 96–7, cat. no. 4.1]). Since the National Museum of Denmark purchased it from Palaiologos, the Oxford bracelet may have come from the same dealer.

[106] Blinkenberg to Sophus Müller, 30 March 1896, Department of Antiquities, National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen.

[107] E.g., at Kapsala one of the 11 graves excavated by Tsountas yielded a figurine that has since become the name piece of the "Kapsala" variety (Tsountas 1898, 152–53). Only two of the 20 graves at Dokathismata yielded figurines (the two found in Tomb 14, after which the "Dokathismata" variety is named) (Tsountas 1898, 154–55). Köhler's tomb and the graves excavated by Dümmler yielded no figurines. In EC I–II cemeteries, figurines appear only in ca. 5–10% of the excavated tombs (Getz-Preziosi 1987, 26–30; Broodbank 1992; Sherratt 2000, 136–39).

[108] Sotirakopoulou 2005; Papamichelakis and Renfrew 2010; see also Getz-Gentle 2008; Renfrew 2008; Sotirakopoulou 2008. On the most recent work on Keros, see Renfrew et al. 2007, 2009. The 2006–2008 excavations unearthed a new deposit of more than 2,300 pieces of broken marble vessels and more than 550 figurine fragments, perhaps deposited ritually to the site in several episodes (Renfrew et al. 2012).

[109] Getz-Preziosi 1987, 133, 148 n. 57; Marangou 1990; Sherratt 2000, 155 n. 85, 366.

of Panagia Chozoviotissa and was thus considered land of Amorgos. Moreover, there was a widely shared opinion among travelers and antiquarians in the late 19th century that "the richest finds and the best designed figures" dating to this early period came from Amorgos; this view transformed the island into a brand name for fine Cycladica.[110] Despite that occasionally the correct provenance would emerge (as in the case of the Harpist and the Flutist), Palaiologos' diverse stock and activities on Amorgos and neighboring islands contributed to the confusion regarding the provenance of numerous Cycladic antiquities.[111]

THE DEMAND FOR ASSEMBLAGES

Palaiologos' dealings in antiquities coincide with the transition from antiquarianism to archaeology, the move from acquiring individual pieces for their rarity and scholarly and artistic value to seeking groups of objects with a specific archaeological context ("assemblages"). This is not to say that the trade in individual pieces waned but that certain scholarly circles started showing special interest in acquiring assemblages that could help them interpret the past in a more systematic manner. Dümmler, Wolters, Blinkenberg, and Evans were among those attracted by this possibility.

Two particular Athens dealers appear to have played a prominent role in the sale of assemblages: Palaiologos and Rhousopoulos. As early as the 1860s and 1870s, both men were linked to groups of objects with recorded archaeological contexts. For the sake of coherency, I focus here on Palaiologos' activities and only briefly mention Rhousopoulos.[112] I argue that the dealer behind the Amorgian assemblages seen by Köhler, Dümmler, Wolters, and Evans was none other than Palaiologos.

In the case of Evans, the association of certain groups of objects with Palaiologos is made clear from a reference to the dealer in one of Evans' pocketbooks.[113] One of the pages contains drawings of objects from Amorgos, most of which are based on Dümmler's work (e.g., Tombs D and F).[114] Isolated from the rest are three Cycladic assemblages under the heading "Contents of tombs at Palaologos' (Odos Adrianou)" (fig. 9). The first group consisted of a small broken dagger and three EC III pots described in pencil as "handmade" (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. nos. AE 264–67). The second group was formed of two EC II–III "lances" said to have been found together (inv. nos. AE 232, AE 233), while the third comprised two EC III pots (inv. nos. AE 262, AE 263).[115] Evans also noted the presence in Palaiologos' house of "other lances from various tombs" and an "idol" (the latter marked in pencil).[116] It is possible that during one of his many trips to Athens between 1887 and 1893, when he finally bought these objects for the Ashmolean Museum, Evans visited Palaiologos and sketched the objects that interested him most.[117]

The association of these objects with Palaiologos has interesting repercussions, since these were not the only Amorgian objects or assemblages bought by Evans in Athens in the 1890s.[118] For example, in the same year Evans purchased both the Kapros Tomb D assemblage and a Mycenaean tomb group from a chamber tomb at Kareas (the latter for £8, or 200 drachmas). When Evans brought the objects from his shopping spree in Athens back to Oxford, the Greek press condemned

[110] Bent 1884b, 58.

[111] E.g., Palaiologos' gift of coins from ancient Arkesine and Minoa to the Numismatic Museum in Athens in 1884 (A. Postolakkas, "Εθνικόν Νομισματικόν Μουσείον: Δωρήματα," *Αιών* [24 May 1884] 3–4) and the cache of objects confiscated by the authorities in 1894.

[112] Sherratt 2000, 25–6 n. 1; Galanakis 2008, 2011b; Galanakis and Nowak-Kemp 2013.

[113] Evans (n.d.). The pocketbook includes miscellaneous notes and drawings copied from well-known publications. Palaiologos' objects were the only ones that had not been previously published. Evans' (n.d.) pocketbook covers a long period and includes material as late as 1898 (e.g., Tsountas' excavations on Paros and Amorgos first published that year).

[114] Evans (n.d.); Dümmler 1886, Beilagen 1, 2. With regard to Tomb D, Evans (n.d.) made an additional note in pencil that reads "3 idols." It is possible that he inspected the group in Athens prior to purchasing it, at which point only three Kapros D figurines remained unsold.

[115] Evans (n.d.). The objects were registered twice at the Ashmolean Museum: in 1893 and in 1896–1908. In 1893, a feeding bottle was grouped with inv. no. AE 262, while AE 263 was linked to AE 264–67. Yet the 1896–1908 groupings agree with those in Evans (n.d.).

[116] Evans (n.d.). It is not clear whether this idol was bought along with the "3 idols" marked in pencil on the same page. It is also impossible to determine whether these four idols are the same as the "2 ivory + 2 marble idols" bought by Evans in 1893 and mentioned in Evans 1892–1894.

[117] The Kapros D seal purchased by Chester in 1889 was illustrated by Evans (n.d.). Most of his drawings on this page, including the Palaiologos pieces, were originally made in pencil and later inked. A few elements remained in pencil, such as a drawing showing a top view of the seal. Since Dümmler (1886) did not include this particular drawing, Evans must have drawn it himself after inspecting the seal. It is unclear whether this happened in Athens, before it was sold to Chester, or whether Evans added the top view when he returned to Oxford.

[118] E.g., in 1896 Evans bought four Amorgian figurines, including a very large figure (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. AE 176; lgth. 76 cm) for £10 7s. These may have originated from Palaiologos. More Amorgian objects were bought in 1898. Today, 92 objects at the Ashmolean Museum are said to be from "Amorgos," including pots, figurines, tools, and ornaments.

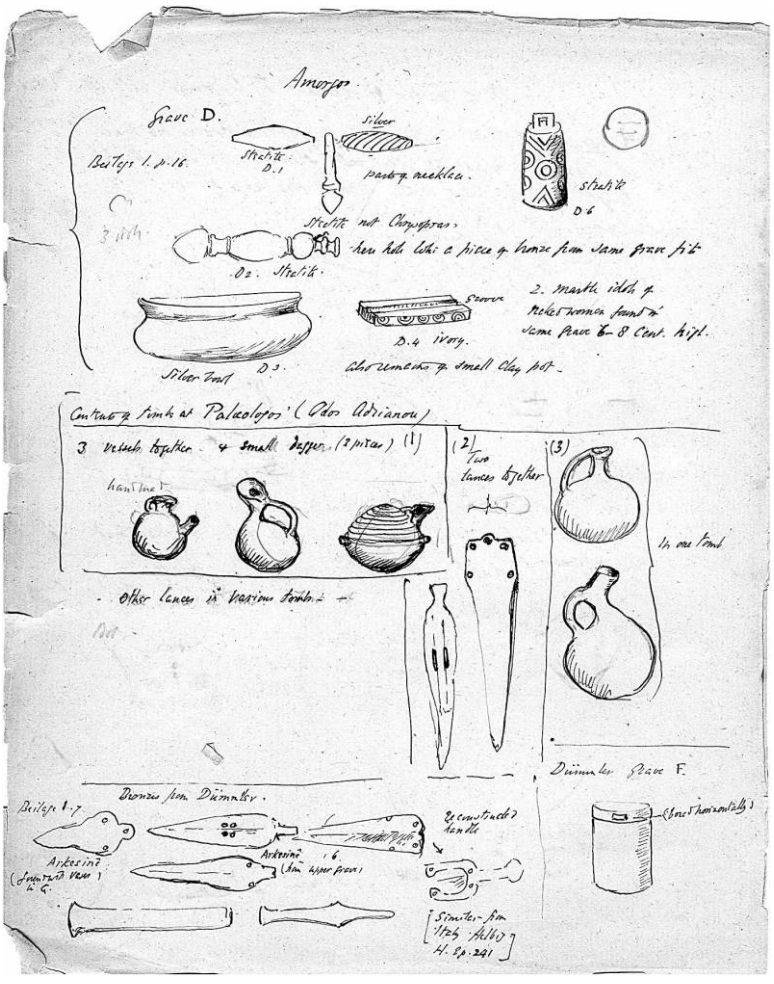

Fig. 9. Evans' drawings of Amorgian objects. In the middle of the page are the objects he saw in Palaiologos' house (Evans [n.d.]; courtesy Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford).

their sale and wondered how these antiquities had been allowed to leave the country.[119] Until now, it was thought that these objects came solely from Rhousopoulos' stock. Although the Kareas tomb material can be securely linked to Rhousopoulos,[120] the same does not appear to be true for the Amorgian objects.

The assumption that Rhousopoulos was involved in the Kapros Tomb D sale is based on his robust sales, which included Cycladica, especially during the 1860s–1880s,[121] and on another of Evans' pocketbooks that contains miscellaneous notes from Evans' trips in Greece and Italy in 1892–1894.[122] One of the pages is

[119] "Αρχαιοκαπήλων Άθλοι," *Το Άστυ* (6 July 1894) 2.

[120] Galanakis 2008.

[121] Rhousopoulos collected and sold the bronzes known as the "Kythnos Hoard"—a group of tools from Naxos, and possibly other islands, that appeared in 1864 and is now split between the British Museum and the National Museum of Denmark (Fitton 1989). The Copenhagen bronzes formed part of a larger purchase of 54 pieces (Copenhagen, National Museum of Denmark, inv. nos. 3143–91) acquired by the museum for FF 800 (Rhousopoulos to J.J. Worsaae, 2 November 1872 and 7 December 1872, Department of Antiquities, National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen). Among these objects were three long daggers from Amorgos (inv. nos. 3163, 3164, 3170), a metal awl from Melos (inv. no. 3186), a bronze chisel (inv. no. 3147), a sword (inv. no. 3166), and the famous inlaid blade from Thera (inv. no. 3167). In 1887, the National Museum of Denmark bought 11 more objects, including a frying pan from Sikinos (inv. no. 3245). Also in 1887, Carl Jacobsen bought from Rhousopoulos numerous tools from Melos, Antiparos, Amorgos, and 11 other sites that included hundreds of obsidian cores and flakes (Sørensen 2012). Five non-Cycladic objects were bought by the museum from the same dealer in 1896 (inv. nos. 4711–15).

[122] Evans 1892–1894.

headed "Athens 1893" and contains a list of names bracketed together, including those of Myres, Tsountas, and Rhousopoulos—people that Evans probably met in Athens.[123] A number of monetary calculations, amounting to 1,270 drachmas (£50 8s, a similar amount to that spent by Blinkenberg in 1896), appear under Rhousopoulos' name. Below the calculations is a list of objects that Evans bought while in Athens. Among them are objects belonging to Kapros Tomb D, such as "pendants and ornaments of steatite," "2 ivory + 2 marble idols," silver beads, and a silver bowl. Yet the only objects in Evans' shopping list clearly identified as coming from Amorgos are the silver bowl and "5 vases." The only Amorgian vases purchased in 1893 are the pieces that Evans saw in Palaiologos' house. Although one cannot exclude the possibility that by 1893 the objects associated with Kapros Tomb D were in the possession of various Athens dealers, there is enough evidence to suggest that this particular assemblage was originally in the possession of Palaiologos.[124]

PALAIOLOGOS AND THE KAPROS TOMB D ASSEMBLAGE

In the DAI Athens archives, there are two pages with sketches of objects in Palaiologos' possession.[125] The drawings were made by Winter in preparation for Wolters' 1891 publication. The first of the two pages (Skizzenblätt 387) bears the heading "Palaeologos," under which several objects are illustrated, including a Late Helladic IIIC Late stirrup jar purchased from Palaiologos by Robert Zahn in 1896.[126] Although the jar was originally identified as coming from Amorgos,[127] recent research securely associates it with Palaiologos' 1871–1872 excavations in the outer Kerameikos.[128] The confusion regarding the jar's provenance is important, because it alludes to Palaiologos' so-called Amorgian stock. Moreover, on the same page, Winter illustrated, along with other objects from the dealer's outer Kerameikos excavations, an object that Wolters associated with Tomb D: a silver ring-like handle.[129] The second of the two pages (Skizzenblätt 388) is titled "Schmuck u.a. aus einem prähistorischen Grab auf Amorgos (AM 11, 1886, 21 D). Bei Paläologos."[130] Although it was not possible during my visit to the DAI to locate this page, both pages clearly connect Palaiologos to the trafficking of Tomb D. Given the purchase of the Arkesine Tomb G assemblage from the same source, it is indeed quite possible that Dümmler's *Privatbesitz* in Athens was none other than the house-cum-shop of Palaiologos on Adrianou Street.

A final piece of evidence linking Palaiologos to Tomb D and highlighting the willingness of dealers to create "assemblages" to satisfy demand comes from the close inspection of the two green stone handles associated with this grave.[131] Beginning in the late 1890s, it was universally assumed that both handles described by Dümmler had been bought by Evans in 1893 for the Ashmolean Museum.[132] Yet there are some discrepancies between Dümmler's description and illustration and the pieces now in Oxford. Dümmler spoke of a well-preserved pierced stone handle (D2; lgth. 10 cm), with which he associated a bronze pin from the same grave (perhaps a tattooing instrument). A smaller handle (lgth. 6.5 cm) was also found in the tomb. The larger of the two Oxford pieces, however, is much shorter (lgth. 6.6 cm) and unpierced and may actually be identified with the smaller of the two handles described by Dümmler.[133] Moreover, Dümmler's drawing

[123] Supra n. 122. Myres visited Amorgos in the summer of 1893 and collected a few surface sherds from "Tze Viglais" on the north side of the "Harbour Bay" (probably Amorgos' main harbor at Katapola). Among the sherds was the base of a large EC I–II jar with a mat or basket impression (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. AE 248) (Myres 1898; Sherratt 2000, 356–57, cat. no. 13.c.1).

[124] Evans 1892–1894. Myres (1958, 137) remarked that Dümmler's "collection [of Amorgian antiquities] went astray after his return to Athens, but the more important objects were re-identified in 1893 and secured for the Ashmolean."

[125] Franz Winter, 1890, Skizzenblättern 387, 388, Archivmappe A, DAI Athens.

[126] For an illustration of the first page, see Gauss and Ruppenstein 2001, 162, fig. 6.

[127] Mycenaean material from Amorgos entered European and U.S. collections early in the 20th century—e.g., Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. nos. 01.8041, 01.8041.42 (bought by E.P. Warren from a Greek dealer); Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. nos. GR.56.1906, GR.56a–e.1907 (given by A.J.B. Wace in 1906–1907); London, British Museum, inv. nos. 1912.626.13–19 (part of a larger group of objects from the Greek government in exchange for a cast of the museum's caryatid).

[128] Gauss and Ruppenstein 2001; Galanakis 2011b. The jar is now housed in Heidelberg (Antikenmuseum, University of Heidelberg, inv. no. M 16); it is interesting to note that according to Wide (1910, 33–34 n. 1, no. 1), Palaiologos appears to have been a close acquaintance of Dümmler, further strengthening the possibility of the latter getting his information about the Amorgian graves (and possibly also objects) from the former.

[129] Wolters 1891, 50.

[130] I would like to thank Joachim Heiden of DAI Athens for providing me with the title of the missing plate.

[131] Dümmler 1886, 20.

[132] Blinkenberg 1896; 1897, 48–9, fig. 14; Dümmler 1901, 53, fig. 48, no. D2. Both studies note the similarities between the larger handle in Oxford (Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. AE 160) and the one in Copenhagen (National Museum of Denmark, inv. no. 3263). On the two handles, see also Sherratt 2000, 42–3, nos. 1.a.7–8.

[133] Dümmler 1886, 20. Sherratt (2000, 42 n. 58) noticed this inconsistency but explained it as a mistake on behalf of

clearly shows two rings under the handle butt, while the Oxford handle has only one (fig. 10). His description and illustration correspond almost perfectly with the pierced green stone handle in Copenhagen (National Museum of Denmark, inv. no. 3263; lgth. 9.8 cm) that had been registered as "without known provenance."[134]

If the Oxford handle is indeed the smaller of the two mentioned by Dümmler, then what about the even smaller handle (lgth. 3.2 cm) now at the Ashmolean Museum (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. AE 161)? Not mentioned by Dümmler, this third piece can now safely be considered extraneous; it was probably added to the group, along with a metal pin, after the sale of Dümmler's pierced handle and pin to the National Museum of Denmark in 1887.[135] Palaiologos was responsible for this sale. This association strengthens the hypothesis that this particular dealer had in his possession in the 1880s the so-called Kapros D material. By replacing the already-sold material (the two figurines and the handle), Palaiologos was consciously trying to maintain the integrity of the assemblage described by Dümmler.[136]

Probably not since the days of the notorious antiquities trafficker Petros Kordias of Mykonos, who was active in the islands during the first half of the 19th century, had the Cyclades witnessed such an active and professional trafficking of antiquities in the Athens market and beyond.[137] Although Palaiologos was responsible for illicitly excavating a number of graves at Kapros, it remains doubtful whether any of them yielded the assemblage described by Dümmler.[138] This "phantom grave," as it was described by Marangou,[139] was probably created by Palaiologos in his house in central Athens with material he had excavated or bought on Amorgos and perhaps on other islands.

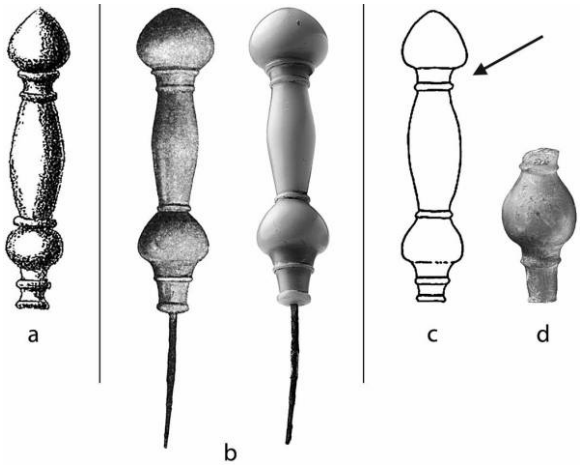

Fig. 10. Stone handles associated with Tomb D: *a*, pierced green stone handle illustrated by Dümmler (1886, Beilage 1, D2); *b*, pierced green stone handle in Copenhagen (Copenhagen, National Museum of Denmark, inv. no. 3263) (after Blinkenberg 1896, 44, fig. 10; courtesy National Museum of Denmark); *c*, large, unpierced handle, with arrow indicating the point of difference between it and handle *b* (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. AE 160; after Sherratt 2000, fig. 2); *d*, small handle (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. AE 161; courtesy Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford).

AMORGOS: A MICROCOSM OF 19TH-CENTURY ANTIQUITIES TRAFFICKING

Cycladica from Amorgos have long appeared as objects par excellence, either for establishing an Early Cycladic chronology or as type objects for particular artifactual categories (e.g., figurine varieties). Yet the first truly systematic research, by modern standards, commenced on the island only in the late 20th century, almost 100 years after the short investigations of Dümmler and Tsountas. For this reason, extra caution is advised when researching Amorgian "finds," especially in attribution studies, because many of them, particularly those that surfaced in European and American museums in the 20th century, are products of unauthorized excavations, and the precise sites and conditions of their discovery are either dubious or unknown.[140]

Dümmler.

[134] Dümmler 1886, 20, Beilage 1, no. D2; Blinkenberg 1896, 44, fig. 10. A metal pin is attached to it (lgth. 4.3 cm).

[135] The association of this third handle with the metal pin (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. AE 164) is modern and was done for display purposes.

[136] Dümmler 1886.

[137] Kalogeropoulou 1974; Marthari 2005, 137–39. Kordias, unpaid vice-consul of Great Britain on Mykonos from the 1820s–1856, had dealings with British collectors, including Percy Smythe, the sixth viscount of Strangford, whose collection of Cycladica is now in the British Museum. The trafficking of Cycladica over many decades should warn scholars about the provenance of Palaiologos' objects, some of which may have been acquired through purchases and exchanges.

[138] Dümmler 1886.

[139] Comment made by Marangou in Renfrew 1984, 54.

[140] Private lands, rich in antiquities, were highly valued by dealers. This interest resulted in landowners purposefully moving antiquities to certain fields in an attempt to raise their selling/leasing price. The elderly Ioannis Gavalas told Marangou in 1983 that his father, when plowing his land, came across several "kouklakia" (figurines), which he subsequently threw into the area where Prasinos and the foreigners, "the German and the English," were excavating (Marangou 1990, 164, nn. 22–3). Marangou identified the "German" as Dümmler and the "English" as Bosanquet. It was also common among dealers to conceal or alter the provenance of objects in an attempt to confuse the authorities and cover their traces (Marangou 1984, 99).

Museum archives still contain valuable information and many untold stories of people whose actions shaped the course of archaeology. Here, I have identified the individuals behind the trafficking of antiquities in Amorgos between 1880 and 1894 and reconstructed, to the extent possible, their areas of operation. Although no reconstruction can ever replace the original and now lost archaeological context, the available material can help us understand how private diggers, looters, dealers, and museums shaped their collections and the modern understanding of the past. This is not only an important chapter in the early history of exploration in the Cyclades[141] but also a useful reminder of the different beginnings of Cycladic archaeology and of the shifting attitudes and mentalities regarding the commercialization of the past.

The identification of various individuals involved in the trafficking of antiquities provides an opportunity to reconstruct the structure of their operation and their "arm's-length methods" (fig. 11).[142] Travelers and antiquarians bought ancient objects from every possible source. The interested parties rarely asked for authorization to export them, with the exception of the foreign schools' excavations. Customs and other local officials were frequently involved in facilitating the unauthorized exportation and shipment of antiquities.

In the bottom tier, there was usually a local facilitator, in this case Prasinos, who knew the island and its archaeology better than anyone else. Prasinos was also well established and knew the other proprietors on the island and thus was an invaluable guide to visitors to Amorgos. Then there were the Athens dealers-cum-diggers; far better organized than Prasinos, they made more profit and were keen to circulate their finds in the fine-antiquities market. Among the other Athens dealers, Palaiologos appears to have occupied pride of place on Amorgos during the 1880s and 1890s, during which period he also acquired the reputation among foreign scholars of being "un des chercheurs d'antiques les plus expérimentés d'Athènes."[143] Palaiologos was trading with any interested party, including local authorities, archaeological institutions such as the Archaeological Society at Athens, and foreign agents of major European museums wanting to purchase antiquities for their collections. That the best objects may have been kept for the Greek museums could suggest that this particular dealer had a selection process—which was perhaps also part of a strategy, common at the time, to conceal from the authorities the true scale of the operations.[144] At the top there was usually a trained scholar who had the skills and knowledge to interpret the finds, place them within their broader historical context, and facilitate their exportation, such as Rhousopoulos, whose involvement in the trafficking of early Cycladica is attested but is unclear in relation to Palaiologos' operations. At the same time, foreign scholars (often themselves members of the archaeological schools in Athens), such as Köhler, Dümmler, and Wolters, would make the finds from these "private" excavations widely known, attracting not only scholarly interest but also the desire of individuals and institutions to add the finds to their collections.[145]

Enforcement of the first archaeological law of Greece was impossible, despite its pioneering framework and set of conditions and regulations that, among other things, prohibited the unauthorized exportation of antiquities. Although circulars were issued to keep the law in pace with the progress of archaeological inquiry and to make its articles known more widely, enforcement was hindered by a lack of personnel, financial support, and political determination. The ability to conduct private excavations and the shared ownership and free sale within Greece of antiquities discovered on private land complicated matters, making the role of state archaeologists difficult, especially with regard to monitoring and controlling the flow of objects coming from unauthorized excavations. In some instances, individuals entrusted locally with supervising and monitoring these activities, from customs officials to local custodians, either did not enforce the law or, increasingly, turned from "gamekeepers to poachers" in search of profit.[146] This situation allowed foreign museums and their agents, private diggers, and the numerous Greek dealers and collectors to become more aggressive with regard to

[141] Marthari 2001; 2005, 137–39.

[142] Sherratt 2000, 30; see also Marthari 2001, 161–63.

[143] Rayet and Collignon 1888, 23–4.

[144] E.g., Palaiologos did something similar with his outer Kerameikos excavations (Galanakis 2011b).

[145] E.g., Chester, Evans, and Blinkenberg are among those who visited Amorgos in the 1890s and collected Cycladica; one can also add Myres, Bosanquet, Mackenzie, and Delamarre to the list. The objects they collected are now in England (Oxford, London, and Cambridge), Denmark, and France.

[146] Galanakis 2011b; Galanakis and Nowak-Kemp 2013. For a bleak analysis of the illicit trafficking of antiquities and the responsibilities of the state in the late 1880s, see "Τυμβωρύχοι και αρχαιοκάπηλοι," *Ακρόπολις* (17 February 1888) 1–3. For a similar situation on Cyprus, see Kiely (forthcoming).

Fig. 11. Diagram showing the basic structure of the late 19th-century antiquities trade in Greece. Arrows indicate the direction of traffic.

their acquisition policy, which was often facilitated on the ground by members of the upper echelons of Athenian society and diplomatic missions.[147] By the end of the 1890s, illicit trafficking of antiquities had reached enormous proportions and was openly conducted so that "ignorance or indifference on the part of the Government" was no longer possible.[148]

A new archaeological law (no. 2646) introduced in 1899 eliminated shared ownership, declared all ancient objects to be the exclusive property of the state, prohibited all private excavations, made the illicit trafficking of antiquities a criminal offense, and gave more powers to the archaeological service.[149] It also recognized compensation for antiquities found on private land if they were promptly announced to the authorities, and it permitted the exportation, upon authorization, of objects that had nothing to add ("άχρηστα") to the collections of Greek museums.[150]

Yet the collection, sale, and exportation of antiquities in the 19th century, especially their illicit trafficking, shaped modern Greek identity. The publicizing and condemnation of looting activities by the Greek press and members of the scholarly community helped to embed, across a wider segment of the population, a sense of awareness of the "ancestral heritage" and to define the relationship of the present to the past.[151]

This admittedly sketchy reconstruction of the exploration and purchase of Early Cycladic material from Amorgos highlights the interest, especially during 1880 and 1900, of the major European museums in securing archaeological assemblages that were important for explaining the island civilization and its role in the development of Aegean societies. Much of the 19th-century trade of Cycladica, in accordance with the attitudes and academic debates of the time, emphasized stone and metal tools, which were

[147] On one such case, Charles Merlin (the British vice-consul), see Galanakis 2012a, 2012b. On the role of British consuls in sourcing antiquities in the Aegean area, especially for the period between 1815 and 1864, see Patrizio Gunning 2009.

[148] Capps (1899, 89) offers a vivid description of the situation prior to the enforcement of the 1899 law. At the same time, there were scholars who believed that the pressure of the art market combined with the inability of the government to effectively enforce the law nurtured acts of vandalism (e.g., Reinach 1883).

[149] Petrakos 1982, 141–51.

[150] On the subject, see Galanakis 2012c.

[151] Avgouli 1994. See Voutsaki (2003) on the intellectual framework that gave rise to these ideas.

especially popular among northern European collectors. This interest gradually shifted to marble vessels, clay pots, idiosyncratic marble figurines, and eventually, at the end of the 19th century, to assemblages rather than individual pieces. In this respect, the shifting interests of antiquarians and collectors may have also dictated the pace or even the nature and direction of archaeological research and inquiry on the islands, thus leading, subconsciously, to the development of the more systematic archaeological exploration of the early Cyclades.

There can be no doubt that the work in the 1880s of Bent and Dümmler was instrumental in the systematic exploration of the islands' prehistoric past. Yet contrary to current thinking, their interest did not simply emerge from the work of earlier scholars, such as Thiersch, Ross, and Köhler. The discovery and trafficking by Palaiologos early in the 1880s of some very impressive Cycladica from Amorgos and Keros suddenly made this particular area stand out from the rest, attracting wide academic interest. While Dümmler's excavations were limited to a rather short archaeological investigation in October 1885, the work of Palaiologos extended to the middle of the 1890s. By the time Tsountas was able to visit the island, enforce archaeological law, and conduct excavations, most of the sites had already been rifled. Although the exploration of the early Cyclades began many centuries ago, the systematic investigation of the islands, like many other archaeological projects, started out of necessity in late 19th-century Greece:[152] the need to regulate and prevent the numerous unauthorized excavations that were taking place, to better document and preserve finds, and to control and minimize the trafficking of illicit antiquities.

FACULTY OF CLASSICS
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
SIDGWICK AVENUE
CAMBRIDGE CB3 9DA
UNITED KINGDOM
IG298@CAM.AC.UK

Works Cited

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[152] The Ephorate of Antiquities for the Cyclades was first instituted in 1886 (Petrakos 1982, 46). It should be mentioned that a number of those involved in the early antiquities trafficking as private archaeologists and "earth contractors" developed real interests in the advancement of knowledge. A good example is the Cypriot Grigoris Antoniou, who worked in numerous excavations in the eastern Mediterranean and was Evans' foreman at Knossos. Born in Larnaca, he "had learned in a *jeunesse orageuse* spent in tomb-robbing in Cyprus how to remove the most fragile objects without breaking them" (Evans 1943, 340). Arthur Evans remarked that Antoniou's "life-long application to his congenial pursuit on early Cypriote sites made him probably the most expert tomb-hunter of the Levant" and described him as "a superman among foremen" (quoted in Evans 1943, 340). Antoniou exemplifies how a tomb hunter could potentially turn, with the development of archaeology, into one of the first skilled archaeological workers who, with their expertise, have since contributed immensely to the discovery of the past.

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