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**UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON**

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Department of Archaeology

Volume 1 of 1

***L'archéologie enragée***

**Archaeology & national identity under the Cretan State  
(1898 – 1913)**

by

**Vassilios Varouhakis**

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 2015



UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

**ABSTRACT**

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

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***L'ARCHÉOLOGIE ENRAGÉE***

**ARCHAEOLOGY & NATIONAL IDENTITY UNDER THE CRETAN STATE**

**(1898 - 1913)**

Vassilios Varouhakis

This thesis deals with the parallel threads of colonial politics, nationalism and archaeology in the Cretan State (1898 - 1913), a semi-autonomous, semi-colonial regime, established on the island of Crete by some of the “Great Powers” of the time (Great Britain, France, Russia and Italy). This polity ended 250 years of direct Ottoman rule, in a region inhabited by both Christians – the majority – and Muslims. Some of the most significant archaeological projects began during that period, mainly directed by western archaeological missions. Amidst this setting, a local elite of intermediaries supported Greek irredentism and demanded a nationally “pure” present, heir to an equally “pure” past. At the same time, an obedient stance towards the occupying forces and their archaeological demands secured their individual and collective interests. Both stances lead them to clash with Western archaeologists, Greek archaeologists, and especially the local peasantry, whose behaviour towards antiquities they considered ignorant and non-patriotic.

How did the colonial foundations of Cretan archaeology affect its relationship with Greek nationalism? How was modern archaeology received and “consumed” by the Cretans of the time? In order to answer these questions, I organise my chapters by focusing upon different “groups” of people related to my subject (the Western archaeologists, the local archaeological elites, the Cretan peasants etc.) and studying how their intermingling evolved regarding the management of the material past. Most of my resources are of an archival nature, some of

them never published before. They come from personal collections, memoirs, correspondence between key figures, press articles and administrative records.

My findings clearly highlight how the Westerners managed to incorporate successfully the Cretan archaeological production within their identity-building, focused on the origins of the European civilisation. This material bond subsidised their collective, “civilised” identity, allowing them the privilege to colonise the world beyond their perception. At the same time, Crete was occupied by the Greek national imagination. The new archaeological narrative was used by the local elites in order to remodel the Cretan society, particularly the most “unruly” parts of it, the rural population, into obedient national subjects. The Cretan peasants reacted to these practices with a remarkable flexibility and resistance, which was evident in both their narrative and activity related to the material remains of the past.

The outcomes of my research have wider relevance, especially for studies that may include, among others, topics such as the social history of Crete, archaeology and the politics of identity, ethnocentric applications of archaeology, memory destruction and reconstruction, conflict archaeology and archaeology “from below”.

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# DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Vassilios Varouhakis

declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

*L'archéologie enragée: Archaeology & national identity under the Cretan State*  
(1898 - 1913)

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;

6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;

7. None of this work has been published before submission.

Signed:

Date:

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*To my parents*



# 1. Introduction

*“The Cretans called to Him with guns. They stood before God’s door and let off rifle shots to make Him hear. “Insurrection!” bellowed the Sultan, when he first heard the shooting, and in raving fury sent Pachas<sup>1</sup>, soldiers and gangs. “Insolence!” cried the Franks<sup>2</sup>, and let loose their warships against the tiny barques that fought, braving death, between Europe, Asia and Africa. “Be patient, be reasonable, don’t drag me into bloodshed!” wailed Hellas, the beggar-mother, shuddering. “Freedom or death!” answered the Cretans, and made a din before God’s door”<sup>3</sup>*

The passage above comes from the novel *Freedom and Death* (known as *Kapetan Michalis* in Greek), by Nikos Kazantzakis. It was written in the 1950s, but the story takes place in late 19th century Crete, where the writer grew up. This specific passage has been chosen as epigraph here since, within a few lines, one can find an eloquent description of the time and space that this thesis occupies. My study focuses on the Cretan State (*Kritiki Politeia*<sup>4</sup>), a semi-autonomous regime, established in 1898 on the island of Crete by the “Great Powers” of the time (Great Britain, France, Russia and Italy). Crete is one of the largest islands in the Mediterranean Sea, located in the southern part of the Aegean Sea, right above the Libyan Sea. During the second half of the 19th century successive revolts by the Greek-speaking, Christian majority, in a land inhabited by both Christians and Muslims, had as their aim unification with Greece. This was seen by some western scholars, and recently liberated Greeks, as another struggle of the descendants of ancient Greeks against the “barbarians” (Skopetea 1988, 297). Numerous intercommunal massacres and a military intervention by the

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<sup>1</sup> Ottoman official rank with administrative and military jurisdictions.

<sup>2</sup> The European Great Powers.

<sup>3</sup> Kazantzakis 1990 (transl. by J. Griffin), 65-66.

<sup>4</sup> ISO 843 transliteration system from Greek to Latin characters has been used in this thesis. Transliterations from Greek are mine unless stated otherwise. All translations of Greek documents and publications are by the author, unless stated otherwise.

“Great Powers” preceded the new polity, which ended 250 years of direct Ottoman rule. The birth of the new puppet-state was a kind of sequel to the Kingdom of Greece that had been established in 1832 (Breuilly 1993, 139, 143). It was also the outcome of a long course of political, economic and social developments that escalated after the Greek War of Independence in 1821 (Perakis 2008, 27). More importantly, for the scope of this thesis, it coincided with the discovery of an “archaeological Eldorado” on the island (Carabott 2006, 39). Along with the European troops, the foreign archaeological schools solidified an already noticeable presence; indeed, an archaeological “colonisation” took place (Momigliano 2002, 266-67). During that time, Cretan prehistory, nowadays renowned as the “Minoan Civilisation”, was “discovered” and brought into the spotlight of international attention. It was named after the mythical king of Crete, Minos, the son of Europa, a Phoenician noble maiden and the god Zeus, who, according to the ancient Greek myth, abducted her and took her to the island of Crete, having adopted the form of a white bull. The concept of “Minoan Civilisation” served various, and usually conflicting, agendas and worldviews, involving western archaeologists, their local colleagues, the urban elites of the island and the rural population.

The Cretan State (1898 - 1913) has been chosen because, during that period, prominent archaeological and political events intersected on the island. It was then and there that western quests for the “cradle of the European civilisation”, identifying themselves with a certain version of the Cretan past, were expressed in a rather modest, yet unequivocally colonial style; it was then and there that those quests collaborated, collided, or simply cohabited with a rather explosive expression of Greek irredentism; all this in a war-ridden place, where intercommunal conflict left deep scars upon the local communities and their collective imagination. This imagination was occupied, not only by foreign troops or nation-building projects, but also by the emergence of archaeologies with certain agendas, which fused the past, present and future. This thesis stands at the intersection of those colonialist, nationalist and localist narratives (cf. Hamilakis 2006), relying on the material cultures of the past, as projected through the scientific discipline of archaeology, either by adopting it, or confronting it. The focus will be upon the production and consumption of certain identities within this context.

My questions are based on the background described above and can be summarised by the following two groups of questions:

**1. How did the colonial foundations of Cretan archaeology affect its relationship with Greek nationalism?** How were the ideals and goals of the Westerners, involved in Cretan politics and archaeology, filtered by their Christian Cretan colleagues? As we will see, the prehistory of the island became essential for the creation of highly exclusivist, Eurocentric narratives of power in the West. Still, the role of the Cretan scholar, and of the educational and archaeological institutions in this process of production and consumption of those narratives, remains unexplored; the same goes for the role of the foreign archaeological institutes located in Crete and Greece. Can the partnerships and conflicts between the local elites and their western affiliates be highlighted? Which were the outcomes of this interaction between colonial and national ideologies? Did the presence of a strong, yet latent, Cretan local identity, partly relying on antiquities, act as a catalyst in this process? And, lastly, what kind of identities emerged among the foreign incomers within this context?

**2. How was “Minoan” archaeology received and “consumed” by the Cretans of the time?** What happened when this new perception of the past, produced and consumed by the Cretan elites, was introduced to the local society? Was it adopted without problems, or was it enforced by the elites upon the non-elite population? If the latter, was this part of a broader, rural vs. urban intercommunal conflict, taking place in Crete at that time? Did this create attitudes towards antiquities which were departing from the national norm? Can we find pre-nationalist perceptions regarding the material remains of the past in those attitudes?

I will approach these questions within a theoretical setting that brings together three key concepts: the Cretan collaborator system<sup>5</sup>, banal nationalism and the embedded practices of dealing with the material past among the rural population of the island. With the term “Cretan collaborators” (cf. Breuilly 1993, 194-96, 215) I define here the group of people that prepared, facilitated and ran the

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<sup>5</sup> See Breuilly 1993 for an extensive account on the nature of the collaborator systems in pre-nationalist states.

autonomous regime, in favour of western interests. This network, and the heads of the Greek nationalist movement in Crete, were more or less one and the same. The local archaeologists and antiquarians are seen here as a subsystem of this mechanism. In these terms, I define Cretan collaborators as agents of both western colonialism and Greek nationalism. In conjunction with that, I am interested in the ways in which those two driving forces were appropriated locally; as well as how the external agents (the westerners in Crete), affected Cretan identity-building and, in response, how their own worldview was shaped through this process.

Among the outcomes of this colonised setting were the examples of banal nationalism produced under the Cretan State regime (cf. Billig 2001, 4, 8, 17). This is the second key concept of my research. It relates with the ways in which Greek nationalism was made banal and promoted subliminally in the daily life of the Cretan State, in contexts varying from state symbolism to school festivities. My goal is to define the level of antiquity in this nationalism: how the past infiltrated the present; how Cretans experienced their surroundings; and the symbols vested on them; how this experience defined what was needed to be “remembered” regarding the glorious past of the ancestors; how the narrative supporting this banality was used to empower the ruling elites; and finally, “...whose is the history, and whose the discourse about it?” (Herzfeld 1991, 226).

This policy, the introduction of a monumentalised landscape and its interaction with the resistance of local archaeological narratives and traditions, in order to create a more homogenous, state-run national narrative, brings us to my third key concept: that of the embedded practices of dealing with the material past, found among the Cretan peasants. What concerns me here is the extent of social embeddedness (cf. Granovetter 1985; Polanyi 2001) of views and practices related to antiquities in the Cretan countryside. I am very interested in how socially approved practices, related to the sustainability of local communities and their members as individuals, interacted with the symbolic capital of archaeology, and how pre-modern perceptions of the material past were transformed or lingered during the Cretan State, especially when new, ground-breaking actors, such as the Westerners, entered the setting.

## 1.1 The Cretan revolutions & the Cretan State: a European colony in self-denial

In general, Crete was not unfamiliar to the West: between 1205 and 1669, the island was known as *Il Regno di Candia* (The Kingdom of Candia), a cherished overseas colony of the Republic of Venice. During that time, and after 1669, when Crete came under Ottoman rule, western travellers had been rediscovering it sporadically; people from various European states, and officials of various bodies with positions on the island, reproduced a vivid and romanticised image of it<sup>6</sup>. Most of their memoirs show, more or less, care in reproducing Crete through its ancient Greek mythological heritage, and references to the “island of King Minos” are not rare or bizarre: Renaissance, Romanticism and Classicism, along with the European Enlightenment, paved the way for revisiting and cherished Greek and Roman antiquity; the Aegean Sea became a locus of vital importance for this new sense of awe (cf. Karadimas 2009). Crete was part of a wider utopia, where nostalgic foreigners could seek the thin line that blurs past and present.

Following the Greek War of Independence, Crete was not among the territories included within the newly formed Kingdom of Greece, although the Christians of the island participated in the revolution. Greek nationalism in Crete, already on the rise since the war, had gained new significance, audiences and priorities: *Eleftheria i Thanatos* (“Freedom or Death”) became *Enosis i Thanatos* [“Unity (with Greece) or Death”]. At the turn of the century, for reasons that are beyond the scope of this thesis, puppet-states seemed ideal to the “Great Powers”, as substitutes for deteriorating empires, such as those of the Hapsburgs and Ottomans (Breuilly 1993, 144). In other words, in 1898, the birthdate of the autonomous Cretan State, more sympathetic ears could be found regarding the change of the *status quo* in Crete. The Cretan State was granted some of the typical state paraphernalia, like its own flag, “government” and currency. Although it was still under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Sultan, none of his troops remained on the island. Thus, its defence, in fact, its occupation and

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<sup>6</sup> Among them, C. Buondelmonti (1386 – c.1430), an Italian monk, O. Dapper (1635 – 1689), a Dutch physician, J. Pitton de Tournefort (1656 – 1708), French botanist, F. W. Sieber (1789 – 1845), Austro-Hungarian botanist, Edward Lear (1812 – 1888), a British artist and poet, R. Pashley (1805 – 1859), British economist and T. A. B. Spratt (1811 – 1888), British vice-admiral (cf. Gregorakis 2003).

administration, was left in the hands of the Great Powers; the latter divided Crete into four administrative sections, equal to the four pre-existing regions of Ottoman rule<sup>7</sup>. The Powers appointed Prince George, son of the king of Greece, to the office of High Commissioner, investing him with obvious symbolic capital in the eyes of Greek nationalists. The old, Christian Cretan revolutionary castes became the new political elites; passionately identifying themselves as Greeks, they placed the idea of union with Greece “on standby”, and made up the core of the collaborator system organised by the Great Powers in true colonial fashion. They were authorised to solve problems of socio-political, economical and – among others – archaeological nature according to their own interests.

Under these circumstances, a fragmented political landscape was shaped. Indeed, Cretan society was placed under various pressures. It was as if those Cretans who, for so many years before autonomy, were charmed by a European, “civilised” vision, managed to take a stand. These were intellectuals with a classicist background, educated in Europe; people involved in previous Cretan revolutions, self-exiled in the newly born Greek kingdom, and charmed by the project of “Europeanisation” taking place there; people living in Crete, but working closely with the westerners there, for various reasons, either as personnel for their consulates or business associates in commercial firms; political actors in need of European patronage for their agendas; as well as, on occasion, people who combined more than one of the attributes above. The Cretan State was going to be their chance to present their new Cretan personas, nationally aware and within a model European colony; without guilt and with new power vested in them.

However, this environment was mainly cultivated in the cities of Crete, fortified since the Venetian period and with an ambivalent, if not conflictual, relationship with the countryside. In the latter, some school teachers or priests might have been closer to the new influence. But most of the peasants of the Cretan mountains and valleys visited the city only once a year, when going to sell their livestock or agricultural produce. Others had only heard of their intimidating walls and infamous taverns. For those people, life was based upon small-scale agricultural production and stock-raising. Animosity was complex as well.

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<sup>7</sup> This, in turn, kept the scheme the Venetians introduced.

“Christian” or “Muslim” villages were scattered across the Cretan landscape, characterised by their majority creed. Conflict between those two worlds was not absent, but cooperation could be found as well. Sometimes the reasons for both were far beyond faith, and had to do with adjacent or shared grazing or farming lands. But some hatred could also be spared for the Christian/Muslim fellow villager; especially if (s)he belonged to a family with whom a blood feud was being conducted, usually due to economical disputes or crimes of honour.

Within this fragmented anthropogeography, where the level of modernisation was a highly questionable and unstable variable, one could find some kind of abstract, communal feeling binding Christians of both city and countryside. They also shared an abstract dream of national liberation from the “Turkish yoke”, as the Ottoman rule was called, during most of the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. But alienation also easily emerged. Doubtlessly, the new, Western trends were something not easily comprehensible by the conservative Christian peasants, who were more reluctant to abandon their traditions and identity relics. They called those Cretans that chose to leave the Cretan *vraka* (breeches) for the western suit as *psalidokoloi* (scissors-butts) and *fragkoforemenoi* (dressed up like Franks/westerners)<sup>8</sup>. Meanwhile, the emerging urban class, at the expense of the Cretan Greek dialect, was favouring the *katharevousa*, a conservative form of the Modern Greek language, conceived in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, as a rather bizarre compromise between Ancient Greek and *Demotiki*, the Modern Greek of the time (cf. Mackridge 1990; 2009)<sup>9</sup>. Cinema<sup>10</sup> and European music were introduced in the Greek cities, and the ladies of the Cretan upper class started

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<sup>8</sup> A colourful depiction of this sentiment can be found in the first pages of *Freedom and Death* by N. Kazantzakis (1974, 15); there the reader witnesses the resentment of the main character, Kapetan Michalis, a hardened Cretan revolutionary who owns a shop in Heraklion but has a rural background. His fury is related to his nephew’s life choices. The latter emigrated to the West for studies: “*He studies, he says, what the hell is he studying? He will end up like his uncle, Tityros, a teacher! Scissors-butt, knucklehead, with glasses*” (translation from Greek by author).

<sup>9</sup> The majority of the documents used in this thesis that are written by the Cretan archaeologists and other members of the Cretan elites are in *katharevousa*; the same applies for the Cretan State school books and newspapers. As Herzfeld points out, it is surprising how few “lapses” into local dialect can be found in these handwritten and hand-copied documents (Herzfeld 1999, 227).

<sup>10</sup> The first Cretan cinema was opened in 1911 at the *Eleytheria* (Freedom) Square of Heraklion by A. Poulakakis, a wealthy local merchant who brought the power generator from Germany (interview with his grandson: <http://goo.gl/kXNbpl>, accessed in 14/07/2014). It is worth pointing out that electricity was introduced into the island for the purposes of cinema projection, rather than any industrial or other need.

to look towards Paris for fashion updates. During the years of autonomy, Cretan press articles and notes kept by local antiquarians tried to justify a much cherished continuity by pointing to cultural bonds between the “ancient ancestors” i.e. the classical Greeks, and Cretan music, dance and folk couplet poetry (*mantinades*). The Cretan culture of those days was placed into the frame of institutionalised national history, devised under Western guidelines. Within this setting, the new archaeological discoveries and the dominant narrations and practices accompanying them, acted as catalysts of a broader sociocultural change in Cretan society.

## 1.2 Greek nationalism & its Cretan alter ego

It has been pointed out before, that the Greek ethnic nationalism is not the cause of the creation of the modern Greek state, but rather its product (Breuilly 1993, 142). However, the credibility of this conclusion is questionable, since the process was likely dialectical, rather than a matter of cause and effect; Greek nationalism was very different during the period of the Cretan State, compared to the ideological framework that fuelled the Greek War of Independence. The anti-liberal and religious shift that took place in the Greek nationalist narrative between 1821 and 1898 was accompanied by the establishment of Christianity as one of the pillars of the nation and the consequent defeat, or retreat, of any secular aspirations (Kitromilides 1979, 9-10). Romantic nationalism became much more influential than the civic nationalism of the French Revolution, and the Orthodox Christian mentalities found in the population were inscribed upon that ideology (Hamilakis 2007, 114).

Furthermore the Fallmerayer – Paparrigopoulos conflict on the relationship between modern and ancient Greeks (Kitromilides 1979, 12; Gourgouris 1996, 141)<sup>11</sup> had done much to solidify the bond of a new militant ideology, which

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<sup>11</sup> Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer (1790 – 1861) was a Tyrolean traveller, journalist, politician and historian, mostly known for his theory regarding the racial origins of “modern Greeks”. He passionately supported the idea that the latter had nothing in common with the ancient “Hellenic” populations of the Southern Balkans; on the contrary, they were mainly Slavic racial stock. This theory was part of his broader political ideology, with the fear of a Russian (Slavic) expansion in the Mediterranean and Europe playing a key role in it. Naturally, his views brought him into conflict with the European philhellenes (i.e.

incorporated the medieval past. Constantinos Paparrigopoulos was a Greek historian who divided the Greek national narrative into three parts, the ancient /classical, the medieval/Byzantine and the modern one (Paparrigopoulos 1860-1874). From the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the emphasis on the classical legacy of Greece, centred geographically on the Peloponnese and Attica, started to make space for the medieval past, which was rediscovered and increasingly celebrated. Paparrigopoulos was hugely influential to this end. Crete was one of the first terrains where the new ideology, combining Byzantium and the Middle Ages in general, with astonishing, prehistoric (“prehellenic”) ancient finds i.e. the “Minoan Civilisation”, would present its agenda and create a supporting narration (Peckham 2000, 87). In fact, as we will see in this thesis, the ancient Greeks have been overshadowed by the “Minoans” (unknown to Paparrigopoulos) in the national narratives of the Cretan past. This new, indigenous rather than European national narrative (Hamilakis 2007, 119) would find its best political expression in the so-called *Megali Idea* (“Great Idea”): the idea that Greece had a historical destiny to reoccupy all the *unredeemed* fatherlands outside its borders, where people who identified themselves as Greeks lived. However, in one of those “unredeemed” lands, Crete, this doctrine was established upon a much more deeply rooted, local pride in a very different image, that sprung from an aggressive traditionalism (Herzfeld 2003, 282). This seemingly paradoxical homogeneity created a “nationalistic localism” (Herzfeld 2003, 284-85, 308), pursued within colonial frames and with archaeology as one of its primary tools.

### 1.3 The cradle of archaeological civilisation?

Considering the setting described above, there has been no better moment to discover an “archaeological Eldorado”, than the time when the island’s placement into the Greek national narrative needed some strong, tangible justification. It

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supporters of the Greek nationalist cause, see Chapter 2) and made him a nemesis of the Greek nationalists. His ideas triggered an obsessive quest to prove the continuity of the Greek nation through the centuries, within the newborn, modern Greek historiography. Constantine Paparrigopoulos (1815-1891), considered the “national” historian of modern Greece, became Fallmerayer’s arch-rival. In his *History of the Greek Nation* (1860-77), he described the history of Greece from the classical antiquity till nowadays as a unity, in his effort to prove the Tyrolean historian wrong. For an extensive discussion on Fallmerayer and his theory on modern Greeks, see Skopetea 1999.

was in that war-ridden place that, at the turn of the century, the quest for mythological topographies in the Aegean emerged, after considering Troy and Mycenae. The spotlight fell on Crete: excavation projects, led by Western archaeological institutions, sprang up everywhere, fuelled by the discovery and excavation of the so-called “palace” of King Minos at Knossos, initially by the Cretan merchant and antiquarian, Minos Kalokairinos (Kopaka 1990; 1995), and subsequently the British archaeologist Sir Arthur Evans. The latter would secure, with his work in the field and his written heritage, the creation, production and re-production of what became known as the “Minoan” past (Hamilakis 2006, 148). By 1903 the term ‘Minoan’ was being used by Evans and his close associate, D. Mackenzie, although in inverted commas, and by 1910 it had become a commonplace. Evans did not invent the term, but he was the one who attributed to it a whole material culture of the past (Whitley 2006, 57)<sup>12</sup>. By doing so, he offered support for the antiquarians’ mythological chimaera with a materiality, well-protected by a web of agents, from politicians to school teachers, western, Cretan and Greek in origin, as was their public; a materiality that served as a multi-purpose tool for local appropriations and global encounters (Hamilakis 2006, 149).

Meanwhile, the Cretans followed the Greek example: one of the first institutions created in the Kingdom of Greece was the Archaeological Service; in fact, it is now the oldest national state archaeological service in Europe, having been founded in 1833 (Hamilakis 2007, 36). Not by chance, just three years later, a private institution, the *Archaeological Society at Athens (En Athinai Archaiologiki Etaireia)*, was founded by a merchant, in order to “offer aid” to the state and “encourage” archaeological activity within and *outside* the newly established Greek borders (Hamilakis 2007, 44-45). It was a rather interesting mixture of Greek and non-Greek antiquarians, merchants, artists and other intellectuals of the upper class, and was notorious for its conservatism. Even today, it is unique, as the only private Greek archaeological organisation that carries out a considerable amount of archaeological fieldwork. Following the trend, similar institutions in Crete preceded autonomy. Local, official or semi-official bodies, like the “Cretan Association of Friends of Education” (*Kritikos*

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<sup>12</sup> On the genealogy of the term, see Karadimas and Momigliano 2004 and Hamilakis 2006.

*Filekpaideytikos Syllogos*, or *Syllogos* in short) became the “womb” for both the Cretan Archaeological Service and the Cretan Archaeological Museum, after the Cretan State was established. An Antiquities Law was also implemented, although, not surprisingly, it was highly affected by the peculiarities of the political situation. Thus, a scholarly mirror emerged of what was going on between the Cretan political elites and the “peace-keeping” western authorities. Figures like Joseph Hatzidakis (1848 – 1936) were exemplary of how the intellectual, political and cultural elements were entangled under both national and Western patronage: a Cretan doctor-turned-archaeologist, he also had a short presence in the politics of the island, as delegate of Arhanes in the Cretan Assembly that voted for the enactment of the Autonomy, in 1897 (Petroulakis 2008, 157-60). But he became widely known as the longest serving head of the *Syllogos*, building and maintaining tight – and ambiguous – partnerships with foreign archaeologists. One of his early associates was the first excavator of Knossos, Minos Kalokairinos (1843 – 1907); the latter, apart from being a merchant, came from a family strongly tied to the British Empire, and served as a translator at the British Sub-Consulate of Heraklion. Moreover, he was also able to fluently address the Cretan Assembly and the public, regarding various archaeological, philological and even socio-political issues, through the *Cretan Archaeological Newspaper (Kritiki Archeologiki Efimeris)*, which he published between 1906 and 1907. Hatzidakis, along with his close associate, Stefanos Xanthoudides (1864 – 1928), another self-taught archaeologist, led the *Syllogos* and, subsequently, the Cretan Archaeological Service; they were the main contributors in the writing of the Cretan Antiquities Law, but also those who ran from village to village to negotiate with their fellow “compatriots” for the salvation of the “national monuments”. Within this setting, Cretan archaeologists were formally and informally “appointed” as guardians of the past and of the continuity of “Hellenism”, an aesthetic and yet political ideal (cf. Kokkinidou 2005, 33; Hamilakis 2006, 149; Plantzos 2008, 14). At the same time, some of them, like Hatzidakis, did not hesitate to put their best efforts while acting as agents for the interests of their western colleagues. Ironically, the actions of

Hatzidakis were called *l'archéologie enragée* (enraged archaeology) by the westerners, due to his patriotic stance towards the Cretan antiquities<sup>13</sup>.

#### 1.4 On theory and method

It will have become clear that, in establishing the context detailed above, various forms of data have been drawn on to construct my narrative. Overall, most of my resources are of an archival nature. They come from personal collections, memoirs and correspondence between key figures, press articles, minutes of the Cretan Assembly and municipal councils, administrative records of the Cretan government, as well as secondary literature. The press plays a crucial role, since it helps to both constitute and preserve public discourses. The latter form of data became vital for my research, when contrasted with related material from the private sphere, such as personal correspondence and notes. A substantial and multi-faceted body of varied materials is not easily manageable. However, the creation of the corpus that emerged here (**Appendices A-C**)<sup>14</sup> has a specific character: it is composed of a well-defined body of data and driven by the goal to address clearly defined questions. All in all, the role of the archive is pivotal to this study, and not simply as a means to an end. The spirit of this effort is based on the awareness that the very archives which mediate as lead actors in my research, reveal or hide aspects of my topic and contribute to a re-worked, fragmentary “regime of truth” (Foucault 1980, 131). My voice is far from “objective”, yet it deals with narratives that pose as such.

Obviously, this thesis is based on a multidisciplinary approach. Regarding the scholarly production on nationalism, my writing is mainly based on the definition of nation as collective imagination, as proposed by Benedict Anderson (2006). I present this imagination as a fragmented one, embracing several, conflicting meanings. I also focus on the need for a specific way to “remember” and “forget” the nationalised past, as described by E. Renan in 1882 and elaborated further

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<sup>13</sup> J. Hatzidakis was allegedly labelled as such by the French politician Georges Clemenceau (1841 – 1929), when he visited Crete (Hatzidakis 1931, 9, n.1).

<sup>14</sup> The material presented here is, to the best of my knowledge, unpublished, unless stated otherwise (i.e. reference on publication which has published or discusses data included in this thesis).

by Anderson (Renan 1990; Anderson 2006). Another key concept in my work is the hybridity of identity, colonial, national or local, as outlined by H. Bhabha (1999). Additionally, I elaborate upon the emergence of banal nationalism, an idea discussed by Michael Billig (2001). I dare to believe that this is a key concept for the Cretan State, where the process of national indoctrination is enhanced by the monumentalised landscape, re-introduced to the locals as something sacred. Thus the newly born, nationalised, material world is taken as a given by those living within it, especially by those future generations who did not experience the construction process. Regarding politics, I approach critically the dependency of nationalist politics on the state, as highlighted by J. Breuille. I argue that, although this interconnection is easily traceable, the latter may be surpassed by the former, thus leading to state policies defined by irredentist ideologies, instead of the opposite. In the same spirit, I focus on the class aspect of nationalism, by selectively using some of the points made by Eric Hobsbawm (1992): the importance of the nation for the self-preservation of the ruling elites and the capital behind them is undeniable, and well analysed by the Marxist school of history. Still, I propose that, in fragmented social landscapes, such as the Cretan one, the enforcement of unsuccessful “patriotic” state policies may lead to resistance, improvisation and vagabond, “stray from the path” identities - identities that fuse nationalist and western-inspired perceptions, reintroduced through a localist reading<sup>15</sup>. The last point is going to be one of the main ideas of this thesis.

Another key focus of my work is, of course, “Minoan Archaeology”; an obsolete notion, which cannot stand outside the various colonialist, nationalist and Eurocentric fixations that established it, as a subgenre of “Aegean Archaeology” (cf. Hamilakis 2009a). The prehistoric Cretans have been among the “best-sellers” of world archaeology for most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. All in all, “Minoan Civilisation” is, more than anything else, the epitome of “make believe”. The whole setting is made of a material culture not only highly incomprehensible, due to the lack of context, but also misinterpreted to a great extent. In true Voltairean style, “if the Minoans did not exist, it would be necessary to invent them” since, at the time of their “discovery”/invention, three, co-existing

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<sup>15</sup> Cf. Antonio Gramsci on the formation of the Italian state (Hoare and Smith 1999, 208-63).

narratives-in-the-making were searching for a foundation myth at the epicentre of this process: European modernity, Greek nationalism and Cretan localism. Symbols of the “Minoans”, like the double axe or the “horns of consecration”, have been rendered banal through innumerable forms of reproduction, not only in the archaeological bibliography but in the daily life of Cretans, Greeks and tourists visiting the island. They are equally important for the construction of modern, Cretan-localist, Greek-nationalist and Western-supremacist identities. They are the symbols of my island and my scientific discipline. They are also an archaeological project that can produce a great case study, showing the imbrication of heritage creation and management, politics and identity construction. For all the reasons above, I chose to produce this thesis.

A comprehensive bibliography that focuses on efforts to (re)produce a picture of “Minoan society” would be very large (cf. Krzyszkowska and Nixon 1981). Deconstructive approaches to the intimate relation between “Minoan” Crete and the Classical myth of King Minos and the Labyrinth, and how these shaped archaeological interpretations of “Minoan” society, have been made (cf. Hamilakis 2002). The impact that the latter had upon Greek and Western art, architecture and literature has been researched thoroughly (cf. Farnoux 1996; Cadogan 2004; Hamilakis and Momigliano 2006; Ziolkowski 2008; Caloi 2011)<sup>16</sup>; the influence of literary and artistic movements, such as modernism, upon the birth of the “Minoans” have not been absent in the related literature (cf. Gere 2009). The contribution of “Minoan archaeology” to the Greek nationalist narrative and its colonial undertones have been investigated adequately, within archaeological and other affiliated research contexts (cf. Coutsinas 2006; Hamilakis 2006; Hamilakis and Momigliano 2006; Hamilakis 2007; Kostopoulou 2013)<sup>17</sup>. Nevertheless, in this thesis, I will approach Cretan archaeology less as an academic discipline and more as a way of inhabiting and inhibiting certain world views and values. The nature of this relationship depends on variables such as the cultural and socio-political background of its emergence. Various *archaeologies* will be tracked down and deconstructed; by the term

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<sup>16</sup> See also the edited volume of papers presented at the international colloquium *Cretomania. The reception of Minoan material culture* (École française d’Athènes, 23-24 November 2013, <http://goo.gl/5Abfoh>), which is expected to be published in 2015.

<sup>17</sup> To name a few relevant and recent publications.

“archaeologies” here, I describe any individual or communal narrative and practice that defines and incorporates human material culture. Some of them are nationalist, whilst others are not. I believe that all of them have destabilised and, finally, made subaltern a “pre-modern” and pre-national set of identities. Those identities were represented among the vocal and material tradition of the local population, especially that of the countryside. Those connected with the state authority, national or supranational, have truly colonised the lives and minds of the Cretans, with consequences that cannot be measured, even in the present.

By presenting the tyranny of self-determination towards the “civilised” past and present, I will try to offer some understanding of several socio-political and ontological pathologies that are present in modern day Crete, Greece and Europe. This multivocal and multi-temporal setting has not been analysed until now. On a broader scale, I believe that my thesis makes a relevant contribution to related research, since it does not simply discuss archaeology in connection to colonialism; here, I present archaeology *as* colonialism. Until now, colonialism has been studied mainly as an incursion, an external factor altering the balance of a native universe, which is shown in this study too, as well as other complex relations. As I will try to prove here, colonialism can be apparent also as a means for one part of the native population (*e.g.* the local elites, the urban capital) to occupy another (the lower classes, the rural population). What is more, colonialism has mainly been studied in classic “colonial” contexts: exotic, non-western time and space. But here, we are going to witness it in a European context in the making; thus, deconstructing a corpus of European identities and questioning their legitimacy, within a broader power narrative used by local, national and supranational elites. Furthermore, Crete can rightfully claim a place within the concept of crypto-colonialism, as defined by Michael Herzfeld (2002, 900-901). The Cretan State was run by local elites with an aggressive patriotic culture fashioned to suit foreign nationalist models. They presented themselves as champions of national liberation and union with Greece. Yet it was the same network of collaborators that facilitated the cascade of processes behind the humiliating dependence of economy, socio-politics and culture to the West. The outcomes of my research will have wider relevance, especially for studies that investigate the threads connecting colonialism, nationalism, localism and archaeology in the European and global contexts. Such topics may include, among others, the social history of Crete, archaeology and the politics of

identity, ethnocentric applications of archaeology, memory destruction and reconstruction, conflict archaeology and archaeology “from below”<sup>18</sup>.

Partly because of my personal theoretical background, and partly due to the restricted time and space a PhD offers, I have focussed on the nationalist applications related to the “Minoan” past, during the Cretan State era. Nonetheless, references to later historical periods will be made when needed. I organise my chapters by focusing either upon different “groups” of people related to my subject (the local archaeological elites, the Western archaeologists, the Cretan peasants etc.), or modes of interaction between those groups (Cretan peasants and Cretan archaeologists, Cretan archaeologists and western archaeologists etc.). Needless to say, the categorisation into groups does not necessarily reflect a conscious identity on the part of those referred to (without excluding that possibility though), and mainly serves the purpose of the research. Each chapter draws from all assemblages of material. In a way, it is as if somebody is reading the same story through three different angles (deleted related repetition on p. 77), slowly developing the story with new elements and unfolding it from chapter to chapter.

Chapter 2 is a historical and theoretical background, putting the whole thesis within a broader context. This is essential, especially to the reader who is not familiar with the history of Crete. Chapter 3 serves as my literature review; there I discuss current scholarship dealing with issues discussed in my thesis, most notably nationalism, and its intermingling with archaeology. I elaborate especially on those concepts that proved useful in building my thought and narrative around the subject. Chapter 4 is where I discuss my theoretical and methodological approach, issues that appeared during my data collection, the processing of my findings and the construction of this thesis as a solid intellectual product. Chapter 5 deals with the Westerners involved in the Cretan archaeological endeavour; the events and situations that preceded their involvement; the setting which they built in order to facilitate their agenda, and the narrative they produced; the ways by which this narrative was disseminated to the locals and its limitations; and their intermingling with the rural population of Crete. Chapter 6 covers the events from the scope of the local antiquarian

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<sup>18</sup> Cf. the work of Laurajane Smith (*e.g.* Smith L. 2001).

elite; its emergence as an intermediary caste for the Westerners; the internal conflicts within it; the sometimes uncomfortable cooperation between its members and their foreign colleagues; the occasional fall out with their “fellow countrymen” antiquarians from the “national centre”, i.e. the capital of Greece, Athens; the uneasy balance kept with the local peasants, that generated various forms of conflicts and cooperation; the involvement of the local archaeologists in the building of a narrative that justified the continuity of the Greek nation, from prehistoric Crete to modern Greece; and, lastly, the context of this narrative, as part of a broader culture of “lawfulness” and subjugation applied upon several parts of the Cretan society. Chapter 7 deals with the consuming of Cretan archaeology by the local population, particularly the Christian peasants. My focus is on how the rural Cretans opposed the local collaborator class by persevering with embedded practices regarding the material past that defied the modern archaeological narrative. The peasants are put in a broader context of the Cretan population, where the conflict and interaction between an urban and rural Crete takes place. Their “acquaintance” with the state as an agent of modernity, through education and beyond, is discussed. The emergence, among those people, of groups and individuals willing to serve the new, conquering narrative and practice of archaeology is also presented, as are its contradictions. A substantial part of this chapter has to do with how the Cretan peasants interacted with the antiquities within their vicinity, in their own ways and with their own narratives; plus, what changes to this material culture were brought by the modernist, Western and Cretan State archaeology. Chapter 8 is my conclusions, where I revisit my research questions and answer them, bearing in mind the main points highlighted in this thesis. Moreover, I place my work within a broader context and emphasise the research gaps that I hope to fill, along with potential future applications of my research agenda.

## **1.5 Channel surfing in the Labyrinth**

The decision to live abroad and start this PhD came in 2011, after the debt crisis hit Greece, and unemployment knocked at my door. It was a career choice for me, but also an effort to understand how my country, and particularly my island, Crete, came to this point, whereby nationalism soared and everybody found an

ideal scapegoat in the “foreigners”, but not the tourists, just the “illegal immigrants”. Part of this study was written in this setting, since I spent one year of my candidature in Crete, for data collection.

While living in Greece prior to the crisis, I had the opportunity to study archaeology in a Greek public university and work in the State Archaeological Service, both in Crete. In the first, among other things, I was taught to accept the core “truths” of the “Minoan” narrative, and challenge only its periphery. As an archaeologist of the Service, I was taught to act as supreme authority; to fight effectively and tirelessly with owners of buildings or land that was of archaeological potential and under the jurisdiction of the Service; to propagate the exclusive right of the state to decide what was aesthetically appropriate for those places; and retreat or show “understanding” when the power of local businessmen with strong political backing proved more effective than the Antiquities Law. Amidst this *à la carte* system of justice, I witnessed the local communities improvising, ignoring the state and trying to impose their own aesthetics upon what was primarily considered as their property. By placing these activities within the scope of patriotic defiance, they were stripping the state of its archaeological and national legitimacy.

In Greece, everybody has an opinion regarding the past, which is very important for self-determination. The impact of nationalist pseudoarchaeologies has more impact than official archaeology. Nevertheless, more than a few times, the bigotry and conspiracy theories of the former are nothing more than exaggerations of the dominant archaeological narrative. In a recent, highly controversial article in the *Nature Communications* journal<sup>19</sup>, a group of scientists implied that the modern day Cretans and Europeans have the same DNA as the “Minoans”. For many Cretans, this was nothing more than an affirmation of what is widely believed anyway. The “discovery” was celebrated by the Cretan charter of the neo-nazi “Golden Dawn” party, with a triumphant announcement, saying that “*the final answer to this question is given today, not by archaeologists, but by genetics*”<sup>20</sup>. But it was prominent, Cretan archaeologists

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<sup>19</sup> <http://www.nature.com/ncomms/journal/v4/n5/full/ncomms2871.html>

<sup>20</sup> <http://xa-kriti.blogspot.gr/2013/05/dna.html>

who provided the prehistoric human remains, upon which the project was based, thus adding credibility to it in public discourse.

In 2013, Crete celebrated 100 years of union with Greece, amid extreme social injustice, frustration, crises of values and identities. I believe that the stereotype of the ever-revolting, yet obedient, racist and macho Cretan patriarch, who thinks that he is more Greek than the rest of the Greeks, since the dawn of time, is a heritage worth fighting against, for many reasons. I hope I am partially achieving this, through this thesis.



## 2. Crete abducted by Europe

### 2.1 Europe in turmoil

The 19<sup>th</sup> century began with the European sub-continent (**Fig. 1**) undergoing significant socio-political upheaval. The British Empire, being at its peak the largest colonial empire in history for over a century, and the foremost world power (Abernethy 2000, 84), enjoyed almost one hundred of prosperity; but towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, signs of decline were apparent, in episodes such as the Boer Wars (1880–1881 and 1899–1902). New powers with colonial aspirations emerged, such as Germany (Louis 2006, 38), which was united in 1871 under a strong nationalist ideology; or the former “Thirteen Colonies” of the British Crown, the United States of America (cf. Sarson and Greene 2010-11). The old rival, France, was weakened after its defeat during the Napoleonic Wars (1803 – 1815). However, from 1789 onwards and during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it made ground-breaking and long-term contributions to Western socio-political culture, by spreading the ideas of the Enlightenment, revolutionary ideals and reforms. Of course, these declarations did not influence the views of the Europeans towards the rights and freedoms of non-European populations and cultures (Spieler 2009, 406-408); therefore, even as late as 1881, France expanded its colonial rule, by establishing a protectorate in what is today Tunisia.

Nevertheless, the late 19<sup>th</sup> century was an era of drastic developments. Several democratic parties rose across Europe, mainly drawing ideas from the rapidly popular ideology of socialism. During this new era of mass politics (Hobsbawm 1995, 122), public opinion became more and more important in policy making. The Communist Manifesto was written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 1848. The same year Europe was swept by revolutions which, for the first time, were incited by nationalist ideals to a great extent, along with liberal or socialist programmes and demands; in 1871, at the barricades of the Paris Commune, the ideas of the anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and the radical socialist Louis

Auguste Blanqui, on self-organisation and popular power, were put to the test. During this period the Kingdom of Italy was formed. Further east, the regime of the Russian Empire had been deeply involved in European politics since the Napoleonic Wars. Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, socialist and anarchist revolutionary movements grew and expanded their actions and armed propaganda across the empire (cf. Buel 1883). The Revolution of 1905, although put down by the Tsar, forced the latter to grant major reforms.

The Balkans were also in turmoil. Much of its population was ruled by the Sultan, the head of the Ottoman Empire (**Fig. 2**). Revolutions, however, erupted during most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (cf. Reid 2000), some of them with Russian involvement, such as those in Bulgaria and Serbia. Others were stirred by the other Great Powers (mainly Great Britain, Russia and France), such as the Greek War of Independence (1821 – 1830) (Bridge and Bullen 2005, 75-76). The colonial empires perceived the whole world as a field for their antagonism, stretching from the jungles of Asia to the deserts of Africa to the battlefields of the Crimean War (1853 –1856). The Ottoman Empire was disintegrating, and used as a shield against Russian expansionism by the western Powers, and a subject of extreme interventionism in its interior affairs by the latter.

Meanwhile, a shift of ideological nature took place too. The demands for popular power, self-government, and international working class solidarity strikingly contradicted the ideological armoury of the rising European middle and upper classes. The intellectual, artistic and literary movement of Romanticism reached its peak during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century; it revolted against the values of the Enlightenment, scientific reason and social reform; although temporarily associated with liberal and radical movements, its legacy would be linked with nationalism. The movement was invested in the aesthetic experience and awe, among others, through the sacralisation of the ruins of past civilisations – especially Classical Greece (Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999, 116; Karadimas 2009, 159) – and the quest for “pure”, folkloric art and culture (Hobsbawm 1992, 103-4). The 19<sup>th</sup> century followed, marked by various waves of “Classicisms” and “Neoclassicisms”, and an antiquarianism that glorified an idealised Classic Greek and Roman past in all its forms, scientific, artistic, literary, or even political (cf. Leoussi 1998). Modern archaeology emerged as a scientific discipline during that period, when the origins of the “European peoples” was fervently sought,

around the time that Charles Darwin published his *Origin of Species*, in 1859 and just after Christian Jürgensen Thomsen, a Danish historian, divided human prehistory into a Three age system: the Stone Age, the Bronze Age and the Iron Age.

## 2.2 Western Hellenism, philhellenism & latent orientalism

At this point, a closer examination is needed of the modern Greek national identity and its place within modernity. Throughout the Mediterranean, the Black Sea and across Europe, communities whose members identified themselves as Greeks flourished through their involvement in trading; they became, more or less, shareholders of the whole ideological and socio-political developments that followed the French Revolution of 1789. After the Napoleonic Wars (1803 – 1815), European trade penetrated into the Eastern Mediterranean (the *Levant*) and the Black Sea; this led to the gradual integration of the local economies, including the Greek merchant class, which was a key player in the Mediterranean, into the world economic system (Kitroeff 1993, 153). The massive participation of the Greek diaspora in the Greek War of Independence made it both a national and an international cause; the dissemination of the Greek nationalist and revolutionary ideas among the Greek western communities within the 19<sup>th</sup> century was impressive. Likewise, irredentist preaching that originated from the Greek émigrés and gestated western intellectual values, reached every corner of the Greek world under Ottoman rule (Vogli 2010, 192).

Triggered mainly by the study of ancient Greece, through a romanticist and classicist or neoclassicist sensibility, a growing enthusiasm for modern Greece had emerged in Europe from the 18th century. This enthusiasm, often referred to as *philhellenism*, found expression primarily in literature and the arts. Soon, numerous societies were founded to support the cause of Greek independence, while many volunteers across the western world joined the Greek War of Independence. Unsurprisingly, the cause was manipulated extensively on the European diplomatic chessboard. The idea that the philhellenes managed to effectively put pressure on their Western governments to change policy towards the Greek War of Independence, and the subsequent Greek nationalist struggle, is rather a Greek national myth. It is clear that the European states did not

indulge public pressure when it was in conflict with their interests (Vogli 2010, 195). However, the internationalisation of the Greek nationalist cause, to a great extent due to the competition among the Great Powers, had another, greater impact, inside and outside the Ottoman-held territories: the Christian religion was put at the epicentre of the Greek nationalist ideology. In certain occasions, it was deemed as even more important than the Greek language, with its classicist connotations, especially in regions like Crete, where the indigenous Muslims spoke Cretan Greek. It made sense after all: through this appropriation, the culturally “superior” European Christendom was expanding itself even to the shores of Eastern Mediterranean, overtaking the Muslim, anachronistic Ottoman Empire (Vogli 2010, 199).

Under this pressure, pre-modern administrative systems and the socio-political establishments they maintained were crumbling, such as the Ottoman *millet* system (millet = nation), according to which all religious communities under the Islamic rule of the Sultan were self-ruled. After the *Tanzimat* reformations (1839 – 1876) there was an effort to modernise the millets, by dealing with them as religious minority groups and vesting them with an enhanced corpus of legal rights. This transition eventually failed due to ill-fated central or regional decisions, rising nationalist movements and Western intervention (cf. Stamatopoulos 2006). Orientalist views on “backwardness” and lack of trading instinct, the latter being interwoven with the Christian faith, were the common view held by Westerners of most indigenous Eastern people (Kitroeff 1993, 161-62). Nevertheless, these orientalist views did not spare the Greek populations, despite a good commercial relationship with Western traders and their support by the philhellenes against the Ottomans. From early on, the Greeks and, among them, the Cretans, had a lot to prove to their new, “civilised” partners and allies. In 1855, a correspondent of the U.S. Department of State remarks that the island’s society, both Christian and Muslim, is influenced very little by “*European or any other special customs, notions etc.*” (Kitroeff 1993, 163).

### **2.3 Cretan chronology**

Crete is the fifth largest island of the Mediterranean Sea, situated in its eastern part. Nowadays it belongs to the *Hellenic Republic*, as the state of Greece is

officially known. The chronological timeline provided below (**Table 1**) is purely indicative. Various, extensive debates emerged during the 20<sup>th</sup> century around conflicting models of chronology for the prehistoric period. The passing of various administrations, settlers and cultures, a true complex palimpsest upon a small piece of insular land, generated a profoundly rich archaeological profile. Recent discoveries indicated that human habitation of the island is traced back in the Lower Palaeolithic and Mesolithic (Strasser, Panagopoulou et al. 2010). During the so-called “Neolithic Period” (7<sup>th</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> millennia BCE), an already settled landscape can be traced, with various communities, among them Knossos, exchanging pottery and other goods (Tomkins, Day et al. 2004). However, the island is mostly famous because of what happened there during the “Bronze Age”, approximately between 3400 and 1070 BCE.

It was then that, amid various population movements across the Aegean, Asia Minor and Syriopalestine, what is nowadays known as the “Minoan Civilisation” came to the foreground. During the early years, a communal organisation is traced, connected somehow with exceptional new architecture and landmark features, such as the “tholos tombs” of the Mesara valley (cf. Branigan and Vasilakis 2010), and the “peak sanctuaries”, considered as some kind of communal mountain shrines (cf. Rutkowski 1991). What became the most emblematic “Minoan” characteristic emerged around 2000 BCE: grand building complexes, doubtlessly vested with some kind of authority, the “palaces”, as they have been called since they were excavated, were built at Malia, Phaistos and Knossos. The latter was identified as the palace of the mythical king Minos. The art and finds revealed a stable yet not deeply coherent communication with Mesopotamia, Syriopalestine and Egypt, especially noticeable in the finds at the later “palace” of Zakros (cf. Platon 1971). Meanwhile, the Cretan presence, more likely based on trade, could be traced all over the Eastern Mediterranean and what is today mainland Greece.

**Table 1: A conventional depiction of Cretan chronology (after Huxley 2000, xxi)**

NEOLITHIC	Aceramic	7000-6500 BCE
	Early Neolithic I	6500-5000
	Early Neolithic II	5000-4700
	Middle Neolithic	4700-4400
	Late Neolithic	4400-3700?
	Final Neolithic	3700?-3400
PREPALATIAL	Early Minoan I	3400-3000/2900
	Early Minoan II	2900-2300/2150
	Early Minoan III	2300/2150-2160/2025
	Middle Minoan IA	2160/1979-20th century
OLD PALACE (PROTOPALATIAL)	Middle Minoan IB	19th century
	Middle Minoan II and Middle Minoan IIIA?	19th century-1700/1650
NEW PALACE (NEOPALATIAL)	Middle Minoan III	1700/1650-1600
	Late Minoan IA	1600-1480
	Late Minoan IB	1480-1425
	Late Minoan II	1425-1390
	Late Minoan IIIA1	1390-1370/60
POSTPALATIAL	Late Minoan IIIA2	1370/60-1340/30
	Late Minoan IIIB	1340/30-1190
	Late Minoan IIIC	1190-1070
	Sub-Minoan	1070-970
IRON AGE	Geometric	970-700
	Orientalizing	700-630
ARCHAIC		630-480
CLASSICAL		480-330
HELLENISTIC		330-67
ROMAN		67BCE-330 CE
EARLY BYZANTINE		330-824
ARAB		824-961
LATE BYZANTINE		961-1204
VENETIAN		1204-1669
OTTOMAN		1669-1898

Around the 15<sup>th</sup> century BCE, a shift of power, of unknown reasons, extent and nature, is traceable in Crete; it has been assumed that the island came under mainland Greek (“Mycenaean”) rule. However, understandings of the nature of this transition were highly speculative. The changes were strongly visible in the

material culture, like art and architecture. Moreover, there was a crucial shift in the use of script: many of the symbols of “Linear A” writing system, used until then by the “Minoans” to write a so-far undeciphered language, were utilised by the new administrative elite to develop a new script, Linear B, which expresses a primeval form of Greek. The decipherment of Linear B was credited to the British architect Michael Ventris, who was helped by John Chadwick and Alice Kober, (Ventris and Chadwick 1953).

The time around 1175 BCE seems to be characterized by a widespread change in the Eastern Mediterranean. Influxes of new populations and socio-political changes lead, from what was defined by the archaeologists of the 19<sup>th</sup> and most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as the “Dark Ages”, to the concept known as “Doric Crete” (cf. Xanthoudides 1909, 39), culturally affiliated with the Greek city-state system (Lemos 2010, 90-91). Until recently, the specific period had been dominated by the burden of Homer, and every interpretation of related material remains was subject to extensive comparison to the text of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. It was only lately that new studies lifted this burden and re-introduced the research on the specific period beyond the old borderlines (cf. Langdon 2010).

Crete remained politically detached from the rest of the ancient Greek world, being absent from major events, such as the Persian or Peloponnesian Wars. Not rarely, Hellenistic Crete had been pictured as a pirates’ den and a war-ridden place, with local city-states entangled in schemes and conflicts between the heirs of Alexander the Great. Nonetheless, later research challenged this stereotype, highlighting the island as a place of a certain economic and socio-political vitality during the Hellenistic period (cf. Guizzi 1997; de Souza 1998). The Roman conquest that followed in 69 BCE, saw Crete becoming part of a Roman province, along with Cyrenaica, called *Creta et Cyrenaica*, with Gortyna as its capital (cf. Francis and Kouremenos 2013). It remained part of the Eastern Roman Empire (nowadays known as “Byzantine”) throughout the partition of the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE and, as the rest of the empire, was gradually converted to Christianity. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Byzantine past of Crete (330 – 824 and 961 – 1204 CE) became essentially important for the modern Cretan identity, as it flourished within the Greek nationalist framework. The image of Crete as a stronghold of Orthodox Christianity in the region owes a lot to the manipulation of that past. The opposite applied to the Emirate of Crete, which was established by Andalusian Arab exiles in the interim (824 – 961). The fact that, during that

period, a considerable amount of the population converted to Islam and lived on the proceeds of piracy, was something preferably forgotten or treated as a national tragedy by the local antiquarians of the Cretan State period: it was a “...religious and ethnological corruption” where those that did not die for refusing to convert to Islam and became Muslims “lost their national consciousness” (Xanthoudides 1909, 66).

The second and last period of “Byzantine” rule ended in 1204; following the sack and conquest of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade, *La Serenissima*, i.e. the Venetian Republic, bought and colonised the island with settlers from the metropolis. Crete became one of its more prized provinces, known as *Il Regno di Candia* (Italian for “The Kingdom of Candia”, as the Venetian name of modern day Heraklion was). The Venetian period that followed (1204 – 1669) was described by the Cretan Greek nationalist narrative of the autonomy period as another *national disaster*” (Fountoulakis 1903, 67). This happened regardless of the fact that, within a century of Venetian colonisation, the differences between Latin and Greek Cretans, in matters of daily material life, were significantly blurred (cf. McKee 2000). That is why the revolts of the Orthodox Cretan nobility against the Venetians, as a means to secure or expand their privileges (McKee 1994, 175; Stallsmith 2007, 154), were incorporated in the national emancipation narrative, and taught in the curriculum of the Cretan State schools (Valakis 1913, 21). The Cretan was “destined” to revolt against any “foreign ruler”, who, in this case, was a “heretic” too (being a Catholic).

This narrative omitted the social and class characteristics of numerous peasant revolts that took place during the Venetian rule - revolts that indicate a clear dichotomy, in terms of privilege, between the urban and rural population of the island which surpasses any concept of ethnicity, placing the Latin colonists and their associates from the local elites on the one hand and the peasants (*villani*) on the other (McKee 2003, 50-51). In fact, as years passed under the rule of *La Serenissima*, the situation of the peasants became more desperate, instead of improving (Stallsmith 2007, 156). Venetian Crete, however, produced an Antipope (Alexander V, 1339 – 1410)<sup>21</sup>, a famous renaissance painter (El Greco,

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<sup>21</sup> An antipope (*antipapa* in Latin) was a leader of the Western Church who questioned who was seen as the legitimately elected Pope. He would make a competing claim to be the Pope, with the support of fairly significant factions of cardinals and secular kings

1541 – 1614) and a renowned poet, Vitsentzos Kornaros (1553 – 1613/14) – a sign that, at least its elites adapted well as Mediterranean “creoles” and took advantage of the opportunities given by the Western metropolis. Another interesting aspect of that period was the first exportation of antiquities from the island: first, Jacopo Foscarini, (1575 – 1577) and then Alvise Grimani (1583 – 1585), both Venetians who served as *Provveditore Generale* of Candia, shipped several antiquities from Hierapetra, Knossos, Lissos and Chania to the colonial metropolis (Sporn 2012, 205).

During the Cretan War (1645–1669), the island was conquered by the new, rising power in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Ottoman Empire. It was declared an *eyalet* in 1646, a primary administrative division of the Sultan’s state, where the pasha of every subdivision (*Sanjak*) had absolute powers. For the second time since the Emirate, a considerable part of the population converted to Islam (Greene 2000, 39-44). This equated to avoiding the tax-paying obligations of the non-Muslims, and created opportunities for a military career, as the Janissaries’ military corps<sup>22</sup> had numerous members stationed on the island (Şenişik 2011, 64). Cretan society was organised around the Muslim, Orthodox Christian, Jewish, Armenian and Roman Catholic millets. Social mobility and creeds were an ever-changing experience on the island. However, during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, several uprisings, such as the Orlov Revolt (1770)<sup>23</sup>, the short-lived Cretan leg of the Greek War of Independence (1821 – 1830) and the Cretan Revolt of 1866–69, were supported by a thriving Cretan Christian Orthodox community. By that time the population balance followed the political situation and started to shift: although in 1821 the Muslim population was 160,000 and the Christian 129,000, this had altered to 60,000 Muslims and 200,000 Christians by 1866 (Şenişik 2011, 65). A typical example of the modernist “breeze” of nationalism blowing over the island of Crete was Ioannis Vlachos,

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and kingdoms. Between the 3rd and mid-15th century, several antipopes emerged in the West.

<sup>22</sup> The Janissaries (يڭيچرى *yeniçeri* in Ottoman Turkish, which means “new soldier”) were elite infantry units of the Ottoman Imperial army. They formed the Ottoman Sultan’s household troops and bodyguards. Famous for their internal cohesion and strict discipline they developed a tendency to defy the central and regional administrative rule as they became more powerful. The corps was abolished by Sultan Mahmud II with a bloody denouement in 1826.

<sup>23</sup> It took its name from Count Orlov, commander of the Russian Naval Forces during the Russo-Turkish War (1768–1774). The revolt is incorporated within the Greek national narrative as a precursor of the Greek War of Independence.

a.k.a. Daskalogiannis (1722/1730 – 1771), a wealthy Christian ship-owner from Sfakia<sup>24</sup>, who was educated abroad and occasionally took up administrative posts in his homeland. Daskalogiannis led the *Sfakiani* warriors during the Orlov Revolt and was executed by the Ottomans for this. He spoke Italian and Russian, and most of his business was with the Russian Empire. Daskalogiannis was doubtlessly fascinated by the revolutionary currents of the European Enlightenment. But he, as many other Christian Cretans and Greeks, could relate their exclusivist agenda more willingly with the possibility of a fellow Orthodox liberator (Greene 2000, 206-8).

After 1832, with the establishment of the Kingdom of Greece, Crete had been claimed by both the Greek and the Ottoman state. On the one hand, the former fought to “liberate” the island, which, according to the “Great Idea” narrative, was an unredeemed fatherland outside the Greek borders, where people who identified themselves as Greeks lived. On the other, the Ottoman state was struggling to hold on to Crete through the suppression of the Christian uprisings and various administrative reforms, such as the Pact of Chalepa, in 1878 (**Table 2**). The pact was seen as a small Ottoman defeat by the Greek nationalists among the Christian Cretans, who manipulated it in order to expand the appeal of their struggle, with the establishment of Christian schools and philological institutions, like the *Syllogos*. During this process, their interaction with the Western actors already operating in the island intensified. The initiation of the majority to Greek irredentism was overwhelming. Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottoman administration surrendered to the long-lasting problems of the province: local violence, of both an intercommunal and anti-state nature, debts and conflicting local agendas (Kostopoulou 2012, 140). By 1881, Crete was inhabited by 73,224 Muslims and 205,010 Christians in a population of 279,192 inhabitants (Reinach 1910, 1; Şenışık 2011, 66). Almost 20 years later, among a total of 303,553 inhabitants, the Muslims had been reduced to 33,496 (11%), the Christians totalled 269,319 (88%) and the Jews 728 (1%), a clear indication of the Muslim exodus (Şenışık 2011, 66).

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<sup>24</sup> Sfakia was a region of south-western Crete with a privileged status under the Ottoman rule and rich traditions of revolt against central authorities before and after the 18th century.

The last phase of the “Cretan Question” was the bloodiest one. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Crete had been recognised by the Great Powers as part of the broader “Eastern Question”, as they elegantly called their interference in domestic Ottoman affairs. The socioeconomic and military intrusion of the West and Russia in the politics of the Ottoman Empire went back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century and lasted until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The aspects of this power struggle ranged from foreign pressure upon the Ottoman administration in diplomatic, military and commercial terms to open conflict between the states involved. This led to events such as the Crimean War (1853 – 1856), when the declining Ottoman state and the western powers clashed with Russia. These developments coincided with nationalist uprisings in the European lands under the reign of the Sultan (among them Greece) while the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century saw the rise of Turkish nationalism. This series of events defined the fate of the Ottoman Empire and its successor states as much as it shaped the European self-image for the years to come (cf. Kent 2005; Tusan 2010; Schumacher 2014).

Within this setting, the Cretan revolts of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century turned often into intercommunal massacres. Indiscriminate killing and large scale massacres as reprisals became an everyday occurrence for both Christian and Muslim communities (Koundouros 1997, 133): a civil war was “concealed” under religious and nationalist aphorisms, since the Cretan Muslim community, growing insecure of its status, started to participate more actively in the conflicts (Koundouros 1997, 48). The last revolution (1895) led to the Greco-Turkish War of 1897, which Greece lost in a humiliating way. The sectarian violence escalated and led even to conflict among Christians. One of the most characteristic cases was described in the letters of Arthur J. Evans, and had to do with the actions of an armed band from Kritsa, one of the largest villages in Lasithi, Eastern Crete. The fighters formed a group, supposedly to protect the peaceful Christian peasants of their region. Instead, as the latter bitterly realised, the armed band, under the leadership of their chief Tavlàs, aimed at securing the lion’s share from the plunder of the Muslim villages. To make things worse, when the neighbouring village of Neapolis became the administrative centre of the eastern part of the island, the band, frustrated with what for them seemed to be an

unforgivable development devaluing their village, attacked Neapolis in full force. They were repelled by the local forces, but not before many lives were lost<sup>25</sup>.

Nevertheless, the great massacre of Heraklion on 25 August 1898, during which a Muslim mob massacred – apart from the Christian locals – 17 British officers and the British Consul in Crete, acted as a catalyst: the Great Powers demanded and achieved the withdrawal of the Ottoman army from the island, which started on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of November, while Crete was placed under the “protection” of the Powers. Thus, on the 9<sup>th</sup> of December 1898, the Cretan State was established. In the spring of 1899, two British men who would become pioneers of Cretan modern archaeology, David G. Hogarth and Arthur J. Evans, arrived in a land that *“...still showed ghastly wounds of its late long fight. Many villages lay gaunt skeletons of ruin; and where olive groves had been, blackened stumps and pits bore witness to the ethnicidal fury of religious war in the Near East, which even uproots the staple of a foeman’s life, after it has killed the mother and her babe”* (Hogarth 1910, 67).

**Table 2: From the Pact of Chalepa to the union with Greece**

- **1878:** The Pact of Chalepa was signed between the Ottoman Empire and the European Great Powers. Crete was granted a semi-independent parliamentary status, within the Ottoman Empire, under an Ottoman Christian Governor. A General Assembly was established and several rights were given to the Cretans, like the freedom of the press and the right to be self-policed by a “Cretan Gendarmerie”, manned by locals, both Christian and Muslims. Tensions rose in the Cretan parliament, based both in religious and class differences, between the conservative, upper class party of the *karavanades* (derogatory military term for lower, non-commissioned officer) against the *xipolitoi* (barefoot), the party of the lower, unprivileged classes. The division was in social terms and both parties gathered support not only from the Christian but also the Muslim community, depending on the class background of their supporters.
- **1880:** *Minos*, the first Cretan newspaper in Greek, is published in Heraklion.
- **1889:** The conservative party did not recognise the 1888 election results that gave the majority vote to the *xipolitoi* and started a revolution, declaring union with Greece. The insurgency was heavily

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<sup>25</sup> A. J. Evans, “Letters from Crete” (reprinted from the Manchester Guardian), 12-13, *The Sir Arthur Evans Archive, Books & Offprints*, 1/1: Evans, Crete, and the Aegean, 1/1/1: Offprints, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (Appendix A.G1). Mentioned in MacGillivray 2000, 162.

suppressed within 8 months and the Pact of Chalepa, along with the Cretan parliament, was revoked. Guerrilla warfare followed.

- **1895 – 1898:** The last Cretan revolution, under Manousos Koundouros, the son of a Sphakiot revolutionary, politician and merchant. He had studied Law in Athens worked as a magistrate in the village of Vamos, until he was stripped of this office for leading the uprising. The Kingdom of Greece sent an expeditionary force to support the revolt. This move led to the Greco-Turkish War of 1897 (3 February – 4 December), which Greece lost, along with her opportunity to force the annexation of Crete. It was also a strategic opportunity for the Great Powers, which intervened in order to stop the war and push for an autonomous regime for Crete.
- **25 August 1898:** Heraklion Massacre: a scuffle between British officers and Ottoman Customs clerks over jurisdiction issues in the city of Heraklion escalated into a full-scale massacre, with the Muslim mob killing approximately 700 Christian Cretans, 17 British soldiers and the British Consul in Crete.
- **November 1898:** Following the massacre, the Ottoman forces were expelled from the island by the Great Powers.
- **13 December 1898:** The Cretan State came in to existence as an autonomous regime. Prince George of Greece, son of King George I of Greece and Olga Konstantinovna of Russia, arrived in Crete as the High Commissioner of the Cretan State, a 3 year tenured office. The Bank of Crete was established with the assistance of the National Bank of Greece, having an exclusive privilege of issuing banknotes in the Cretan State. Moreover, the Cretan Gendarmerie, a military police corps was created, in the model of the Italian *Carabinieri*, and trained by the latter. Chania became the capital of the state. The island remained under Ottoman suzerainty, western military occupation and tight political and economic control by the Great Powers.
- **27 April 1899:** An Executive Committee was created, more or less an equivalent of Cabinet of Ministers; Eleftherios Venizelos, an emerging young politician from Chania who had studied Law in Athens, was appointed as Minister of Justice.
- **1904 – 1908:** The “Macedonian Struggle” (1904 – 1908), a series of armed, paramilitary conflicts between Greeks and Bulgarian nationalists in the contested region of Macedonia; many Christian Cretans join the Greek forces against the Bulgarians.
- **March 1905:** After a long sequence of conflicts between the High Commissioner and Venizelos, regarding matters of administration and foreign affairs, the latter gathered his supporters in the mountain village of Therisso, a few kilometres outside Chania. There, he established a "Revolutionary Assembly", demanding political reforms and declared union with the Kingdom of Greece. This conflict escalated into a near civil war, with the Cretan Gendarmerie supporting the Prince but many of its deputies, along with chieftains of the pre-autonomy revolutionary era, sided with Venizelos. The “Therisso Revolt” was a near civil war that led to a political stalemate, and the Great Powers declared martial law on 18 July. Minor skirmishes occurred, particularly between the rebels and the Western troops. The Great Powers followed different paths in their stances towards the movement; the Russians clashed twice with the rebels, whereas the Italians offered them safe ground on the region of Rethymnon, which was under their control. By August 1905 order had been restored.
- **September 1906:** Although in the 1906 elections the pro-Prince parties won the majority vote against the pro-Venizelos parties, the Prince was replaced by the former Greek Prime Minister Alexandros Zaimis. Many Western officers, like the ones organizing the Cretan Gendarmerie, were replaced by Greeks, and the influence of the Greek state over Crete increased.

- **1908:** Declaration of union with Greece by the Cretan Assembly, which was not recognised by the Great Powers. All Cretan public servants were obliged to take an oath to King George I of Greece. Crete becomes gradually a *de facto* part of Greece.
- **July 1909:** Withdrawal of the last European troops from the island.
- **1912:** Upon the outbreak of the First Balkan War (8/10/1912 – 30/05/1913), Greece recognised the union with Crete and sent Stephanos Dragoumis, another former Prime Minister of Greece, as Governor-General to the island.
- **May 1913:** Under the Treaty of London, Crete was officially recognised as part of Greece, and the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed V renounced his rights over the island.

## 2.4 Unwanted fellow countrymen and social fragmentation

During the Cretan State period, the Cretan Muslim community, all of whom spoke the Cretan Greek dialect, like their Christian countrymen, was downgraded into an ethnic minority under threat. Protecting them was one of the prerequisites of stability for the Cretan State set by the Great Powers (Kostopoulou 2012, 142). They were treated as a “foreign element” and former “occupiers”, in the perception of both the Christian community and its colonial, European equivalent (Kostopoulou 2012, 130)<sup>26</sup>. They were accused of being behind every mischief, and were seen as a “fifth column”, even regarding inter-Christian conflicts<sup>27</sup>. Under the new regime, the ideological alienation of the Cretan Muslims towards the newly emerging Cretan sociocultural landscape was maximised (Kostopoulou 2012, 133). The building of the new, highly exclusive, national archaeological narrative was essential in assisting this process. It is not a surprise, then, that Muslim Cretans, who were excited with the new archaeological findings or decided to adopt some elements from the “Minoan” past, must have been few and mainly upper class. One of the most well-known cases of Cretan Muslim antiquarians was the photographer Rahmizâde

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<sup>26</sup> See also subchapter 3.3 for the stereotype of Muslim “backwardness” (Chatterjee 1993, 102).

<sup>27</sup> For example, Koundouros, who was against the Therisso revolt, claimed that it was financially supported by the Muslim Cretans, who hoped that the Prince would be replaced by a European Commissioner, thus improving their position (Koundouros 1997, 190-91).

Behaeddin Bey (1875 – 1951). He was selling *carte-postales* depicting the Cretan prehistoric “palaces” and, in 1904, decided to incorporate “Minoan” columns in his new house (Cadogan 2004, 539, fig. 49.2)<sup>28</sup>. Was this an alignment with a new Ottoman “national” identity in formation, as obscurely propagated by the Imperial Museum in Istanbul? There, antiquities from various periods and Ottoman provinces, including Crete, were grouped together in a way that symbolically stood for the Empire’s victory over peoples in its territories, by laying claim to the antiquities (Shaw 2003, 153-54; see also Bahrani, Çelik et al. 2011). Or, alternatively, we have here the first signs of a new – and yet abstract – Cretan identity? Either way, alienation worked both ways and ideological bonds with the Ottoman motherland started fading away, since the rule of the Sultan became nothing more than symbolic (Kostopoulou 2012, 133).

The conflict between the Christian and Muslim Cretan communities was not simply of a religious nature, and passed various stages before reaching the all-out war preceding the autonomy. There were also class and economic aspects entangled in it that, naturally, were expressed differently each time political turmoil occurred. This context is highly revealing regarding the fluid loyalties found within both communities. For example, during the 1889 political crisis (see Table 2), the Christian and Muslim conservatives did not hesitate to team up against their liberal opponents who had recently ascended to power (Perakis 2008, 126). Moreover, the dominant Greek nationalist claim for union with Greece did not have a solid ideological threshold among the Christian ruling elites. It was often invoked to serve political tactics and party politics. Until 1888, the Christians of the conservative majority in the General Assembly were supporting the Pact of Chalepa, while the liberals were pushing for the immediate declaration of union with Greece, hoping that this would change the political balance in their favour. In 1888, when the conservatives found themselves in the minority, the roles changed: they supported the Greek

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<sup>28</sup> Likewise, in 1894, a certain Mehmed Younous was asking the British archaeologist Sir J. L. Myres (1869 – 1954) to return his camera, so that he could take pictures of the antiquities found in his fatherland, Crete [Letter from M. Younous to J. L. Myres, 01/02/1894, *Sir John Linton Myres Archive*, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (Appendix A.H1)]. I would like to thank Dr. Yannis Galanakis (University of Cambridge), formerly Ashmolean Museum Curator of the Aegean Collections and Sir Arthur Evans Archive at the Ashmolean Museum during the period of my data collection, for directing me to both of the above cases, during one of our discussions in Oxford.

nationalist cause with radical means and pushed for an armed solution to the Cretan question, while the liberals embraced the Ottoman reforms and the institution of the General Assembly (Perakis 2008, 380). Eventually, the 1888-89 crisis led to an increase of Christian atrocities against the Muslims of the countryside, who were forced to flee to the cities; there, in order to retaliate, they were threatening with massacre the urban Christian population, which was a minority within the walls even before the crisis (Perakis 2008, 128). This was a common pattern of forced displacement of people and sectarian violence during the ethnoreligious conflicts of late 19<sup>th</sup> century Crete. When the anti-Muslim atrocities escalated during 1888-89, the Muslim elites felt alienated towards the Ottoman Porte, and even supported the idea of Crete becoming a British protectorate (Perakis 2008, 380).

It is interesting to see how these conflicts and temporal alliances can be translated in terms of the urban-rural divide and land ownership. According to the 1881 census, 84% of the Cretan population was living in the countryside (Perakis 2008, 281). As we can see on the list of *“professions, trades etc., in 1881”*, provided by a British scholar in 1898 (**Table 3**), the farmers were overwhelmingly Christian. Amongst the rural population 3,60% defined themselves as landowners, 2,96% of the Christian community and 6,38% of the Muslim community. The greater proportion of Muslims was due to the large amount of land owned by them in the countryside surrounding the larger cities of Crete, Chania, Rethymnon and Heraklion (Perakis 2008, 287). Furthermore, 4,61% of the urban population defined themselves as farmers and 3,76% as landowners. The presence of urban Muslim farmers had a lot to do with their forced displacement from the countryside and the presence of large landowners connected with the urban countryside mentioned above (Perakis 2008, 285).

After the 1880s the living standards of the Cretan peasants had improved, the crops were richer and the economic situation of the Cretan population in general had shown signs of growth. The people of the countryside started visiting more often the cities in order to buy food and European products that until recently were completely unknown to them (Perakis 2008, 190-91). However, towards the end of that decade, the rural population of the island was still the most heavily taxed and experienced the worst standards of living (Perakis 2008, 222). To a certain extent, this had to do with poor access to the decision-making

institutions. For example, the Muslim peasants were far from being fairly represented by the Muslim elites of the cities: an urbanised group of individuals with a distinct socioeconomic background and interests that were rarely aligned to their brethren in the countryside (Perakis 2008, 66).

**Table 3: List of professions and trade of Crete in 1881  
(Bickford-Smith 1898, 250)**

III.—PROFESSIONS, TRADES, ETC., IN 1881.		
<i>(From Stavraki.)</i>		
	MALES.	
	Christians.	Mussulmans.
Officials ... ..	798	694
Lawyers ... ..	49	19
Physicians ... ..	83	15
Surgeons ... ..	7	14
Priests ... ..	733	113
Journalists ... ..	3	1
Proprietors ... ..	1,612	1,210
Teachers ... ..	271	157
Chemists ... ..	14	8
Traders ... ..	1,956	1,858
Artisans ... ..	54	6
Mariners ... ..	230	953
Servants ... ..	1,621	856
Mechanics ... ..	6,090	3,818
Farmers ... ..	32,715	8,080
Labourers ... ..	4,043	2,432
Shepherds ... ..	6,869	600

The 1889 political crisis brought Crete back on the trenches of ethnoreligious conflict and concealed the class conflicts and the urban-rural divide. Land ownership was reintroduced within this context of increasing hostility. A brutal civil war that lasted between 1895 and 1898 was characterised by scorched earth tactics (Margaritis 2001, 107; Perakis 2008, 386). A well-documented way of taking revenge against a rival, for personal, political or religious reasons, was to destroy their land (Perakis 2008, 228). When the Cretan State was established, the new authorities declared that both Muslim and Christian Cretans were equals before the law - a claim that was backed by several Christian politicians. Still, sectarian violence against the Muslim community persisted during that period. Occasional political turmoil, such as the “Therisso Revolt” in 1905 (see Table 2),

left room for this phenomenon (Andriotis 2004, 79). Predominantly after 1905, the Muslim community was gradually stripped of any political representation, seeing the number of Muslim MPs in the Cretan Assembly being reduced by half and its members forced to abandon most of the administrative positions they were holding (Andriotis 2004, 81). The emergence of the Cretan State and the Muslim exodus transformed the Christian landless peasantry into a new landowning class (Herzfeld 1999, 224-25). In fact, the departure of Muslims was directly connected with this process. This situation evolved gradually: it had begun even as early as in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when Muslims started to flee towards the Cretan urban centres or other regions of the Ottoman Empire (Andriotis 2004, 87). During the unstable 1896-98 period and the autonomous regime that followed, most of the larger landholdings belonging to the wealthy Muslims passed on the Christian elites; in the countryside, the capacity of removing land from Muslim hands by force or buying it for a ridiculous amount of money was a way for the Christian peasantry to become smallholders in a war-ridden island (Margaritis 2001, 108; Andriotis 2004, 88, n. 107)<sup>29</sup>.

## 2.5 Conclusions

Crete, a land contested by the Kingdom of Greece, the Ottoman Empire and the Great Powers, must be seen within a broader European and non-European (Ottoman) context where nationalist uprisings, socialist and anarchist revolts and colonial scrambles coexisted and overlapped each other. In the Great Cretan Revolution of 1866-69 the French “red republican” Gustave Flourens (1838 – 1871) and the Italian anarcho-socialist Amilcare Cipriani (1844 – 1871), both of whom went on to become Paris Communards in 1871, fought in the ranks of the Christian Cretan insurgents (cf. Anestios 2009). A crossroad of peoples, faiths and cultures, the island effectively entered the era of modernity in 1898. Apart

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<sup>29</sup> In the countryside of the Heraklion region, central Crete, a Christian paramilitary band called *Eftari* (Seven) was organised. It was supposedly a move to counter a Muslim armed group called *Zourides* (the Cretan marten), which was organised as a self-defence mechanism, trying to reclaim the lost land for the Muslim community of the Mesara valley. In reality, according to their own memoirs, the men of the *Eftari* had clear orders by their leaders: they were indiscriminately assassinating Muslims, and then making sure that their land would end up in Christian hands (Sanidakis 1979, 24, 27, 29-30).

from antiquities, it was carrying upon its soil a society entrenched in sectarian violence and groups bearing fluid loyalties and conflicting interests, struggling for power and good public relations with the new, Western rulers. Among new elites and marginalised populations found in the cities, countryside and mountains of the island, many winners and losers emerged.

The rise of an urban – rural divide in the Cretan anthropogeography has been an essential parameter when studying Cretan history. This phenomenon goes back in time and is highlighted in various periods, from the *villani* revolts of Venetian Crete to the under-represented peasants of the Ottoman rule, and the conflict between archaeologists and peasants over the management of the material past in rural Crete, during the Cretan State era. Moreover, Crete has a long history of local elites that managed to align themselves successfully with a colonial agent, from the Venetocretan nobility to the Cretan bourgeoisie of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. For the latter, both European modernity and Greek nationalism served as tools to build their self-image and convert parts of the population to their cause.

However, the alliance under the Greek national banner or the tempting European “progress” did not nullify the socioeconomic tensions that culminated during the 1898-1913 period and surpassed the ethnoreligious conflict. For all social groups involved, the revolts and the autonomous regime that followed posed as an opportunity to alter the social order and take advantage of rearrangements that left benefits unclaimed. When a certain political stability was accomplished, through the Cretan State, the effort to secure those interests by all sides involved intensified. The ownership of land and the appropriation of large parts of it by the new elites was a central issue in this conflict (Margaritis 2001, 108), which made the remaining land even more valuable to the unprivileged and landless. The change of population in favour of the Christians and the Muslim exodus underlay the redistribution of wealth. Thus, when the modern archaeological endeavour started, around the 1880s, the countryside was in a transition period regarding the consistency of the rural landowning class, particularly the smallholders. In fact, this early, archaeological spring, spearheaded by the *Sylogos*, was an outcome of the concessions made under the Pact of Chalepa and directly connected to the fluid situation regarding land ownership. The working of the land, an integral part in the daily life of the rural Cretans, was essential for their contact with the antiquities and, through them, with the Western and Cretan bearers of the archaeological “truth”: a contact that changed

their views regarding the material past forever: in 1832, a British traveller wrote, while in Apokoronas, a province of western Crete:

*“On my enquiring for coins the peasants gave me such as they possessed: they had found them in tilling the ground about the monastery: more than half of those which I obtained were of Aptera<sup>30</sup>. The prices asked by coin-finders in most parts of Greece is so high as to cause considerable difficulty to those who wish to purchase them. Here the peasants would not even name a price, but told me to give them what I thought the things were worth, since I knew their value better than they did. One of them possessed a small marble hand which he also gave me. It was not difficult to find out that I was among a very different people from those with whom travellers become acquainted in following the commonly frequented routes in Greece and Asia Minor [...] A boy of about ten years of age, a nephew of the old priest, tells me that the Cretan labyrinth was one of the seven wonders of the world, in the time of the ancient Hellenes, and that these seven wonders correspond to the seven sacraments of the Christian church”* (Pashley 1837, 34-35).

From this text written in the 1830s we get a glimpse of a society performing its own, pre-modern “archaeology”, intrigued but still not lured by the modern antiquarian fever. To the writer’s surprise, this was in contrast to the situation already prevailing in Greece at that time, where large parts of the rural population had been engaged in the antiquities trade. We also witness the will of the Cretans to bestow authority of knowledge upon the Westerner regarding the antiquities surrounding them. Furthermore, of particular interest is the syncretism traced in the words of the 10 year old boy, echoing the views of a rural clergyman: the romanticised ancient Greek narrative on Crete projected upon the modern religious identity of the Christian community of Crete. Was this comparison part of an embedded belief system? Or was it professed on purpose towards the foreigners, in order to fascinate them, with an expectation for a financial profit by the locals? The following chapters will elaborate these matters.

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<sup>30</sup> A site in Apokoronas where a 19th century Ottoman fortress dominated a hilltop, whereas medieval, Roman and “geometric” antiquities would be discovered during the late 20th century.

### 3. The nation entrenched: literature review

*“This is war, and this is how people become a nation”*<sup>31</sup>

Is the building of a nation a war? Or is war the only way to build a national narrative? Certainly not, however what is defined as “war” is not solely related to armed conflict and bloodshed. It goes hand-in-hand with a war of minds and perceptions, equally devastating and thrilling as a process. I will start this chapter with a scholarly “confession”: it was more than intimidating for me to delve into unfamiliar research disciplines, such as political science, sociology, anthropology and history. The field of nationalism studies is one of the most interdisciplinary known; a highly comparative approach and a synthetic effort are *sine qua non*. What follows is not a thorough analysis of the various schools of thought concerning nationalism and its connection to archaeology. It is an attempt to present and, at the same time, understand the phenomenon of nationalism, with regards to my research questions. Specific critical references to it will be scattered through the following chapters, when necessary.

I started writing this chapter the day Eric Hobsbawm died. Hobsbawm, although iconic in his field<sup>32</sup>, he became, among others, infamous for “predicting” the end of nationalism (Hobsbawm 1992, 192), on the brink of the Yugoslav Wars (early 90s). Ironically, that event would gain the title of the “new dawn” of nationalisms within the European continent. Misguided predictions on its future apart, nationalism is far from having a clear definition. Some scholars believe that it *“has its own rules, rhythms and memories”* (Smith 2001, 3). Doubtlessly, the same applies to the vast numbers of people who have worked on it. Each of them

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<sup>31</sup> Ukrainian far-right paramilitary interviewed by Al Jazeera America, <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2014/7/24/ukraine-azov-battalion.html> (accessed in 25.07.2014).

<sup>32</sup> See below.

has made an important contribution to a related field of research. However, at the same time, they subliminally backed the further entrenchment of nationalism studies. This means that, nowadays, there are interpretations of nationalism that cover every point of view. Several, usually conflicting schools of thought offer dozens of case studies that justify their points, resulting in a fragmented intellectual landscape. One could only wonder on how these concepts keep up with the ever-changing developments on the field. Nonetheless, some threads can be held in common among the various readings on the phenomenon, while other issues related to it have become the cause for long-lasting and heated arguments. This chapter presents a critical synopsis of all the above, in association with Greek archaeology, identity politics and how both intermingle with national and local identity in Crete.

### 3.1 Awakenings

Nationalism and its definition occupied the minds of European scholars soon after the revolutions of 1848. During the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, French philosophers, such as Ernest Renan (1823 – 1892), wondered: what is a nation? (*“Qu’est-ce qu’une nation?”*). He figures prominently in almost every analysis of nationalism as the forefather of nationalism studies. During his famous lecture at the Sorbonne, in 1882, he said that

*“A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul or spiritual principle. One lies in the past, one in the present”* (Renan 1990, 19)

Renan proposed a nationalism that was dependent on the *will* to belong (1990, 16), a “daily plebiscite”, as famously noted (1990, 19). In order for this to function, the latter should have been accompanied by the willingness to *forget*: oblivion of past wars and massacres between “brothers” (like the St. Bartholomew’s Day massacre), painful for the national memory and problematic for the patriotic narrative, should be forgotten (Renan 1990, 11). From early on, memory becomes a basic structural element for the perception of the national identity.

### 3.2 Main schools of thought & contributions

Nowadays, various theories have emerged around Renan's question. Nationalism has been presented as a notion with a pre-modern, pre-existing core by scholars who are lenient, even supportive of it. Some of them try to prove that national consciousness existed before nationalism, through the perception of a "feeling of national belonging" (Smith 2001, 6). This ethno-symbolist approach, advocated primarily by Anthony Smith, underlines the political dimension of nationalism and defines the nation "*as a sacred communion of citizens, and nationalism as a form of 'political union' with its own scriptures, liturgies, saints and rituals*" (Smith 2001, 146). Whereas this approach, like almost every other, considers the linking of nationalism to the state as essential (Smith 2001, 42), it has put an emphasis on cultural factors of analysis (Smith 2001, 59). Moreover, it pushes for a more "corporatist" version, where middle-class nationalism meets a "pre-existing sense of ethnic ancestry" (Smith 2001, 115), therefore creating a concept of nationalism on the borderline of tradition and modernism. Nationalism is something new and constructed, but based upon something old and *real*. As a natural outcome of this view, a bright future is foreseen for it, as having an undisputed role in the foundations of modern world order (Smith 2001, 146).

Social anthropological approaches, such as the one proposed by Ernest Gellner, have defined nationalism as "*...a species of patriotism distinguished by a few very important features: the units which this kind of patriotism, namely nationalism, favours with its loyalty, are culturally homogeneous, based on a culture striving to be a high (literate) culture; they are large enough to sustain the hope of supporting the educational system which can keep a literate culture going; they are poorly endowed with rigid internal sub-groupings; their populations are anonymous, fluid and mobile, and they are unmediated; the individual belongs to them directly, in virtue of his cultural style, and not in virtue of membership of nested sub-groups. Homogeneity, literacy, anonymity are the key traits*" (Gellner 1992, 138). The notion of culture is central here too, but nationalism is primarily described as a sentiment (Gellner 1992, 1), thus outlining the canalisation of the "irrational" and the unpredictable as dynamic factors in the formation of socio-political realities in the modern and post-modern world. Emphasis has been put on the monopoly of the state on

education (Gellner 1992, 34). Through this, localised cultures, incorporated in the state, are the ones that form/construct the so-called “nation” - a view addressed and challenged in this thesis. Both ethno-symbolist and social anthropological schools of thought consider the state’s role as crucial for the rise of nationalism. However, the anthropological one sees the formation of “industrial societies”, in contrast to “agrarian societies”, as more important, regarding the formation process of nationalism (Gellner 1992, 38). Hence, the transition to industrialism, more than the transition to statism, is also the transition to the age of nationalism.

There is no doubt that the state has emerged as a key factor in nationalism studies. The field of social history is vital in that respect. Its core idea is that *“...nationalism should be understood as a form of politics...that form of politics makes sense only in terms of the particular political context and objectives of nationalism. Central to an understanding of that context and those objectives is the modern state. This modern state both shapes nationalist politics and provides that politics with its major objective, namely possession of the state”* (Breuilly 1993, 366). The social historical approach, as presented in Breuilly’s theory is, roughly, the exact opposite of Smith’s ethno-symbolism. Moreover, Breuilly distances himself from the perception of culture found in Gellner. Instead, he believes that the development of the modern state shaped nationalism in various ways, mostly through nationalist opposition to that state (1993, 375). *“To focus upon culture, ideology, identity, class or modernisation is to neglect the fundamental point that nationalism is, above and beyond all else, about politics and that politics is about power. Power, in the modern world, is principally about control of the state”* (Breuilly 1993, 2).

On the rise of nationalism three key factors are traced: co-ordination, mobilisation and legitimation; *“The evaluation of a particular nationalist movement depends upon the relative importance of these three roles which nationalist ideology can play”* (Breuilly 1993, 93). Moreover, there is an agreement with the ethno-symbolists, on the exaggerated role of the intellectuals; nationalism cannot be seen as the politics of a particular social class, neither can it be regarded as the politics of the intellectuals (Breuilly 1993, 51). On the contrary, the focus is more upon the organisation, growth and sustenance of “collaborator systems”: groups of people from the indigenous

society, close to the ruling elite, working as the core for the development of nationalist movements (Breuilly 1993, 194-96, 215). Another key concept is the “politics of cultural engineering”, highlighting the importance of education, especially the teaching of history, for the nation-building effort (Breuilly 1993, 276). However, Breuilly considers the results of this procedure, along with that of political symbolism used by nationalist regimes (*e.g.* flags, marches, and anthems), as largely unknown, or having little result. On the contrary, the latent, even subconscious “nationalism from below” is much more crucial in the creation of a national identity (Breuilly 1993, 278). All in all, nationalism is primarily defined as a powerful response to a powerful need, that of identity (Breuilly 1993, 381), a celebratory cult of self-identification (Breuilly 1993, 64). A focus on nationalism as identity politics is central to the approach taken in this thesis.

The historical materialist/Marxist school of thought could be seen as a subgenre of the historical approach on nationalism studies. Eric Hobsbawm (1917 – 2012) believed that nationalism is based on invented traditions (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992, 14) and “...comes before nations. Nations do not make states and nationalisms but the other way around” (Hobsbawm 1992, 10). The thinking of the Marxist school highlights the lack of “view from below” regarding nationalism<sup>33</sup>. Contrary to ethno-symbolism, the Marxists describe a process of formation and transformation of nationalism, based on the conviction that it is something different from the nation: a historical novelty, in its modern and basically political sense (Hobsbawm 1992, 17-18). Their view is that the equation state = nation = people, with the state as the central item, is a carefully fabricated bond, with a clear control-centred agenda behind it (Hobsbawm 1992, 23). That bond was promoted and put into application by the governing elites early on: after the 1870 uprisings and demands for democratisation in Europe, a need for new means of legitimacy and mobilisation by the state emerged, making nationalism an ideal vehicle for them. This concept is also important for this study. Nonetheless, the Eurocentric perspective of prominent Marxist approaches on nationalism is also a disadvantage; not to mention their

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<sup>33</sup> “...the nation as seen not by governments and the spokesmen and activists of nationalist (or non-nationalist) movements, but by the ordinary persons who are the objects of their action and propaganda, is exceedingly difficult to discover” (Hobsbawm 1992, 11); “...we still know very little about what national consciousness meant to the mass of the nationalities concerned” (Hobsbawm 1992, 130).

unfounded conviction that, in late modernity, nationalism is no longer a prominent historical force (Hobsbawm 1992, 169), and will eventually decline (Hobsbawm 1992, 192).

Meanwhile, other scholars, who had the historical materialist school of thought as a point of departure<sup>34</sup>, made ground-breaking contributions, especially regarding the creation of a broader – beyond Europe (Anderson 2006, xiii) – perception of nationalism, with new cases of “New World”/colonial nationalisms (Anderson 2006, 47-66). One such case is Benedict Anderson, who approached nationalism in contrast to the political dimension of Smith’s ethno-symbolism. Anderson has defined the nation irrespective of political entities, “...as an *imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign... imagined because the members of even the smallest nations will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives an image of their community*” (2006, 5-6). Approaches like that avoid the distinction, made by other scholars, between “nation” and “nationalism”, by viewing the (imagined) existence of the one as a prerequisite for the existence of the other. According to Anderson, the ability to imagine the nation becomes possible when three prerequisites exist: a new system of production and productive relations (capitalism), a technology of communications (print) and what he calls the “*fatality of human linguistic diversity*”, i.e. the shortage of linguistic diversity through the assemblage of numerous oral vernaculars, within specific limits, into print-languages far fewer in number (Anderson 2006, 43). Within this setting, printing and the press, particularly newspapers, become precious allies of nationalism, especially in overcoming the old vernaculars and the construction of new, “national languages” (cf. Leone 2005, 111)<sup>35</sup>. This is another element which will be highly apparent in this thesis, along with the use of pioneering analyses that define national memory and synchronicity, as a time/space where “Old” and “New” coexist (Anderson 2006, 187). The sentimental nature of nationalism (see Gellner) is not underestimated by Anderson, instead it is channelled into political and economic interests (2006, 139). The state always remains a decisive player in the process of nation-building (Anderson 2006, 160). Additionally, vital

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<sup>34</sup> Although with a critical view on the latter (Anderson 2006, 3-4).

<sup>35</sup> Common grounds with Hobsbawm’s views on language can be traced here.

insights have been presented on the similarities of bureaucratic instruments used by nationalist movements and colonial states all over the globe; the emphasis is on the utilisation of modernist (and nationally defined) approaches to population census, mapping, and heritage management; archaeology and museology are treated as precious servants of the nation (Anderson 2006, 182-83, 185). The routes of patriotism, colonialism and imperialism create commonly defined topographies of thought and identity. And for all this to work, memory needs to be trained accordingly: Anderson goes back to the essential encouragement of Renan – remembering to forget what was taught to be “remembered”: for example, the citizens of the USA have to “remember” that the war of 1861 – 65 was a “civil” one, among brothers, not between two sovereign states; but then there is a huge pedagogical effort by the state in order for the youth of the nation to remember/forget this national “tragedy” (Anderson 2006, 201).

Although Eurocentric, most studies of nationalism tend to neglect the way that this phenomenon became embodied within the Western reality. Until recently, nationalism was seen as an exotic manifestation, living only outside the civilised world, fed from conflicts in some Asian jungle or African desert (Billig 2001, 5). The ongoing EU economic crisis and broader European political developments seem to debunk that view<sup>36</sup>. In addition, approaches emerging from the discipline of Social Psychology challenged it, by dealing with the so-called “banality” of nationalism: the reminding (or “flagging”) of national consciousness, widely diffused as common sense throughout history (Billig 2001, 4, 8, 17)<sup>37</sup>. The impact of the banality of nationalism upon scholars is also addressed. Since nationalism is deeply entrenched in contemporary ways of thinking and living, it is not easily studied, as one cannot effortlessly step outside the world of nations (Billig 2001, 73). Michael Billig’s idea of “*routine-formation as enhabitation*”, of how patterns of social life become habitual (cf. Bourdieu 1990) and, through them, the related ideology passes onto the masses,

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<sup>36</sup> See for example the recent formation of a far-right group in the European parliament (<http://europe.newsweek.com/front-national-forms-far-right-group-european-parliament-328796> - accessed in 15/07/2015)

<sup>37</sup> Billig’s use of the term “imagined nationhood” echoes Anderson. The creation of nations is presented by the former as revivals of the 18th and 19th centuries, when many seemingly ancient traditions were invented (Billig 2001, 25); reference to Hobsbawm & Ranger is obvious here.

is a crucial reminder and an important contribution (Billig 2001, 42-43). After analysing the *establishment* of the banality, Billig goes further to deal with its *maintenance*, he traces it not in the individual memory (for, if this was the case, national identity would have been an easily forgettable concept) but in social and collective memory. He partially criticises Anderson's "imagined community" idea, implying that all this works through a constant, below-the-radar and routine method of training the mind to accept ways of viewing life and living it (Billig 2001, 77, 88, 93)<sup>38</sup>. Altogether, the need to make visible concepts like banality becomes vital, since national identities, rooted within a powerful social structure, become agents of hegemonic relations of inequity (Billig 2001, 175)<sup>39</sup>. I strongly believe that Billig has built a case here, regarding how banalised identities generate cultures of subjugated collectiveness. I will elaborate further upon this in Chapter 6.

My writing is mainly based on the definition of nation as imagined community, developed by Benedict Anderson. The need for a specific way to "remember" and "forget" the nationalised past, as described by Renan, in 1882 and elaborated further by Anderson, is fundamental for this to happen. All in all, regarding the nation as a concept, I do not see any pre-existing cultural units, like Smith; just fragmented groups of potentials. It seems to be a historic novelty, just an outcome out of many possible scenarios. I consider nationalism as the cause of many misfortunes for humanity: stripped of its romantic paraphernalia, it is a mere warmonger. I agree with Breuilly, who believes that nationalism is a powerful response to a powerful need, that of identity (Breuilly 1993, 381), and with Anderson, who emphasises the sentimental aspect of this imagined consciousness, channelled into political and economic interests (Anderson 2006, 139). Indeed, politics play a vital role; however, it is nationalism as a sentimental authority, producing on demand love and, mostly, hate, that looks irresistible. In order to overcome this regime of truth, one has to step outside

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<sup>38</sup> Scholars like Breuilly criticised this idea, on the supposed grounds that banal manifestations of nationalism have little impact (Breuilly 1993, 278). An argument which, I believe, is not always valid, especially if one considers the impact this banality has when connected to material culture.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. also Laurajane Smith's work on Heritage Studies, drawing on Billig [Smith L. 2006, 49, 126; Smith L. and G. Campbell 2015 (forthcoming)].

the world of nations and get rid of *“the assumptions and common-sense habits which come from living within that world”* (Billig 2001, 73).

My approach is heavily based on politics and class analysis. Ruling elites, as official authorities or private groups, play a central role in the rise and prevalence of nationalism, and are discussed extensively through the archival material presented in this thesis. I also align my approach with Breuilly, who points that the dependency of nationalist politics on the state is undeniable; moreover, I support Hobsbawm’s point, that nationalism is highly important for the self-preservation of the ruling elites and the economic capital behind them. In the Cretan State, the ruling elite consisted of two elements: the Westerners and their local affiliates; I identify the latter with Breuilly’s collaborator systems: the mediators acting between the ruling elites and the population. Those are the people who will filter the dominant narrative of the West as “national duty” and “progress” by creating a lived experience out of it. This is where nationalist banality, as defined by Billig, can be traced. I believe that this is a key concept for the Cretan State period; along with state education, the embodied national indoctrination was enhanced with the monumentalised landscape, re-introduced to the locals with a new sacredness: the archaeological site became a second school. The dominating permanence of its presence acted as a subliminal reminder of what was needed to be “remembered” regarding the glorious past of the ancestors.

### **3.3 The colonial-national hybrid**

There are certain schools of thought where national identity is not a central theme, but it plays a crucial role in their analyses. Therefore, the outcome of their research provides new understandings in the field of nationalism studies. The case applies of the Subaltern Studies Group (SSG), an initiative of scholars who pushed for a “history from below” approach with regard to postcolonial and post-imperial studies, focusing mainly on South Asia. Scholars from this intellectual background could be seen as pushing further the limits of Anderson’s decentralising argument, by approaching it critically (Chatterjee 1993, 5). One of them, Partha Chatterjee, focuses on how non-colonial forms of nationalism are possible in postcolonial countries, by researching the impact of

colonialism into the cultural and socio-political history of his country. Attitudes of the colonised and the colonisers in a nationally defined context produce a non-colonised nationalist imagination; they are based not on the forms and norms of European nationalist thought, but on celebrating its difference from it. Thus, (post?)colonised nationalists are at the same time consumers and producers of modernity (Chatterjee 1993, 5). However, as Chatterjee discussed in his earlier work, the fact that these genres of nationalism emerge within a society under colonial domination, makes them dependent on colonialism in the end (1986, 27-30).

Other factors, such as education (Chatterjee 1993, 8), family (Chatterjee 1993, 9) and religion also play a key role in the building of these identities. Yet, quite often, national education is in the form of an “anti-education”, like in the case of the Bengali *literati*, trained in the principles of European history, statecraft and social philosophy, who reject the version of history of India taught in a British-led education system (Chatterjee 1993, 88). As a result, factors like home and family become a “school” for the rise of nationalism (Chatterjee 1993, 148). Moreover, pre-existing religious conflicts among the colonised, when introduced within the intellectual vocabulary of the coloniser, generate new identities and power relations among the former (Chatterjee 1993, 94; cf. also Sen 2002, 347-48). For example, In India, the rising division between Muslim and Hindu consciousness becomes not only a factor of national self-identification, but also a reason for an ambiguous gratitude to the colonial regime: a “proto-nationalist”, Hindu collaborator system which thanks to the English colonial rule as the “saviour” against the enemy of the nation, i.e. possible Muslim home rule. References to a “rediscovered” past too are unavoidable, and European “glory-decline-renaissance” schemes should be adapted: “...*ancient India had to become the classical source of Indian modernity, while “the Muslim period” would become the night of the medieval darkness; contributing to that description would be all the prejudices of the European Enlightenment about Islam*” (Chatterjee 1993, 102).

Therefore, the colonial authority is “re-introduced” in post-colonial nationalisms from their infancy: it is not anymore a passive observer but a key player with

high interests<sup>40</sup>. The (post)colonised nationalist is defined by the former colonial ruler; the nature of his/her nationalism is defined by the colonial context within which it emerged; plus, the coloniser's identity is also affected by the emergence of that hostile national identity within his field of perception. In this light, the parallel stories of peasant identities and movements in India may imply a "what would have been" aspect: what would have been if those anti-colonial elements, far more radical than the enlightened middle class nationalists, defined the agenda (Chatterjee 1993, 172)? Thus, in order to legitimise itself in front of that part of the population, the postcolonial state is forced to commit a patricide. It is obliged to deny its colonially defined "identity loans" and claim a parthenogenesis from a pre-colonial (or *acolonial* = without colonial features?), glorious national past (Chatterjee 1993, 27). This uneasy balance reveals the ambiguous relationship between the national and the local element within nation-building, their intermingling, the occasional detachment of the latter and other related themes (Chatterjee 1993, 223).

Other concepts relevant to this theme come from the field of postcolonial studies, and further elaborate on the issue of conflicting identities; concepts such as hybridity, mimicry, difference and ambivalence, that have been introduced by the literary scholar and cultural critic Homi Bhabha (1949 - ). According to him, they define methods of resistance made by the colonised peoples against the power of the coloniser. Several of these concepts are used to explore "*the cultural representation of what is called the ambivalence of modern society, nationalism*" (Bhabha 2000a, 2). They prompt the researcher to focus "*more on the locality of culture... more around temporality than about historicity*" (Bhabha 2000b, 292); the hybridity of nationalism is vividly depicted through its attempt "*to formulate...the complex strategies of cultural identification and discursive address that function in the name of 'the people' or 'the nation' and make them the immanent subjects and objects of a range of social and literary narratives*" (*ibid*). Eventually, we have to bear in mind that the constructive and narrating force of the national principle is a powerful tool and that "*there is no consensus about what a nation is*" (Bhabha 2000b, 231); what is more, scholars like Bhabha point to how nation narrates itself, its past and present. This is a fundamental point, since this plays a key role in the building

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<sup>40</sup> Reverberations of Hobsbawm and Breuille are obvious in the views above.

of all national narratives, in all national projects. Thus, by not reproducing linearity in our own writings upon nationalism, we avoid its dominant narrative mode, and promote effectively its deconstruction.

The two themes introduced by Chatterjee, the self-denial of the colonial nation-state and its heated interaction with the local identities, will define, to a large extent, the framework of the material presented here. As already implied in the previous chapters, and as will be discussed in the following ones, I approach the Cretan State in, more or less, colonial studies terms. The local political elites of the island, i.e. the collaborator systems, through which Cretan archaeologists emerge, try to monopolise the local identity politics. Colonial authority, that is the Westerners on the island, is “re-introduced” as “allies” and agents of progress. Under this regime of truth, pre-modern religious conflicts are modernised and nationally redefined: Christianity vs. Islam becomes the “Light” vs. “Darkness” for the eyes of the civilised western “ally”. In accordance to this perception, I consider Bhabha’s approach to the hybridity of identity, colonial, national or local, as another key concept regarding my work, meaning that the Cretans have the ability and will to express a highly flexible capacity of adopting elements of the dominant nationalist narrative depending on their interests or perceptions.

### **3.4 Dreaming of the Greek nation**

General writings on Greek nationalism have been extensive, covering nowadays a whole subgenre of nationalism studies and hailing from various research disciplines, such as Literature, Modern History and Political Science (cf. Petmezas 1999; Kitromilides 2004; Beaton and Ricks 2009). As mentioned in both Chapters 1 and 2, the core of the Greek nationalist narrative is related to the appropriation of the ancient Greek material and intellectual culture, through a scholarly narrative around it, built by Western actors and Greek elites affiliated to them; this narrative has the continuity of the Greek nation from ancient to modern times as its focal point (Gourgouris 1996, 54). During the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the medieval past of what is today Greece, related to the Byzantine Empire, was incorporated into the Greek national imagination. I am going to cite

here some new insights on Greek nationalism as a phenomenon, like the one produced by Stathis Gourgouris, a scholar from the Comparative Literature field. In his work, *Dream Nation*, Gourgouris considers the nation as a dream and, although “*dreams die when interpreted...Nations seem to disobey this path*” (1996, 1). His views are closer to Anderson and Castoriades, regarding communal imagination and the nation as a social-imaginary institution, within another imaginary construction (society). According to Gourgouris, it is precisely that mythistorical energy that makes the nation more *real* than “real” (1996, 3-5, 15-16). Echoes of Hobsbawm, regarding the nation’s modernity, are apparent too, in his claim that any effort to explain or define the identity of the nation is futile (Gourgouris 1996, 3, 8). Gourgouris affiliates his approach with the Subaltern Studies Group ideas. What needs to be underlined is the reason behind this connection. He finds that postcolonial studies have a direct application in Greece, whose history has much in common with that of India (1996, 6); meaning that Greece too is a postcolonial country, yet within a crypto-colonial frame, i.e. denying/hiding its colonial nature.

The state is defined in the *Dream Nation* as property, and not the main source of energy for the nation; it is more like the chief representative of the latter’s symbolic order in the geopolitical stock market. Thus, one of Breuilly’s core values is opposed here (Gourgouris 1996, 14, 17). Following Eugene Balibar (1991, 86), Gourgouris believes that tracing the timeline of the nation is futile; that it is only possible to trace the means (and ends) of the reproduction of its form (Gourgouris 1996, 17). His ideas sound similar to those of Bhabha; like him, he rejects the process of the national self-narration. He defines it as a “self-occultation” process, a way to hide the fact that the nation transforms its dream-work into a legitimised, i.e. “real” narrative (Gourgouris 1996, 30)<sup>41</sup>.

On the more “case-study” side of his approach, Gourgouris deals extensively with the Greek War of Independence and its connections to the European

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<sup>41</sup> “*National fantasy and, by implication, the entire discursive body that orchestrates and performs its articulation, its discipline (Neohellenism, Panturkism, Zionism, the American melting pot, British ancestry, Negritude, and so on) exist precisely in order to mask the fact that the nation “does not exist”. For though the Nation as a social-imaginary signification most certainly exists, each particular nation, as a geopolitical structure, exists only insofar as its corresponding national fantasy is still at work*” (Gourgouris 1996, 37-38).

Enlightenment. He believes that, by the 1850s, the outcomes of this war had ideologically transformed the young Greek state; in particular, the education provided by the latter departed extensively from the values of the Hellenic Enlightenment, i.e. what became known as the Greek offshoot of the European intellectual phenomenon (Gourgouris 1996, 52-53). Thus, *“the political culmination of this interethnic, emancipatory “project”* that emerged as scattered efforts to adapt the European Enlightenment ideas into the Greek world, turned out to be a *“centralized, ethnically homogenized, national(ist), bureaucratic form of power”* (Gourgouris 1996, 75). This shift is important, as one of the first efforts of Greek nationalism to construct a more exclusive, indigenous version of itself, by partially moving away from its initial Western references, i.e. what Hamilakis has called the shift from western to indigenous Hellenism (2009b).

Gourgouris also deals with the impact of philhellenism, the Western romanticised support to the Greek irredentist movement (see Chapter 2): *“what began as an internal Ottoman affair* (the Greek-Ottoman conflict), *an insurrection seeking ethnic autonomy riding on an initially rather nebulous ideology, was at once elevated to an international affair”*; and became something beyond religious war, as a clash between “modernisation” and “barbarism” (Gourgouris 1996, 72-73). In this context, philhellenism, as a socially imagined institution, had a deep impact on modern Greek culture, by operating as a mechanism of surveillance (Gourgouris 1996, 143). The modern Greek is always vulnerable to Western praise or scorn. The role of archaeology is underlined, as an exigency in the light of the process above. It provides the material justification needed and, through it, intellectual legitimacy (Gourgouris 1996, 147-54). The “discourse of national salvation (Gourgouris 1996, 178) becomes the *“discourse of the national institution”* (Gourgouris 1996, 200), i.e. the process of saving the national purity is the process of establishing the nation as a continuously resurrected entity. Neohellenism, as an insular national imaginary, has confidence in being the most privileged and the most oppressed, both father of Western culture and its mortal enemy; imbued with xenophobia and xenomania, it feels both superior and inferior to Western culture (Gourgouris 1996, 275-76).

In my narrative I adopt Gourgouris' approach on the self-occultation of the nation as a primary function of the local collaborator system. In fact, what becomes occult, therefore hidden, due to the work of the Cretan elites, is the colonial foundation of the Cretan State and the archaeological policy it brings with it. At the same time I attempt to trace the construction of an indigenous version of nationalism in Crete during 1898 – 1913, in the spirit discussed by Hamilakis (2009b) and Gourgouris (1996). I also use the latter's argument that philhellenism, as a mechanism of surveillance and control, had a deep impact on the culture of the Greek populations adhering to its doctrine. This goes hand-in-hand with another concept that I consider central to my approach: what Gourgouris regards as the ambivalence of Neohellenism, the coexisting feeling of superiority and inferiority towards the West in the modern Greek psyche.

### **3.5 A “Model Kingdom” under God, among enemies**

The idea of a “culture under surveillance” could be better understood through approaches made in Modern Greek historiography, especially when connected with two central concepts of Greek nationalism, *the* “Model Kingdom” and the “Great Idea”, which have been studied extensively by the historian Ellie Skopetea (1988). “Model kingdom” was a term coined by King George I of Greece. Born Prince William of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, George was a member of the Danish royal family. In 1863, when he was 17 years old, the Greek National Assembly, under the pressure and guidance of the Great Powers, elected him as the King of the Hellenes, as George I. In his declaration towards “his people”, in 1863, George started with a phrase referring to “the model kingdom in the East”. In a way, he expressed both the subliminally communicated dream of the West, for a “civilised” colonial outpost in the underbelly of the Orient, and the hopes of the Greek nationalist movement: the vision that an ideal European kingdom would be formed within the Greek borders, which would expand as long as “fellow patriots” remained outside the borders.

The supporting narrative behind the “Model Kingdom” was clearly expansionist, and became known as the *Megali Idea*, the “Great Idea” (Skopetea 1988, 249): the claim that the Kingdom of Greece had a historical destiny to reoccupy all the

“unredeemed fatherlands” outside its borders. By the term “fatherland” the Greek nationalists meant those lands where part of the indigenous population, not necessarily the majority, identified itself as Greek. The term the *Megali Idea* was introduced for the first time by the Greek Prime Minister Ioannis Kolettis (1773 – 1847) during his debates with King Otto (1815 – 1867) prior to the promulgation of the 1844 constitution<sup>42</sup>. The “unredeemed fatherlands” coincided more or less with the lands of the former Byzantine Empire. This political agenda would soon obtain a historiographic alibi: a few years later, in 1860, the “national historian” of Greece, Constantinos Paparrigopoulos, published the first volume of his *History of the Hellenic Nation*, where he incorporated the Byzantine past in the Greek nationalist doctrine of continuity. The irredentist vision of the “Great Idea” determined to a large extent both foreign relations and domestic politics in Greece for nearly a century from its inception. Even now it remains a cornerstone of the Greek nationalist narrative. Needless to say, from early on, Crete had been an essential target of this ideology. Large resources were spent by Greek irredentists in order to bring the island under the jurisdiction of the Greek crown, an effort that culminated in the Greco-Turkish War of 1897, a disastrous event for the Kingdom of Greece.

The political, cultural and military ratification of the “Great Idea” took place within a febrile environment where views on the definition of the Greek nation and its “destiny” were fluid and constantly being reshaped (Skopetea 1988, 13). The building of this identity can be traced in elements such as the language, religion and education of the new nation (Skopetea 1988, 93). What is more important is the context of this process: a persistent care on behalf of the Greek nationalists to reach the standards of an idealised image that “civilised” Europe supposedly held for them. It was within this quest to build the “Model Kingdom” that an insecure European identity for the Greeks, by the Greeks, was established

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<sup>42</sup> During the same year Kolettis founded the “French Party”, one the three major parties of the early Greek political scene, the other two being the “English” and the “Russian Party”. As the names suggest, each party had strong affiliations with one of the Great Powers and acted as a mouthpiece for its interests. Otto, who in 1843 had been forced by an uprising (the 3 September 1843 Revolution) to grant a constitution, was the second son of King Ludwig I of Bavaria. He was the first king of Greece under the London Conference of 1832, which led to the establishment of monarchy in Greece. The negotiations between the Great Powers (Great Britain, France and Russia) took place without consultation with the Greeks.

(Skopetea 1988, 159). Under this modern self-image they found themselves belittled in front of their ancient Greek ancestors: an inferiority “syndrome” that would become vital for the development of modern Greek identities (Skopetea 1988, 171)

The aforementioned “syndrome” went hand-in-hand with another major development: the embracing of Christianity by Greek nationalism on a more solid base. Several events facilitated this event. During the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, anti-Slavic sentiment rose in Greece (Skopetea 1988, 325). The rise of Bulgarian nationalism was seen as a threat to Greek expansionism. The “Turk”, the arch rival since the Greek War of Independence, was no longer the number one enemy for the Nation. Paraskevas Matalas has analysed meticulously the various stages of these changes in the Greek nationalist agenda (2002). He discussed the relationship between nation and Orthodoxy (the Eastern Christian Church), through two national-religious schisms: the one between the Helladic Church and the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople (1833 – 1850); the other, until 1872, between the Patriarchate and “bulgarism”, which incorporates the early, rising Bulgarian nationalism and its religious expression. During the first schism, two rival sides of Greek nationalists belonging to the political and religious elites, within and beyond the Greek borders, clashed over the dogmatic and national credibility of declaring the Church of Greece autocephalous (i.e. autonomous). During the second schism, the former enemies of the first conflict united against what was seen as an intrusion of ethnic nationalism within the ecclesiastical order: the Bulgarian Exarchate was an effort by Bulgarians to build their national church. The internal, ideological and political conflicts that penetrate through the formation of the Greek nation rise above religious politics; the way each individual and group conceived the idea of nation, defined religion and the geography of the nation, its friends and foes, its political constitution, its destiny. The emergence of a “national church” within the vicinity of the Greek state radicalised the identity politics of the region. These developments paved the way for the articulation of religion with the national imagination, and the subjugation of the Church of Greece by Greek nationalism and the Greek state, through the autocephaly of the Church of Greece and its severing of the administrative link with the Patriarchate (cf. Kitromilides 1989, 165-66; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999, 128-29).

The concept of the “Great Idea” is central to my research. This irredentist project is nothing more than the main expression of what could be defined as Greek colonialism. Under this banner, the Cretan State becomes a hybrid polity itself, in order to disguise its western colonial foundation and Greek expansionist future. On the one hand, it is a “Model Kingdom” itself, destined to be “civilised” by the western “allies”; on the other, it is the flagship of the “unredeemed fatherlands” according to the Greek nationalist imagination. Every activity, be it administrative or archaeological, takes place in a standby situation. This perception can be found in various agents presented through the data of my study: from officials of the Greek Kingdom operating in Crete, to Westerners and members of the Cretan collaborator class. Furthermore, the Cretan State is another terrain where we can witness the incorporation of Christianity as a vital pillar for the Greek nationalist cause, as discussed by Matalas. This phenomenon is evident in various expressions, from state education to archaeological interpretation of the material past.

### **3.6 Greek archaeology within a colonial-national context**

It has become a commonplace observation that archaeology as a discipline affects, and is heavily affected by, its socio-political and economic surroundings, especially when it comes to the human perceptions of material culture, time and space. Therefore, the view of archaeology as an “objective” scientific field, devoted to the protection and promotion of antiquities, should be avoided. For that reason, even the calls for an “*objective and value-free archaeology*” (Trigger 1984, 368), despite the highlighting of broader pathologies within the field, like colonialist and nationalist agendas, should be treated cautiously. More recently, the investigation of the link between nationalism and archaeology has become a global, well-defined and multidisciplinary research field, with contributions that go well beyond academic borders (cf. Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Kohl 1998). Various related case studies have been introduced, from the “bargain” between the Nazi regime and archaeology in Germany (Arnold and Hassman 1995) to the manipulation of the scientific discipline by the dictatorships that ruled the Iberian peninsula during the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Diaz-Andreu 1995; Lillios 1995).

It is not possible to speak of a unified approach, as opinions among the scholars within the field of archaeology and nationalism vary. For example, Diaz-Andreu's views on the cultural interpretation of the modern nation are reminiscent of Smith (cf. Diaz-Andreu 1995, 40). This diversity is more apparent when it comes to the links between nationalism and colonialism. Many times, the classification of one kind of archaeology as nationalist, colonialist or imperialist becomes quite blurry, as Trigger has highlighted (Trigger 1984, 368). To use an ideal example, Cretan archaeology could be cited as a synthesis of all three above, as I will try to prove in the following chapters. However, bearers of "anti-nationalist" or "non-nationalist" narratives, even treated as "*objective archaeology*", can be agents of a colonial agenda. It always has to do with what is addressed as outdated and "nationalist", and what is suggested as its ideal replacement. For example, as has been identified under the label of "cultural internationalism", wealthy Western nations maintain a one-way flow of antiquities from less-developed states and/or former colonies towards their museums; they justify their acts by claiming that they make "monuments of humanity" accessible to all, against what they call "nationalist retentionist cultural" approaches (Voudouri 2010, 558-59). An ideal example of this narrative is the dispute between the British Museum and Greece over the Elgin/Parthenon Marbles.

Related theoretical trends have been discussed quite early in Greek archaeological academia, by several scholars (Kotsakis 1991). Kotsakis defined Greek archaeology as essentially different, regarding its patriotic applications, compared to what happened in the rest of Europe. As soon as it emerged, after the creation of the Greek state, it had a dual obligation: on the one hand, to nurture the local nationalist sentiment, through drawing attention to "monuments" and history; on the other hand, to attract international interest to the ancient Greek, classical past, due to an alleged cultural (not national) affinity of the Westerners with the ancient Greeks. According to Kotsakis, the obsession with the "continuity" of the Greek nation was triumphant quite early; the ancient Greek classical past has been set as the axis of the quest for this continuity, heading both back (prehistory) and forth (medieval and modern archaeology). Gradually, the diachronic continuity of the nation became a principle, a commonplace that needed no validation, at least by archaeologists (Kotsakis 1998, 67-68). On the contrary, doubting it seemed to be something unthinkable.

Up to the late 1980s a large proportion of archaeology performed in Greece resided in the fringes of global theoretical developments, mainly due to its binding with a specific political programme, that of nation-building, a common phenomenon across the Balkans, upon which several Greek archaeologists, such as Kotsakis, reflected (1998, 69). Nonetheless, material and case studies from Greece were always at the centre of archaeological theoretical debate worldwide. Moreover, since at least the 1990s, archaeology in Greece has become more critical and more theoretically sophisticated. Of course, up until that point, it had not been developed in a vacuum; it displayed though a leaning towards certain schools of thought (an obvious example would be cultural evolutionism) as a means to an end. It is not my purpose to present the whole history of archaeological theory in Greece here. I mainly aim to contextualise several traits that are important for my research. Therefore, the obsession with continuity makes more comprehensible the deliberate creation of one common framework for discussing prehistoric and classical archaeology in Greece (Kotsakis 1991, 70).

What is interesting then is to see how this patriotic agenda co-existed with the burden of direct Western intervention in Greek archaeological developments. Two separate cases, the excavation of the temple of Hera on Samos in 1850 and that of Artemis on Corfu, in 1911 (Kalpaxis 1990; 1993), underlined this phenomenon. Both of them had to do with archaeological projects that involved the uneasy cooperation between Western (German) and Greek archaeologists; they illustrate quite effectively the intermingling, dependence and sometimes undermining of Greek nationalist politics by Western archaeological quests, with a heavily imperialist surplus. Among other topics, Kalpaxis dealt extensively with the impact of the Western pressure on the work and self-image of local archaeologists. Furthermore, the excavation on Samos took place during the autonomous period of the island (1834 - 1912)<sup>43</sup> and the local archaeologists involved, namely Themistoklis Sofoulis (1860 - 1949), took up a central role in the Greek irredentist movement and the political scene of the island. As we will

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<sup>43</sup> Samos was part of the Ottoman Empire. The population of the island participated in the Greek War of Independence but Samos was not included in the boundaries of the newly independent Kingdom of Greece after 1832. In 1834 the island was granted self-government as a semi-independent state under the Ottoman suzerainty, the Principality of Samos.

see in the following chapters, the archaeological politics of modern Crete bear more than a few points in common with these cases.

The multivocality emerging from these manipulations of the human past, the dynamics of what is called “heritage management” nowadays, its interpretation, (re)production and consumption by Greek archaeologists and the Greek public equally, have been the focus of the new generation of Greek archaeologists and scholars occupied with archaeology in Greece (Hamilakis and Brown 2003; Hamilakis 2007). Intriguing new aspects have filled a lot of gaps, such as the nexus of relations between tourism, class, nationalism and archaeology (Duke 2007); early 20<sup>th</sup> century Crete, with its “proto-tourist” waves of Greek and western antiquarian visitors to the “Minoan palaces”, gradually comes to light. Likewise, the Greek archaeologist is revisited as the shaman who mediates between the “monuments” and the nation, (Hamilakis 2007, 125); and the “Spartan visions” of the I. Metaxas 4th of August Regime, whose iron grip ruled Greece between 1936 and 1941, have been meticulously deconstructed (Hamilakis 2007, 177-78). The hidden histories of the ultimate Greek national symbol, the Acropolis, and its pre-/post-classical life, that has been carefully omitted by Greek nationalism, for reasons that are more than obvious, are also intriguing (Hamilakis 2007, 91); or the rather dark pages of Greek history, such as the manipulation of the past, specifically as a “purification process” at the concentration camps, set up in the island of Makronisos, during the Greek Civil War (1946-1949) (Hamilakis 2007, 205). Through this body of research emerges a picture of the transformation of Greek nationalism from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century to the present; Western Hellenism, with the strong references to the scholarly production of Western modernity, has gradually turned itself into indigenous Hellenism (cf. Leontis 1995), bearing a local amalgam of reference points. Points that, as mentioned in Chapter 1, incorporate elements that have been shunned in the awakenings of the Greek nationalist narrative, like the mediaeval past (Hamilakis 2007, 119).

My work defines archaeology as a social practice in the present (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009, 69) and part of the socio-political discourse of its space-time. Cretan State archaeology is presented within the context built by Trigger as a nationalist-colonialist project. I trace its origins in the broader patriotic cradle that nourished the emergence of archaeology in Greece, as presented by Kotsakis. Ideally its agents, the local collaborator system, would simply adopt

the primacy of classical antiquity and treat prehistory and the Middle Ages as secondary periods that “fill up” the scheme of continuity. Yet, taking into account the semi-colonial origins of Cretan State archaeology, I attempt to trace why “Minoan” prehistory in Crete dominated over the rest of the material past in narratives that surpassed the local nationalist self-images and extended to broader, Western worldviews. Moreover, I rely on Kalpaxis’ approach regarding the pressure of the Westerner “colleagues” felt by local archaeologists, since it will dominate a large part of my thesis. Likewise, the archaeological quests taking place amidst “states of exception” (like the autonomous regime of Samos) offer a parallel case study for Crete; regions of socio-political turmoil and conflict anthropogeographies pose as ideal landscapes for nationalist and colonialist archaeologies to settle. Bearing this in mind, I study Cretan State archaeology while looking for the multivocality of the past, as approached by Hamilakis; attempting eventually to discover how the Cretan material past was reproduced and consumed by the various actors who intermingled with it.

### 3.7 **Local vs national**

In this thesis, I am intrigued to study the place of archaeology, especially of “Minoan” Crete, within this mosaic of thought and practice, particularly how a local material identity – projected on the way peasants interacted with antiquities – expressed itself and how this was dealt by the westernised Cretan ruling class. Local identity is essential for nation-building. The balance of this relation is fragile. There are certain parameters that define a peaceful co-existence. For example, nationalism seeks the preservation of local identities, as long as they can be incorporated in its narrative, and are therefore controllable. On the contrary, it pursues their suppression, if something that could be seen as a threat to its existence or expansion is based on them. Besieged local identities may lead to militant localisms. Occasionally, the latter may become nationalisms at some point (like in Corsica or Catalonia); but is it possible for others to stay within a broader spectrum of national self-identification, while demanding a privileged relationship with the nation? As mentioned on Chapter 1, Cretan localism seems to be one of those cases. Crete has officially been part of the Greek nation state since 1913. The Greek nationalist narrative was dominant

there for the whole period covered by the Cretan State, and even well before that. But how was this narrative digested by the local population, and what did the people of the island produce by elaborating on it? In Crete, Greek nationalism interacted with specific and, for various reasons, quite peculiar intellectual and physical localities.

Cretan localism is highly traditionalist: Orthodox Christianity, war (mainly as revolt against a foreign conqueror) and anti-Turkism are key elements of the narratives formed around it. Patriarchy, family bonds and homophobia are essential too. Until recently, blood feuds (*vendetta*<sup>44</sup>, or *oikogeneiaká*, in local slang) comprised a whole, parallel system of delivering justice, defying the Greek state and its laws. In general, the Cretan identity has developed within the Greek nationalist margins. Nonetheless, it has produced localist readings of the past that are used to underline Cretan superiority over their Greek “compatriots”. This “troubled love affair” has been researched extensively by M. Herzfeld (cf. 1988; 1992; 2003). The hybridity pattern of national narratives uneasily encompassing local perceptions of the past and present, introduced by Bhabha, has taken centre stage in many anthropological approaches in Modern Greek Studies. Herzfeld’s ethnographic work on Post-WWII Crete could be seen as part of this context, aiming to trace, record and analyse power struggles on the meaning and use of material remains of the past. This work revealed a conflict between the lower class residents of the urban Cretan anthropogeography, as expressed in places like the medieval part of modern day Rethymnon, a Cretan town, and the Greek state, with the latter mainly personified by the Archaeological Service.

Both sides try hard to impose their views on what the façade of the old houses will look like, in an “...*unceasing battle between the competing rhetorics of heritage and ownership*” (Herzfeld 1991, 257). Studies like this put forward a question that is going to be central in this thesis: “...*whose is the history, and whose the discourse about it?*” (Herzfeld 1991, 226). Emphasis is placed on the various faces of the conflict and how identity politics may surpass the public discourse and enter the individual domestic sphere; like when the State Archaeological Service has legislative power over the appearance of a private house; and how local practices outside this legislature generate a contested

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<sup>44</sup> From Italian *vendetta*, originating from the Latin *vindicta*, meaning vengeance.

jurisdiction over the lived materiality of the past (in this case, a Cretan medieval city). The individual citizens who claim their right to define the appearance and meaning of their dwellings act as agents of hybridity: they stick to the local appropriations of the national identity as written upon their material surroundings, thus challenging and redefining the official national narrative (Herzfeld 1991, 207). The vocabulary they use is still influenced to a great extent by the official nationalist narrative, yet it is locally customised. Therefore, the same place and material embody different pasts for different actors; the official past tries to gain control of the present, which may be “Greek”/national and sometimes “Cretan”/local (Herzfeld 1991, 259).

Case studies like this offer a unique insight into Billig’s concept of national banality, through the violent “domestication” of a nationalised past (Herzfeld 1991, 19, 56-57). At the same time, they carry a core argument: that traditions, contrary to Hobsbawm-Ranger’s view, don’t emerge only “*from the top*” (Herzfeld 1991, 205). “Minoan” antiquity does not play a direct role in the battles between the Greek state and Rethymno’s citizens, whose surroundings are defined by other parts of the Cretan material past, mostly medieval. Therefore, the Rethymnon conflict is a perfect example of the disputes surrounding the nationalisation of the not so easily adaptable parts of the Cretan past, such as the Venetian and Ottoman periods. The multivocality of the nationalist narrative is apparent here, both as state policy and local resistance: all parts involved define their surroundings in absolute and patriotic terms. Herzfeld’s study focuses on how people negotiate their sense of place; when this place is colonised by archaeology and baptised to be a “monument” (national or global), local resistance in terms of practice and narrative emerges in response. The levels and forms of this archaeological colonisation and the local claim on the material past described here are central to my study.

After all, a great part of my research (particularly Chapter 7) is related to embedded practices of the Cretan peasants towards the material past (their own, pre-modern “archaeologies”) that go beyond “official archaeology”. The politics of archaeological practice, and the contestations involving the material past and the landscapes surrounding it, make up a core theoretical threshold for my work (Meskell 2005; Hamilakis 2007; Castañeda and Matthews 2008; Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009, 65; Mortensen and Hollowell 2009). I base my work

heavily upon Herzfeld's approach to power struggles between archaeological authorities and local populations. Furthermore, I focus on what he calls the "violent domestication of a nationalised past", i.e. how nationalist banality is applied and contested in everyday life in conflict terms. I also seek to trace the attitudes of the archaeologists, either as state officials or westerners, towards the citizens of the Cretan State. Additionally, the nationalisation or dismissal of non-"Minoan" parts of the past, material remains that don't belong to the prevailing Cretan archaeological narrative, such as Venetian or Ottoman antiquities, will be extensively discussed here.

### **3.8 Picking tools from the trench**

My approach to nationalism places emphasis on the need to "forget" and "remember" the past in a specific way. I define nationalism as a system that produces a constructed memory which in its turn leads to a constructed, embodied and hierarchical perception of life. I agree with Breuilly that nationalism is, above all else, about political power, which means control of the state (Breuilly 1993, 2) and with Anderson's view that the nation is above all an imagined community. In fact, when the nationalist imagination is defined by the ruling elites, it is prolific in masking class antagonism and conflicting interests, by homogenizing and patronizing the masses. Thus, for the purpose of this thesis, I focus on nationalism "from above"; I define it as a means of control, an ideology that generates a notion of equality and common destiny while blurring the difference between rulers and ruled, privileged and unprivileged; thus, nation-building becomes a privilege itself. The nation is a house where the builder defines who enters and which room is suitable for every tenant. The process for doing so is self-occulted and concealed, what has been described as nationalist banality by Billig: the filtering of nationalist values within material points of references. The agents of this banalisation are the bearers of the new ideology, the "collaborator systems" mentioned by Breuilly: groups close to the pre-modern (and pre-national) administration that dominate the socio-political scene in the emerging nation-state and provide its reproduction. This is achieved by the establishment of a nationalist education and a nationally banalised environment.

When the dissemination of this patriotic narrative of the past takes place within a colonially defined environment, and the local nationalist class adheres to the disciplines of the coloniser, the applications of this policy produce a variety of results. Their nature depends on the interactions between the groups involved. In our case, these groups are: the colonisers (Westerners, archaeologists or not), the local collaborator class (Cretan elites, among them the archaeologists) and the local population (in particular the rural one, in whose surroundings most of the archaeological endeavour takes place). This situation generates the self-denial of the local elites that need to balance between an overtly nationalist vocabulary towards the general population and several unsettling concessions to their patrons i.e. the colonisers. This tactic of nation-building leads to a series of heated interactions with the local identities. Philhellenism poses here as a mechanism of surveillance and control, prompting the indigenous people to “behave” in a “civilised” manner; this forms what Gourgouris described as the *“ambivalence of Neohellenism”*, a feeling of superiority and inferiority towards the Westerners. All this has been codified and systematised as the “Great Idea”, the cornerstone of Greek nationalism. This transforms the Greek nation into a “work in progress”, constantly into the state of becoming a “Model Kingdom” and always under Western surveillance; looking at the West for approval and the Byzantine East for a form. Under these circumstances, which merged Western and indigenous notions of Hellenism, Christianity becomes an essential part of the Greek national identity-building.

This is where archaeology enters the scene: nationalism is based on a communally perceived ancestral heritage, and archaeology is the scientific discipline that provides “objective” interpretations of material remains of the past. Thus archaeologists become a valued part of the nationalist collaborator groups in their self-legitimizing campaign. This phenomenon justifies the perception of Hamilakis & Anagnostopoulos, who view archaeology as a social practice in the present, central to nationalist and colonialist projects, as Kalpaxis’ research highlighted. For all those reasons, I consider the Cretan State as an ideal case to study the crossroads where archaeology, nationalism, colonialism and identity-building meet. This polity emerged under the patronage and semi-colonial rule of the Great Powers, who presented themselves as liberators of the Christian population from the “Turkish yoke”, and their

civilisers. Western agents and antiquarian networks took advantage of this situation in order to pursue their archaeological agendas, redefine their collective self-images and intellectually appropriate the material past of the island. This claim was met positively by a local collaborator class that produced an archaeological subgrouping, tied both to their Western benefactors and the pre-existing nationalist doctrine. This attributed a multivocality to the archaeological record that has been produced, generating tales for many audiences, creating cherished (“Minoan”) and unwanted (“Ottoman”) parts of the past. Crete became a lab of Western, Greek and indigenous identities - a conflictual environment where modernity creatively clashed with persisting, pre-modern “archaeologies” embedded in the everyday practices of the local population.



## 4. Tools of the trade: theory & methodology

*“Si, par malheur, on se comprenait, on ne pourrait jamais s'accorder”<sup>45</sup>*

### 4.1 Introduction

In a way, this thesis is my own reality check, as an archaeologist. However, the self-referential tone has a double meaning, as I am a Cretan too; I owe it to my subject to keep a reflective stance towards it, since I become part of it most of the time. Indeed, several stories from my own family's interaction with Cretan antiquities are incorporated in my narrative. When studying nationalism and localism in Crete, or attitudes towards antiquities, I constantly find myself puzzled regarding my own thoughts on the subject, the implication of the related narratives, my revolts against them and their causes. Why was I appalled by nationalism? And why, despite that, localism looked intriguing to me in my youth, even though it conflicted with my broader, anti-authoritarian political identity? What did the “protection of monuments” mean to me, when I was working for the State Archaeological Service? The realisation that this is a living object of study is highly important; especially nowadays, when Cretan society is dramatically affected by the Greek debt crisis. Since, as mentioned in Chapter 1, I acknowledge the fact that I am partly a product of this event, I can easily identify its consequences. Personal experiences, struggles and losses are inevitably projected in the study of my data resources and outcomes. Parallelisms cannot be avoided; besides, this is far from being another “objective” archaeological saga. Hopefully, the awareness of this situation will make the production of an

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<sup>45</sup> “If, by some misfortune, we understood each other, we would never agree” (Charles Baudelaire).

effective methodology that will incorporate this self-reflection into my narrative easier.

In this spirit, I believe that nowadays, more than ever, archaeologists need to undergo a lot of reality checks, regarding their self-identification and role in society. Perhaps it is time for our discipline to stop being so disciplined (cf. Hamilakis 2012; Haber 2013); many of us are aware that we work as a scholarly authority which generates and safeguards segregated landscapes of time - but this is not enough. We also need to address the applications of this work and ourselves as agents of this authority. For example, in Crete, is it possible to see archaeology solely as a tool in the hands of those affecting local and even global politics of identity; “Minoan Archaeology” is a perfect example of this idea: can this obsolete notion stand outside the various colonialist, nationalist and Eurocentric fixations that established it? What is the fate of its “objectivity”, if taken out of the context mentioned above? I do not consider archaeologists as simple middlemen between the community and the archaeological record. Their actions are political, since they directly intervene in the social life of a community and its means of self-identification; they take part in this negotiation, by contributing to the construction of historical meaning (Weisman 2009). There are many indications that archaeology acts as a secular religion in Greece (cf. Hamilakis 2007). This is my main theoretical outlook. Therefore, in this thesis, I will approach its Cretan “church”, less as a scientific discipline and more as a way of inhabiting and *inhibiting* certain world views and values. Additionally, I will look for local *archaeologies*, i.e. “pre-modern” and “pre-colonial”, individual or communal narratives and practices that incorporate material culture.

## 4.2 Archaeological decolonisation

As an undergraduate student of archaeology, I was taught that the most irreversible procedure in our scientific field is that of excavation: once performed, it destroys every layer in its way, until the slice of time to be studied and highlighted is revealed. I think colonialism could easily be seen as a parallel of this process. With the pre-colonial layers omitted, what is left is permanent, no matter how much effort is made to convince everybody that the process can be undone, or surpassed, within a “postcolonial” world. Instead, I would say that

this inevitability makes a neo-colonial world look like a bitter banality, bigger than the nationalist one (cf. Billig 2001). In many ways, some more sophisticated, others more brutal, the Western political, economic and cultural suppression of the former colonised lands and people continues. Nowadays, under the umbrella of the so-called “international community”, several former colonial empires define world politics, such as the United Kingdom and France. Ironically, some of their former colonies have emerged as pioneers of neo-colonialism: the United States of America is the most striking example. Other former colonies became peripheral powers and emerging economies, such as Iran, Brazil and India. Lately, colonial powers of the past, such as Spain, become “colonised” themselves, as victims of a new, economically spear-headed subjugation, the EU debt crisis. Meanwhile, post-WWII nation-states, like Israel, have turned whole territories and populations into brutal colonial projects, where heavily policed freedom of movement, access to water, electricity, food and other resources look to force a movement of people that amounts to ethnic cleansing.

The key aspect of the narratives that define the relations above is the effort made to hide their real nature. Nowadays, the “mission to civilise” has become the “mission to democratise”, “defend human rights” or “self-defence”. From the jungles of the Amazon to the Australian outback, millions have lived and died within “realities” that were produced upon the ruins of pre-modern and pre-colonial ways of life, now named and tamed as “Indians” or “Aboriginals”. The Western perceptions of history, society, politics and culture became the denominator in relations of inequality, where the colonial authority dominated not only the land and its people, but their minds too. Today, the new narratives of the formerly colonised populations seem to have reproduced the Western languages of power. For example, the “Muslim period” of India, regarded as “the night of medieval darkness”, is a rather notorious heritage of Enlightenment views about Islam, found on Hindu nationalism (Chatterjee 1993, 102).

For all the reasons above, I believe that decolonisation within a globalised setting is a goal that has not been achieved yet (cf. Mignolo and Escobar 2010). Indeed, several processes of colonisation do not necessarily involve settler activity and establishment of colonies. Apart from land, minds can be colonised too. The building of direct or indirect power relations and narratives by incomers, affecting the collective imagination and actions of native political or social groups and individuals, is a form of colonialism; the conquest of a landscape,

along with its people, flora and fauna, the reshaping of its form and function, the destruction, conversion or introduction of new ways for the living beings within this time-space to interact and identify themselves, is also colonialism. In fact, as Chris Gosden pointed out, “...colonialism is about material culture, a fact vital for archaeology” and it does not affect only the natives: it reshapes the colonists too, generating various, fluid categories of self-images (Gosden 2004, 1). In this spirit, I choose to perceive archaeology as another form of colonialism, a bonding narrative bringing together material culture, power and people. My goal is to highlight the interactions and encounters amongst them, generating “a new quality (or rather inequality)” to human relations” (Gosden 2004, 5). Indeed, Gosden’s approach can be easily applied on the Greek nationalist archaeology: a mechanism that hides the colonial origins of the modern Greek state by pushing the beginning of the narrative back to the time of some great ancestors, and presenting the discovery, preservation and consumption of the material antiquity related to them as a common duty and heritage of the modern Europeans (thus including the modern Greeks and Cretans).

### 4.3 The Cretan deconstruction

Modern Western colonialism was founded on statism, flourished with the help of early, nationalist forms of capitalism (namely mercantilism) and played a significant role in the rise of nationalism. Until recently, Greece was considered to be a sovereign country by its citizens. Banal nationalism, operated both by state and private institutions, was highly functional. Even the darkest pages of modern Greek history were disguised as tales of patriotic glory, such as the first years of Independence, after 1832, when the Greek State was ruled by political parties whose names were indicative of their Western patron (the French party, the English party, the Russian party etc.); or the Greek Civil War (1946 – 1949), when the Greek state became the first pawn to be moved on the Cold War chessboard. That is why I consider national imagination, as defined by Anderson, a fragmented one; a chameleon, embracing several, conflicting meanings. This is the crucial element that makes nationalism defy time: its ability to adopt, incorporate and transform various ideologies and values has turned it into an identity-production machine. The versions are limitless, as are the associations.

A Greek neo-nazi who worships the god Zeus will eventually side with his “fellow countryman”, a Christian zealot who dreams of “pagans”, “heretics” and “blasphemers” burned at the stake. The common enemies can be found within (communists, atheists, immigrants, drug addicts, homosexuals etc.) or outside the national borders (Turks, Bulgarians, Macedonians, Jews, the “Franks”<sup>46</sup>, to name a few).

Like in many other cases, nationalism in Greece cannot be studied without taking colonialism into account. The colonial foundations of this state and the society surrounding it are something erased from communal memory. The need for a specific way to “remember” and “forget” the nationalized past (cf. Renan 1990; Anderson 2006) is essential for this to happen. It creates an amalgam of consciousness, where the most conflicting ideas can be put together, as long as they serve a common cause, like the ancient Greek myth of Admetus, who yoked a boar and a lion to a chariot with the help of the god Apollo. Yet nowadays, with the debt crisis preying on the lives of millions in Greece, since 2010, cries against “the transformation of Greece into a colony” are not absent from the public sphere; perhaps this reaction will allow new insights into the present situation and its roots. Still, within this setting, the nationalist and patriotic calls for “unity” and “perseverance” play a crucial role; it is through them that both far-right and ruling parties subliminally call the impoverished masses to “forget” that their rich “fellow countrymen” cope much better than those less well off.

Yet how does this creed become embedded in a society? Nationalism could be described as a trained instinct: the first generation of nationalists work upon its conceptualisation; the second adapts to its teachings. However, when both conceptualisation and adaptation processes face obstacles, and more than a few changes of orientation, the outcome is highly unpredictable. In these cases, the notion of *traitor* is really important, as a “safety valve”; a generator of new limits for the national identity and a hint of the power games that characterise it behind the scenes. Perhaps the “traitor”, often combined with the “uncivilised”, can be seen as a scapegoating term, which is used by the intellectual and political elites of a society, towards members of the latter that are not yet fully converted to the new doctrine. An ideal example of this stance is the criticism from the Cretan

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<sup>46</sup> A derogatory, umbrella term for all Westerners, dating back to the Middle Ages.

collaborator class towards the Cretan peasants' perseverance with embedded practices regarding the material past that defied the modern archaeological narrative (see Chapter 7). Besides, in the contemporary Greek political discourse, the 'traitor' is a term used by nationalists to describe the politicians and others who sided with IMF/Troika<sup>47</sup>. Both in the context mentioned above, and the one presented in this thesis, the role of media like the press is essential; they disseminate both nationalist and archaeological narratives to the population. The data presented in the following chapters, many of them coming from the press, are related to the Cretan State archaeology, a vital milestone in the process of Greek nation-building. With all its peculiarities described so far, the archaeological endeavour of that period will shed further light on how the politics of the past justify oppressive politics of the present.

#### 4.4 On method

Several methodological issues came up while accessing the source materials drawn on in this thesis. Although, in the beginning, a chronological approach seemed handy, it did not take long for me to see this would trap my effort within more or less historicist schemes, thus leading me to miss valuable and not-so-straightforward insights. In brief, my structure could be described as anthropocentric. The individuals are viewed as leading actors, but this is far from a "History as the feats of Great Men"; instead, the communities from which the protagonists of this thesis emerged are highlighted too. In fact, my story revolves around three groups: the Western archaeologists, their local colleagues, and the local population, especially that of the countryside. The individuals of my focus are presented as parts of the socio-political realms within which their personalities were formed; in line with this approach, the same background is discussed, not only as a "transmitter", but as a "receiver" too, to the extent that

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<sup>47</sup> See, for example: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/may/06/golden-dawn-far-right-greece> (accessed in 03/03/15). This is a naïve understanding, showing lack of class analysis. It is based on the assumption that all Greeks (should) support the interests of Greece (although there is no such thing), ignoring that the alliances of capital with nationhood are very opportunistic.

it has been significantly affected by the thoughts, actions or inactions of certain individuals. I will delve further into this subject in the last part of this chapter.

Needless to say, this is a heavily interdisciplinary work. Approaches like the one presented here need to go beyond fragmented scientific disciplines: archaeology, modern history, sociology, political science and anthropology are just some of those, presented as basic methodological tools, or just hints within these pages. The goal is to create a research *locus* on the crossroads that colonial, national and local identities meet with archaeology. My idea is that multiple readings of the data resources, within various socio-political, personal or historical backgrounds, may produce varied perspectives, with more than one connotation. In addition, the nature of the material, the method of its collection<sup>48</sup> and the subject of study make this approach almost inevitable. Hence, a chain of correspondence or a series of articles in the press may simultaneously provide information for the nationalist ideology of the local elites, the colonial attitudes of their Western affiliates or the localist practices of the rural population towards antiquities; this becomes obvious in my data chapters (5, 6 and 7). My argument unfolds progressively, and every chapter adds something new to the setting. Therefore, as mentioned in Chapter 1, I look for associations that bond various data into subjects and case studies, or follow specific episodes that combine more than one of the subjects which I study.

All in all, dealing with a fragmented material should not be a problem for an archaeologist, at least judging from the nature of the excavation: a process that, one could say, leads to the production of conclusions based upon the selective reconstruction and legitimisation of a fragmented context. But still, the information presented in these pages comes from diverse sources; it could be described as nothing more than a glance upon several, roughly defined ensembles, themselves infinite by nature, as notes kept from archives and collections, often with no end or beginning. How can then one keep some consistency in his narrative, still without creating a false “linearity” out of neatly disposed, yet actually irrelevant data? Doubtlessly, the construction of a pattern, that would sufficiently help the critical presentation and evaluation of the above, was quite a brain teaser for me. Yet the outcome, in the end, is a new corpus;

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<sup>48</sup> See below.

made up from data that, to a great extent, has been unpublished so far, or not combined within the same context. This is my original contribution to knowledge. The reader will remain the final judge as to how successful my approach has been.

#### 4.5 Communicating channels

The data selection for this thesis has been made according to the core questions posed in the Introduction; obviously though, all resources apply for all questions. It is the emphasis and approach on different aspects of my subject that define the input of every category. Concepts such as that of “Europeanness” or “Greekness” of the material past run through core question 1 (*how did the colonial foundations of Cretan archaeology affect its relationship with Greek nationalism?*). They are discussed mainly, but not solely, on Chapters 5 and 6. These concepts are perceived as parts of the ideological capital produced via the Aegean (and particularly Cretan) archaeological quests of the Western upper and middle classes. This, in turn, is seen as a late offset of the “Grand Tour”, with clear colonial connotations and, at the same time, part of the Greek nation-building process; the writings of Western, Greek and Cretan archaeologists, scholars and other prominent figures of 19<sup>th</sup> century, who were active during the Cretan State period, will pave the path for this approach. Hints from their notebooks and correspondence are discussed in comparison to several episodes of the emerging modern Cretan archaeology that dominate the public discourse.

It makes sense then that the press is the cornerstone of my archival resources: this mouthpiece of the Cretan elites presents itself as a classless document upon which readers and listeners can see “...*their own desires, thoughts, arguments, conditions, and futures*” (cf. Leone 2005, 112), regardless of their social background. Thus, imagining themselves as members of one body that can share opinions; an illusion that is the cradle of linked citizenship and, therefore, the basis for a new nation (Leone 2005, 141). The archaeological news on the Cretan State newspapers embodies this narrative. It can be found in interviews with key-figures from Greece, such as the Secretary of the Archaeological Society at Athens, related to Crete; or press reports on discussions in the Cretan Assembly that are of archaeological interest. In fact, the minutes of the Assembly

shed light on the discourses related to the antiquities of the island. This material is accompanied by information from the minutes of municipal councils, reports from administrative records and legal texts, such as the Cretan Antiquities Law. Needless to say, my approach acknowledges that decoding ‘voices’ and the ‘rhetoric’ of social classes and groups is definitely a challenge. Thus, for example, when a dispute emerges through a correspondence exchange between a Cretan and a Western archaeologist, or a claim regarding antiquities is made by an MP in the Cretan Assembly, this is placed within the broader socio-political context of the agents and networks involved. Besides, the national archaeological narrative seems to find its way into the archaeological bibliography and, from there, into state symbolism and educational policies, as seen in mediums such as Cretan State postage stamps, school books and activities. This setting seeks to secure the prosperity of both banal nationalism and colonialism in Crete: both Western control and national self-image are reproduced and domesticated in various material forms, from state seals to military parades.

Among other archival material, means such as photography will be utilised, both as illustration and as source of factual information. My main resources are photographs from the A. J. Evans Archive, kept in the Ashmolean Museum and postcards made by Behaeddin Rahmi Bediz (also known as Rahmizâde Behaeddin Bey), a Muslim Cretan photographer, merchant and politician<sup>49</sup>. In fact, Behaeddin was part of a rich tradition that included several photographers who worked in Crete during the late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> century, people like Andreas Z. Vlachakis, who worked as a religious painter and photographer in the Heraklion region during the 1860s and emigrated to Syros in 1868<sup>50</sup>; or Behaeddin’s associate, Georgios Maragiannis (1860-1924), also active in Heraklion during the autonomy period. Even the High Commissioner of the Cretan State, Prince George, was an amateur photographer; along with his personal photographer,

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<sup>49</sup> Two publications, one Greek (Marinakis 2008) and one Turkish (Ak 2004), are the only resources on Behaeddin Bey, since the original archive of the photographer was destroyed during the 1980s.

<sup>50</sup> Many photos taken by Vlachakis, mainly portraits, can be found nowadays in the Hellenic Literary & Historical Archive (E.L.I.A.) and the National Research Foundation “Eleftherios K. Venizelos”.

Pericles Diamantopoulos<sup>51</sup>, they left an important corpus of work related to the Cretan State period (cf. Lydaki 2009). Indeed, Diamantopoulos was a pioneer in street photography and photojournalism, and many of his photos were published in European newspapers and illustrated magazines (Yiakoumis 2009, xxxviii)<sup>52</sup>.

Core question 2 (*how was “Minoan” archaeology received and “consumed” by the Cretans of the time?*), which is mainly addressed on Chapter 7, deals with the consumption of the archaeological narrative of the past by the Cretan society (particularly its rural elements). Naturally, the results of this part of the research are the most debatable, since most of the main actors involved left no written traces. The press is a vital source here, not only as a witness of their part, but also as useful example of how the literate, middle or upper urban classes of Crete viewed and reported the attitudes of “fellow countrymen”. Other resources that testify to the attitudes of the rural population towards antiquities are to be found in the memoirs and correspondence of Cretan and foreign archaeologists, who worked among or with them. The approach and views that the latter had for the Cretan peasantry are highlighted too. Press references and diary entries, related to a “rediscovered” Cretan folklore, published side by side with accusations of “barbarism” towards the rural Cretans and the pompous, archaic ceremonies organised in the cities, vividly depict hidden conflicts and national contradictions. Needless to say, photography also plays a vital role regarding core question 2, with photographs of the main actors, the Cretan peasants, found in various archival collections. Nevertheless, the hardest task is when clues are sought among those for whom we do not even have indirect “testimonies”; the attitudes of a “lumpen” Muslim community, the *Halikoutides*<sup>53</sup>, is an exception, since a monograph enlightens their interaction with the antiquities (Papadakis 2008). But apart from that, the reactions of the Cretan

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<sup>51</sup> The photographic archive of Diamantopoulos is kept nowadays in the Philological Association “Chrysostomos”, located in Chania and established during the Cretan State years (1899).

<sup>52</sup> A large part of Prince George’s photographic archive can be found in the Historical Archive of Crete and the National Research Foundation “Eleftherios K. Venizelos”, both located in Chania.

<sup>53</sup> Mainly Benghazi ex-slaves, who formed part of the population, taking up low-paying jobs, such as porters, rowers etc. (Papadakis 2008, 107). The Armenian community of Crete is not discussed, due to the lack of available data.

national/religious *minorities* (Muslims, Jews and Armenians), the lower classes and other subgroupings of the emerging Cretan State society remain a significant question.

#### 4.6 Limitations

The primary limitation of my research is time scale. After delving into my resources for the first time, I concluded that the Cretan State period (1898 – 1913), would be a rather interesting crossroad for my exploration to be based on; this turbulent period contains certain values, ideas, events, people and objects, which maintain a crucial role, regarding the research topics I pursue. A consequence of the limitation above is that important parts of the history of Cretan archaeology, vital for the building of the nationalist narrative upon which I focus, will be excluded; such as the work of prominent Greek archaeologists from the 1940s onwards, like Spyridon Marinatos (1901 – 1974) and Nikolaos Platon (1909 – 1992). Both of them worked for the State Archaeological Service in Crete. Their theoretical impact on the field of “Minoan Archaeology” was highly important. Covering most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it contributed fundamentally to the conceptualisation and further legitimisation of a Greek nationalist interpretation regarding the Cretan past. Yet, I hope that this study will lead to a better understanding of the intellectual environment that facilitated the emergence of such figures as Marinatos and Platon.

My focus will be on the prehistoric past of Crete, the so-called “Minoan Civilisation”, as stated in the introduction. Still, it is the nature of the nationalist imagination in Crete, which creates a lot of opportunities for references to other parts of the Cretan “heritage”, *e.g.* the Venetian or the “Byzantine” past. The same goes for 20<sup>th</sup> century Cretan localism and gender identities, two highly interesting *loci*, within the colonial-nationalist-archaeological spectrum of Crete, yet discussed only superficially, due to the limited time and space of a PhD thesis. However, specific aspects of this work will hopefully incorporate these subjects too, within a framework that will make their further analysis much more comprehensible and vividly illustrated.

#### 4.7 Archival excavations & background of research

If this text was a machine, the engine would be the archive. Its form may vary: a note, a partially preserved letter, a newspaper article or a photograph. It is not just a medium, which, within a carefully defined context, produces something meaningful for somebody. Obviously, the data available is practically infinite; and so are the ways to approach it. Researchers would be naive to think that their research questions and focus would make selection easier. Quite often, during data collection, we find ourselves mesmerised, following the material instead of our questions. When a deconstructive method is applied, our only compass is the awareness that the archive itself is an assemblage of established “truths”; it is by removing this surface that we can trace the local, national or global power narratives embedded in the material we hold. For instance, the archive of a Cretan archaeologist, part of the ruling elite, is also the narrator of his identity and worldview. But when deconstructed in a certain way, it sheds light upon numerous, occasionally conflicting self-images and ideologies of actors and groups who intermingled with that person.

Initially, this study was an effort to deliver a synthesis, based on the idea that specific actors, interconnected with specific networks or socio-political systems produced a certain identity and narration, and that this could be extracted from specific archives. Nonetheless, this turned out to be more of an ethnographic exercise, than an extractive one (Stoler 2009, 47). Fundamental questions, such as “what is society?” (Latour 2005, 3) remain unresolved. Moreover, the materiality of archaeology doubtlessly pushed for the acceptance of human and non-human actors within the Cretan setting; objects (archives or monuments) too have agency (Latour 2005, 63). Still, even nominations as “actors” or “groups” looked quite meaningless (Latour 2005, 29), since an actor is what is made to act by many others (Latour 2005, 46).

Elements from the actor-network theory (ANT) were chosen as a methodological approach in order to trace the *associations* between all the abstract classifications above (Latour 2005, 5). I consider this approach as the most appropriate for this thesis, since it elaborately defines and interprets the ways that society and individuals interact. Moreover, it highlights the fluidity of those concepts (“society”, “individual”). Above all, the definition of material objects as

“actors” is ideal for this study, where one nonhuman factor, the antiquities, is fundamental for my analysis. From the ANT perspective, the antiquities play the role of a nonhuman intermediary in my thesis. Their existence and presence in the politics of the Cretan past is without intentionality, which is found only on human actors and networks (local and Western archaeologist, foreign archaeological schools etc.). In order to avoid the much debated limitations of the ANT, agency is traced only in associations built between nonhuman (antiquities) and human actors (archaeologists or not). Therefore the monuments have an input that changes only if the human agents redefine it. For instance, a “Minoan” statuette is a monument of the ancient European or Greek ancestors, an obscure object or a way to make money (or even all the above together), depending on the actor-interpreter (Westerner, Cretan archaeologist or peasant). In ANT terms then, the human actors are not intermediaries, but mediators: they transform, translate, distort and modify the nature of the nonhuman actors-mediators (i.e. the antiquities). There are also networks built around these nonhuman actors (*e.g.* the Cretan State Archaeological Service), defined by them (as an institution assigned to protect them) while defining them at the same time (as national monuments).

The denominator that defines the reading of the associations mentioned above is, of course, the archive; something which becomes a trace and an agent at the same time; objects overflow their makers, intermediaries become mediators (Latour 2005, 39, 85)<sup>54</sup>. The outcome depends not only on the archive’s “original form” (content, size, situation) or secondary attributes (formal or informal language etc.) that define the quality of its contextualisation; but, also, on how the material is processed by its occasional holder. Several layers build a rather puzzling structure: As Michael Foucault stressed, *“the archive is first the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events”* (2004, 146). Jacques Derrida added that another agent/factor of “transliteration” is the first archivist, who *“institutes the archive as it should be, that is to say, not only in exhibiting the document, but in establishing it. He reads*

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<sup>54</sup> *“...mediators transform, translate, distort, and modify the meaning or the elements they are supposed to carry”*; their nature (mediators, or intermediaries, with certain meanings or forces transported) cannot be easily decided; moreover, how can those multiple directions be traced is not our subject here: it is enough that we are aware of this situation, this movement (Latour 2005, 39).

*it, interprets it, classes it*" (Derrida 1995, 55). He is the first interpreter, the "*voice of the law*" (Derrida 1995, 2). Carefully omitted bits of information, desired emphasis and destroyed or lost material may become fundamental in creating the A or B impression in a data collection. "*What comes under theory or under private correspondence, for example? What comes under system? Under biography or autobiography? Under personal or intellectual anamnesis? In works said to be theoretical, what is worthy of this name and what is not?*" (Derrida 1995, 5).

The next level includes the archive *holder*, who may as well not be its *creator*; this stage defines the amount of accessibility to the archive, an element that will define the extent of its public exposure. The researcher is also a catalyst: multiple readers will generate a web of "knowledge", subject to the amount and quality of different readings and subjectivities: "*I am the only one to know*" – "*you (the custom reader) are the only one to know*" and so on: a chain of confidentiality, constantly broken by shifting audiences. Secrets do more than limiting access; they promise confidence in restricted circulation about something others do not and should not know (Stoler 2009, 27). Relationships and structures of power are established, reproduced and protected this way, sometimes even unconsciously.

This awareness, gained during my research, made my task more troubling. The fact that part of my data had never been accessed or evaluated before created a brief *terra incognita* syndrome: there was no interlocutory voice, no other researchers that would start a debate, on the grounds that their views on the material resulted to alternative and/or conflicting readings. The same fact offered some freedom too, since there were no established narrations to be addressed and surpassed; still, an established ideology, the national one, had been embodied in most of the institutions that house material which I accessed. I even had to alter the title of my thesis when I presented myself and formally asked for access to a state archive from its director, while in Crete. I had previously been informed by a local colleague that the specific official was a fervent nationalist – he suggested that if I was presenting myself as someone who was taking a critical approach to issues of national identity, I would receive nothing more than a straightforward "no" as an answer.

When not dealing with patriotic suspicions, I had to struggle against the “goliath” of Greek state bureaucracy. While in Heraklion, searching for the archive of the local archaeological museum, I found myself in a rather obscure situation: the 23rd Ephorate of Prehistoric & Classical Antiquities holds part of the archive, while the rest, according to the director of the Ephorate, is held, in unknown form and condition, by the museum itself; the latter was part of the Ephorate until 2006, when it became a Special Regional Service of the Greek Ministry of Culture. However, the museum staff with whom I discussed insisted that they have no clue regarding the archive’s fate, and that, more or less, it is held by the Ephorate. In an attempt to solve this issue, I tried to arrange a meeting with the director of the museum, who refused to see me, due, as he claimed, to heavy workload. Trying to add some pressure, I also delivered an official written request to the museum, asking for access to its archive, which, even after one year, remained unanswered. As I eventually discovered on my own, when I accessed the documents held by the Ephorate, and after discussions with local colleagues from the University of Crete who had relevant experience, the archive was divided between the two institutions, without any planning or preparation; the amount and quality of the material was unknown, even before the split took place. The feeling was that everybody was hiding something considered as confidential or secret, yet without knowing its content. Furthermore, the director of the Ephorate was throwing hints at me that the current director of the museum keeps part of the archive in his office. And on top of everything, it turned out that the latter’s predecessor, during the archive’s division, i.e. the person that would be accountable for any loss of material, was his wife!

Indeed, this story could be a Derridean parable; a case of archival power, where the *archeion* (“archive” in Greek), in this case the archive of the Archaeological Museum, is the domicile of the *archon* (“ruler” in Greek), who is the director of the Museum. He is the citizen that makes or represents the law. This authority gives him the right to file those documents at his “home”, i.e. the employee’s house. Above all, he is the documents’ guardian. His well-established authority is reproduced by his exclusive right to prohibit or regulate access to the archives and, most importantly, to interpret them. This localisation and the whole context of guardianship and interpretative tradition is fundamental for the archive to exist (Derrida 1995, 2).

Similar attitudes were also experienced during my interaction with institutions of private origins too, such as the highly esteemed Archaeological Society at Athens. I was informed that access to the archive and the council minutes is granted only to members and after thorough inspection of the application by the Society's Secretary; needless to say, mine was rejected. Important accessibility issues emerged, even during my research on "accessible" resources. In the 23rd Ephorate, all of the documents are scanned, without any attempt of classification and kept on one PC, where access is limited, since it is located on the work desk of the Ephorate's secretary; copying is not allowed. Additionally, any claim for publication needs licence from the Local Council of Antiquities, a highly bureaucratic and complex procedure suggesting doubtful outcomes. But even when the access is more user-friendly, like in the foreign archaeological schools situated in Greece, or the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, is not there a highly controlled, almost ritualistic environment, found in any archival lair?

So, here we have Foucault's *institution* of the archive, Derrida's *first archivist*, but who's the catalyst? The researcher? Or the one who contextualises the researched? Accessing all the material, in such a predefined and tight space-time, is impossible, not to mention the capabilities of the human mind and the deadlines of a specific task, be it a PhD, an article, a book and so on. How to choose material? How and where to incorporate it, under which grouping? How to form groupings? How to deconstruct already established groupings? By following subjects? Individuals? Communities and strategies? Finding just strays from a dense corpus of correspondence or a subject covered on the press, with no beginning or end, might be disturbing for the researcher. If the road to hell is paved with good intentions, then, surely, the road to inductive reasoning is paved with good assumptions. This way of thinking is addressed to a great extent within this thesis, since most of the nationalist archaeological imagination is built upon it. Yet the researcher might be "tempted" too. For example, when a certain patriotic stance is supported by a member of the Cretan elites or attributed to the population, the level of attachment is always dubious; *"how sentiments articulate with state projects can be imagined in several ways, some more developed than others"* (Stoler 2009, 101). Indeed, what about the "voice of the voiceless" in the archival universe? Those who do not write or are not mentioned do not exist; those who write or are mentioned most are the key

players? The Cretan peasants and “minorities” are ideally or not so ideally narrated by the Cretan upper class. They exist in the archives, but only through the voice of the nationally “conscious” archaeological and political elite. Yet their interaction and a world shared with the antiquities are loudly present, and can be distinguished below the scores of press reports, calligraphic correspondence and council minutes referring to them.

#### 4.8 Conclusions

My approach could be described as an archival archaeological ethnography (cf. Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009; Decker 2013); the general method applied is that of interconnecting the archival material with bibliography and resources related to the archaeological, historical and socio-political context within which it was produced. At times, it might have limited potential, but it is the lesser of many evils. There is no need to “fill in the blanks” (Latour 2005, 246), just to *understand*. Any “regime of truth” (Foucault 1980, 131) can be shattered by “inside” jobs (Stoler 2009, 24). The same people who reproduce the power of the archive, the *archons* and their subordinates, may contribute, on purpose or not, to the deconstruction of the official narrative; personal opinions, careful omissions, revealed internal conflicts or classified documents reaching the public facilitate this process. In the following chapters I examine not only what the archives reveal to us but also what they hide. Thus, the knowledge gained is not solely an outcome of the way the archives have been produced; it is also based on information whose existence is implied, but is traced beyond the archival grain.

*“Information” is there – in abundance. It depends on what kinds of things we imagine such an archive could allow us to know”* (Stoler 2009, 278).



## 5. The Western pilgrims & the Minoan Jerusalem: the crypto-colonial foundations of “Minoan” archaeology

*“Set out from any point. They are all alike. They all lead to a point of departure.”<sup>55</sup>*

In July 1902, a Cretan newspaper reported: *“A group of French people is going to visit Knossos; scientists, journalists, men of letters, with a yacht, at the main harbours of the Levant and the Holy Lands”* (*Patris*, 08/07/1902, 2). At the turn of the century, a new destination emerged, to be added to the trails and landmarks that, since medieval times, had been guiding the quests for what was conceived as spiritual salvation and scholarly maturation. The Western literary output was filled with publications on the island; from memoirs and historical works (Combes 1897; Albin 1898; Duclot 1898), to sketch books related to Cretan socio-political developments (Bickford-Smith 1898) and academic works that incorporated local archaeological research into the broader European classicist narrative (Burrows 1908). While Crete was entering its most “cosmopolitan” era, Western people of all classes populated the island; some of them were soldiers, appointed by their kings and governments to be the “peacekeepers” in a war-ridden land; others were there just for business, employees of trading firms and shipping companies; and many of them showed up in the Cretan ports, carrying with them fervent dreams and hopes. For those intellectuals, Crete was the New Jerusalem; a destination where the modern pilgrims inspired by the Classics would seek answers, not only for their scientific quests, but also their self-image. The past of Crete seemed to be the Holy Grail

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<sup>55</sup> Antonio Porchia, Argentinian poet (1886 – 1968).

in a quest that was culturally important to the university classrooms and the scholarly clubs of Western Europe. The goal was to trace the origins of what was defined as the “European race” and the “civilisation” it had produced; this was the “point of departure” and the final destination too.

This chapter deals with the crypto-colonial foundations of Cretan archaeology and how they affected its relationship with Greek nationalism and Cretan identity-building. It is therefore associated with the first core question of this thesis (*How did the colonial foundations of Cretan archaeology affect its relationship with Greek nationalism?*), from the perspective of Western archaeologists, their activities and interaction with the Cretan population, particularly their local colleagues; the latter, members of the Cretan intellectual and political elite, formed the Cretan collaborator class, as discussed in the previous chapters. In addition, several examples included here will provide insights related to the second core question (*How was “Minoan” archaeology received and “consumed” by the Cretans of the time?*), particularly regarding the views of the Cretan archaeologists and how this narrative was presented to the Cretan public. I will argue here that Crete and its prehistoric past were not an isolated antiquarian saga: the “Minoans”, pre-Greek, pre-Christian and pre-Muslim, provided the foundation myth for the Cretan version of banal nationalism that was sold to both international and local forums by both Westerners and local Cretan elites. They should be seen as part of a broader “origins and identity” project. The main sources of knowledge come from personal and state archives: case law, administrative correspondence, minutes of legislative and executive bodies of the Cretan State; articles from the Cretan and Greek press; and correspondence between archaeologists working in Crete. Emphasis will be given to the classical interpretative framework applied to the Cretan prehistoric finds and the purposes this strategy served. The main topics addressed are the following: the exchange and shaping of opinions among Western people involved with the fortunes of the island; the building of an archaeological narrative on Crete by those people; their relationship with the local archaeologists and the rest of the population; and lastly, the dissemination of this knowledge and its impact, both upon Cretans, from the upper class to the peasants, and amongst the foreign archaeologists.

## 5.1 Setting up the Cretan Utopia

During the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the placement of the Cretan past at the epicentre of the global archaeological imagination was reflected in the way Westerners perceived the present of the island and its people. Samuel Gridley Howe, an American physician and abolitionist, who got involved in the humanitarian aid given to the Christian Cretans during the Cretan Revolt of 1866 – 1869, strongly defended his philhellenic views. In his public address to the American citizens back in the U.S., asking them to assist his philanthropic effort, he made this clear: he referred to the Cretans as direct descendants of the ancient Greeks and criticized Fallmerayer's views, who declared the modern Greeks as descendants of medieval Slavs (Howe 1868, 8-9). Other Westerners became better accustomed with the local anthropogeography, thus forming more elaborate views around it, like William James Stillman, an American journalist, diplomat, author, historian, and photographer. Stillman served as war correspondent during the Cretan insurrections and as U.S Consul in Crete during 1865 – 1868. Like Howe, he was a fervent supporter of the Christian rebels and, because of this, disliked by both the Muslim population and the Ottoman authorities. His racial and antiquarian views on the Cretans did not differ much from those expressed by his fellow countryman either. He wrote that the Christian residents of the island "*felt themselves, as they really are, a superior race, superior in intelligence and in courage*" (Stillman 1901, 444); charmed by the hospitality and customs of the rural population, he claimed that they "*are probably the purest remnant of the antique race which resulted from the mixture of Pelasgian, Dorian, Achaian, Ionian, and the best representative of the antique intellect*" (Stillman 1901, 640-41). In contrast, he held "*the men from Athens*" (i.e. the Kingdom of Greece) in low regard, accusing them of persuading the Cretans "*that the only alternative to submission to the Sultan was annexation...*" (Stillman 1901, 444). These views could be seen in the light of a growing negative racial attitude towards Greeks and other Southern Europeans, developed by Stillman after 1890 (Prior 2009, 881, n. 35). They may also indicate that autonomy looked tempting among the Westerners, as a political solution for the Cretan question that would be beneficial for their interests. After all, keeping Greek expansionism out of the picture and supporting an autonomous Cretan polity would give them plenty of leeway.

The writings of early British travellers, such as Robert Pashley, Thomas A. B. Spratt, along with those of Stillman, became the main window to Crete for the newcomers (Brown 1993, 35). The rise of the *Syllogoi* in Crete, societies “for the promotion of education”, with a Greek nationalist agenda, was another crucial event, regarding the penetration of the local anthropogeography by Western actors (Brown 1986, 37): several Italian, British and French archaeologists tried to establish relations with the emerging local intellectual elites behind those institutions, thus hoping to obtain much desired access to archaeological developments in Crete. The Consuls and Vice Consuls of the Western Great Powers played an essential role in this process. Sometimes of local or Greek origin, they were also collectors of antiquities, with open access to the local looting network (Brown 1986, 38, 41). Early on, the Western antiquarians learned that in order to get their job done, they needed to secure allies in the Christian Cretan elite, not the Ottoman administration. Prominent names, such as Heinrich Schliemann, managed to build up a partnership through correspondence with the Head of the *Sylogos*, Joseph Hatzidakis, in order to buy the land where the visible remnants of Knossos laid; the site had already been a target for many Western archaeologists, especially after Kalokairinos’ excavation. In his response to Schliemann, Hatzidakis appeared more than willing to strive for a solution, legal or not: “...by acting silently we can, even without any special law, perform archaeological research, as we did earlier in the Idaean Cave and Gortyna” (Fig. 3); however, the effort collapsed due to the exaggerated demands of the Muslim Cretan landowner, at least according to Hatzidakis (1931, 23). Other Westerners, like Federico Halbherr, an Italian archaeologist, pursued more direct approaches: his friendship with Hatzidakis secured him a position as an advisor to the *Sylogos* board (Hatzidakis 1931, 40-41; Sakellarakis 1988, 138-39; Momigliano 2002, 269). A master of local politics and archaeological diplomacy, Halbherr opened the field for the rest of the Western archaeologists (Morgan 2010, 56).

From that point on, the *Sylogos* and, subsequently, the Cretan Archaeological Service, would become a hybrid body, serving the interests of both the local and Western archaeological elites; it also acted as mediator between Western archaeologists and local communities, in order to facilitate excavations organised by the former (Sakellarakis 1998, 149). Apart from Halbherr’s crucial role in the opening of Crete to the Western archaeological world, other actors

played a vital role in this process as well. Doubtlessly, for example, the wanderings of the British archaeologist, Sir John Lynton Myres, in 1893, proved essential for the subsequent appearance of other interested researchers from the United Kingdom whose names became associated with Crete, such as Sir Arthur J. Evans, David G. Hogarth, Robert C. Bosanquet and Richard M. Dawkins (Brown 1986, 37-38). Myres' attitude during those early days tells a lot about how the Western archaeologists viewed their local colleagues too. When several tombs were discovered in the Muslim Cretan village of Ligortyno, the local archaeologist and member of the *Syllogos*, Stephanos Xanthoudides, would not be the only one to inform Evans of the news (**Fig. 4 – Appendix B.1**)<sup>56</sup>. Young Myres acted as an agent for the latter, came to an agreement with the locals earlier, and offered to his fellow countryman the option to get their hands on the antiquities, without the mediation of the *Syllogos* (**Fig. 5**)<sup>57</sup>. As a he noted on his letter, "*This whole affair is πολύ μυστικό (very secret): esp. from our friends of the Σύλλογος (Syllogos)*"<sup>58</sup>.

Unfortunately, the background information on this story is scarce. What is certain is that the illegal antiquities trade was already flourishing in the region. Part of the Ligortyno antiquities had already been exported by the French archaeologist Charles Clermont-Ganneau (1846–1923), who performed excavations in Crete in 1895 (Sporn 2012, 206) and several of them are displayed in the Louvre Museum to this day - a fact that recently gave rise to fierce patriotic articles in the Cretan press, and local right-wing MPs asked for their return (*Nea Kriti*, 29/10/2013<sup>59</sup>). Nonetheless, this early episode in the Cretan antiquarian saga is highly interesting for many reasons: first of all, it shows how Western people perceived their involvement in archaeological activities. The aim was to obtain the booty, at all costs. There was no interest in the context of the site; the finds were detached from it. More importantly, the plotting tells us a lot about how the Westerners felt about their Cretan

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<sup>56</sup> Letter from S. Xanthoudides to A. J. Evans, 29/06/1896, *The Sir Arthur Evans Archive*, Non-personal letters, No. 187, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (Appendix A.G2).

<sup>57</sup> Letter from J. L. Myres to A. J. Evans, 22/04/1896, *The Sir Arthur Evans Archive*, Non-personal letters, No. 78, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (Appendix A.G3). I am grateful to Dr. Y. Galanakis for bringing this letter to my attention.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* The underlying is made by Myres.

<sup>59</sup> <http://www.neakriti.gr/?page=newsdetail&DocID=1084395> (online edition), date accessed: 14/08/2014.

colleagues. By that time, solid collaboration has been established between the two parties. Evans managed to build a strong friendship with J. Hatzidakis; he took up from where Schliemann left with regard to the pursuit for Knossos, with Hatzidakis acting as his local agent and lobbyist<sup>60</sup>. Still, honesty seemed to be one-sided; meaning that the foreign archaeologists did not find it necessary to stay true to any antiquarian solidarity. They used the local help as a means to an end, but did not hesitate to move independently when needed. On top of this, we have an early example here of Western antiquarians searching and achieving a business-orientated, non-intermediary relationship with the Cretan population, where the local archaeological elite is absent.

All in all, the setting created under the last years of direct Ottoman rule was one of illegal or semi-legal excavations or attempts to excavate. Stillman wrote full of jest in his memoirs: *"We decided on attacking a ruin on the acropolis of Gnosus, already partially exposed by the searches of local diggers for antiques"* (1901, 636). Another method, as the Ligortyno story shows, was to do business with the local peasants who possessed antiquities and were selling them outside of the main collector networks, mostly found in the Cretan cities (Stillman 1901, 642). The situation was far from ideal for the Westerners. The political disturbance generated by the ongoing revolutions and warfare in the Cretan countryside rose as a major problem for the opening of the field (Brown 1986, 42). Moreover, since 1884, the export of all antiquities from Ottoman territory was forbidden by law<sup>61</sup>. Interestingly, the Western archaeologists perceived this development as a reproduction of the Greek archaeological law passed in 1834 (Frothingham 1885), according to which all ancient objects belonged to the state (Petraikos 1982, 132). The *Sylogos* was quick to adopt this law in its policy (MacGillivray 2000, 111-12). After all, its official, patriotic dogma for the antiquities of the island was that they were "best kept buried" until union with Greece. The Christian nationalists justified this as a precaution against the possibility of having Cretan antiquities exported from the island to Istanbul (Sakellarakis 1998, 43-44). This fear, at least after 1869, when the Imperial Museum in Istanbul was established and started collecting antiquities from

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<sup>60</sup> More regarding this in the next chapter.

<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless, the Ottoman legislation could not be enforced and for the most part remained ignored.

across the Ottoman provinces, may not have been an unjustified precaution<sup>62</sup>. Still, these obstacles did not prevent certain individuals, like Halbherr, who, having Hatzidakis as an intermediary, started his archaeological quests in Crete<sup>63</sup>.

## 5.2 A hidden colonial “paradise”

In 1898, the Ottoman army left the island and the Cretan State was created; semi-autonomous in name, therefore still under Ottoman rule, yet run by the Great Powers (Great Britain, France, Italy & Russia) in reality. The first years of the new regime revealed a rather colonial reality. The region of Candia was taken over by the British, Rethymnon by the Russians, Lasithi by the French and Chania by the Italians; the very city of Chania, which became the capital of the state, stayed under the joint administration of the four occupying countries. Their presence became an everyday curiosity, especially for the locals living or passing by the Cretan cities, who got used to military parades and troop inspections. Those events were witnessed by Cretans of all classes and captured through the lens of some of them, like Rahmizâde Behaeddin Bey. The latter also collaborated with Western archaeologists, since he undertook the photography for Dawkins' excavation of the Kamares cave, in 1913 (Dawkins 1913, 3). In his photos of British troops parading at the Three Kamares Square of Heraklion in 1899, to honour the High Commissioner of the Cretan State (**Fig. 6**), one could decipher a message with multiple recipients: the subtle, yet emphatic reminder of “who’s the boss” in the new regime, in the eyes of both Greek and Cretan political elites, and the local population.

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<sup>62</sup> After the Greek War of Independence, the governors of provinces, which might soon break off from the empire, like Crete, became fully aware that their position was precarious. Amidst an increasing adoption of the apparatus of archaeology by the Ottoman elites, they started collecting antiquities, in order to affirm their imperial control over these provinces, in the same way that the European nations emphasized their dominion through collections of antiquities acquired in colonial territories. The message sent was that the appropriate location for the ancient history of all Ottoman territories was in the capital – not in provincial sites or museums and certainly not in foreign collections (Shaw 2003, 85).

<sup>63</sup> See below and Chapter 6.

Several glimpses from everyday life exposed episodes where the troops acted more like occupiers, than peacekeepers. They had already harshly treated the Christian rebels during the 1897 revolt; in fact, each nationality competed with the others on how to punish more brutally the “*blood-thirsty native [...] these degraded beasts whose murders had been so fearful*”, as a British sailor later recalled (*Dundee Advertiser*, 21/02/1913<sup>64</sup>). One year later, an International Military Police Committee, a martial court staffed by the Great Powers, was created, in order to keep law and order (Papamanousakis 2001, 203)<sup>65</sup>. D. G. Hogarth witnessed a British “Solomon”, as he called a newly appointed young British official, wearily yet joyfully judging trivial peasant cases, from animal theft to alleged indecent assaults against women. After his work was done, the village headman exclaimed “*Ah! This is justice [...] We have not known it before in Crete!*” (Hogarth 1910, 67-68).

The grip on the local political bodies was really tight, and opportunities to witness it were always present. Such an example occurred after the Therisso Revolt, when the consuls of the Great Powers announced that they would not recognise the Cretan Assembly if it met in any other place than Chania (*Elpis*, 29/06/1906, 2). The reason was obvious: most of the Western fleets were stationed there, the city was home to most of the foreign consulates, and therefore control over the local political bodies was easier. Even the simplest joys of life for the Cretans were readjusted for the sake of the new rulers’ convenience: the access to the Venetian walls of Candia (now named Heraklion), the usual promenade spot for its citizens, was blocked, for security reasons, by the British forces<sup>66</sup>. The latter had built their barracks upon them (**Fig. 7**), thus, in a peculiar way, remilitarizing their purpose. In addition, the British would keep the pits of the Venetian fortress for more leisurely defined activities, since they transformed them into tennis and football courts; they also organised football matches, between British battalions, but no Cretan was convinced to assist, at

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<sup>64</sup> Quoted in MacGillivray 2000, 156-57.

<sup>65</sup> There is also a reference that the British moved even further in Heraklion, where, at least for some time, a committee of three officials, consisting of a British official, a Christian and a Muslim Cretan were passing sentences in the name of the Queen of Great Britain (Papamanousakis 2001, 212)!

<sup>66</sup> A public appeal against this measure is published in the local Press (*Elpis*, 11/01/1906, 2).

least according to Adolphe Reinach (1910, 90)<sup>67</sup>. The French archaeologist, who worked in Crete, heavily criticised this secondary use of the pits. Moreover, although he himself was part of the occupying administration in many ways, he scorned the British regiment in Heraklion, for acting as if they were in Aden<sup>68</sup>, trying to pass idle time, in a colony without future<sup>69</sup>.

In economic terms, the control of incomes and revenues was passed to the Great Powers (Papamanousakis 2001, 207). The Western capital had already secured its presence in Crete, even before autonomy; well established companies, like the British *Phoenix Assurance*<sup>70</sup>, covered crucial sectors such as fire insurance<sup>71</sup>. The economy of the whole puppet state was supported by Western loans. The Westerners owned the island, and their confidence was demonstrated in several cases, regardless of whether their attitudes compromised the efforts of the local elites to consolidate the new regime and propagate the new, European “law and order” status to the population. For example, the British Army stubbornly refused to abide by the Cretan law and pay the amount equal to the municipal tax, when buying meat from a Cretan Muslim butcher in Heraklion, and the subsequent mediation by the municipality was revealing: it paid the difference and, moreover, asked the butcher to show understanding, since “*both the city of Heraklion and Crete as a whole bear moral obligations towards the English nation*”<sup>72</sup>. Likewise, a complaint made by the Italian Consulate was enough for the Cretan Higher Directorate of Internal Affairs to come down on the Heraklion Harbour Master, for demanding from the Italian ships to pay port charges: the document made clear that, regardless of the Cretan State laws, the Italians were exempt from related obligations<sup>73</sup>.

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<sup>67</sup> Still, there is a reference in the local press to a football match between Christian and Muslim Cretans; as a matter of fact, the (Christian) newspaper complains that the Muslims won because they had English coaches (*Nea Ephemeris*, 24/07/1911, 3).

<sup>68</sup> A port city in modern day Yemen, which had been a colony of the British Crown between 1839 and 1963.

<sup>69</sup> Reinach 1910, 90.

<sup>70</sup> The modern day Phoenix Group.

<sup>71</sup> Advertisement in *Nea Evdomas*, 24/05/1887, 4.

<sup>72</sup> *Minutes of the Permanent Committee (Municipal Council) of Heraklion*, Vol. 1, No. 9, 23/05/1900, 41; *Id.* Vol. 1, No. 32, 11/10/1901, 154, Vikelaia Municipal Library, Heraklion, Crete (Appendix A.D1-2).

<sup>73</sup> 16/12/1899 document issued by the Higher Directorate of Internal Affairs, signed by M. Koundouros, “Minutes”, 1899 1-60 (4), *Archive of the Council of the High Commissioner*, Historical Archive of Crete (Appendix A.A1).

### 5.3 The Cretan Antiquities Law

When the Cretan State was established most of the Western actors already involved or willing to be involved in Cretan archaeology were optimistic about the future, and lost no time to plot. As their Cretan colleagues, they were not only interested, but also involved in politics, even before their archaeological careers had begun (Brown 1993, 17). After the division of the island in military zones, came the sharing of the booty, producing in effect, archaeological zones; the Cretan landscape became a military map upon which antiquarian “generals” strategically positioned their claims. They fought over precious trophies, caves, hills, fields and beaches that concealed the precious material past. Occasionally, some amicable settlements were accomplished, like when the British more or less offered the site of Goulas in Lasithi (nowadays known as Lato), to the French, in order to secure their claim at Knossos (MacGillivray 2000, 163-65). Aspects of this process must have been more or less public, judging from the fact that it was openly discussed by the Greek Press (*To Asti*, 15/04/1899, 2 – **Appendix B.6**).

Indeed, the backstage saw lots of action: all the Western archaeologists strived to make sure that the “right” people would be in the “right” place. Halbherr advised Evans to do some lobbying, in order to have Hatzidakis elected as Cretan Ephor of Antiquities, and even toyed with the idea of granting him some Italian honorary doctorate that would strengthen his position<sup>74</sup>. Likewise, he advised Evans to put some pressure, through the British Consul, so that the Antiquities Law would be passed soon, regardless of the heavy workload of the Cretan Assembly, as Xanthoudides urged him to do<sup>75</sup>. In these letters, amid lots of friendly bargaining regarding potential archaeological sites, fears were expressed too. Halbherr was afraid that P. Cavvadias, secretary of the Archaeological Society at Athens, and General Superintendent of Antiquities of the Greek Archaeological Service, had put more than a personal touch to the new

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<sup>74</sup> Letter from F. Halbherr to A. J. Evans, 15/01/1899, *The Sir Arthur Evans Archive*, Non-personal letters, No. 71, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (Appendix A.G4). Published in Momigliano 2002.

<sup>75</sup> Letter from F. Halbherr to A. J. Evans, 21/02/1899, *The Sir Arthur Evans Archive*, Non-personal letters, No. 71, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (Appendix A.G5). Published in Momigliano 2002.

law<sup>76</sup>, thus making sure that Greece protected her archaeological interest upon an island which hopefully, sooner or later, would be part of the “national body”<sup>77</sup>. Nevertheless, the Italian was not seriously worried. Indeed, under the new regime, foreign schools had to dig in the name of and with licence issued by the Cretan Government. A bit annoying, yet, as Halbherr wrote, it was just a formality, since the finds should stay in Crete, and this was the most frustrating part of the law, according to him<sup>78</sup>.

Disappointment was apparent at the British School at Athens (BSA) too, where speculation took place regarding which persons would make the new archaeological elite in Crete. W. Loring, Honorary Secretary of the BSA believed that “...Hatzidakis...will probably be a Cavvadias under the new regime”<sup>79</sup>. Behind the scenes, contacts with the local archaeological elite intensified<sup>80</sup>. The pressure period started in March of 1899, when the Cretan Constitution was passed, along with three bills regarding the protection of antiquities (*Acropolis*, 12/03/1899, 4). The foreign archaeological missions had already started applying for excavation permits. At the same time, the plotting in the background was in full development, and would be noticed once more by the Greek Press, who accused the Westerners of putting obstacles in the implementation of the law (*To Asti*, 29/04/1899, 1, **Appendix B.8**). Eventually, regardless of the pressure, the Cretan Archaeological Law (**Fig. 8; Appendix B.2**) would pass in the summer of the same year (*To Asti*, 21/06/1899, 2).

The law declared all antiquities found on Cretan soil as properties of the state (Article 1)<sup>81</sup>. All the artefacts or architectural remains from the “most ancient

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<sup>76</sup> Letter from F. Halbherr to A. J. Evans, 16/07/1899, *The Sir Arthur Evans Archive*, Non-personal letters, No. 71, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (Appendix A.G6). Published in Momigliano 2002.

<sup>77</sup> Ironically, Cavvadias himself was easily manipulated when it came to sign the exportation of several antiquities that are under Greek jurisdiction (Bosanquet 1938, 130-31).

<sup>78</sup> Letter from F. Halbherr to A. J. Evans, 09/08/1899, *The Sir Arthur Evans Archive*, Non-personal letters, No. 71, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (Appendix A.G7). Published in Momigliano 2002.

<sup>79</sup> Letters from W. Loring to D.G. Hogarth, 14/01/1898, 31/03/1898 & 20/01/1899, *The British School at Athens Corporate Records*, Letter Book 1 (Nov. 1897 – August 1900), Appendix A.F1-3.

<sup>80</sup> Letter from W. Loring to D.G. Hogarth, where the former refers to Evans’ unofficial contact with Hatzidakis (20/11/1899, *The British School at Athens Corporate Records*, Letter Book 1 (Nov. 1897 – August 1900), Appendix A.F4.

<sup>81</sup> Law N. 24, 18/06/1899, *Official Newspaper of the Cretan State*, Chania, 24/06/1899, n. 51, Historical Archive of Crete (Appendix A.A2).

times” up to the Venetian conquest of Crete were perceived as antiquities; an Archaeological Committee would decide which finds dating in later periods (Venetian, Ottoman) and until the “liberation” of the island (meaning the Cretan State) would be considered worthy of obtaining this status (Articles 2). The “*destruction, damage, repairing or modification in any way*” of antiquities was strictly prohibited (Article 5)<sup>82</sup>. Snitching on looters was rewarded (Article 8); the same applied to those who discovered antiquities and delivered them to the state (Article 37). On the contrary, the looters were threatened with imprisonment (Article 35). In order to justify the excavations performed by the foreign Schools, the Cretan State was declaring that excavations could be performed under its jurisdiction indirectly, by “*Clubs, Societies, Schools, Academies and Institutes of any nationality*” (Article 10); these foreign excavations would be performed under the supervision of Cretan Archaeological Service officers. The foreign excavators could only make casts out of the discovered antiquities and were obliged to publish their findings within five years (Article 13). No citizen was allowed to excavate on his/her own (Article 14). Moreover, no export of antiquities was allowed (Article 18), whereas, within Crete, buying and selling of “useless” antiquities was allowed (Article 19). The Cretan Archaeological Service was staffed by two Ephors, and an undefined number of unpaid curators and supervisors, along with stewards and keepers of antiquities (Article 23). Interestingly, the Cretan State considered a prerequisite to be an active high school professor, a school teacher or any other “scholar”, in order to become a curator or supervisor of antiquities (Article 26); thus, the education sector was directly connected with state archaeology from the beginning. Besides, the Archaeological Service came under the Higher Directorate of Public Education. On top of all the above, an archaeological committee was established, in order to facilitate decisions related to archaeological matters (Article 29).

#### **5.4 The patrons of Cretan archaeology**

As mentioned above, Just like the European troops have divided Crete in 1897-1898 in military control zones, a great part of the island had been divided into

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<sup>82</sup> See more on this in Chapter 7.

a number of archaeological zones: the British took Knossos (north-central Crete) and the area near Sitia (eastern Crete), the Italians started working in the Messara plain (south-central Crete), the Americans in the region around Pachyammos (north-eastern Crete) and the French were stationed at Lato (same region); these zones started to form even before the autonomy and, to a large extent, are in effect even today (McEnroe 2002, 61-62). By 1894, Evans had already acquired a share of the estate where Knossos lies (cf. Panagiotaki 2004a), under Ottoman law, setting a milestone for a British interest in the site that went back in 1879 (cf. Hood 1987). When the Ottomans evacuated Crete, he easily gained full possession and was ready to excavate, in association with the British School of Archaeology at Athens, which was under the directorship of D. G. Hogarth at that time. According to the latter, Evans' claim upon Knossos was the most powerful, partly because he capitalised upon the gratitude the Cretans felt towards him (Hogarth 1910, 66). His fame for being fanatically anti-Ottoman predated the Cretan State, going back to 1877, when he worked as the Balkan correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian*. In fact, Evans must have felt some gratitude too, especially towards some people from the local nationalist elite, the head of the *Syllogos* in particular: Hatzidakis played a huge role in the purchase of the land of Knossos by Evans; he acted as a real estate advisor in the negotiations between the Muslim landowner of the land and Evans<sup>83</sup>. He also kept updating him, regarding the writing of the Cretan State Antiquities Law; he even reassured him that he could influence the High Commissioner and Cretan politicians in favour of the British archaeologist's affairs (**Fig. 9-11**)<sup>84</sup>. What is more, Evans received detailed information from Hatzidakis, regarding the archaeological activities of his Western competitors<sup>85</sup>. Evans' fame offered him some leverage towards the Christian Cretans, yet it was Hatzidakis' actions that upgraded him to a player in the local politics.

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<sup>83</sup> Letter from J. Hatzidakis to A. J. Evans, 15/01/1899, *The Sir Arthur Evans Archive*, Non-personal letters, No. 78, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (Appendix A.G8).

<sup>84</sup> Letters from J. Hatzidakis to A. J. Evans, 15/01/1899, 14/02/1899 & 14/08/1899, *The Sir Arthur Evans Archive*, Non-personal letters, No. 78, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (Appendix A.G8-10). Discussed also in Panagiotaki 2004a, Hood 1987 and Brown 2001.

<sup>85</sup> Letters from J. Hatzidakis to A. J. Evans, 15/01/1899 & 14/08/1899, *The Sir Arthur Evans Archive*, Non-personal letters, No. 78, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (Appendix A.G8, A.G10).

Following the passing of the Cretan State Antiquities Law, the Western archaeologists started playing by the local rules, by applying for excavations to the new state authorities (**Fig. 12**)<sup>86</sup>. After all, the foreign archaeologists looked forward to finding a legal framework for their lucrative endeavours in Crete, part of which had started before the autonomy as full-scale looting. The developments that followed the passing of the Cretan State Antiquities Law, a top priority for the newly established regime, were indicative of the foreign pressure. Indeed, Article 18 of the new law, forbidding the export of antiquities, was harsh when compared to the cultural diplomacy conducted in the Kingdom of Greece: according to the Convention of 1874, access to “duplicates” or “replicas” was granted by the Greek government to Germany, regarding the excavations at Olympia; nonetheless, the clause on the ceding of “duplicates” caused strong reactions, to the extent that it was not included neither in the Greek-French agreement of 1887 on the excavations at Delphi or any other similar case (Voudouri 2010, 549-50). Although this move generated a lot of controversy, a similar article was included to the Greek Antiquities Law that was passed on July 1899 (Articles 22, 24, 25a). An archaeological committee was to decide which “useless” or “insignificant” antiquities could remain under the ownership of the owner of the field which was excavated, or exported (Petraikos 1982, 147-48). Compared to that, the Cretan Antiquities Law of 1899, that was passed approximately one month before the Greek one, proved to be too severe when it came to the export of antiquities. Hence, the amendment of the law in 1903 (**Appendix B.3**) could be seen by the Western antiquarians operating in Crete as justice restored: it allowed for the export of antiquities that were “duplicates” and “useless”, for the Cretan museums, upon the official authorisation of the local archaeological committee<sup>87</sup>. Furthermore, according to the additional provisions of the amendment, if any institution or individual had conducted excavations solely with their own budget, such as Evans did at

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<sup>86</sup> Copy of 28/11/1901 document, satisfying Halbherr’s 1899 application for licence to excavate Phaistos & Levina. Signed by Councillor N. Yamalakis, Higher Directorate of Education & Justice, Protocol/Processing Number 2364/1283, *Folder “Higher Directorate of Education & Religious Affairs, 1901-1905. Various Documents”*, Historical Archive of Crete (Appendix A.A3).

<sup>87</sup> Law N. 481, 25/06/1903, *Official Newspaper of the Cretan State*, Chania, 28/06/1903, n. 32, Historical Archive of Crete (Appendix A.A4).

Knossos and Harriet Boyd Hawes (1871 – 1945)<sup>88</sup> at Gournia, they were allowed to export antiquities with “no scientific value or use for the Cretan Museums”, without any exchange. It was this amendment that Evans used in order to export Cretan antiquities (cf. Panagiotaki 2004b)<sup>89</sup>.

The 1903 amendment would be the Pandora’s Box for Cretan archaeology. The local authorities were overwhelmed by a tide of applications, made by all major archaeologists working in Crete, with list of “useless” antiquities attached (**Fig. 13**)<sup>90</sup>. An Archaeological Commissionership (*Archeologiki Epitropeia*) was established in order to review the applications. Not surprisingly, Hatzidakis was appointed to be president of the *Epitropeia* and Xanthoudides a permanent member; most of the claims were satisfied<sup>91</sup>. Even Evans’ request to export some hieroglyphic and linear script tablets, initially rejected in 1904, would be satisfied in 1909, on the grounds that the tablets were eventually “useless”, as many had been found since their initial discovery, and due to Evans’ great service to Cretan archaeology (**Fig. 14 – Appendix B.4**)<sup>92</sup>. The competition among Western archaeologists had a domino effect: not much later, both the Italians and French applied to export some of the tablets they had found, openly stating in their applications that Evans’ case had created a favourable precedent for them (**Fig. 15-16**)<sup>93</sup>.

Perhaps in exchange of those services, Western archaeologists shared the podium with their Cretan colleagues in commonly organised conferences (*Neon Asti*, 28/01/1905, 1); thus giving them the feeling of belonging into a broader,

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<sup>88</sup> Pioneering American archaeologist, best known for her work on prehistoric sites of Eastern Crete, such as Gournia and Kavousi.

<sup>89</sup> I would like to thank Dr. Yannis Galanakis for bringing this amendment and the context around it to my attention.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Applications by Evans (10/07/1904) and Halbherr (06/08/1904), *Folder “Higher Administration of Education & Religion, subfolder 1*, Historical Archive of Crete; more can be found in Book 15, Heraklion Archaeological Museum Archive (Appendix A.A5-6).

<sup>91</sup> The permits can be found in the *Minutes of the Archaeological Commissionership (Archeologiki Epitropeia)*, Heraklion Archaeological Museum Archive, now owned by the 23rd Ephorate of Prehistoric & Classical Antiquities (Appendix A.C1). I would like to thank Dr. Antonis Vasilakis, Honorary Director of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and Former Ephor of Antiquities of Kefalonia, Ithaka and Zakynthos, for granting me access to the material.

<sup>92</sup> No. 19, 07/06/1909, *Minutes of the Archaeological Commissionership*, Heraklion Archaeological Museum Archive (Appendix A.C2).

<sup>93</sup> No. 24, 21.04.1910 (Italians) & No. 27, 18.06.1911 (French), *Minutes of the Archaeological Commissionership*, Heraklion Archaeological Museum Archive (Appendix A.C3-4).

European archaeological elite. The Westerners' disdain towards this group and its pretentious nationalist attitudes, however, was apparent in various occasions, e.g. like when Bosanquet described in a letter to his wife of how funny Xanthoudides' "*pompous Attic*" speech was, during an event (Bosanquet 1938, 152). Moreover, they missed no opportunity to test the limits of their relationship with the local ruling class. In June 1901, a formal request to allow the selling of antiquities was presented to the Cretan Assembly by the most powerful Cretan politician of the time, A. Mihelidakis, on behalf of Sir Arthur Evans (**Fig. 17**)<sup>94</sup>. The outrage in the Greek Press and the pressure to the Cretan Assembly were immediate (*To Asti*, 21/06/1901, 1 – **Appendix B.7**). Eventually, no permission was given. Besides, judging from the later activities of the Cretan archaeological committee, generously granting export licences for antiquities, the outcome of this parliamentary episode proved insignificant.

Several high profile cases illustrate the fact that both Western and local archaeologists tried to conceal: that Crete had been de facto colonised as a "hunting ground" for Western archaeological research. The seeds of this attitude can be found before the autonomy. In 1895, Cavvadias, acting as a parallel authority while visiting Crete, prohibited the American Archaeological Expedition from exporting several antiquities; Halbherr mediated in favour of the Americans to Hatzidakis, so that the latter would get the "*annoying*" Greek archaeologist off his back<sup>95</sup>. Later on, during the Cretan State era, the Ephor of Western Crete, Xanthoudides, found several LMIIIA1-LMIIIA2 chamber tombs in the location of Kalyvia, about 2 kilometres east of Phaistos, where the Italians were digging (*To Asti*, 22/10/1901, 2; report on the discovery of the tombs); the latter demanded and achieved to take hold of his excavation, since it was within their jurisdiction<sup>96</sup>. This was a characteristic example of a Westerner staring beyond the borders of his "hunting ground" and being treated favourably while doing so. The contradiction between what was officially presented as

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<sup>94</sup> *Minutes of the Cretan Assembly*, 01/06/1901, 125-26, Historical Archive of Crete (Appendix A.A13). Unfortunately, until now, I have not managed to trace the original application.

<sup>95</sup> Letter from F. Halbherr to J. Hatzidakis, 18/05/1895, 4, Book 8, *Heraklion Archaeological Museum Archive* (Appendix A.C5). Published in La Rosa 2000.

<sup>96</sup> Brief report from S. Xanthoudides to S. Dragoumis, regarding his actions during the Cretan State period, *S. Dragoumis Archive*, Series IV, Folder 93.3, No. 71, 19/01/1913, Gennadius Library – ASCSA [Appendix A.E(II)1].

cooperation but, in reality, looked more like occupation, could neither be hidden, nor taken light-heartedly by the Greek Press. Even as early as in 1899, critical reports focused on the Italians performing “*excavations...in the utmost secrecy*” (*To Asti*, 5/10/1899, 2). The newspaper was implying that the “*well-paid Ephors of antiquities*” in Crete were not doing their job; the author “*hoped*” [sic] that they were present at the site and that they would announce the outcome of the excavation to the Cretan government.

Some other attitudes and episodes would even make the Westerners look like a potential enemy of the nationally correct way of living and thinking. It was by far inappropriate, for example, to ask from the local workers to work in the excavation during religious festivals, and the fights between foreign archaeologists and the high priesthood were endless regarding this issue (Bosanquet 1938, 150). Besides, in 1903, M. Kalokairinos, the first excavator of Knossos, publicly accused Evans that based on “*cranioscopy*”, i.e. observations upon ancient Cretan human skulls, he claimed that modern Cretans were not descendants of the ancient ones (*Patris*, 06/11/1903, 3); unsurprisingly, the idea was vehemently rejected by Kalokairinos, who considered cranioscopy to be an insufficient research tool for such a grave judgement (*id.*).

On September 30, 1903, the *London Times* published a letter written by Evans, regarding the ethnological landscape of Macedonia. The British archaeologist was chosen by the London Balkan Committee to express his opinion as a connoisseur of Balkan politics. After all, he was roaming across the region during his youth, since he had worked as correspondent for the Manchester Guardian and had extensive knowledge on the subject (Danforth 1997, 61). Macedonia, an Ottoman region at that time, was at the epicentre of conflicting nationalisms (Greek, Bulgarian Serbian and Romanian) and on the aftermath of the Ilinden Uprising, that was prepared and carried out by the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation<sup>97</sup>; Evans claimed on his letter that “*There are no ‘Macedonians’. There are Bulgars. There are Roumans [...] There are Greeks, including more or less superficially Hellenized Roumans [...] It is an unpleasant duty to have to tell one’s friends home truths, but the Greek claim to Macedonia, at least as regards the greater part of the interior of the country, is a dream. In*

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<sup>97</sup> A Macedonian revolutionary nationalist organisation which initially fought for Macedonian autonomy and later became agent of Bulgarian nationalism.

*some of the towns there is a fair Greek population, but even in that case, as in Monastir, for example, the statistics rest on an artificial basis. The truth is that a large number of those described as Greeks are really Roumans*". It was not a surprise then that in 1904, at the beginning of the "Macedonian Struggle" (1904 - 1908), the excavator of Knossos would be publicly accused by the very King of the Greeks, for his "unacceptable" [sic] views against the "historical and geographical rights of Hellenism" upon Macedonia "I am puzzled, said His Highness, that Mr Evans supports that Macedonia is not a Greek land. Besides, he, as an archaeologist, should at least know that, not only nowadays, but even during the old times, Macedonia was exclusively Greek, since he only had to take a look at the large number of antiquities, which survive there and prove that that region was Greek too, as the rest regions of what is today free Greece" (Estia, 22/1/1904, 4). One year earlier, an anonymous columnist writing on the same subject would imply that the "English looter", as he called him, was an agent of Bulgarian nationalism and ungrateful for the glory that he gained through Knossos; a glory that was granted to him "...free of charge, as he should not forget, by the Greek bravery, the Greek virtue and generosity, the untamed spirit of the Cretans" (Estia, 27/09/1903, 1).

Finally, in 1907, a Cretan newspaper published a vitriolic article: "There is a threat that there will be no Greek land left at Knossos; the honourable archaeologist, Mr. Evans, masterly takes advantage of the grand stupidity of our respective rulers and expands his property daily... he erected a tower upon which flies the flag of the Old Albion. There were already cases that the despotism of the glorious archaeologist was enforced; because many were the times that school pupils from Arhanes or Heraklion went to admire and learn at the ruins of their forefather, the Ruler of the Seas, and were prohibited to approach the holy ground or enter inside, if they were holding the Greek Flag flying high" (Daphne, 31/07/1907, 3).

In short, one of the first moves of the Western archaeologists since the Cretan State came to being was to secure their share of Cretan land to excavate. This was achieved by establishing archaeological zones recognised by the new regime across the island and obtaining exclusive rights of digging within them. In order for the Westerners to become essential players in the Cretan archaeological market, intensive lobbying performed by local antiquarians, such

as Hatzidakis, was essential. The almost complete subjugation of the island's archaeological politics to the Western interests even affected the Cretan law-making, such as in the case of the 1903 amendment of the Antiquities Law, which allowed for the export of "useless" or "duplicate" antiquities. This development increased the pressure upon the Cretan archaeological authorities. It led to a "scramble for Cretan antiquities" between Western archaeological schools that competed against each other with an avalanche of applications for "duplicates" and "useless" finds to be exported; most of the claims were satisfied by the Cretan State. One could say that, as a reward for this stance, the Western archaeologists accepted (or pretended to accept) their Cretan colleagues as equals in the international academia. Nonetheless, the limits of this cordiality were tested more than once, and not only when Greek archaeological actors attempted to enter the Cretan archaeological setting. Tensions rose when jurisdictions became contested, such as in the Kalyvia case, where the Westerners clearly showed who was in charge. Apart from that, foreign archaeologists like Evans were portrayed as "enemies of the nation" in more than one occasion in the Greek and Cretan press and due to various reasons, from their views on the Macedonian Question to how they treated school trips in their excavations.

## 5.5 Building the archaeological narrative

In 1888, ten years before the Cretan State was established, the Christian Cretan press was joyfully reproducing the words of Halbherr's colleague, P. Orsi, regarding the finds of their excavation at the Idaean Cave; the site was allegedly the mythical birthplace of god Zeus on Psiloritis (Mount Ida), the highest mountain of Crete, located in the Rethymnon region: *"...we have here characteristic monuments and of high importance for the history of art in Greece, during these very ancient times. In particular, more importance is added to these finds due to the significance that is gained for the name of Crete over the history of Greek civilisation, during its early development. Meanwhile, the place wherefrom they come, the Idaean Cave, a very ancient cradle of Cretan and Greek cult, increases their value and historical significance"* (Nea Evdomas, 26/06/1888, 1). The public circulation of this kind of narrative is highly

revealing: the future of the island might not have been decided yet at the time, but the effort to make its past Greek, had already started.

The efforts were intensified and became more systematic during the Cretan State years. In 1900, Evans “discovered” at Knossos the “labyrinth” and the “palace of Minos”, who was treated by the Greek-speaking and international Press of the time as a real person (*Patris*, 07/12/1900, 1-2)<sup>98</sup>. The pre-existing mythical-national narrative was connected to the material remains once more (cf. Schliemann’s discoveries at Mycenae). Moreover, the localist pride was fed, since Evans declared the Cretan archaeological sites as much more important than the rest of the prehistoric monuments in Greece, such as Mycenae or Tiryns (*Patris*, 07/12/1900, 3; 09/03/1902, 1-2). The anxiety to incorporate into the European family the new finds was apparent. Even the inscriptions of the prehistoric Cretans had to be cleansed by any oriental ‘filth’ and be “*of a free, upright European character*” (Evans 1900, 92).

This concern led also to “*a certain amount of anthropometric investigation in Crete*” and reflections over the connection between the change of the skull form and the purity of the race (Hogarth, Evans et al. 1906, 557); the burial finds of Crete were measured and studied (Bosanquet 1938, 119), generating certainties, regarding their “Europeanness”, but also questions “*with regard to the present peoples who claim to be Greeks*” (Hogarth, Evans et al. 1906, 553)<sup>99</sup>. In fact, while in Crete, Hogarth reflected upon what he saw as the “fall from grace” of the local population:

*“The peasant Greek is neither brute nor butterfly; but this he is – a man who is essentially inert, a man born physically outworn. The whole race, as it seems to me, is suffering from over-weariness. It lived fast in the forefront of mankind very long ago, and now is far gone in years; and in its home you feel that you have passed into the shadow of what has been, into an air in which men would rather be than do”* (Hogarth 1910, 87).

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<sup>98</sup> See, also, Sherratt 2009. Meanwhile, Minos Kalokairinos (1843 – 1907), the local, first excavator of 1877, had become a pariah (cf. Kopaka 1990 & 1995).

<sup>99</sup> Cf. above, Kalokairinos public attack on Evans, related to the latter’s conclusions on the origins of modern day Cretans, related to the craniometrical research.

In this passage, the local population was viewed as inept and non-trustworthy of the heritage lying beneath his feet. In true colonial fashion, the Cretans were being removed from the discourse on the past as remnants of a natural process, such as the transformation of a brute into a butterfly. Cultural evolutionist views like that expressed by Hogarth, which sound pejorative nowadays, were widespread during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century; they implied a call for a substitute “*in the forefront of mankind*”, a new manager and successor of the idealised Cretan past: not surprisingly, that would be the Western producers and consumers of the archaeological narrative.

Religion also played a crucial role in “Hellenizing”, thus “Europeanizing” the Cretan past. The syncretism was of a dual nature; parallels were sought between “Minoan” and ancient Greek religion, and between “Minoan” and Christian religion. According to Evans, the supposed sanctity of the fig tree started from prehistoric Crete to reach the cult of goddess Demeter (1901, 104); the reference to a “Dove Cult of Primitive Greece” was an indirect homage to the Holy Spirit (Evans 1901, 105); the interior of the Psychro Cave, in Lasithi, which would be characterised as a “Minoan sacred cave” due to its cult associated finds, was called “Holy of the Holies” by Bosanquet (1938, 72). Regardless the inconsistency of his views on the religious habits of the prehistoric Cretans, Evans invested a great deal of his thought in the monotheistic status of his “Minoan” Mother Goddess (Evans 1930, 463-68); this made his “Minoans” look more modern, civilised and European and more distant from their Near Eastern polytheistic neighbours (Morris 2006, 70). While drawing heavily from the matriarchal interpretations of “primitive” societies by J. Bachofen<sup>100</sup> and the study on Mother Goddesses by the “Cambridge Ritualists” (J. E. Harrison and J. Frazer, A.B. Cook, G. Murray *et al.*)<sup>101</sup>, Evans prioritised the idealised motherhood as a primary role for the Cretan prehistoric goddess he conceived through his finds (Morris 2006, 71). This emphasis could relate to the loss of his mother during his childhood and reflected his Victorian background, which cherished motherhood as a vital component in demographic terms, for the health of the nature and the empire (Morris 2006, 72-73). What is more striking was the fact that Evans combined motherhood and virginity in his Goddess concept (*id.*). In fact, he mentioned

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<sup>100</sup> See his main work on the subject, *Das Mutterrecht* (1861).

<sup>101</sup> Frazer worked extensively on the concept of the Mother Goddess on his seminal work *The Golden Bough* (1890).

Virgin Mary explicitly when searching for parallels for his “Minoan Mother” Goddess (Evans 1903, 86). Moreover, he envisioned a Male Consort/Youthful Male God who accompanied the “Minoan Goddess” as her son (cf. Marinatos 2007). This mindset evolved during the late 19<sup>th</sup>- early 20<sup>th</sup> century, when various Marian cults emerged in the Christian world, particularly the Catholic one. It was part of the broader Western Christian concept of motherhood, which divided motherhood from sexuality; the erotic element belonged to the Orient, while the maternal, and not sensual “Minoan” Mother Goddess fitted the European, “civilised” cultural standards (Morris 2006, 74-75). Besides, this narrative fitted well with the Greek Orthodox worldview that was prevalent among the Christian Cretans and held a prominent place for *Panagia* (Virgin Mary in Greek).

Indeed, the most indicative case where “Minoan”, ancient Greek and Christian archaeological narrative on religion merged was that of the prehistoric Cretan “mortal God”, the one whom Evans “invoked”, when he talked of the “tomb of Zeus”, found in the Idaean Cave (1901, 119). The site has produced a vast amount of finds, dating from the classic, archaic and prehistoric period. The Greek archaeologist J. Sakellarakis was the last one to excavate the site in the 1980s, while serving as director of the Heraklion Archaeological Museum. Central to his interpretation of the site was the vision of religious continuity based on the place, reaching back to the “Minoan” times and a “prehellenic” equivalent and predecessor of Zeus (cf. Sakellarakis 1988). The origins of this archaeological narrative can be found in theories like the ones mentioned by Orsi and Evans. The cave was related to the “Kretagenes Zeus”, a Cretan version of Zeus, as a dying and resurrecting divinity and its projection. Early on, the attributes of this deity were projected to a nebulous “Minoan youthful male god”. This process had been vital for both the European and Greek nationalist narrative. The very geographical nature of this tale, within the heart of Mount Ida, was essential. What is more, the proximity of the Idaean Cave to the a church called *Aphendi Kristus* (Lord Christ) was indicative of an ancient and continuous sanctity, according to the Western archaeologists of the Cretan State period (Evans 1901, 122). This view was nothing more than a thinly concealed allusion to a Cretan, prehistoric Jesus, adding up the “Minoan” Mother Goddess and Young Consort scheme created by Evans.

All in all, Psiloritis (“the high mountain”), as the modern name of Mount Ida is, has been a landmark of huge importance for the collective imagination of the Cretans for centuries, something like a Cretan Olympus. It holds a central position in the popular traditions of the Cretans, as the setting of medieval bucolic dramas, such as *Erotokritos* by V. Kornaros and *Panoria* by G. Chortatzis, and many modern *mantinades* (Cretan couplets). A good illumination of its symbolism is the 2014 poster of an international trail race event, called “Psiloritis Race” (Fig. 18). The event has been organised in Psiloritis annually since 2010 by a citizens’ initiative, with the support of the Prefecture of Rethymnon. In fact, as the organisers confess, the idea “was first born in June 2008 on Mt Olympus”<sup>102</sup>. The logo of the race is reminiscent of what could be runners from an ancient Greek vase motif. A seal on the left celebrates the five years anniversary of the event with the phrase “Raising Greece Higher”. Nonetheless, what cannot be missed, considering the religious connotations of the place as birthplace of the father of gods, is the main motto of the race: “Run in Zeus’ Steps”. In fact, the website of the event has a separate section on the history of the mountain, where a summary of the dominant archaeological narrative can be found, full of references on the Idaean Cave, “the cave where Zeus grew up” and the archaeological excavations that “showed that it was one of the most important sacred caves of antiquity”, mentioning Sakellarakis’ excavation at the site and the nearby “Minoan settlement” of Zominthos<sup>103</sup>.

The sacralisation of the natural world in the “Minoan” narrative was not reduced to holy mountains, such as Psiloritis. Even before the “discovery” of the “Minoans”, during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Evans became fascinated by the natural places on Crete, believing that an ancient ‘sacred geography’ of mountain tops, caves, and rock-shelters could be located on the island (Harlan 2011, 224). Ideas such as that of the “sacred tree” made the core of his *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar*

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<sup>102</sup> <http://www.psiloritisrace.com/en/pages/index-en.php> (last accessed in 29/08/2014).

<sup>103</sup> <http://www.psiloritisrace.com/en/pages/history-en.php> (last accessed in 29/08/2014). Zominthos is a Cretan prehistoric site in the northern foothills of Mount Ida, where an ongoing archaeological excavation takes place. It must have been abandoned around 1600 BCE. In 1982, J. Sakellarakis, using information he gathered from a local shepherd, unearthed a large, two-storey building that has been described as gathering features reminiscent of an administrative centre, similar to the “Minoan palaces”. Cf. <http://goo.gl/DkS4E1> (last accessed 30/08/2014, for a thorough report in Greek accompanied with bibliography, written by the widow and associate of the now deceased excavator).

*Cult* article (Evans 1901), as an Aryan tree worship located in prehistoric Crete. The excavator of Knossos developed these early thoughts during his later work and placed the concept of the sacred tree on the core of what was going to be known as “Minoan religion”. This was a rather interesting development, in terms of how modern archaeology intermingled with Cretan folklore; there is no shortage of folk tales on sacred trees in contemporary and early modern Crete. Most of them are incorporated into the Christian narrative, such as the “Holy Myrtle” in Paliani Monastery at Venerato, 20km south of Heraklion. Internet tourist guides advertise the site nowadays with the assurance that *“The cult of Holy Myrtle is actually a survival of ancient religious habits and more specifically the worship of sacred trees in the Minoan religion”*<sup>104</sup>.

The other threshold, upon which the binding of Minoan Crete with the Greek national imagination took place, was the ancient Greek mythology. The “palace” of Knossos belonged to “King Minos”; it incorporated the Labyrinth, the Minotaur’s lair. The Homeric poems, as interpretational tools of the findings, were the Trojan Horse [sic], leading the “Minoans” to the core of ancient Greek civilisation (Evans 1912, 292). All this narrative would be used in order to create a common ground of “heritage”, with prehistoric Crete included; it was this *“ancient cultural stage”* that *“leads to the Greco-Roman, and which might seem to present the problem of origins at any rate in a less complex shape. The marvellous Minoan civilisation that has there come to light shows that Crete of four thousand years ago must unquestionably be regarded as the birth-place of our European civilisation in its higher form”* (Evans 1916a, 402-3).

At times, the archaeological vocabulary used conveyed colonial undertones. Therefore, the Eteocretans<sup>105</sup> were called *“aborigines”*, for being the “original” Cretans who survived even during the classical times (Hogarth 1901, 187). Unsurprisingly, one could say, the “civilisation” that led to what became the “Minoans” was brought by *“colonists”*, according to Hogarth (*ibid*). As a matter of fact, the “discovery” of the Eteocretans was a top priority of the early British

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<sup>104</sup> <http://www.cretanbeaches.com/Flora/The-mythical-trees-of-Crete/the-holy-myrtle-in-paliani-monastery/> (accessed in 23/03/2015).

<sup>105</sup> An obscure case, made up from several inscription, spanning between the 7th and 3rd century BCE, found in Eastern Crete, of a detached, lost [sic] tribe of Cretans who kept the “Minoan” language and customs alive.

archaeological endeavour in Crete, during the later 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Whitley 2006, 59). Projections linking the past to the present flourished, like the one proposed by Bosanquet, who, in some ways echoing Evans, believed that the supposed “stronghold” of the Eteocretans in eastern Crete, the Sitia peninsula, “...is a Cretan Wales” (Whitley 2006, 59-60), meaning that the Eteocretans were the Cretan equivalent of the Welsh, the original Briton Celts who were forced to retreat in the British hinterland, in order to survive the ongoing colonisation by the English (*ibid*). The “Minoans” in a way, were projections of how the Western archaeologists saw themselves; civilisers, working and living in the timeless Cretan villages, whose “*narrow tortuous alleys on uneven ground*”, resembled “Minoan” towns (Myres 1911, 185).

The building of the Cretan heterotopia (Foucault 1986, 26; Leontis 1995, 43; Hamilakis 2007, 85-99), a “promised land” of the European archaeological research (Carabott 2006, 45), served primarily the aesthetic, cultural and intellectual needs of both its creators and consumers (cf. Gere 2009, 5). But it also offered a dominant, prestigious narrative that was essential for the local identity-building. Continuity and evolution became the cornerstone of it. Crete hosted “*the prehistoric civilisation of the land which afterwards became Hellas*” (Evans 1912, 277). The “mature” civilisation of Greece had found its brilliant childhood. As Evans exulted, now its study became more and more impossible, without taking into account “*the Minoan and Mycenaean world that went before it*” (*ibid.*). The “Minoans” as a concept have made possible the colonisation of the Cretan Bronze Age by the preoccupations and theoretical assumptions of classic archaeology. Bronze Age Crete became an essence that only had to realise itself, in order to take its place in the beginning of the sequence that was the rise and fall of Classical Greece; a scheme of rise and fall that was devised by the German art historian and archaeologist, J. J. Winckelmann (1717 – 1768), who believed that its stages could be witnessed by the traces of material culture (2006)<sup>106</sup>. The remoteness of the “Minoans” was leaving space for their idealisation as a *tabula rasa* (Whitley 2006, 63). The Bronze Age society of Crete was idealised as the “*Pre-Hellenic civilisation of Crete*” (Evans 1921, 11) and “*cradle of European*

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<sup>106</sup> In fact, the notion of rise and fall, i.e. the idea that there are peaks and troughs, periods of acme and periods of decline, is already part of 5th c. BCE ancient Greek historiography. It is clear throughout the work of Herodotus and in Thucydides’ “Archaeology” (*History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.1-1.19).

*civilisation*” (Evans 1921, 24); an *“early sea-dominion [...] a peaceful abode of priest-kings, in some respects more modern in its equipments than anything produced by Classical Greece”* (Evans 1921, 1), boasting a *“surprising advance in hydraulic and sanitary engineering”* (Evans 1921, 2). It was a prehistoric enlightened despotism, a world of law and order, run by king *“Minos the Law-Giver [...] like another Moses or Hammurabi”* and *“Patron of the Arts”* (*ibid.*). The “Minoan” world was organised around “palaces” with a prevailing religious element in their layout, decoration and purpose (Evans 1921, 4-5).

## 5.6 Bringing the “Minoan” narrative to the public

Western academia established and reproduced this “Minoan” narrative within its own scholarly sphere, through various conferences, lectures and publications. The interest was great, and regardless of the antagonism of the Great Powers, a kind of healthy competition might have been accomplished, judging by the fact that prominent French archaeologists who had worked on the Cretan field reproduced in French journals the British accomplishments on the island, regardless of the fact that a few years ago there was a conflict for the colonisation of the place (cf. Reinach 1908)<sup>107</sup>. More than that, they introduced the Cretan archaeological elite and its written contributions to the academia of their countries (cf. Reinach 1909).

Views resembling the theories of the Westerners were highly favoured among Cretan archaeological elite, for obvious reasons. In 1914, one year after the official end of the Cretan State, Hatzidakis, Ephor of the Greek Archaeological Service by that time, referred to the Minoan “palaces” as an unknown page of Greek civilisation, since *“through those antiquities it was proven today that, the first cradle of the European civilisation in general has been Crete”* and that Knossos, which belonged to the *“great king, ruler of the sea, Minos”* was a *“beacon of the dawn of the ancient Greek glory, eternal monument of the cradle*

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<sup>107</sup> Reproducing an article written by Sir A.J. Evans in the *London Times*, 27/08/1908.

of the European civilisation”<sup>108</sup>. In fact, there are many hints implying that the idea of Europe as the motherland of ancient and modern Cretans, developed in the mindset of local pioneers, like Xanthoudides (Xanthoudides 1904, 1):

*“When, five years ago, after many procrastinations, The European Federation contributed to the liberation of Crete, bowing at last to the devotion of the Cretan people and the great sacrifices of the whole nation, and entrusted the government of the island to the stable hands of the son of the King of the Hellenes, the whole civilised world applauded this act and considered it as one of the noblest achievements of the European policy, and a highest deed of justice and humanity. Although everybody could see and recognise the feelings worthy of civilised nations that prevailed then and led diplomacy to this noble and magnanimous deed, nobody could predict, and few contemplated, that the liberated and bleeding Cretan earth was destined to repay European civilisation and reciprocate the benefaction so soon, by bringing to the light of Scholarship unique ancient heirlooms which were hidden in its bosom for millennia, that is, the primeval beginnings and the first roots, upon which the Hellenic and the European Civilisation flourished and grew. The former mythical king of Crete, Minos, repaying the liberators of his old fatherland, Kings and Leaders of Europe, came out of the ruins of his palace, surrounded by his glory and greatness, and dispersing the old fog that used to cover his name, emerges as a representative of political authority, good public governance and civility, master of the sea, and its liberator from the exploiters, true chief in command of numerous people, and wise ruler, founder of the most ancient social regime of law and order in Europe.”*

As Hamilakis pointed, in this passage, the Cretan soil became the protagonist who, due to being grateful to its “liberators”, offered them a material justification for their roots; indeed, this act was not seen by Xanthoudides as a favour, but, instead, as duty of the European powers towards Crete and the rediscovery of their roots (Hamilakis 2006, 149)<sup>109</sup>. The modern Greek state as a fatherland is

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<sup>108</sup> “Memo on Cretan Antiquities”, 28/04/1914, Book 3, *Heraklion Archaeological Museum Archive*, 23rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Heraklion (Appendix A.C6).

<sup>109</sup> The English translation of the passage comes from Hamilakis 2006, 149.

only in the fringes of this narrative. What we see here is a direct bond between the modern Europeans and Cretans. In this spirit, there was no room for discussion regarding the racial continuity part: as mentioned above, contrary to the arguments posed by the Westerners, the local elites, in accordance with the national narrative, adhered to the belief that they were direct descendants of the “Minoans” (therefore Europeans)<sup>110</sup>.

But it was not just the discussions and theories mentioned in internal administrative documents of the local archaeologists that spread this narrative. The press was proven to be a powerful tool, both in Crete and Greece. Since its creation, the Cretan State made a huge effort to fight illiteracy and build a national education system, strongly inspired by the Greek one (Reinach 1910, 8-9). Therefore, as years passed, more and more Cretans were capable of reading that King Minos was not a mythical person and that Evans’ discoveries were a proof against those who doubted the historicity of Minos and the Labyrinth (*Patris*, 07/12/1900, 3); or that their ancestors were living with the Minotaur and were engaged into bullfighting (*Patris*, 09/03/1902, 1-2).

They were also mesmerised, along with their Greek fellow countrymen into a roughly subliminal Christian syncretism; articles full of hints, talking about a “marble cross” discovered in Knossos were published on both Greek and Cretan newspapers and journals (*To Asti*, 24/11/1904, 1; *Ide*, 29/11/1907, 2). In particular, the Cretan newspaper *Ide* captivated its readers, by offering a detailed description of what was found in the “Palace Shrine” of Knossos (what would later be known as the “Tripartite Shrine”). Among the other, nowadays famous artefacts, like the “Snake Goddesses” (faience statuettes of women bearing snakes on their hands), was found “*the most obscure of all finds, a marble cross*” (*Ide*, 29/11/1907, 2). Therefore, through the mystification of the description and an implied “whatifery”, the (Christian) reader was left to make the syncretic connection between what had been described as the religion of his ancestors and his own beliefs. And if the local press left some space for doubt on the role of the cross, the Cretan clergy did not: years later, Evans recalled that “*No Minoan votary could have regarded it with greater veneration than did the orthodox Greek pope whose parish included the remains of the Palace-Sanctuary, and it*

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<sup>110</sup> More on this will follow in the next chapter.

*did much to confirm the views of his flock that the fresco figures found were icons of Saints of old*" (Evans 1921, 517). I will elaborate further upon Christian syncretism in "Minoan" archaeology on the following chapter. However, I have to mention here that the way Evans "*tentatively arranged*" (1921, 518, Fig. 377) the finds from the "Tripartite Shrine" for his *Palace of Minos* book was equally evocative, having the "cross" placed, in true Christian style, at the epicentre of the finds (**Fig. 19**); therefore leaving aside any other possible interpretation of the assemblage, such as that of the intentional fragmentation and the simultaneous deposition of the objects (Hatzaki 2009, 24).

Sometimes, the press coverage on Cretan archaeological news came directly from the British academia. For example, a Cretan newspaper proudly reproduced a speech made by Evans, which urged its readers to feel proud, since, according to the British archaeologist, Crete had given Europe, not only the alphabet, but also timeless fashion, in the form of the corset, depicted through the ages, from the "Minoan" frescoes to the modern Parisian *haute couture* (*Patris*, 14/01/1903, 2). In general, the Cretan press reproduced a respectable amount of both foreign and Greek articles related to Cretan archaeology. I will not delve further into this aspect, since it is going to be unfolded in the next chapter, through the eyes of the local elites. Suffice is to say here that the press, along with education, was the main tool and conductor via which the archaeological narrative was disseminated to the public. The whole activity was extensively covered, with the main actors, especially the Western ones, appearing as heroes from serialised novels that emerged from the newspaper pages in the public life and the collective imagination of Western communities, Greeks and Cretans. They were depicted as story tellers for many audiences.

## **5.7 Living with the locals**

No doubt, the dissemination of the Western archaeological narrative through the local elites and the press left its footprint in the Cretan society. However, the greatest catalyst in the Cretan archaeological endeavour was the very presence of the foreign archaeologists within the local communities, the "natives" as they called them (Bosanquet 1938, 143). It is crucial to view this presence and the associated actions, but not as performed by "visitors", "philhellenes" and "allies",

as the official, nationalist narratives of the local elites present them. They deserve instead to be placed within a colonial setting, examining the power relations it reproduces. It is also important to bear in mind that most of the Western archaeologists were fluent in modern Greek, a major factor in building relations with the local population.

The Westerners were seen roaming across the Cretan landscape like enchanted figures searching for *real* fairy-tales. They sported the authority of the wise man, mainly due to their origins. They were foreigners; Westerners; civilised. They taught; they transformed local habits and perceptions of the material world. Continuing his thoughts on the racial “*over-weariness*” of the modern Cretans, mentioned above, Hogarth wrote: “*Simple though the Zakriotes<sup>111</sup> were, they showed often in their talk that they knew themselves well enough to be preoccupied with this very question of their racial decay. Why, they were for ever asking me, had the Greeks fallen out of that front rank in which the schoolmaster told them they once marched? How came the “barbarians” of Europe to be now, nation for nation and man for man, so superior to the once Chosen Race?*” (Hogarth 1910, 87).

The Western archaeologist was acting as a middleman between the Greek nationalist narrative of a glorious past and what was increasingly seen as cultural (but not racial) inadequacy by the local population. It should be no surprise then that some Westerners felt that they had to “help” the ‘ignorant peasants’ to overcome, at least partially, this ‘inadequacy’, which, among others, was, of course, connected to their handling of antiquities. Young Myres’ visit to *Polyrrhenion* (Polyrrhenia), a village built upon/within an archaic settlement, was characteristic of this attitude. During his visit, a church was being constructed, with ancient Greek inscriptions used as building material. Devastated by the sight, he managed to convince the local priest and architect to place the inscriptions outwards at least (Brown 1986, 40)<sup>112</sup>. A few years later, during the excavation of Knossos, Evans discovered a well; he did that by simply pointing the spot with his stick, contrary to the speculations of all his experienced Cretan

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<sup>111</sup> Inhabitants of Zakros, a village on the eastern coast of Crete, where Hogarth partially excavated a settlement. N. Platon discovered a “Minoan palace” at the same spot in 1961.

<sup>112</sup> One would suspect that Myres here was boasting, wanting to take a credit for a practice widespread in the Greek world since the Middle Ages (Hamilakis 2008, 278).

workers. As he claimed later to one of his young protégés, J. Candy, the locals were convinced that he had “*divine powers*” after this episode (Evans 1928, 546-47; Candy 1984, 21; MacGillivray 2000, 175).

But those who were observed were observing too; they judged and mocked: Like Bosanquet who, found hilarious the sight of his Cretan workmen when of one of his colleagues, C. Comyn danced “...*for five minutes amid awe-struck silence. These dear people have no notion of any other kind of dancing and take an Englishman’s laboured imitation of their steps as the very latest thing in correct European circles. Now that he has come away they are probably studying to reproduce his reproduction of themselves*” (Bosanquet 1938, 125). Or perhaps the locals were having the last laugh, mocking the mockery of the British. Other foreigners tried to play peacemakers between the Christian and Muslim communities and were happy with what they conceived as a successful experiment of coexistence in the trench: “*It had been my practice from the beginning to employ both Mahometan and Christian workmen, so that the work of Knossos might be an earnest of the future co-operation of the two creeds under the new regime of the island. Considering that a few months earlier both parties had been shooting each other at sight, the experiment proved very successful*” (Evans 1899/1900, 67)<sup>113</sup>. Evans clearly ignored, or chose to forget the many cases of peaceful co-existence between the two communities, outside excavations. All in all, Crete was seen as a troubled island, perhaps because, in contrast to Cyprus, where Muslims and Christians lived in peace, it was not under British administration (Bosanquet 1938, 105, 109). Still, the Westerners seemed to have an idea of their “unsettled” position within this society, as their interaction with local people was increasing. Thus, when Bosanquet was observing a Cretan Muslim elder, he recalled A. Lyall’s narration<sup>114</sup> from colonial Delhi and its Muslims, and wondered if the old man cursed the foreigners under his breath (1938, 79).

Apart from exploiting local balances with a paternalistic spirit, the Westerners categorised, created and distributed identities over the Cretan population. According to Dawkins, the Greeks (including the Cretans here), with all their

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<sup>113</sup> Quoted in McEnroe 2002, 63.

<sup>114</sup> British civil servant, literary historian and poet, who has also served as administrator in India (1835–1911).

imperfections, were the best of the Balkan people, “...*just because they are so teachable and can improve...*”<sup>115</sup>. Dawkins was the archaeologist who, more than any other, was intrigued by the Cretan folklore. This was not a surprise, since he was after all first and foremost a linguist, a scholar of literature too<sup>116</sup>. He spent a considerable amount of time during his fieldwork to write down *mantinades*, a form of recitative 15-syllable rhyming couplets in the Cretan dialect, delivered by the locals of Palaikastro, where the British were digging. Indeed, those verses reveal more than the Cretan vocal tradition:

*Just as many birds as the Arab land has, as many nightingales Russia has,*

*So many saints may watch towards England*<sup>117</sup>

*I cannot do otherwise, if I draw your portrait,*

*When you go back to England I will not forget you*<sup>118</sup>

It is not known if the two Cretans who recited the *mantinades* were also Dawkins’ workers, yet there is a possibility that this is the case. Either way, a level of attachment and gratitude, on national grounds, between locals and British emerges through these lines. Besides, the manipulation of the local cultural resources went further. By using “local archaeologies”, i.e. the local, pre-modern narrative of the material past, like Cretan myths possibly related to potential archaeological sites, the foreigners pursued the discovery and excavation of the latter (Bosanquet 1938, 121)<sup>119</sup>. The locals were seen as kids, who just wanted to play with the sherds found during the excavation all day long (Bosanquet 1938, 78). Bosanquet made fun of their “naivety”, when they expressed gratitude for receiving empty butter-tins as gifts (1938, 144). Others,

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<sup>115</sup> Letter from R. M. Dawkins to J. L. Myres, no date, MSS. Myres 11, Fol. 47, *Papers of Sir John Linton Myres*, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (Appendix A.11).

<sup>116</sup> Later on, in 1920, Dawkins was appointed to the Bywater and Sotheby chair of Byzantine and Modern Greek in the University of Oxford. His main research topic was the Modern Greek dialects.

<sup>117</sup> ARCH.Z.DAWK.7 (1), 335, *R. M. Dawkins Archive*, Taylor Slavonic Library Rare Books (Appendix A.J1).

<sup>118</sup> ARCH.Z.DAWK.7 (1), 338, *R. M. Dawkins Archive*, Taylor Slavonic Library Rare Books (Appendix A.J2).

<sup>119</sup> See also subchapter 7.7.

like Hogarth, were more pessimistic, seeing the “*over-weary*” peasant of Crete as a degenerate descendant of the ancient Greeks (1910, 87). Genetically based racial observations were also apparent, for example when Bosanquet spotted some characteristics that “*spoil so many Levantine faces*” upon the locals (Bosanquet 1938, 116). He even thought that the Muslim Cretans had become manlier, therefore better workers than their Christian fellow countrymen, due to intermingling with the “dominant race” (meaning the Ottomans?). Besides, the highlander Christian Cretans seemed more masculine to him, while the lowland ones were “*poor stuff*” (Bosanquet 1938, 78-79). “Manliness” appeared to be a racial characteristic, but there is also some environmental determinism within these views.

Another aspect of this interaction can be seen if one more factor is introduced. The Western archaeologist came to the Cretan peasant society as a major employer. Business bonds with various groups were created - from rural illegal antiquities sellers (Bosanquet 1938, 79, 123, 126, 136), to craftsmen hired to repair the foreigners’ dwellings (Bosanquet 1938, 77). Through this process, interclass economic relationships were built and a parallel economy with the Westerners at the centre of it was established. The villager’s time became another product to buy for the foreign archaeologist, as Myres recalled: “*For a brief six weeks, between the rains and the heat, the spring flowers annuals, bulbs, dry-footed anemones, and evergreen rock-rose, sage, and rosemary make nature unspeakably beautiful and fragrant. Only man is momentarily unemployed: if he is a shepherd, he quarrels with his neighbour about their goats, or lies in the shade and pipes to his own; if he is an archaeologist, it is time to dig, for the villagers can now sell him all their time*” (1911, 177).

Even the changing landscape, the ruined crops, an outcome of the excavation, was bought away, through compensations (Bosanquet 1938, 139-41). As any ethical businessman, Bosanquet was making sure that his workers were happy with their lives; therefore, he organised feasts for them every now and then, eloquently calling them “*our ‘Fantasia’*” (Bosanquet 1938, 82). Perhaps this certain level of attachment made him feel disappointed and “*very angry*” against his “*reckless*” workmen when “local archaeologies” were applied i.e. when some of the peasants were caught using stones from “*our best Minoan houses*” in order to build or repair their homes - an old habit that under the new narrative was

criminalized, while the local political authorities were pushed by the British to persecute the perpetrators (Bosanquet 1938, 173).

## **5.8 The Cretan past as material for the European Identity-building**

This fervent protection of the Cretan antiquities against the local looters was, after all, a natural outcome, if we consider the vital role this material past played in the identity politics across “civilised” Europe. In 1896, Evans addressed the British Association for the Advancement of Science, with a paper called “The Eastern Question in Anthropology” (Evans 1896). The presentation offered the Aegean, and particularly Crete, as the solution to the quest for the origins of the European race. Crete was becoming the hotbed of the quest for the cradle of the ancient Greeks and Europeans equally. In the mid-18th and 19th century, the idea of European superiority, based on the foundations of the Enlightenment, went hand in hand with equally significant ideas of successive stages of society. These ideas evolved from the study and comparison of contemporary “primitive” peoples on the fringe of the “civilised” world (Sherratt 1989, 163-64). This was the intellectual context amidst which the study of prehistory as the quest for the common European fatherland emerged (Sherratt 1989, 167).

There was a tendency to look for the homeland of the first Indo-Europeans (or Indo-Aryans) across central Asia and the Caucasus. In accordance to this pursuit, the ancient Greek past was seen as being independent from oriental influence, particularly the prehistory of the Semitic East Mediterranean. Around the late 19th century, Salomon Reinach, a French archaeologist, suggested the idea of an indigenous European civilisation, free of Eastern or Semitic influence (Sherratt 1989, 172). Nonetheless, the emerging theories of European prehistory had no consensus, even on basic structure, and were rather subject to different interpretations, related to national attitudes. Thus, for example, the British scholars favoured the idea of cultural diffusion through maritime contacts with the Orient. Evans’ work in Crete and Myres’ in Cyprus were seen as links along the sea routes from the Near East (Sherratt 1989, 174-75). The ethnicity of the

“Minoans”, a contentious issue<sup>120</sup>, was sought within this broader European discourse and was really important to archaeologists such as Evans and Myres, or Vere Gordon Childe later.

Evans’ “Minoans” were not Greek: they were the “pre-Hellenic civilization of Crete” (Evans 1921, 11). They belonged to the dolichocephalic, long-headed “Mediterranean race” (Evans 1921). Clearly Evans was influenced by the ideas of the Italian anthropologist Giuseppe Sergi (1841 – 1936), whose concept of the “Mediterranean race” (Sergi 1901) shaped effectively the racial theories of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to Evans, Greeks were new-comers to the island (Evans 1921, 10). He believed that the “Minoans” descended from an older, Asia Minor population stock, speaking an “indigenous pre-Hellenic language” (Evans 1925, 200). They were also partially relatives to the Libyans and the Egyptians since, supposedly, Nilotic populations had sought refuge in Crete during the early Dynastic expansion of the kingdom of Egypt (Evans 1925, 216-18). These newcomers were assimilated by the old Cretan population, but contributed to the “later bloom of the Minoan culture” (Evans 1925, 225). Thus, Evans’ discourse was not so much about racial purity, but racial mixing of “good” races. Similarly, Myres, who considered ancient Greece a *“product of intense fusion”* (Myres 1911, 216), wrote of the Indo-European northern nomads who entered the scene towards the end of the Bronze Age and *“changed the Aegean world from Minoan to Greek”* (Myres 1911, 217). Moreover, on Childe’s early synthesis, the prehistoric Aegean populations were part of an earlier, oriental and Mediterranean stock that mixed with the Nordic Indo-European tribes, in order to produce the ancient Greeks and, therefore, the ancestors of the European race (Sherratt 1989, 177). Minoan archaeology, the systematic study of the material past of prehistoric Crete defined as “Minoan” by Evans, emerged as an essential part of the discourse on the origins of Europe and the racial theories surrounding it.

In addition, the “Minoans” fed the national narratives of the past across Europe. For example, Halbherr’s work in prehistoric and Roman Crete should be seen alongside G. Gerola’s field trip to the island. Gerola (1877 – 1938), an Italian historian and archaeologist funded by the Italian state, travelled across Crete

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<sup>120</sup> Even nowadays (see subchapter 1.5 and the recent story of the “Minoan” DNA).

and produced a valuable chronicle of its Venetian heritage (Gerola 1905). Both Halbherr and Gerola, through their work, became vital pillars of the Italian state nationalism while it was building its own narratives on the past, over the one time Roman *Mare Nostrum*<sup>121</sup>, or the stronghold of *La Serenissima* (Momigliano 2002, 268-69). Other Italian political visions were fuelled by Crete too. A. Mosso was a physiologist amateur archaeologist and Italian socialist senator; in the footsteps of G. Sergi, the anthropologist who considered the “Minoans” as the cradle of a non-Indo-European, “Mediterranean race” (Sergi 1901), he “discovered” a form of “prehistoric socialism” in the “palaces” of Crete (Mosso 1907, 161). Forty years later, in 1942, a prominent fascist anthropologist, Lidio Cipriani (1892 - 1962), visited Crete, in order to study the Cretans and define their racial origins; he roamed across the island and performed systematic measurements (cranial, but also of hands, feet and other body parts) upon the local population, whom he photographed extensively. Along with the people, he took photos of the Cretan landscape, architecture, archaeological sites and everyday life (cf. Korpis 2014).

Cipriani used this data in order to justify his idea that Crete was the great elaborator and diffuser of a Mediterranean civilisation that started in Libya and involved into the Aryans as it spread across Europe (La Rosa and Militello 2006, 244). For him, modern Cretans were racial heirs of their ancestors i.e. the “Minoans”, despite some insubstantial infiltrations, contrary to modern Greeks, who were at a stage of ethnic and cultural decadence. Therefore, the latter had no right to take pride of a glorious past that was better championed by Fascist Italy. Thus, Cipriani justified the Italian conquest of Greece and Crete, as a rightful restoration of the *mare nostrum*, including the cradle of the Mediterranean race with the Libyan ancestry intact (La Rosa and Militello 2006, 245).

A more powerful example of the influence Crete had upon the Western imagination can be found in a paper written by Evans amidst the hellstorm of WWI; he spoke of the “Minoans” as the “*gifted, indigenous folk*” with the “*advantages of an insular people in taking what it wanted and no more*”, while

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<sup>121</sup> The Roman name for the Mediterranean Sea. After the unification of Italy in 1861, the term was “revived” and used extensively by Italian nationalists; according to their beliefs, Italy was the heir to the Roman Empire.

he concluded with a patriotic call for endurance towards the scholars of the British Isles (Evans 1916b, 451). It is at points like this, that one can sense the already blurry line between past and present being finally broken. The “Minoans” switched positions with the gallant British; the fight of cultural originality against the “alien” Egyptian elements became a fight for survival against the “Huns”<sup>122</sup>. “Minoan” Crete was emerging as a serene utopia (cf. Roessel 2006; Solomon 2006). Surely though, a new collective European identity was built within the excavation trenches of Crete, not only in theoretical discourse, but in everyday life and at times of conflict. It can be also seen in cases such as Halbherr’s pledge for solidarity from all the foreign schools against the “uncivilised” behaviour of the Cretan archaeologists, during his row with Xanthoudides over the Kalyvia tombs<sup>123</sup>. New constructions of Europeanness emerged within colonial landscapes such as that of Crete, which produced both the coloniser and the colonised (Stoler 1989, 136-37). A multinational European membership (rather than a predominantly Western national one) was easier to emerge there (Stoler 1989, 139). Meanwhile, these new identities could also be reformed and passed back to the various European metropolises, affecting the national imagination there (Stoler 1989, 155).

## 5.9 The point of departure

The aim of this chapter was to critically present the way Westerners contributed in the building of a narrative for the past of Crete. It is partly an answer to one of my core questions (how did the colonial foundations of Cretan archaeology affect its relationship with Greek nationalism and Cretan localism?). Briefly, the outcomes of the Western presence in Crete were the following: 1. The incorporation of “Minoan” archaeology within the broader narrative on the origins of the “European race”; the equation of ancient Greece as a forerunner of modern Europe gained a new part, as prehistoric Crete was now the forerunner of Greece, therefore of Europe too. 2. This European identity-building took place

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<sup>122</sup> Derogatory term used for Germans during WWI.

<sup>123</sup> Letter from F. Halbherr to A. J. Evans, 12/11/1901, *The Sir Arthur Evans Archive*, Non-personal letters, No. 71, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (Appendix A.G11). Published Momigliano 2002.

alongside the alignment of the Cretan archaeological record with the Greek nationalist reading of the past. 3. Based on the above equation, the archaeological and political elites of the island served the agenda of Greek expansionism through archaeology, and “prepared” the Cretans for the union with the “motherland”. The dissemination of the new narrative and attitudes towards antiquities, produced by the Westerners, was achieved through the press and the everyday coexistence of the antiquarian savants with the Cretan population. The way Hogarth described the inadequacy felt by the Zakriote peasants is exemplary of this process. Overall, the formation of the Cretan State facilitated the complete control of the Cretan archaeological politics by the Westerners, but not just that; new power relations and a number of conflicts between the local elites and the peasants were caused by this take over<sup>124</sup>. Furthermore, new professional prospects were created for the latter, since the Western capital redefined the economic landscape and initiated a process that would lead to the conquest of the countryside by the European modernity and its local agents. This multifaceted social mobility proved to be an ideal cradle of new identities for all parties involved.

During the years of autonomy (1898 – 1913), the field of “Minoan archaeology” was born. By the beginning of the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and under ‘Minoan’ label, the foundations had been set for the incorporation of the Cretan material past into the legacy of the culture-historical archaeology (Whitley 2006, 65). Just a few years later, in 1925, *The Dawn of European Civilisation* was published by Childe, whose Oxford mentors were Evans and Myres (Sherratt 2006, 108); the “Minoans” held a prominent position in the evolutionary scale of the Europeans, built by the Australian archaeologist, whose work influenced many generations of scholars. There was an almost perfect alignment of the Cretan nationalist speech with the aforementioned narrative; early on (cf. Orsi’s text), the Western archaeologists used a vocabulary that could be used by any local nationalist too. They ‘killed two birds with one stone’, since they both served their agenda and flattered their local colleagues. Still, the Cretan political and archaeological elites adopted only those parts that were in accordance with their identity-building process and ignored others, for the same reason. That is

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<sup>124</sup> To be discussed in Chapter 7.

why the not-so-encouraging cranioscopic discussions were downgraded, or were treated with scorn (cf. Kalokairinos' accusations against Evans on the subject). Equally, the news that the Westerners considered the Cretan archaeological finds as more important than the Greek ones, stirred a sensation in both local elites and population.

The attitudes of the Western archaeologists unveil the fallacy of the Cretan State: autonomy has been presented in the Greek national imagination and its Cretan version as liberty in waiting, given by the compassionate foreign allies. The presence of the latter in the setting was downplayed in these narratives. The Cretan State was seen as a minor, necessary evil, before the union with the fatherland (Petroulakis 2008, 164-65)<sup>125</sup>. Its impact on the local anthropogeography and the identity politics of Crete was ignored. Still, there is a colonial elephant in the room that cannot be ignored. "Minoan Archaeology" is a unique archaeological field, being born out of direct colonial practices; there is a unquestionable resemblance to the crypto-colonial practices witnessed in mainland Greece (cf. Hamilakis 2008, 275-76). However, this is was also Cretan nationalist archaeology in denial, due to its colonial origins: the patriotic narrative of the local antiquarians was constantly challenged by their obligations to the Westerners. The several examples presented here prove that there was no room for independent archaeological policy on the part of the Cretans, at least as far as practice was concerned. In the autonomous state, the laws applied to the Cretan citizens, whereas for the Westerners they were optional. Naturally, the same happened with regards to the archaeological legislation. The laws were amended in accordance to the foreigners' wills and needs. The interests of the latter would be above any growing workmate solidarity towards their local colleagues. Their relationship with them was another means to an end. Of course, this type of interaction does not rule out the possibility that some genuine friendships must have been developed too. Meanwhile, this "inadequacy" was experienced in both sentimental and national terms by the Cretan archaeologists. Thus, the emotional burden of a *debt*, the idea that something precious (autonomy/"freedom", archaeological recognition) had been won thanks to the Westerners would make its presence noticeable early on (cf. the excuse for eventually permitting the export of the clay tablet given to Evans).

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<sup>125</sup> More on this in the next chapter.

It would dominate the Cretan collective imagination within the politics of the past and beyond them, as Hogarth's discussion with the Zakriote peasants highlighted.

All in all, this process had a rather interesting side-effect: the Western archaeologists took over a vital space that was targeted by the Greek archaeological and political elites. In fact, I suggest that this low-scale conflict between Westerners and Greeks over Crete could be seen as the archaeological manifestation of two competing colonialisms, the Western and the Greek one. After all, the Greek nationalist narrative of Crete as an "unredeemed fatherland" was nothing more than the Greek state's effort to legitimise its expansion with an archaeological vocabulary. In fact, as the statement of the Greek king regarding Macedonia has shown, this conflict was not confined to Crete. Thus, the Western take-over of the island generated internal conflicts in an unprecedented scale, at various levels, such as within the Cretan archaeological elite, where patriotic tendencies emerged against the Western-friendly, near-treacherous policy of Hatzidakis. On the fringes of this conflict, the Western archaeologists seemed to build a more or less non-conflict approach to the peasants. It made sense after all. No policing role was demanded by them; this had been taken care by their local colleagues and political authorities (cf. Bosanquet's case in Palaikastro). Plus, all the derogatory speech against the local population or the preferences between Muslim and Christians was confined within the boundaries of a correspondence or a memoir (cf. Hogarth's' comment on the "*physically outworn*" Cretan peasants).

On top of this, the new constructions of Europeanness that emerged within the Cretan antiquarian saga carried multiple class mobility connotations; both rulers and ruled improved their social status through the prestige gained by the archaeological activities. Most of the Westerners came already from the middle and higher social strata of their countries<sup>126</sup>. They preserved, if not improved this position in Crete. They became part of the foreign ruling class of Crete. Their presence and narrative generated and legitimised the Cretan archaeological elite. At the same time, that very presence and narrative delegitimised the

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<sup>126</sup> Not all of them though, for instance, Duncan Mackenzie was born to a poor Highland family in Scotland.

authority and the prestige of their local associates: by constantly unmasking the Cretan archaeological elite as a collaborator, more loyal to the Westerners than the Cretan interests, the foreigners made the validity of nationalist narrative produced by their local agents look rather questionable. The outcomes of this bipolar strain will be studied in the following chapter.



## 6. The new “Minoans”: Cretans as collaborator class

### 6.1 Introduction

I am going to start this chapter with a passage from the novel *Freedom and Death* (known *Kapetan Michalis* in Greek), written by Nikos Kazantzakis. It is a short description of Dr. Hatzisavvas, a Cretan antiquarian (Kazantzakis 1990, 158-59):

*“...a pale hobbler and stutterer with a grey beard stained yellow by cigarette-smoking, had in his time travelled into the land of the Franks to become a doctor, and had come back with his head turned. His madness consisted in paying workmen to dig up the earth for him in places where there were ruins, or on deserted bits of the coast, and even in the caves of Psiloritis; he dug and dug, and found hands and feet of marble, dishes covered with odd lettering, and pottery vases. And all this he took into the bishop’s residence. He had already stuffed a huge room with it. That was now not enough, and he had begun to spread out his treasures in the churchyard. The Christians grumbled that they could no longer send their wives and daughters to church for fear of their seeing those shameless ancient demons, stark naked.*

*...It had been good advice that had been given to old Hadjisávas the father, not to send his son to the land of the Franks, for he would get his soul damaged there. Quite right! Back he had come with a shovel, and dug and dug and dug. It was said he was looking for the golden sow with the nine piglets. But how should he find her? All he possessed he spent on workmen’s wages. Now he ran about in a shabby suit and worn-out shoes. He talked to himself in the street, and soon, for sure, he would begin throwing stones. Only – look – the Metropolitan respected him, gave him a seat near his own at church, and on Sunday handed him the consecrated bread before anybody else. And whenever the Christians found themselves groping in the dark, they sent him as*

*spokesman to the Metropolitan and to the Pacha. And once, when Frankish warships anchored in the harbour, he had gone and chattered with the Franks. He had talked and talked and none of the Greeks could understand him. Poor thing! – or did he really speak foreign languages?”*

The novel was written in the 1950s, but the story takes place in late 19<sup>th</sup> century Crete, where the writer grew up. This specific passage is characteristic, since, within a few lines, one can find an eloquent description of a rather interesting creature: the Cretan archaeologist; a “new kind of man”, looked down on by his fellow countrymen, trying to stand on two boats with one foot on each, the scholarly “heaven” of the West and the local, nationalised imagination; with awkward dreams and even more awkward ways to make them reality; useless, yet so useful, for both local political elites and the foreign newcomers.

This chapter deals with the Cretan archaeologists and antiquarians who were active during the Cretan State years, both as individual agents and as a network with common goals, identity and practices. Being counted as an archaeologist in the Cretan State, it seems, had more to do with an antiquarian experience during the pre-autonomy period, plus good relations with the Western archaeologists, than having a special qualification<sup>127</sup>. The Cretan archaeological elite was a fairly small group of people, mainly with origins in the *Syllogos*. It was formally organised when the Antiquities Law passed<sup>128</sup> and, due to its structure, dominated by the two leading figures of Cretan archaeology, Hatzidakis and Xanthoudides. They were appointed as heads of the two Cretan Ephorates, under the Higher Directorate of Education, i.e. the Ministry of Education. An archaeological committee<sup>129</sup>, composed of three members, was responsible for matters such as the export of antiquities. Both Hatzidakis and Xanthoudides were members of that body and, thus, the majority in it too. They kept these positions throughout the Cretan State period. Under their command, several museum curators, foremen and guards were appointed to the Ephorates and the archaeological museums of the three major cities of Crete, Chania, Rethymnon

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<sup>127</sup> For example, Hatzidakis was a doctor. Nonetheless, as we will see below, there was a whole discourse around it.

<sup>128</sup> See subchapter 5.3.

<sup>129</sup> The Archaeological Commissionership.

and Heraklion. Around this small group, there was an extended network of guards for the archeological sites. In addition, the archaeological elite was well integrated in the Cretan ruling class. Thus, it had extended access to the services of several Cretan State authorities and officials, such as gendarmes and school teachers, who worked as the unofficial eyes and ears of the Ephorates in the countryside. I focus primarily on how members of the archaeological elite established themselves as a collaborator class, acting within a semi-colonial regime in favour of Western archaeological interests. I discuss their background and internal fighting amongst themselves; their relations with the Greek archaeological establishment; and the ways this group contributed to the establishment of the Greek nationalist narrative within Cretan archaeology. I also study their interaction and confrontation with sections of the Cretan population, particularly the peasants. Moreover, I emphasise how Cretan archaeologists contributed to the narrative of the continuity of the Greek nation, from antiquity to the present. Finally, I elaborate on how the narrative they produced was useful for the building of a culture of subjugation, imposed upon the local population by the local elites.

## 6.2 Inauguration of the Cretan collaborator class

It has been claimed that Hatzisavvas, in *Freedom and Death*, is just a fictional alter ego of Joseph Hatzidakis (*Patris*, 31/01/2007<sup>130</sup>). The latter was born in 1848 on the island of Melos, part of Greece, but his family came from Sfakia, Crete. He graduated from the Medical School of the University of Athens in 1871 and continued his studies in Germany. He had visited Crete (Hatzidakis 1881) prior to 1882, when he moved to Heraklion, then called Candia, the island's capital, where he worked as a physician. Only one year later he was elected as president of the Cretan Association of Friends of Education (*Kritikos Filekpaideftikos Syllogos*, or *Syllogos* in short), which was established in 1878 (Hatzidakis 1931, 8).

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<sup>130</sup> <http://www.patris.gr/articles/102878?PHPSESSID=#.U2pC01dwhG0> - Online edition; date accessed: 07/05/2014. Article by M. E. Detorakis. See also La Rosa 2000; Momigliano 2002.

The Heraklion *Syllogos* was not a unique case: during the years that followed the Pact of Chalepa, *Syllogoi* were created across the island (*Nea Evdomas*, 17/01/1888, 1-2, on the creation of a *Syllogos* at Hierapetra). The fascination with a romanticised perception of classic antiquity spread across Cretan cities; a cultural “Cretan Spring” preceded the Cretan State. Special nights, where the upper class Christians were mesmerised by speeches made by school teachers, on subjects such as ancient Greek religion (*Nea Evdomas*, 24/01/1888, 3), were not uncommon. Later, in 1902, school gymnastics festivals in public spaces were turning into celebrations of the “immortal Cretan youth” (*Patris*, 03/06/1902, 1-2); Christian Cretan students were admired for their “*bronze muscles*” and for proving their Greekness. They accomplished this by performing the *exercises “the Greek way”* and dancing local dances, as a homage to the nation, and the “armed dances” of the ancients. One newspaper article reporting on the phenomenon concluded with a bold accusation of *xenolatry*, (obsession with anything foreign); the writer implied that events like these were the best way to secure national purity among the youth of Crete and keep them safe from the temptations of foreign customs. One could speculate that behind this claim lay the concern among some of the Cretan agents of Greek nationalism, who felt threatened by the increased Western influence on the island. Besides, although the Cretan State was nothing more than a protectorate, it had among its top priorities the production of tomorrow’s obedient patriots and soldiers; naturally, the fulfilment of this task involved national catechism introduced in the Christian schools of Crete, including gymnastics festivals that resembled military training. After all, the Greek motherland, under the spell of the “Great idea”, would soon need “fresh meat” for the marshes of Macedonia, where the “Macedonian Struggle” unfolded after 1904<sup>131</sup>. In fact, several leading figures amongst the Greek paramilitary bands which participated in that conflict were Cretans (**Fig. 20**).

The Cretan upper class produced members that adhered to more than one affiliation: with Greek nationalism as their core ideological drive, the “appropriate” reading of the past became a norm in their perception of reality and actions. People from the political and military elite reproduced narratives

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<sup>131</sup> See Chapter 2.

deriving from the local patriotic scholarship, and school teachers, physicians, or clergymen turned into semi-formal antiquarians. All of them shared a common characteristic, being part of the Ottoman state structure, one way or another: a characteristic example of this mindset and background was the Cretan revolutionary Manousos Koundouros, the leader of the last revolution before the Autonomy (1895 – 1898). In 1897, frustrated with the Great Powers, who were destroying even small Cretan sea vessels in order to secure a naval blockade imposed on the island, he accused them of being ungrateful: although they were the now powerful, they should remember that Crete was once a sea power too, and that King Minos was the “*son of Europa*”, the “*first European king*”; it was the Cretans who civilised them (Koundouros 1997, 137)<sup>132</sup>.

In general, the background of the Cretan upper class (political, military and intellectual) emerged from the milieu of the Greek state. Like Koundouros, most of its key figures had studied in the national centre (Athens). The prominent archaeologist Stephanos Xanthoudides, was also the son of a Christian revolutionary and studied in Athens, under two emblematic figures in the school of Greek nationalist historiography, Constantinos Paparrigopoulos and Spyridon Lambros (Detorakis 1990, 9-10). He later worked as a teacher at the High School of Neapolis, between 1889 and 1891 (Detorakis 1990, 13). In contrast to Hatzidakis, he had not studied abroad (Detorakis 1990, 14). Even nowadays, he is credited as the first “Cretologist” (Detorakis 1990, 14), due to his passion for all things Cretan, history, philology and folklore, and his meticulous work related to them.

Most of the local archaeologists had strong ties to the political elite, even if they had not served in its ranks directly. Also, as seen in the previous chapter, Mihelidakis, the most powerful politician during the first years of autonomy, acted as Hatzidakis’ emissary in the Cretan Assembly, supporting Evans’ interests. Both Hatzidakis and Xanthoudides had been *Plireksousii* (Deputies) of the Archanes and Pediada regions respectively, during the crucial year of 1897,

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<sup>132</sup> Koundouros’ memoirs were published for the first time in 1921, long after the Cretan excavations had started. Still, the text lacks any archaeological reference. Furthermore, its fierce tone, written in the present tense, along with the citing of the work of a 19<sup>th</sup> century Austrian traveller, Anton von Prokesch-Osten (1795 – 1876), in order to justify the “ancient glory” of Crete, instead of referring to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century publications that referred to the “Minoan” archaeological developments, implies a dating close to the time of the events, i.e. 1897.

when the future of Crete was at stake. Hatzidakis even acted as an informant for Koundouros in the Archanes Assembly, when autonomy was accepted by the Cretans, after conflicting factions almost killed each other (Detorakis 1990, 33; Petroulakis 2008, 157-58). Xanthoudides seemed to be closer to the greatest opponent of Koundouros and Mihelidakis, and future prime minister of Greece, Eleftherios Venizelos. On the 9<sup>th</sup> August of 1897, the politician who would become the star of Greek politics during the following decades, sent a letter to the patriot antiquarian, addressing him as Deputy of Pediada; he was asking him to act as a tour guide for twelve British officers who were going to visit Pediada and Monofatsi. The Westerners had orders to check the Muslims' properties and decide if it was safe for them to return, after order had been restored in the region due to Western intervention (Detorakis 1990, 32-33). The archaeologist, as a connoisseur of the landscape and the local anthropogeography, acted as the mediator for the foreigners. His mission was to present a "civilised" picture of the Cretan countryside that would serve the Greek nationalist cause in the island; at that time, this was autonomy, as a lesser of two evils. Sometimes the pressure emerging from roles like this was mounting, leading to rather uncomfortable situations: like when Xanthoudides embarrassed himself in Archanes, when he failed to address the Prince, during his visit: "...*the MPs, captains, chieftains and officers were presented to the Prince by the prefect of the province, but Professor S. Xanthoudides, who was supposed to address the ruler, failed to do so due to hesitation, although he had prepared and written the speech*" (Estia, 06/05/1899, 3).

### 6.3 Those left behind

In general, the Cretan archaeologists were part of a well-established, self-recognised nationalist Christian elite, and viewed themselves as servants of the Greek national cause, from their own bastion. Their actions and words revealed people who considered the rising discipline of archaeology as an extension of the battlefield and of the political struggle. Their narrative was more or less common and vital for the nation-building process. All of them, from the philologist Xanthoudides, to the traveller physician Hatzidakis and to the first

excavator of Knossos, Minos Kalokairinos (1843 – 1907), were heavily influenced by the classical scholars and ancient Greek mythology.

Kalokairinos was the member of a prominent family of Heraklion, the younger son of the wealthy merchant Andreas Kalokairinos. His brother, Lysimachus, was the British vice consul in Crete during the last years of direct Ottoman rule. Minos graduated from high school in Syros and began his studies in law at the University of Athens, but, after his father died in 1864, he returned to Crete, to manage his family business, along with his brother. In 1871 he fell out with the latter, took his share and invested in the soap and viticulture industries; moreover, he worked as the Spanish vice-consul and British dragoman (interpreter). In 1878, inspired by the ancient Greek classical literature and the work of Schliemann at Mycenae, he excavated the hill of Kephala, where he discovered part of the “palace” of Knossos. The excavations were stopped by the Ottoman Governor, Fotiadis Pasha, in 1879 (Kopaka 1995, 508), after the Cretan parliament<sup>133</sup> had decided accordingly. Kalokairinos believed that he had found the whole “Palace of Minos”<sup>134</sup>; his main goal was to draw the attention of the “specialists” to it through his excavation (Kopaka 1989-1990, 8), who, in this case, were primarily the foreign archaeologists. Kalokairinos’ excavation would also become a crucial factor for the “Cretan fever” that followed (Kopaka 1995, 506-507). As a matter of fact, Kalokairinos, being a conscious Greek patriot, tried to “save” his collections of finds by exporting them to Athens, in order for them to be hosted in the Museum of the Archaeological Society at Athens (Kopaka 1995, 510, n.32); thus, giving an incentive to Greek irredentism through archaeology. Retrospectively, his motives had some justification. His archaeological collection, the first one built in Crete by a local and with no intervention by the Westerners, was housed in the mansion of the Kalokairinos family. That collection was destroyed along with the mansion during the massacre of 1898 in Candia (Kopaka 1989-1990, 7), apart from several artefacts, like *pithoi*, that Kalokairinos had sent as gifts to Cretan, Greek and Western museums (Kopaka 1989-1990, 38-40; 1995, 510).

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<sup>133</sup> This “Cretan parliament” should not be confused here with the Cretan Assembly during the years of the Cretan State. It was a short-lived body with significantly less powers, established in 1878, after the concessions offered by the Sultan Abdul Hamid II to his Christian subjects in Crete, through the Pact of Chalepa.

<sup>134</sup> In fact, he excavated part of the “West Magazines” of the “Palace”.

In 1878, when Kalokairinos excavated Knossos, Xanthoudides was 14 years old and the *Sylogos* had just been established (Kopaka 2002, 127). *De facto*, Kalokairinos was the first modern archaeologist of Crete; *de jure*, he would miss the train of the Cretan archaeological endeavour, not being included in the ranks of the local pioneers by Cretan historiography until recently, when Katerina Kopaka brought his story to the spotlight. From being a pioneer, Kalokairinos became marginalised. The background of this “downfall” is of elemental importance when it comes to understanding the proceedings within which the Cretan archaeological elite developed. The first excavator of Knossos had the same views as his local colleagues. Through the pages of his *Cretan Archaeological Newspaper*<sup>135</sup>, the Cretan landscape was emerging as an achronic, mythical dreamscape, where King Minos still reigned. Kalokairinos was a well-respected man among the foreigners, coming from a merchant family with strong business ties with many European trading firms. His subscribers were Western archaeologists and members of the local upper class, both Christian and Muslim<sup>136</sup>. His little joys in life were similar to the ones that made the other, more well-connected Cretan archaeologists happy; among them, recognition amongst their Western colleagues, such as when the mayor of Heraklion reassured him that W. Dörpfeld<sup>137</sup> mentioned during one of his talks, in 1905, that the “Palace of Knossos” had been initially discovered by Kalokairinos (Fig. 21)<sup>138</sup>. Evans had been excavating the site since 1900, and Kalokairinos was slipping into archaeological oblivion even before that development.

Kalokairinos’ story is highly indicative of the power struggle within the community of the Cretan antiquarians. The trophy was nothing less than the favour of the Westerners, which acted as a symbolic capital and a social ladder for Cretan elites. The building of these alliances started early on, in the last years before the establishment of the Cretan State. During that time, and while the

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<sup>135</sup> Published between late 1906 and early 1907, until his death, in order to secure his posthumous legacy.

<sup>136</sup> *Cretan Archaeological Newspaper*, Issue 3, 11/09/1906, Serial No. 429, Folder 24, Series 1a, Historical Museum of Crete, Heraklion, where the names of both Muslim and Christian Cretan subscribers are listed [Appendix A.B(II)1].

<sup>137</sup> Famous German architect and archaeologist (1853 – 1940).

<sup>138</sup> Letter of M. Deliahmetakis, Cretan Muslim and former mayor of Heraklion, to M. Kalokairinos, 31/08/1906, *Cretan Archaeological Newspaper*, Issue 1, 11/09/1906, Serial No. 429, Folder 24, Series 1a, Historical Museum of Crete, Heraklion [Appendix A.B(II)2].

*Syllogos*' influence grew stronger, the prevailing dogma for Cretan antiquities was that they were better protected under the soil of the fatherland, until the time of national salvation (Sakellarakis 1998, 43, 132-33). When Hatzidakis took charge of the *Syllogos*, he made sure that the Cretan antiquities would eventually be protected [sic] by the European Powers; in 1896, during the revolution, fearing that the small museum established by the *Syllogos* in Heraklion was going to be looted by the Ottoman mob, he transferred its exhibits to the European warships anchored in the port of the city (Hatzidakis 1931, 61). Around the same time, he appointed Federico Halbherr as an advisor to the *Syllogos* board (*id.* 40). Halbherr, an Italian, was one of the first foreign archaeologists who started roaming across the Cretan countryside searching for antiquities and trying to establish a partnership with the emerging antiquarian elite of the island. The *Syllogos* (or more likely, Hatzidakis) started to act as a mediator between Western archaeologists and local communities, in order to facilitate excavations organised by the former (Sakellarakis 1998, 149).

However, there were reactions to this move. Prominent members of the *Syllogos*, like the schoolmaster Ioannis Perdikaris (1856 – 1909), openly detested the new policy, especially when the official, patriotic dogma for antiquities was that they were “best kept buried” for fear of being exported from the island (Sakellarakis 1998, 43-44). In the meantime, the Cretan Museum was enriched with already unburied exhibits; prominent and wealthy citizens of Crete offered the *Syllogos* parts of their collections, most of them illegally obtained, and were praised as good patriots and donors (Hatzidakis 1931, 19-20). Hatzidakis' actions could be better described, in modern terms, as lobbying for the Western archaeologists. On the contrary, Perdikaris' nationalism appears more radical and romantic, but perhaps motivated by the balance of power within the *Syllogos*. After all, his objections seem to be limited to the favouring of the Western archaeological activities by Hatzidakis, not the antiquities collections of the local upper-class looters. This internal conflict over the leadership of the main antiquarian institution in pre-autonomy Crete justified Perdikaris' alignment with the anti-Western side of the *Syllogos* and his extensive correspondence with Stephanos Koumanoudis, secretary of the Archaeological Society at Athens (Sakellarakis 1998, 32). As we already saw, the Society was the driving force of Greek nationalism in the field of archaeology and main opponent of the Western takeover of Cretan archaeological politics, which was facilitated by Hatzidakis.

## 6.4 Family issues

Strained relationships preceding the declaration of autonomy were well attested, even during the Cretan State period, sometimes at the level of internal nationalist discourses; the building of a joint policy by the Cretan antiquarians was not a given fact, at least regarding the archaeological practice. Even Xanthoudides, Hatzidakis' closest partner, revealed some kind of tension with the former head of the *Sylogos* during the last years before the union with Greece. In 1912, he warned the new Governor of Crete, S. Dragoumis (1842 – 1923)<sup>139</sup> that the policy of Hatzidakis, constantly granting excavation licences to the foreigners (in this particular case the Italians), would leave the Cretan Archaeological Service without any space to dig<sup>140</sup>. He referred to the “pressure” applied on the Service, which hopefully would be eliminated with the forthcoming union with Greece<sup>141</sup>. The Governor agreed with Xanthoudides' views<sup>142</sup> and left Hatzidakis exposed<sup>143</sup>. Once more, Hatzidakis was accused, indirectly this time, of antinational behaviour. However, one year earlier, when Luigi Pernier, on behalf of the Italian Archaeological School, applied for permission to excavate Eleftherna, Xanthoudides lobbied for him to the Higher Directorate of Education; he described the application as a fortunate event, since “*serious archaeologists*” would put Western Crete on the archaeological map, therefore he advised the Directorate to grant them the requested licence (**Fig. 22**)<sup>144</sup>. The Italian application, however, was not successful and the first systematic excavation of Eleftherna eventually began in 1985, led by the University of Crete. The two

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<sup>139</sup> Dragoumis was the main organiser of the Greek paramilitary action during the Macedonian Struggle (1904 – 1908).

<sup>140</sup> Report from S. Xanthoudides to S. Dragoumis, *S. Dragoumis Archive*, Series IV, Folder 93.3, No. 68, 06/09/1912, Gennadius Library – ASCSA [Appendix A.E(II)2].

<sup>141</sup> Premonitions of war were alarming (what would follow would eventually be the First Balkan War). Signs of a large-scale border change on the peninsula were – already – apparent.

<sup>142</sup> Letter from J. Hatzidakis to S. Dragoumis, *S. Dragoumis Archive*, Series IV, Folder 93.3, No. 73, 15/02/1913, Gennadius Library – ASCSA [Appendix A.E(II)3].

<sup>143</sup> He writes that no previous documents of the Cretan Archaeological Service justify Hatzidakis' claims: Response to J. Hatzidakis from S. Dragoumis, *S. Dragoumis Archive*, Series IV, Folder 93.3, No. 74, 18/02/1913, Gennadius Library – ASCSA [Appendix A.E(II)4].

<sup>144</sup> Letter of S. Xanthoudides to the Higher Directorate of Education, 01/07/1911, Book 29, *Heraklion Archaeological Museum Archive*, 23rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Heraklion, (Appendix A.C7).

stories above highlight the fact that the motives behind conflicts in Cretan archaeological politics were far from obvious.

Another level of internal conflict was defined by the value given to the studies abroad, as a privilege and ticket for advancement within the state archaeological hierarchy – and how good public relations outweighed this. Efstathios Petroulakis, director of the Cretan Museum in Rethymnon, writing to Dragoumis, felt that he had every right to be frustrated. He believed that Xanthoudides and Hatzidakis had taken over positions without having proper archaeological studies in the West. On the contrary, he claimed that he spared no expense to travel across the European metropolises, so that he could get the highly accredited, archaeological training offered by Western academia. The purpose, of course, was to serve his fatherland with these studies. Therefore, with the opportunity of the forthcoming union with Greece, he asked for personnel renewal of the Archaeological Service, so that the new generation (namely him) could step forward<sup>145</sup>.

## 6.5 Of uncomfortable cohabitations

A large proportion of the conflicts within the Cretan archaeological universe were caused by the level and nature of engagement with the Westerners. On a different level, uncomfortable situations and tensions rose between the Cretans and their foreign colleagues, due to this uneasy partnership. One of the major and defining characteristics of the Cretan State Archaeological Service was that it lacked sufficient funds for it to participate sufficiently in the archaeological ‘conquest’ of the island. This was due to the high level of dependence on the Great Powers, highlighted in the previous chapter; it also left the locals to act more or less as a legitimizing mechanism for Western activities. The major archaeological excavations were performed by the foreign Schools. Smaller excavations and minor projects were directed by the local archaeologists; one could say that, through this activity, they tried to save their honour, become part of the whole archaeological legacy being built around them, and justify their

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<sup>145</sup> Letter from E. Petroulakis to S. Dragoumis, *S. Dragoumis Archive*, Series IV, Folder 93.3, No. 81, 10/02/1913, Gennadius Library – ASCSA [Appendix A.E(II)5].

dull, intermediary role in the eyes of Cretan public opinion. Thus, they claimed the right to speak about the “monuments” and act as agents for them and their “true meaning” for the Cretans.

If there was such a thing as “collective thought” within the Cretan archaeological elite, then a great amount of it was surely consumed by, and took pride in, making a good impression on their foreign colleagues, scholar travellers or officials who visited the antiquities. They thus acted as mediators, tour guides or facilitators of excavations. Even now, Cretan nationalist scholars outline the satisfaction felt by the forefathers of Cretan archaeology, and define this “efficacy” as being due to their great charisma (Detorakis 1990, 69-70). In the field, the local state archaeologists interacted with their foreign colleagues as observers of the Western archaeological enterprise; abiding by the rule of the Cretan Antiquities Law, they monitored the foreign missions, as they were unearthing what was perceived to be the “Palaces” of their “forefathers”. The concern involved in the process of note-taking and attending the Western excavations was remarkable; for example, in 1903, Xanthoudides was keeping track of every test trench opened at Knossos, the number of workmen involved in every task and when Evans arrived at or left the site (**Fig. 23**)<sup>146</sup>.

It is easy to assume that the intermingling in the field, and the shared academic environment of conferences, would have created a variety of cordial relationships, expressed in various ways. Sometimes, politics intruded in scholarly correspondence. For example, in a letter to Xanthoudides, discussing *Erotokritos*, an early 17<sup>th</sup> century Cretan romance<sup>147</sup>, the British ancient historian and archaeologist Henry R. Hall (1873 – 1930) found it appropriate to add some current political developments in the mix: he congratulated the Cretan Ephor of Antiquities for the latest military victory of his fatherland, namely the capture of

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<sup>146</sup> “Excavation diary”, 1903, Serial No. 96A, Eta Series, Archive Code 6, *Donation of Chryssoula A. Xanthoudides from the bequest of Stephanos Xanthoudides, The S. Xanthoudides Archive*, Historical Museum of Crete, Heraklion [Appendix A.B(l)1].

<sup>147</sup> The work was composed in the Cretan dialect by Vitsentzos Kornaros (1553 – 1614); a Venetian-Cretan poet and leading figure of what will be later called “Cretan Renaissance”. Along with *Erophile*, written by Georgios Chortatzis (1545 – 1610), *Erotokritos* is considered by many scholars to be the most important work of Cretan literature.

Salonika by the Greek Army, during the 1<sup>st</sup> Balkan War (Detorakis 1990, 74-75)<sup>148</sup>. In general, this amicability was an outcome of a broader, highly specialised interaction. Apart from being tour guides in the archaeological sites, the heads of Cretan archaeology facilitated all the activities of their Western colleagues. Their contribution was of fundamental importance. As seen in the previous chapter, Hatzidakis was lobbying extensively before and during the Cretan State years, especially for Evans. Likewise, Xanthoudides participated willingly in the plotting that preceded the passing of the Cretan Antiquities Law. His conflict with the Italians over the Kalyvia tombs case was short-lived, since he obeyed the Cretan government's orders and backed down. Further to this, as mentioned on Chapter 5, both of those pioneers were members of the Archaeological Commissionership (*Archeologiki Epitropeia*), which gave permission for the Westerners to export antiquities.

Of course, the situation was far from ideal and the “pressure” of which Xanthoudides wrote to Dragoumis took its toll, although not always publicly. It has to be carefully searched out from hints and accusations with polished edges, like in a footnote of Xanthoudides' *Cretan Civilisation*; there, the Cretan bitterly referred to the incident of Kalyvia and “wondered” why the Italians, who were granted the right to excavate and publish the finds of the site, had not done their “*scientific duty*”, regarding the second part (Xanthoudides 1904, 38). The contrast was more striking in Hatzidakis' language. His letters to Evans represent an emblematic narrative; they vividly outline his effort to prove his loyalty and the power relations developed between him and the British archaeologist. He used the same willingness to present himself as a cooperative intermediary a little earlier, in his correspondence with Schliemann. Nonetheless, as years went by, bitterness developed despite all the excuses and good will. A specific draft letter written by Hatzidakis to Evans is highly revealing (**Fig. 24**)<sup>149</sup>. A request from the British archaeologist to export antiquities to Britain was blocked by the Cretan authorities. A guess would be that Evans complained about this. This

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<sup>148</sup> Letter from H. R. Hall to S. Xanthoudides, 13/11/1912 (Serial No. 54, Folder 1/54, Archive Code 6, *Donation of Androcles Xanthoudides from the bequest of Stephanos Xanthoudides, The S. Xanthoudides Archive*, Historical Museum of Crete, Heraklion). Published in Detorakis 1990 [Appendix A.B(l)2].

<sup>149</sup> Draft letter from J. Hatzidakis to A. J. Evans, 22/05/1909, Book 28, *Heraklion Archaeological Museum Archive*, 23rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Heraklion (Appendix A.C8).

hypothesis would explain Hatzidakis' following reaction: he admitted that, indeed, all Cretans owed Evans so much for protecting the "national antiquities" (interestingly, he has written "Cretan", then erased it, in order to replace it with "national"); however, he reminded him that, whatever he (Evans) did, he did it for the love of science and that he did not receive any other promise in advance. Plus, when he got the excavation licence for Knossos, it was just for that, not for exporting antiquities. A great passage presenting the Cretan Assembly as an obstacle in this case has been erased. In general, the writing is not clear. Lots of sentences are erased, indicating a man not sure of how to express himself:

*"Both I and all the Cretans recognise your great service to the preservation of the Cretan national antiquities of Crete. But whatever you did until now since your matter was brought before the Parliament you did it due to your love for science and not because you hoped you would get something in return. Moreover, I believe you admit that you never had any promise of that kind made by any authority. In fact, when the permission to excavate was granted to you, it was granted at the same time [erased, incomprehensible text follows]"*

A great deal of insecurity and uncertainty are suggested by the way this draft has been written. In the end, there is no proof that it was eventually posted to Evans<sup>150</sup>. Perhaps it was just an unfinished exercise of courage and national dignity for the godfather of Cretan archaeology. Still, as seen in the previous chapter, this bitterness, this "act of resistance", even as a paper exercise, would only lead to even more bold manifestations of obedience, since, a few days later, the Archaeological Commissionership granted permission for Evans to export the finds that he was initially denied<sup>151</sup>.

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<sup>150</sup> Since no such letter has been found among those that Hatzidakis sent to Evans and are kept in the Sir Arthur Evans Archive (Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford).

<sup>151</sup> No. 19, 07/06/1909, *Minutes of the Archaeological Commissionership*, Heraklion Archaeological Museum Archive (Appendix A.C2).

## 6.6 How to disappoint the fatherland

Regardless of the occasional tensions, such as those discussed above, the feeling gained from the extensive study of the archives is that a promise of a privileged status had been given to the Cretan archaeologists by their Western colleagues, in exchange for a loose and patriotically flawed stance towards the national centre, i.e. Greece. Even in the twilight of the Cretan State, while the union with the fatherland was a matter of months or days away, British archaeologists advised the Cretans to keep the Greeks out of the game; Hall wrote to Xanthoudides: *"The next time I come to Crete it will be Hellenic. But then you must not let your antiquities go to Athens. You must keep them at Heraklion and still bring people to the island"* (Detorakis 1990, 74-75)<sup>152</sup>. One could easily assume that the "people" referred by Hall here were foreigners engaged or willing to engage in archaeological activities on Cretan soil. If anything, suggestions like this, in the light of Xanthoudides' report to Dragoumis on the foreign "pressure", betrayed nervousness by the Westerners, a fear of losing their grip on the island.

However, the Greek archaeologists had moved out of the frame quite early. The 'bad blood' between Cavvadias, General Superintendent of Antiquities of the Greek Archaeological Service, and the Westerners was before autonomy: this is obvious from the plotting around the Cretan Antiquities Law and the dispute between Cavvadias and the American archaeological mission working in Crete, described in the previous chapter. We have also seen in these cases that the side chosen by the Cretan archaeologists in this dispute was emphatically that of their Western colleagues. But not all Greek antiquarians found Crete to be an unfriendly place. Some of them, like Ioannis Svoronos (1863 - 1922), a Greek archaeologist and numismatist affiliated to Greek and French academia, managed to establish a partnership with the key local figures. Not only this, but he also considered the attempted infiltration of Cavvadias as a threat: closing one of his letters to Hatzidakis, he added a rather unflattering paragraph regarding the Greek archaeologist; apparently, the book that was going to be

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<sup>152</sup> Letter from H. R. Hall to S. Xanthoudides, 13/11/1913 (Serial No. 54, Folder 1/54, Archive Code 6, *Donation of Androcles Xanthoudides from the bequest of Stephanos Xanthoudides, The S. Xanthoudides Archive*, Historical Museum of Crete, Heraklion). Published in Detorakis 1990.

published by the latter would “...ridicule us again [...] for the sake of Archaeology, we should get rid of this man and the main burden of this task has unfortunately fallen upon you”<sup>153</sup>.

Indeed, there must have been some uneasiness among the Greek antiquarians, such as Svoronos, who had managed to become part of the Cretan antiquarian universe. The establishment of the Cretan State brought a new, ambitious and demanding potential player, seen as an intruder by them; in a way, this was not an unjustified fear. In 1899 the Archaeological Society at Athens amended its regulations; it was now capable of performing excavations even beyond the borders of the Greek kingdom. The Greek newspapers covering the event clearly stated that the main reason for this was to make it possible for the Society to perform excavations in Crete (*To Asti*, 20/01/1899, 2). As we have seen, it was the same period during which the Greeks tried to impose upon Cretans an Antiquities Law made by them (namely, Cavvadias); in fact, this was presented to the Greek public as the correction of all the wrongs found in the Greek Antiquities Law of the time, since, finally, antiquities were protected effectively from looting (*To Asti*, 16/03/1899, 2). In a way, the Greek private and state archaeological establishment was ready to colonise the new national ground, to incorporate its past in the national body, while the Greek politicians worked to take over its present. Thus, Greece emerged as a latent competitor to the West, when it came to this, rather obscure, crypto-colonial conflict for the fate of Crete. Interestingly, during the Antiquities Law controversy, it was the High Commissioner, Prince George, who asked Cavvadias to compile the legislation (*Estia*, 21/12/1898, 3). The apparent silence of the Cretan archaeologists from the public discourse was deafening and indicative of the already established hostility on their part towards the Greek archaeologist, in line with Western sentiments. It was hardly surprising then that this Greek campaign started to appear futile quite quickly. The organisation of the Cretan Archaeological Service no doubt owed a lot to the Greeks (*To Asti*, 20/06/1901); after Cavvadias’ earlier, failed reconnaissance, they looked more determined and started choosing potential sites for excavations, right after the Cretan State was established (*To*

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<sup>153</sup> Letter from I. Svoronos to J. Hatzidakis, 01/12/95?, Book 8, *Heraklion Archaeological Museum Archive*, 23rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Heraklion (Appendix A.C9).

*Asti*, 22/12/1898, 2). But, four years later, the whole thing was still at the planning stage; it was decided that Christos Tsountas, a renowned prehistoric archaeologist (1857 – 1934), Ephor of Antiquities of the Greek Archaeological Service and Councillor of the Archaeological Society at Athens would be sent to Crete; his mission was to find ideal sites for future excavations (*To Asti*, 29/11/1902, 1). All in all, the Greeks seemed to be desperately out of step with reality. While the Cretan archaeological dreamscape was in full development, they were still struggling to make up some plan for the big take over, which eventually never happened under their terms. This unpleasant realisation would reach the public sphere, when Cavvadias made his frustration known during an interview (*Ephemeris*, 12/12/1900, 1):

*“We think that our Archaeological Society should participate in the excavations in Crete, by taking up the exploration of one of the many ancient Cretan cities, since, thank God, there is plenty of space for everyone, and glory for all the people in Crete. And yes, on the one hand, antiquity belongs to all the lovers and servants of Science, but, on the other, nobody can question the fact that Greece is the party most immediately interested in Crete than anyone else”*

## 6.7 Conflicting identities among the Cretan elites

In the light of the stance adopted by the Cretan antiquarians, who found themselves amidst a Greece vs. West subliminal archaeological conflict, it has to be made clear that nationalism was not self-evident for the archaeological elite of Crete. There were social factors that made this choice more or less mandatory; as Mazower points out *“the appeal to nationalism can be construed as a legitimizing slogan by a scholarly community all too conscious of its own feeble standing in daily life rather than a self-evident truth of unstoppable force”* (2008, 34). The Cretan antiquarians managed to expand their influence by supporting an irredentist agenda, yet their affiliations with the Westerners made them look like they were fence-walking between national duty and treason. This is obvious, especially in the coverage of the archaeological news of Crete by the Greek press. For example, *To Asti* (5/10/1899, 2) accused the *“well-paid Ephors of antiquities”* in Crete of not monitoring the activities of the foreign archaeologists operating

in the island. Within this cornucopia of intellectual production and identity politics, hybrid identities emerged within the archaeological elite (cf. Bhabha 1999). The people who were responsible for the production and dissemination of the nationalist narrative on the past became the system of local intermediaries which facilitated the rule and activities of the Westerners in Crete (cf. Breuilly 1993, 194-96, 215); this condition incorporated a rather turbulent frame of self-determination, which it had to balance between conflicting values: reconciling nationally proud identities with well-concealed colonial undertones seems to be a rather unsettling task (Chatterjee 1993, 27).

When facing criticism, the makers of this policy invoked the moral and national “debt” to the Great Powers (Xanthoudides 1904, 1). After all, Cretan archaeologists felt attached to their Western colleagues; examples presented in this thesis provide evidence that they defined a great part of their worldview through actions and ideologies produced by the latter. The Cretan antiquarians utilised a great part of the Western archaeological narrative on Crete in order to justify the Greek nationalist reading of the past, present and future of the island. It was through these foreign archaeologists that the local antiquarian elite, intellectuals, authors and politicians on their own right within Crete, established themselves in the international archaeological scene. At the same time, they became an essential tool for the Cretan (and later Greek) ruling class, as producer and manager of the national narrative on the past - a vital symbolic capital for people involved in national conflicts and identity politics, which, from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century until the present, has the potential to dominate even the political process (Greenberg and Keinan 2007, 44).

At times, this unsettling “pact with the devil” led them to snap, like Xanthoudides did on his report to Dragoumis regarding the foreign “pressure”, or Hatzidakis when he was writing his draft letter to Evans. This was also apparent in 1907, when Kalokairinos, embittered by his marginalisation, filed a lawsuit against Evans, accusing him of excavating a field that he owned and illegally exporting the antiquities he found there. Kalokairinos claimed that this land had been donated by him to the Cretan State, and requested for it to be returned to the latter by Evans. He also claimed that the goal of Evans was to put Crete under

absolute “*English occupation*”, like Egypt<sup>154</sup>. This was a futile legal battle, accompanied by an outcast’s patriotic call. Depending on the benefits that the local scholars gained, the foreign presence could swiftly change attributes, from “allied” to “occupying”. In one of his rants, Kalokairinos foresaw a Cretan future where the island, loosely attached to a new “Greek federation”, would emerge as a modern *thalassocracy*, honouring its “Minoan” heritage<sup>155</sup>; in order for this to happen, ports and roads had to be built. The funding for this master plan would come by taking back all the privileges given to the European Powers, and applying taxes to them; thus, Crete would flourish (**Fig. 25 – Appendix B.5**)<sup>156</sup>. Kalokairinos was against the obsession with anything foreign, *xenomania* as he called it (cf. similar vocabulary during the school gymnastics festival by the Cretan press). Yet, he believed that if the Cretans and Greeks in general wanted to prosper, they should imitate the British and the rest of the Europeans, by being “nationally selfish”, i.e. loving their country whilst recognising its positive and negative qualities, without trying to change anything, complaining, being *xenomaniacs* or putting foreign languages above their own (**Fig. 26**)<sup>157</sup>. In just a few lines, anticolonial rhetorics, self-colonised minds and a repressed localism within Greek nationalism overlap chaotically.

## 6.8 The battle of the mattock and the trowel

This ambivalent framework of self-identification, localised in the Cretan urban centres, came into being and matured, to a large extent, through a conflict with parts of the rural population. It was quite clear, even before 1898, that a “guerrilla war” was taking place in the Cretan countryside. This was depicted

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<sup>154</sup> Lawsuit by M. Kalokairinos against A. J. Evans, 31/07/1907, *The Sir Arthur Evans Archive*, Non-personal letters, No. 89, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (Appendix A.G12). See also MacGillivray 2000, 249.

<sup>155</sup> In the first book of his *History*, Thucydides claims that during the reign of King Minos, Cretan prominence stretched across the Aegean Sea. This passage was projected upon the archaeological record of Cretan prehistory by many of the first and second generation of “Minoan” archaeologists, both Western and Greek, from Sir A. J. Evans to S. Marinatos and N. Platon. For a broad view on the history of the concept, cf. Hägg & Marinatos 1984.

<sup>156</sup> *Cretan Archaeological Newspaper*, Issue 2, 02/10/1906, p. 15, Serial No. 429, Folder 24, Series 1b, Historical Museum of Crete, Heraklion [Appendix A.B(II)3].

<sup>157</sup> *Cretan Archaeological Newspaper*, Issue 3, 15/12/1906, p. 57-58, Serial No. 429, Folder 24, Series 1d, Historical Museum of Crete, Heraklion [Appendix A.B(II)4].

graphically in the correspondence of Cretan and Greek antiquarians. Hatzidakis and other members of the *Syllogos* held the worst of their opinion for the people in whose name they supposedly endured all the hardships; the real enemy seemed to be the Cretan peasants – regardless of their religious affiliation. The archaeologist, though local, was a “foreigner” when going to the countryside: for example, in 1884, at the Idaean Cave, the mythical birthplace of Zeus, the formation of a committee of three officials, a Western archaeologist (Halbherr), a Cretan antiquarian (Hatzidakis) and a local elder (a teacher) was necessary for an excavation to be performed. This event is revelatory of the fragile balance that had to be kept, so that the site would not be looted and the archaeologists could be tolerated by the local community. Additionally, the Ottoman authorities were asked for an excavation ban applying to the local population to deter looting, and provided a garrison to safeguard the site (Sakellarakis 1998, 23). Later, Hatzidakis wrote in a newspaper article (*Nea Evdomas*, 10/01/1885, 2-3):

*“Many times the plough or the pick of the farmer strike by chance upon some monuments of the past, lying under the soil, thus forcing them to come out in the light, and then either ignorance and lack of taste wears and mutilates them into being used for various needs of everyday life, or, even worse, the (inclination to) exploitation and greed, sacrilegiously interferes and manages to export them out of the island for trade”*

Perdikaris held similar views. In his 1885 correspondence with Stephanos Koumanoudis (1818 – 1899), secretary of the Society, he made his point quite clear: referring to the way Cretan peasants were dealing with the antiquities, by using them as building material or selling them, he defined them as the main reason behind the creation of the *Syllogos* (Sakellarakis 1998, 32). Koumanoudis supported that view and characterised the peasants as the major threat against Cretan antiquities (Sakellarakis 1998, 54-55). There was, however, an ambivalent behaviour hidden in this debate, dominant before and during the autonomy period, with obvious social criteria: the poor peasant who illegally dug for antiquities to sell, or build his house/sheepfold, was acting against the national interest; if arrested, he was publicly ridiculed by the Press (*Patris*, 06/05/1900,

2) – at least when his attempt to bribe the officials were not successful (*Lefka Ori*, 12/02/1910, 2). On the contrary, well-known illegal collectors, dealers and smugglers of antiquities were praised as national benefactors. Luckily for them, they had better connections – men like George Mitsotakis, vice consul of Russia in Heraklion; or Theodore Trifillis, vice consul of Britain and Austria in Rethymnon and agent of the *Austrian Lloyd* – a major shipping company of Imperial Austria (Sakellarakis 1998, 58; *Nea Evdomas*, 16/08/1887, 2). Some of them were even “national heroes”, being former revolutionaries (Sakellarakis 1998, 180). Hatzidakis wrote in a local newspaper (*Nea Evdomas*, 10/01/1885, 2-3):

*“We can cite recent events, that will provoke the rightful indignation of the public against well-known illegal traders of antiquities, but we will slip over these for now, hoping that they too will back down from the conducted crime, especially since some of them dare to get involved in the public affairs of the fatherland and showing off their patriotism”*

Indeed, people like Trifillis must have been really well connected; at least judging by the fact that, in 1895, he donated four archaic golden tablets (*“Orphic” lamellae*), from the Rethymnon region, to the Greek Prime Minister. The intermediary who delivered the present was Svoronos (*To Asti*, 23/06/1895, 2; 11/07/1895).

There is no sign that the activity of those collectors ceased under the rule of the Cretan State. The prestige of those people seemed unquestionable, both in Cretan and Greek society, mainly because of their class origins and socio-political influence. Therefore, since their access to antiquities could not be cut off, the Cretan archaeologists were left with only one option, in terms of their role as protectors of the “national monuments”: to police the peasants, people with no political backing in general, and their interaction with the material remains of the past. Also, as discussed earlier, officers of the Cretan Archaeological Service like Xanthoudides were spending much time traveling across Crete, in order to keep track of new archaeological discoveries and

ongoing excavations (**Fig. 27**)<sup>158</sup>. Disputes over antiquities predated the Cretan State and were striking for the lack of any “patriotic” sensitivity on the part of the local population; on the contrary, economic profit was their top priority. Needless to say, I am not implying here that the national rhetoric of the elites had little impact on the local population. Still, the consumption of this rhetoric was not always accomplished as the ruling class wished; for various reasons, the patriotism of some Cretan citizens did not have room for modern archaeological sensitivity.

The commodification of the material past was not something new. Since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, ancient objects and artefacts began to draw the attention of Western travellers upon what would soon be the Kingdom of Greece. During the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, this quest intensified. More wealthy foreigners appeared in local communities, willing to appropriate antiquities (sometimes forcefully) and fund excavation projects (Hamilakis 2011, 51); antiquities obtained a monetary value, since they were bought by antiquities collectors and archaeologists, thus inciting a large scale treasure hunt. By the time this fever had hit Crete, towards the last two decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, an extremely impoverished and war ridden local population found itself in the middle of it and, naturally, those people tried to make the best out of it. “Naïve” attitudes towards antiquities, like the ones witnessed in the Cretan countryside by Pashley during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Pashley 1837, 34-35)<sup>159</sup> became more and more rare. Amidst a row between Xanthoudides and two owners of land rich in antiquities, the latter admitted cynically to the Cretan archaeologist that if the *Syllogos* did not consent to the price asked for the finds, they would dig up the fields themselves, remove the antiquities and smuggle them out of Crete during the next revolution (Sakellarakis 1998, 53). Moreover, when the Therisso revolt broke out in 1905, and the Cretan Gendarmerie had to withdraw from the Palaikastro excavation site (eastern Crete), the locals found it an ideal opportunity to loot the building of the British archaeological mission (*Ide*, 02/05/1908, 1)<sup>160</sup>.

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<sup>158</sup> “Diary of the Ephor of Antiquities of Chania, Stephanos A. Xanthoudides, from 01/02/1904”, Serial. No. 108, Eta Series, Folder 4, Archive Code 6, *Donation of Chryssoula A. Xanthoudides from the bequest of Stephanos Xanthoudides, The S. Xanthoudides Archive*, Historical Museum of Crete, Heraklion [Appendix A.B(1)3].

<sup>159</sup> See subchapter 2.5.

<sup>160</sup> I will revisit this episode in the following chapter.

However, turmoil was not always there to create the ideal conditions for this behaviour. Even when the transformation of the Cretan landscape was progressing at pace, through the ongoing excavations, the peasants were not short of negotiation skills: in 1910, several farmers demanded compensation for the alleged damages caused to their field at Goulas by Adolphe Reinach's excavations (**Fig. 28**)<sup>161</sup>. The latter refused to pay and the Cretan State compensated the farmer. As a matter of fact, Xanthoudides advised the local keepers of antiquities to avoid being cheated by the farmers of the area; according to him, the damages were not recent, and had been made by an older excavation directed by Pierre Demargne, and recompense had already been paid by the Frenchman. The Ephor of Antiquities considered the damages as being unimportant or fictional, nothing more than a scam orchestrated by the peasants to gain money. What is intriguing here, apart from the possible deceit of the peasants, is the unconditional solidarity of the Cretan archaeologist towards his colleague; in this case, this solidarity prevailed over any possible patriotic or localist attachment to the peasants.

This story brings us to another interesting aspect of the ongoing "conflict" taking place in the Cretan countryside: the segment of the population that chose to act as the eyes and the ears of the Cretan Archaeological Service. Official documents reveal a whole network of keepers, wardens and gendarmes who were reporting to the local authorities the archaeological activities of both locals and Westerners<sup>162</sup>. This phenomenon should be seen within a broader effort to "convert" the local population to the new doctrine. At least this can be deduced by a draft of a popularised version of the Cretan Antiquities Law, full of

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<sup>161</sup> Letter from the Ephor of Antiquities of Chania, S. Xanthoudides to the Higher Directorate of Education, 29/06/1910, Book 29, *Heraklion Archaeological Museum Archive*, 23rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Heraklion (Appendix A.C10).

<sup>162</sup> In a letter to the Commissioner of the High Directorate of Education, Xanthoudides describes an event where, in Agios Fanourios, Milatos, the head of the local gendarmerie performs a more or less archaeological inspection and evaluation of a *larnax* burial, found by a young local peasant, in order to define its importance (Letter from S. Xanthoudides to the Commissioner of the High Directorate of Education, 11/06/1910, Book 29, *Heraklion Archaeological Museum Archive*, 23rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Heraklion, Appendix A.C11). Cf. also local warden's request for permission to observe the emptying of a tomb by the Italians, addressing Hatzidakis (Letter from foreman of Phaistos to Ephor of Antiquities, 01/05/1910, Book 29, *Heraklion Archaeological Museum Archive*, 23rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Heraklion, Appendix A.C12).

explanatory notes found in the Xanthoudides' Archive: here the Cretan archaeologist emphatically stressed that every Cretan had a sacred duty to respect and protect the antiquities as sacred relics (Fig. 29)<sup>163</sup>. Also, the trend to publicise the names of the Cretan patriots who handed in the antiquities found by them to the Museum must have been serving the same purpose: to make an example. Related reports date as early as 1887 (*Nea Evdomas*, 06/09/1887, 2), revealing a mentality of “naming-and-shaming” the looters that predated the Cretan State.

## 6.9 Mount Ida revisited: Western loans & Cretan religious syncretism

The conversion of the local population to the modern archaeological narrative was not confined to the building of a network among the population that would adhere to this doctrine. It expanded on the already existing identities, filtering them with elements from the core values of new national ideals on the material past. During this early stage, the framework within which local archaeologists built their nationalist narrative had to do mainly with adaptations of the Western interpretation of Cretan prehistory. This, of course, did not undermine their local contribution; on the contrary, the “useful parts” that were kept by the Cretans were highly indicative of the whole rationale. For example, religious syncretism played a huge role in this process. Xanthoudides favoured a “Great Goddess” scenario, within a matriarchal Cretan religion, contrary to Evans' early perspective of a primarily male-dominated religion: *“And regarding the hierarchical order of the male and female deities, I reckon that the excavations at Knossos did not justify Mr. Evans. He believes that the first and main deity is the male god [...] he considers this god as the predecessor of the panhellenic Zeus, the god of the double axe, for whom the Dictaeon Cave and the palace of Knossos, the Labyrinth, were consecrated. He does not accept any female goddess, since he only reserves a secondary role for her, considering her a goddess of nature and earth, companion of the male god”* (Xanthoudides 1904,

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<sup>163</sup> Serial No. 744, Folder 19/4, Archive Code 6, *Donation of Androcles Xanthoudides from the bequest of Stephanos Xanthoudides, The S. Xanthoudides Archive*, Historical Museum of Crete, Heraklion [Appendix A.B(1)5].

122). Clearly, Xanthoudides referred to Evans' early views, published in the *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult* during the beginning of his excavation at Knossos (Evans 1901, 175). The British archaeologist later fundamentally changed his ideas on the subject, favouring a female "Mother Goddess" with a boy-god/male companion scheme (Morris 2006, 70). Needless to say, Xanthoudides' perception of the central role of the female goddess was founded on the conviction that an alleged religious continuity equalled national continuity: as he noted, many important female goddesses could be traced in later, ancient Greek cities of Crete (Xanthoudides 1904, 123). All in all, his "Minoan religion" resembled that of the ancient Greek period. This was a key scheme, upon which the narrative of continuity was built. According to Xanthoudides, it justified the notion that there was a "*common soul*", the very backbone of the character of every race, which "proved" [sic] that Greeks and "Minoans" were nations from the same race (*Fyli* in Greek), or very akin (Xanthoudides 1909, 33-34). Interestingly, the term *Fyli*, which literally meant "race", along with *Genos*, which meant more or less the same, was used interchangeably in the Greek nationalist narrative.

The abstract, religious bond between prehistoric Crete and ancient Greece was a *sine qua non*, as the ancient Greek religion was thought of having its awakenings in the prehistoric Cretan one, being a direct descendant of it (Xanthoudides 1904, 124). This narrative of continuity was projected even beyond the ancient Greek period, reaching the time of the Cretan State, and thrilled the Christian majority of its citizens: "(the female deity) *Was also protecting from evil; in the sanctuary of Petsofas<sup>164</sup>, apart from the usual votive offerings, some of them were found depicting hands and feet and heads and parts of the body, i.e. the parts of the body that were healed or in healing process with the aid of the deity, as it happens today at the Holy Mary of Tenos and in many other places of Greece*" (Xanthoudides 1909, 31). Moreover, although Xanthoudides criticised Evans' early ideas in *The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult* (Evans 1901, 175) on the importance of the male god, he cited his views in order to justify a cult of a "Minoan" male god, annually resurrected, predecessor of the

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<sup>164</sup> Petsofas is an archaeological site in eastern Crete, located on a hilltop above the Palaikastro prehistoric city. It has been called a "peak sanctuary", due to the nature of its finds, mainly clay idols, which favoured a cult-orientated interpretation of the site. For a quite renowned publication, cf. Rutkowski 1991.

ancient Greek god Zeus (Xanthoudides 1904, 116); the hints to Jesus were more than obvious. Similar reasoning was behind what he wrote about the finds at Petsofas. They were described as *tamata* (Greek word for votive offering in the Orthodox Christian vocabulary) and supposedly bore a resemblance to the Christian votive offerings at the *Panagia* of Tenos church, a widely known pilgrimage landmark of modern Greek Christianity<sup>165</sup>.

As we saw here and in Chapter 5, this religious syncretism, projecting allegedly cultic prehistoric finds upon the Christian landmarks and practices of the Cretan State period, was also encouraged to a great extent by the Western archaeologists working in the island; stories like the one of the “Minoan Cross” and the church of *Aphendi Christos* on Mount Ida support this claim. This “fusion” served as fuel for an already established synthesis of ancient Greek religion and Christianity in modern Greece; it also supported specific political interests of the Christian Cretan elites, regarding their inclusion in both European and modern Greek identities: the potential racial “impurity” of the “*present peoples who claim to be Greeks*”, troubling the Westerners working in Crete (Hogarth, Evans et al. 1906, 553) implied that modern Greeks (and, among them, Christian Cretans) were not descendants of the ancient Greeks; a claim that was already highlighted by Fallmerayer, who considered modern Greeks to be Slavs and Albanians (Stewart 1994, 135)<sup>166</sup>. This was countered by modern Greeks (and, among them, Cretans) by asserting that they possessed a religion that syncretised ancient Greek elements, thus rescuing themselves as agents of continuity and bearers of the ancient Greek heritage (Stewart 1994, 127-28). As C. Stewart points out, “*Practices such as funeral lamentation, beliefs in demonic figures such as *neraides* and *gorgones*, which preserved the names of ancient forerunners even if their form and function were now different, reverence for various saints which could be shown to have absorbed and continued the cults of ancient gods – these were all now explored and held up as evidence that the moderns were heirs of ancient culture*” (Stewart 1994, 137). Since continuities

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<sup>165</sup> For the cult of religious icons in Greece, including the cult of the icon depicting the “Annunciation of the Holy Mary”, located in Tenos, cf. Seraïdari 2005. See also Dubisch 1995.

<sup>166</sup> See Chapter 1.

in the belief system were difficult to find, continuities in localities and in ritual practices were sought.

The national adaptation of ancient Greek mythology worked similarly: the lack of the very name of King Minos in the excavated archaeological remnants was substituted with the epic tales and Homeric poetry; those myths gained a material validation, as they were supposed to have done in Troy and Mycenae (Xanthoudides 1904, 2-3). This pattern legitimised ancient Greek mythology as the ultimate interpretative framework for the archaeological record of Cretan prehistory, since the latter was nothing more than a material justification or illustration of the former, as the local antiquarians insisted; for example, the “discovery” of the “palace” of Knossos by Evans was seen as the most solid proof that the mythical Labyrinth and king Minos had existed (Xanthoudides 1904, 70; 1909, 13-14). Examples of this widespread attitude can be found in various cases, like when Xanthoudides cited Homer’s *Odyssey* in order to “decipher” the meaning of the LM painted “Hagia Triada sarcophagus”<sup>167</sup>: “...*those three amphoras probably contained the liquids that were needed for the libation, which thus would be performed with the use of three different vessels, like the renowned libation from the Nekyia rhapsody of the Odyssey X. 519*” (Xanthoudides 1904, 102-103).

The historic, ancient Greek period was considered in Crete poor in finds, compared to the previous, prehistoric era that became the “big momentum” of Crete in the history of mankind: “...*because it is known that, since Crete prospered during the prehistoric period, while, on the contrary, during the Greek historic period it had declined, only the monuments dating from that period are important for archaeology, while no big things are expected from the one dating from the Greek period*” (Xanthoudides 1904, 41). Therefore, The discovery of ancient Greek cities in sites that were expected to reveal more cradles of the “*prehellenic/protohellenic*” civilisation (such as Goulas & Praesos) was experienced as a disappointment (Bosanquet 1901, 187; Xanthoudides 1904, 9-11, 19-20), compared to mainland Greece. The material testimony of the “*Mythical and Homeric Times*” (Xanthoudides 1909, 34), the period that followed after the “Minoans”, was diminished. This period would become known for many

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<sup>167</sup> A painted limestone sarcophagus dated to 1400 BCE, which was found in 1903 in Hagia Triada, a prehistoric settlement on the Mesara plain, south-central Crete.

years as the “Dark Ages”, covering roughly the so-called “Geometric Age” (1100 – 800 BCE). As a “mythical” time, it was linked to the “Minoan” archaeological narrative, becoming a passage and offering another credential of national continuity from prehistoric Crete to the classical Greek ancestors of the modern Cretans: “...it is necessary to mention in brief the traditions of the mythical and heroic period, as they were shaped by the faint memories of the Minoan period and the imagination of the new Greek colonists of the island” (*ibid*)<sup>168</sup>.

## 6.10 Expanding continuity

Certainly, bridging this blurry, remote part of the Cretan past to the present was another task that needed to be taken care of by the Cretan archaeological elites, apart from establishing the narrative of the antiquity. Their choices were part of a broader strategy. As mentioned in Chapter 1, from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the emphasis on the classical legacy of Greece started to make space for the medieval past, namely the Byzantine one (Peckham 2000, 87). Crete was one of the first terrains where the new ideology, mixing Byzantium and the Middle Ages with a “prehellenic” prehistory, would find an application. Therefore, although giving priority to the Western agendas, the local antiquarians also managed to serve the Greek nationalist cause, which, through archaeology, sought to expand itself beyond the borders of 1830 (Mazower 2008, 35).

In terms of narrative, this ideology was evident in the Cretan History schoolbooks; the history of Crete was adapted to comply with the Paparrigopoulou scheme: starting in the prehistoric times (Fountoulakis 1903, 13; Valakis 1913, 6), it went on through the Byzantine period. The Cretan pupils were learning that “*Crete, amidst the continuous conflicts of various nations during the Middle Ages, had preserved its ancient inhabitants intact*” (Fountoulakis 1903, 47). On the contrary, the Muslim Cretans were “invisible” and the whole period of the Cretan Emirate (824 – 961 CE) was seen as a negative “interim period” (Valakis 1913, 18-19). The reconquest of the island by general

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<sup>168</sup> Within the same nationalist narrative, Tsountas reintroduced “Minoan” art as an early stage of ancient Greek art, although referring to its creators as the prehellenic inhabitants of Crete (1928, 63).

Nikephoros Phokas in 961 CE meant the return of Crete and its inhabitants to their “*natural heirs*” i.e. the Byzantine Empire (Fountoulakis 1903, 65); when the population revolted against the Byzantine restoration, the reason for this opposition to a “*monarchy with whom they shared the same faith*” was sought in connection with the alleged mixture of the Arab and Cretan blood (*ibid*), implying that the loss of purity in their blood led the Cretans to turn against a regime that, on religious grounds, was part of their “nature”. Not surprisingly, the political elite of the Cretan State was in full alignment with this narrative. In 1901, the MPs of the Cretan Assembly argued whether the 29<sup>th</sup> of May, the day that Constantinople, the capital of Byzantium, had fallen to the Ottomans in 1453, should be declared a public holiday in the Cretan State; after all, “*it was and will be the capital of the Greek State*”, as one of them exclaimed<sup>169</sup>. The doctrine of the “Great Idea” (*Megali Idea*), according to which the Kingdom of Greece was destined to reoccupy all the unredeemed fatherlands outside its borders, is strikingly evoked in this passage.

In terms of practice, the archaeological authorities made the appropriate steps so that the important architectural remains of the Byzantine era, namely the churches, would be restored. In fact, one could say that, in several cases, a public archaeology approach was selected for this matter: two months after the official union of Crete with Greece, in July 1913, the Ephor of Chania, Stephanos Xanthoudides, wrote to the Governor of Crete<sup>170</sup>. In this letter he discussed ways to save the murals of the Byzantine churches of Crete. According to him, removing and transferring them to the closest city was not an option; the most likely result would be their damage on the way there, due to the high sensitivity of the plaster. Hence, a more productive alternative for the Archaeological Service and the Church of Crete would be to aspire and teach the Cretan peasants to restore the Byzantine churches and their murals. They could then use them as places of worship while, at the same time they would “*preserve them intact*”. Interestingly, this material past was more accessible to the local population than the “Minoan” one, being a direct material part of their religious self-image.

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<sup>169</sup> *Minutes of the Cretan Assembly*, 29/05/1901, 89, Historical Archive of Crete (Appendix A.A14).

<sup>170</sup> Letter from S. Xanthoudides to the General Governor of Crete, 03/07/1913, Book 29, *Heraklion Archaeological Museum Archive*, 23rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Heraklion (Appendix A.C13).

However, once more, the rules of engagement were set by the archaeologists. Furthermore, the authority of the Church was recognised and considered a *sine qua non* in this early, Byzantine archaeology of Crete (a condition that more or less applies even today).

### 6.11 The Venetian particularity

Contrary to what applied to the Byzantine antiquities, when it came to the material remains of parts of the Cretan medieval history that were not nationally incorporated, things got more complicated. Apart from the destruction of the Muslim monuments, an outcome of religious hatred, there was a great deal of concern over how to deal with the Venetian antiquities. A considerable number of them had already been incorporated in the architectural tradition of the island. Parts of the Venetian fortifications in the cities of Chania and Heraklion, however, were destroyed or buried, in order to modernise the Cretan urban environment (Gratziou 2008, 210). People of the time, like Spyridon Zambelios, a Greek scholar who made a significant contribution to the formation of the Greek national identity, believed that the Venetian walls disfigured the city of Heraklion like a “*crown of thorns*” (Gratziou 2008, 209). However, the decision to neglect the Venetian architectural remains was not only ideological, but also financial; the Cretan State, with its scanty budget, had to give priority to the monuments that were within the Western and national framework, attractive to the foreign and Greek antiquarians as well as tourists. A large part of the Venetian fortifications in Chania and Heraklion were demolished in order to make way for arterial routes (Gratziou 2008, 210-11). All the criteria above made the “Minoan” monuments ideal candidates and left the Venetian ones out of the picture.

This practice appeared to be troubled only when the Western patrons of Crete criticised it: a columnist of a Cretan newspaper was surprised by the Italians’ rationale, when the Royal Venetian Institute asked the Cretan government not to demolish the Venetian fortifications, since they are “*the most brilliant example of 16<sup>th</sup> Italian military architecture*” (*Patris*, 20/06/1902, 2). I could not trace any follow up on the issue that would reveal the response of the Cretan authorities to this request. However, only four days later, another part of the

Venetian walls at Chania, in the shopping area of Potier Street<sup>171</sup>, were demolished, implying that the Italian appeal did not meet with success (*Patris*, 24/06/1902, 2). But the modernizing effort of demolishing medieval fortifications in order to “Europeanise” the Cretan cities fuelled a row between state archaeologists and engineers. In 1912, Xanthoudides addressed the Higher Directorate of Education, highlighting the value of Venetian antiquities, which was disputed by engineers: the cause was the destruction of the *Porta Retimiota* gate in Chania, so that the modern market could be built. The Ephor disagreed and spoke of “*new European trends*” that considered all monuments as part of the history of a place, not a “*remnant of old occupiers*” (Fig. 30)<sup>172</sup>; a very perceptive view for its time.

Moreover, some of those antiquities could be incorporated into the national narrative, if the “right” perspective was applied. According to Hatzidakis, many people felt distaste for the Venetian monuments, as they were reminders of the “Venetian occupation” (ironically, nobody had any direct memory of that distant period); yet, as monuments of the Renaissance, they were declared “*indirect witnesses of the (ancient) Greek Art*” and therefore should be protected<sup>173</sup>. In this way, the Cretan version of the Greek nationalist narrative was using the projection of the classical past upon the Renaissance in order to claim it as its own and then projected it to the material remains connected to that period, in order to appropriate them.

## 6.12 Banalising the national archaeological symbolism

All this national remodelling and re-introduction of the past into the present, spearheaded by Cretan archaeologists and subsidised by the local ruling class, eventually filtered into the everyday surroundings of the Cretan population and its values. One of the first steps taken was to plant ancient imagery, or modern

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<sup>171</sup> The street had been named after the French Admiral Potier, member of the “Council of Admirals”, which, along with the Western consuls, was the *de facto* ruling body of the Cretan State.

<sup>172</sup> Letter from S. Xanthoudides to the Higher Directorate of Education, 27/05/1912, Book 29, *Heraklion Archaeological Museum Archive*, 23rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Heraklion (Appendix A.C14).

<sup>173</sup> Letter from J. Hatzidakis to S. Dragoumis, *S. Dragoumis Archive*, Series IV, Folder 93.3, No. 79, 06/12/1912, Gennadius Library – ASCSA [Appendix A.E(II)6].

perceptions and interpretations of it, in state symbolism, thus accomplishing the interaction of the Cretan citizens with it during their dealings with the state. For example, an enthroned king Minos was chosen as the symbol of the Municipality of Heraklion<sup>174</sup>. This practice was already well-established in the Kingdom of Greece, to which Crete was often looking for “national inspiration”. Likewise, the coat of arms of the Cretan State incorporated Hercules. Place and street names would change too. Xanthoudides was invited in 1905, by the Municipality of Heraklion, to participate in the committee that would be responsible for the renaming of streets in the city: “... *as it happens everywhere in the civilised world [...] a list of appropriate names*” should be compiled<sup>175</sup>.

There are no suggestions included, but one could only guess that the local archaeologists were required to ensure that the everyday surroundings of the Cretan citizens would sound in a “nationally appropriate” way, with an antiquarian spirit. If this was the case, the main streets in the city centre of Heraklion hold the spirit of that name-giving even nowadays. They are inspired by the ancient Greek mythological cycle of king Minos and the Knossos Labyrinth (such as Daedalus<sup>176</sup>, Ida or Talos<sup>177</sup> Street), mixed with other, modern entries from the nationalist glossary (such as 1821 Street<sup>178</sup>). In the same spirit, a series of Cretan State stamps, printed in England, depicted the ruins of Knossos, ancient Cretan cities’ coins and the Arkadi monastery (*Estia*, 07/01/1905, 2). Other stamps depicted representations from the recently discovered seals of Knossos (**Fig. 31**). The organizing of the series was made by Svoronos, the Greek numismatist who had well-established connections with the Cretan archaeological status quo before autonomy (Mitakis 1999, 9). This particular mixture of themes was highly indicative of what the state was trying to achieve:

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<sup>174</sup> *Minutes of the Permanent Committee of Heraklion*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 16/05/1900, 5, Vikelaia Municipal Library, Heraklion, Crete (Appendix A.D3).

<sup>175</sup> Letter from the President of the Municipality of Heraklion to S. Xanthoudides, 22/01/1905, Serial No. 746, Folder 19, Series 6, *Donation of Androcles Xanthoudides from the bequest of Stephanos Xanthoudides, The S. Xanthoudides Archive*, Historical Museum of Crete, Heraklion [Appendix A.B(I)4].

<sup>176</sup> Skilful craftsman, builder of the Labyrinth and father of Icarus.

<sup>177</sup> Giant man of bronze either depicted as a gift from god Hephaestus to king Minos, or a gift from the god Zeus to Europa. In the *Argonautica* mythological cycle, he was depicted to protect the island by throwing rocks at any approaching ship (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, 4, 1636-1730).

<sup>178</sup> The Greek War of Independence started that year.

the new Cretan identity, based on the narrative of national continuity, was visualised through an anachronistic mixture of historical and archaeological landmarks from various periods. Through stamp iconography, this national imagination found its place in the mail correspondence of Cretans, Greeks and Westerners across the globe. It became part of an everyday banal nationalism (Billig 2001).

### 6.13 Applying continuity to the present

Taking everything into account, this banalised version of the “Minoan” past did not stand by itself in the national narrative. It was only used in comparison to the ancient Greek one, as a justification of the “Greekness” of the island. Yet its contribution was crucial. It is important to note though that the Hellenisation of Cretan prehistory was only one step towards the creation of the Cretan patriotic doctrine by the archaeologists. People like Xanthoudides were militant in their scholarly duties, devoted to their work and self-aware regarding their national mission. Therefore, the effort of incorporating elements of material and immaterial culture to the national *continuum* was not limited to archaeological finds but could be also seen in the interpretation of contemporary Cretan popular practices such as dance. For example, the traditional dance *Pidikhtos* (“jumping dance”) was compared to the *Pyrrhichios* ancient Greek dance; through the reading of Archaic Greek literature, like the *Anabasis* by Xenophon and the *Iliad* by Homer, modern Cretans were compared to the ancient *Curetes*, armed and crested dancers who were supposed to have concealed the birth of baby Zeus in Crete with their drumming and dancing<sup>179</sup>.

These allegations had a much earlier, Western-inspired background; around 1546, the French explorer, naturalist and diplomat Pierre Belon (1517 – 1564), who had attended a peasant wedding in Sfakia, compared *Pidikhtos* to the ancient *Pyrrhichios* (Belon 1553). This ‘allochronisation’ of local people (Fabian 1983), denying them the right to live at the same time as the Westerners who gazed at their “authentic folk” spirit, found its place into the notes of local

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<sup>179</sup> Strabo, *Geographica*, 10.3.7; Hesiod, *Theogony* 478-91.

archaeologists<sup>180</sup>; it was also reproduced in the Cretan press, which called the *Pidikhtos* the “national dance of Crete”: “Such an ancient custom, such a beautiful tradition of our fathers we preserve, this dance that proves that after so many disasters Crete, the mother of heroes, preserved the customs and traditions of its Eteocretan inhabitants” (*Simaia*, 22/11/1901, 2); the resemblance of the vocabulary used here, to that in the description of the school gymnastics festival, described in the beginning of this chapter, and the pivotal place of the Cretan dance within it, is rather stark.

#### 6.14 Cretan archaeology in historiography and education

Eventually, all these conflicting ideas would be distilled as a unified narrative for the Cretan school curriculum. My research in the Historical Archive of Crete has revealed the strenuous effort made by the officials of the Cretan State, in its early days, to establish a national education system<sup>181</sup>. There is a direct and easily traceable link between the Cretan State archaeology, historiography and history taught in the public schools. It was not only Xanthoudides who published a “Cretan version” of his mentor’s book, *History of the Hellenic nation* by Paparrigopoulos; it was the whole Greek nationalist, tripartite system of the latter that had found its way to Crete. Xanthoudides’ *Abridged History of Crete* (1909), incorporated the “Minoan” archaeological production into the narrative of national continuity, as a glorious introduction to the ancient Greek heritage of the Christian Cretans; as he declared (Xanthoudides 1909, 1):

*“...the history of Crete will not start from myths and theogonies. The archaeological discoveries of the past few decades in various regions of Greece*

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<sup>180</sup> “The *Skolion* of Yvrias and the *Pyrrhichi*”, stapled pages with notes, Serial No. 193, Gamma Series, Archive Code 6, *Donation of Chryssoula A. Xanthoudides from the bequest of Stephanos Xanthoudides, The S. Xanthoudides Archive*, Historical Museum of Crete, Heraklion [Appendix A.B(I)6].

<sup>181</sup> Cf. Folder *Higher Directorate of Education and Religious affairs, 1901 – 1905. Various documents*, Historical Archive of Crete, Chania (Appendix A.A7). The secondary literature on the subject is scarce; nonetheless, an in-depth presentation of archival material related to the Cretan State education system and its social and ideological connotations has been made in Hourdakis (2002).

*and, particularly, during the last decade, in Crete, made the antiquarian turn his attention millennia back, shed light on the dark past of the Greek world and open broad historic horizons, unknown and unexpected until recent years”*

Dozens of *Histories of Crete* were written during the Cretan State years; some of them were published in Athens (e.g. Fountoulakis 1903; Xanthoudides 1909), while others in the capital of the Cretan State, Chania (Valakis 1900; 1913). Some were dedicated to the fallen heroes of the Cretan revolutions (Fountoulakis 1903). In fact, Crete emerged as the Greek land that had revolted more than any other against “foreign oppression” (Fountoulakis 1903, 6). National revolution became a primal characteristic of the Cretan identity propagated through these books. Without Crete, it was thought, Greece would have succumbed to Oriental ideas, and could not have offered the Light to Europe (Fountoulakis 1903, 9).

Obviously, some of those publications were used as schoolbooks (**Fig. 32**). The goal of this taught History was clearly stated: to produce good pupils, who would become good civilians, a prerequisite for the existence of good nations (Valakis 1900, 3). The early versions of those books did not include the “Minoan” archaeological narrative, since it was not fully discovered yet; the ancient Cretans were called *Eteocretans*, considered to be the same race as the ancient Greeks (Valakis 1900, 7)<sup>182</sup>. The prehistoric period was mentioned, filled with mythological tales of King Minos, the god Zeus etc. (cf. Fountoulakis 1903, 13).

However, thirteen years later, the necessary adaptations were apparent: the early inhabitants of Crete were thought to be Pelasgian<sup>183</sup>, and extended footnotes bore references to the finds of the “palaces” at Knossos and Phaistos (Valakis 1913, 5-6). Crete was now the first Greek land that was civilised (Valakis 1913, 6-8); thus, following the doctrine that *“the first historic pages of the Greek Nation will be written from now on upon the ruins and the other relics of the so-called prehistoric age, in fact from those (antiquities) found in Crete”* (Xanthoudides 1909, 1). Now, the “Homeric time” became the “first Middle Ages”, before the

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<sup>182</sup> Even if by the 1880s Eteocretan inscriptions have been discovered and published by the Italian archaeologist Domenico Comparetti (1835 - 1927) as a non-Greek language (1888, 673).

<sup>183</sup> The name was used by ancient Greek writers, like Homer, Hesiod, Aeschylus and Euripides, to describe the ancestors of ancient Greeks, or the populations residing in Greece before them.

Renaissance of the ancient Greek Classic civilisation (Xanthoudides 1909, 2). Most of those Cretan books concluded by describing recent events and hopes for a bright future for the fatherland, after the expected annexation of the island by Greece (Valakis 1913, 60). Crete had not become part of the Greek national history: it had taken it over. Another “chapter” of the European classicist’s “rise and fall” novel had been written; this time it was on the newly modernised land of Crete, resembling, in a way, the colonial rewriting of the history of India, as “glory-decline-renaissance” (Chatterjee 1993, 102).

### **6.15 A power narrative on the past, as a culture of subjugation for the present**

Apart from being a hive of national consciousness, the school was seen as the agent of progress, from a strong interventionist perspective; the founding of schools in every single village was essential to the education policy of the Cretan State: Nikolaos Stefanakis, an official of the Higher Directorate of Education, reported of a village called Kalyvia, by the Asterousia Mountains of Crete, where, among 53 families, nobody knew how to read and write<sup>184</sup>. In his reports, he spoke of the need for the state to offer some provision for those territories, where, a few years earlier, *“half of their inhabitants were in prison, mainly for animal theft and other crimes”*. He asked for such educational provision, since, according to him, people in these mountainous territories didn’t care much about the upbringing of their children, while, in the past, 4/5 of the prison population of Crete has been coming from the mountains of Crete. The same population that had been praised in every national narrative as the forefront of the patriotic uprising was now a problem for the State.

The lack of “civilised manners” emerges as a primary concern in Stefanakis’ report. What did it mean to be “civilised” though under the Cretan State? As I mentioned in various parts of this thesis, the act of revolting has been seen to

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<sup>184</sup> “Report on Schools (and various other issues) of the Mylopotamos Region”, by N. E. G. Stefanakis, 20/08/1899, Folder *Higher Directorate of Education & Religious Affairs, 1899. Various documents*, Subfolder 1, Historical Archive of Crete, Chania (Appendix A.A8).

be an essential part of the Christian Cretan identity. At the same time though, revolution, and, in general, rising against state authorities or questioning their policies became monumentalised, a thing of the past. This past was unwanted now that the cherished heritage was promoted as a champion of not revolution but nation building. The discovery of the “Minoan Civilisation” in Crete was celebrated by local archaeologists as the uncovering of *“the most ancient social regime of law and order in Europe”* (Xanthoudides 1904, 1). There was no room for unruly behaviours in the present or future; only progress and obedience were important, as the contemporary people of Crete got back on track with law and order. A “Minoan” enlightened despotism with a theocratic twist was constructed in the archaeological narrative and glorified as the ideal polity (Xanthoudides 1909, 10); the implications to the political present, with the office of the High Commissioner and the strong grip of the Church over public life<sup>185</sup>, were more than clear. When Bosanquet found himself in a religious ceremony in honour of the High Commissioner, in 1902, he wrote: *“No sermon, but a brief summary of Cretan history from the time of the Creation to the present day, read aloud by the schoolmaster [...] The school children all brought wreaths (Pomegranate buds) to kirk and put them on during the National Anthem”* (Bosanquet 1938, 127). Order was a vital key on the agenda of the Cretan elites; furthermore, it was dominating the public discourse, as an endangered ornament of modern Crete, gained through hardships and always in risk of being lost, along with national unity; after the Therisso revolt<sup>186</sup>, the Greek Press celebrated (*Daphne*, 14/04/1907, 1):

*“...the tumult of instability, under whose mercy the luck of Crete was, has gone; the fratricidal arms have become useless and order has started to become consolidated, while the respect for the laws in the fatherland of Minos has been overwhelming [...] praises for the progress of the place, made in relatively short*

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<sup>185</sup> Kalokairinos criticized the *“priests involved in party affairs”*, although he recognizes the “debt of the nation” towards them, *Cretan Archaeological Newspaper*, Issue 3, 15/12/1906, p. 58, Serial No. 429, Folder 24, Series 1d, Historical Museum of Crete, Heraklion [Appendix B(II)4].

<sup>186</sup> The Therisso revolt, a near-civil war, took place in 1905 in Crete and was the culmination of the conflict between Venizelos, the new rising power in Cretan politics and the High Commissioner, Prince George, over the future of Crete.

*time, have been all over the international Press and spoken by politicians responsible for the luck of great European States”*

When invoked, king Minos, the iconic ruler of prehistoric Crete who had found his image in places like the seal of the Municipality of Heraklion in 1900, had a consistent “relationship” with certain adjectives: he was “...*the powerful and wise king and lawmaker*” (Xanthoudides 1909, 1), described as a prehistoric Cretan Moses (Hogarth 1910, 70). The identity of the “*lawful citizen*” was openly cultivated; its appearance in the public discourse was not confined only in the press or the archaeological literature. It was apparent in the History schoolbooks too (Valakis 1913, 3-4):

*“Above all, we need to learn the history of our fatherland. – Anything that has happened to our family, we have a great desire to learn about it. Greece is the greater family, of which all of us are members and to which all of us belong [...] The history of our birthplace, Crete, is part of the history of Greece [...] When we learn of the struggles of our forefathers, when we know how happy our homeland once was and how much suffering and martyrdom it suffered from the conquerors, then we will devote ourselves to our homeland... [...] When we learn the history of our nation, when we learn of the great deeds of the Greek nation during times of peace and war, then we will want to emulate them. And like any honourable youth who wants to honour his family name with his good deeds, thus we, calling ourselves Greeks, will never dare to offend this great name of our nation”*

This mentality was merged with other elements during the Cretan identity-building period, namely a culture of surveillance and a dyad of approval/disapproval by both the glorious, civilised and lawful ancestors and their modern Western projections. Apart from lawmaker, Minos was also a *thalassokrator*, i.e. “ruler of the sea”, in other words a conqueror (Valakis 1913, 6). Also, his tormented descendants were destined to be transformed, and move from being conquered, to become conquerors themselves. In 1909, Xanthoudides closed his *History of Crete* with what could be a call to arms

announcement or an ad urging men to enlist in the Greek Army. Thus, in a way, he implied to his fellow countrymen that their most important duty, at the end of the long narrative beginning from prehistory and reaching the Cretan State, was to play their part and offer their bodies and minds to the nation. In that case, that would be the Greek state and its irredentist agenda; as always, with the blessings of the European patrons of Crete (Xanthoudides 1909, 173):

*“Only the recognition by the European diplomacy of an already accomplished fact is left for the martyr island to become a valued part of the Greek Kingdom. Crete is expected to offer new life to the nation and lead to the regrouping of the national powers. The Cretan fighters eagerly wait for the day that, not any more as insurgents, like during the last few years, but as free soldiers under the leadership of the heads of the nation they will march on the fields of Macedonia and the mountains and valleys of Epirus, until victorious and triumphant they will bring freedom and salvation to their unredeemed brothers who are in peril”*

In September 1912, on the eve of the First Balkan War and following the mobilisation of the Greek Army, the “5th Infantry Division”, better known as the “5th Cretan Division”, was formed. One month later, in October 1912, Cretan Gendarmes were shipped to Thessaloniki, in order to undertake the policing of the newly conquered city by Greece. Thus, as with the Franks described by Foucault who gained their Gallo-Roman citizenship by accepting their role as the armed force against the enemies of the empire (Foucault 1997, 200-202), the Cretans become Greek citizens-soldiers, primarily through their use as the armed hand of the Greek nationalist cause. The elites of the island were propagating this new role as another link in the chain of their destiny, which went back to the glory of their “Minoan” ancestors. Being Cretans, the contemporary people of the island had the right to become Europeans *par excellence*; then, they would allow themselves, out of a conscious obligation to the national contract, to be reintroduced as *primi inter pares* Greeks.

## 6.16 Conclusions

As the passage from Kazantzakis' novel at the start of this chapter vividly depicts, the Cretan archaeologists were rather obscure creatures in Cretan society, at times a mystery to their fellow countrymen. Still, they were needed in order to act as intermediaries with the Great Powers or play their part for the greater cause that few could comprehend – among them, the pillars of the nation, like the Church. Their emergence as a distinct group was directly related to their conversion into the Western modernity and antiquarianism, either via their studies in Greece and Europe and/or by their everyday professional interaction with the Western agents of this identity. Their loyalty to the theoretical values of Greek nationalism was undisputed, as was their participation in Cretan politics in accordance to this commitment.

At the same time though, even before the Cretan State was established, clear and conflicting agendas were apparent among the members of this group. Internal conflicts originated in those late years of direct Ottoman rule and persisted during the entire period of autonomy. They intensified as the major political change was coming closer and the Western players started to establish themselves on the island. But soon after the Cretan State was established, the heads of the local archaeological elite had come out of this conflict with their position and network of associates solidified. To a great extent, this had been achieved through networking with and affiliations to their Western colleagues. In true colonial fashion, the Cretan Archaeological Service became one of the first and most prestigious institutions, depending upon the services of some highly capable local scholars-officials (cf. Anderson 2006, 179). Not surprisingly, internal tensions seemed to re-emerge when a change in the status quo, i.e. union with Greece, was imminent again, since the Western archaeological grip over the island seemed uncertain. This situation led to the emergence of hybrid and conflicting identities within the Cretan archaeological elite; the unsettling “pact with the devil” with the West, a true Oedipus syndrome, produced careers, stopped others in their early stages and generated strained relations among the key figures amongst the locals involved. This class of intermediaries transformed the lives of their fellow countrymen radically. Broadly speaking, this attachment to the Westerners had much to do with the ills of Cretan State archaeology, such as the economic situation, the conflicts amongst leading

archaeologists over who was favouring the foreigners most, or the public pressure due to their leniency towards the activities of the latter.

Moreover, pressure from below was present too, leading to informing and suspicion between local and regional officials of the Archaeological Service<sup>187</sup>. Also, the alliance with the Westerners was not an easy one, and apart from the camaraderie that naturally flourished, strained relations and conflicts generated by the demands and the pressure of the foreigners were evident. This condition was the main reason behind the deteriorating relations between Cretan archaeologists and their colleagues from Athens, who felt isolated from the Cretan archaeological endeavour. Also, if their Greek colleagues could be ignored with some Western support, things were not the same regarding the “enemy within”. The conflict between the Cretan archaeologists and the peasants in the countryside of the island, predating the autonomous regime, was highly visible and vocal, in both the Cretan press and the correspondence of key figures. The emergence of the Cretan State was the critical development that allowed for the systematic criminalisation of rural attitudes related to antiquities that were not classified as nationally correct.

The threshold upon which the national archaeological narrative of Crete was built was, to a great extent, the Western interpretation of the island’s prehistoric antiquities, but this is not the whole picture. In terms of constructing the much needed national continuity, a selective process was applied by the local antiquarians on the Western interpretations of the Cretan material past, by keeping only the parts that fitted their own nationalist ideological standards. Still, even this indigenous Cretan nationalism had its Western echoes; they were particularly apparent in the margins of the tripartite Paparrigopoulou scheme (Antiquity – Byzantium – Modernity) and the ambivalent rejection/adoption of the medieval, non-Byzantine material past, namely the Venetian one. This change in its reception seemed to be connected with the abhorrence shown by the Westerners, when the Venetian remains started to be demolished. The material past had been rebuilt, destroyed and highlighted according to the national standards around the citizens of the Cretan State. Amidst this setting, great efforts had been made by the Cretan elites, so that the local population

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<sup>187</sup> See following chapter.

would participate in the new, emerging Cretan identity; the symbolism that came out as a product of this process was projected on the present, and banalised through various means: from interpretations of what soon became known as the Cretan “folklore”, to historiography, state symbolism and education. “Museumised” this way in open view, the antiquities were reintroduced as regalia of a secular state with deep and visible colonial foundations (cf. Anderson 2006, 182).

A power narrative based on the emerging material past was built upon this policy, one that aimed at producing a culture of complete subjugation of the Cretan peasants – and the population in general – to the state, i.e. a modern citizenship. This included the conquest of minds, identities and practices, aiming to remodel the Cretan society, particularly the most “unruly” parts of it, the rural population, into obedient national subjects. The national identity-building that took place was rooted within a powerful social structure: the colonial foundations of the Cretan State. By cascading this colonial nature through a patriotic facade, its bearers – the Cretan ruling class – aspired to become agents of the hegemonic relations of inequity that were established (cf. Billig 2001, 175). A study of the multifaceted divide between the emerging urban and rural population of Crete at that time can shed more light on this. Knossos, situated between the city of Heraklion and its countryside, looked like a border and a symbol; equally, the scattered excavations around the Cretan landscape could be seen as outposts of the new, conquering identity. Through the school visits from nearby villages and the city to the monuments, these two worlds creatively collided. A study of this process and the consequences it had on part of the local population will be attempted in the next chapter.

## **7. The Cretan “peasant wars” and other uncomfortable stories**

### **7.1 Introduction**

This chapter deals with how archaeology was produced and “consumed” by the citizens of the Cretan State, namely the peasants. My focus is on how the rural Cretans opposed the local collaborator class by persevering with embedded practices regarding the material past that defied the modern archaeological narrative. I am trying to trace what kind of indigenous imagination and embodied relationship with the antiquities underscored such practices; and how the locals interacted with the new, national narrative of the past and the policies it established. The Cretans of the countryside have been present in all previous chapters of this thesis. Yet, they remain among the “great unknowns”, like Cretan Muslims, Jews and women, the voice of the voiceless: there are no correspondence, no memoirs or articles in the press written by them. Therefore, in contrast to the previous chapters, I am going to present these people through the voices of the others; related memoirs and photographs taken by Western archaeologists who worked with these people on the digs; moreover, photos depicting the Cretan archaeological endeavour, taken by Behaeddin Bey; finally, press articles and administrative documents from the Cretan State Archaeological Service referring to the rural population and its views or activities.

### **7.2 The Christian Cretan peasant in context: Time, space & identity**

As discussed in Chapter 2, large parts of the Christian population of the countryside participated in all the major revolts against the Ottoman administration in Crete, from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Especially during and after the “Arkadi revolt”, in 1866, they adopted and supported the outward and international direction of the Greek irredentist movement operating in the island. From the top of the revolutionary hierarchies to the bottom of the ranks,

Cretans addressed Greek and international (i.e. Western) opinion, asking people to pay attention, sympathise with and support their national struggle (Herzfeld 1988, 9). A respectable amount of the Christian Cretan community mobilised and actively supported the nationalist cause (cf. Breuilly 1993, 93), by participating in or facilitating the armed struggle. As already mentioned in the previous chapter, being a rebel or supporting the “Struggle” had been the cornerstone for the Christian Cretan identity of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, nourished by the local elites. As a consequence, ideological or armed defiance of the state (in this case, the Ottoman one) has become vital for the shaping of the worldview found in many of those people. Of course, the motives were not always patriotic: for example, looters of antiquities during that time opposed both the “unwritten rules” of Greek nationalist archaeology and the Ottoman Antiquities Law. When the Cretan State was established, those people were urged to leave aside several habits that had become essential to their identity, like possession, carrying and use of weapons (**Fig. 33**).

Nation-building and, within it, the management of the nation’s past, progressed in a rather problematic way, with various conflicting agendas and a multi-faceted mechanism of identification with the past (cf. Herzfeld 1988, 10): some Christians felt a strong affiliation to ancestors who had been victimised or slain by the Ottomans; within this nationalised setting, their will to avenge their dead relatives was linked to the struggle of the nation against the “Turkish yoke”. Also, kinship to chieftains who fought the Ottomans was a high value asset in the stock market of local identities, generating pride and social prestige if played right, it could even become a source of income, if proved with official documents. A vast number of documents located in the Historical Archive of Crete concerns applications for compensation by relatives (widows, orphans etc.) of deceased revolutionaries who fought in various conflicts of the nationalist cause<sup>188</sup>. A committee was set up in order to investigate the validity of those claims, implying the possibility that forgeries were not rare.

On top of all this, *vendettas*, the local blood feuds, were a particular feature of the social status quo. Local and regional royalties, generating or breaking

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<sup>188</sup> “Archive of Fighters”, *Minutes of the Fighters Committee of the Prefecture of Chania (applications and certificates)*, Historical Archive of Crete, Chania (Appendix A.A9).

alliances and enmities between families and communities, had built strong family and local identities. Old and bloody rivalries between villages originated in disputes related to the organizing and management of the landscape, such as control over grazing lands. The state law was only partially respected in these cases and, in effect, mocked by the peasants. For example, in 1901 the local press published an article titled "*Villages fighting over grazing land*": the dispute was between the villages of Argyroupoli and Asi Gonia, both in the countryside of central Rethymnon region. The last incident of the feud described in this piece was a raid over the disputed land by the *Argyroupolites*, who violently evicted the *Asigoniotes* from the land. Following the successful take over, the *Argyroupolites* took the sheep of the evicted people to the mayor of Argyroupoli, asking for a reward for supposedly finding and removing an illegally grazing herd; the mayor, embarrassed, refused their offer and returned the sheep to their owners (*Patris*, 16/01/1901, 2). Even if the state law in this case was upheld by the mayor, the appeal for reward is indicative of the peasants mocking it subliminally.

### 7.3 Urban vs rural

What is crucial to understand is that the archaeology of the Cretan State was involved with the countryside but, as a scientific discipline, emerged in the Cretan city. In this respect, some essential qualities defining the relations of the countryside and the cities during the Cretan State need to be made clear. The proximity of a village to the city defined its interaction with the emerging Cretan urban culture. As a matter of fact, the Cretan cities themselves posed as spaces dwelled by "new" communities - new, in the sense that most of them had a new, Christian majority population. After the establishment of the Cretan State, the Muslim exodus from cities like Rethymnon slowly created the vital space for the emerging Cretan bourgeois class to flourish (Herzfeld 1999, 224): The urban capital was even quick to incorporate the new national symbols within its marketing: hotels named "Knossos", targeting visitors with an archaeological and antiquarian background, made their appearance in the Cretan cities (*Neon Asti*, 23/01/1902, 3); also, gunpowder shops named "Minos", were paying for newspaper ads that urged their potential customers to be good patriots and

shop exclusively from them (*Patris*, 30/06/1903, 4). Indeed, a look at the ads published in the Cretan press of the time reveals a flourishing environment for Christian small businesses.

Not surprisingly, the Cretan cities were far from being a solely urban environment; through family ties and a number of other activities, such as the sale of agricultural products in the farmer's markets (**Fig. 34**), the two worlds constantly interacted. Meanwhile, as seen in Chapter 5, the intermingling of the peasant world with the Westerners was facilitated through other, more direct ways, such as archaeological practice, especially excavations. However, while a certain part of the Cretan population, particularly that of the coastal towns, was more receptive of foreign influences, in terms of dress, language and ideas, the rural Cretans seemed more reluctant to adopt the newly emerging identities. Beyond the guerrilla war over the treatment of antiquities, there were other conflicts among distinct Cretan cultures that could be easily traceable: in terms of language, the peasants continued to use the Cretan dialect, a habit which survives to the present day. They expressed their feelings and worldviews through it, as the rich collection of *mantinades* (couplets) collected by Dawkins in Palaikastro has shown<sup>189</sup>. In contrast, the people of the city started to prefer the *Demotic Greek* (the common contemporary standard). The local elites went even further and, as is obvious even in the correspondence presented in this thesis, adopted the use of the *Katharevousa*; the latter was pompous and difficult to use, a conservative form of the Modern Greek language, a compromise between Ancient Greek and the Demotic Greek that never managed to take root in the Greek-speaking populations. Judging from the administrative correspondence, even regional state officials based in remote villages tried to use it; it was as if by doing this they were ticking another box in their "Greekness" application form.

This phenomenon, the existence of as many varieties of Greek as there were writers and communities of speakers, was not unique to Crete, and characterised all the Greek-speaking communities from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The question was: "*Was it more appropriate to use Ancient Greek or the vernacular? And if the vernacular, then which variety of the vernacular?*" (Mackridge 2009, 69-70). In

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<sup>189</sup> See subchapter 5.7.

fact, the Cretan dialect, as the language of the “Cretan Renaissance” poets<sup>190</sup>, such as Vitsentzos Kornaros and Georgios Chortatzis, had been central in the *glossiko zitima* (“language question”), i.e. the ongoing dispute, among the Greek-speaking intellectuals, over what kind of Greek was nationally appropriate to be used, which tormented the country until the 1970s (cf. Mackridge 2009, 137, 150). Nonetheless, the Cretan dialect was highly favoured even among some Cretan novelists of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, as the comic ethnography of *Patouchas*, written by Ioannis Kondylakis (1861 – 1920) in 1892 (Mackridge 2009, 231, n. 84), reveals. A few years later, in 1907, the Greek philologist and folklorist Nikolaos Politis incorporated Greek folk songs (and, among them, the Cretan ones in a prominent position) into the Greek national geography, thus supporting the vision of national and cultural continuity over lands that, at that time, were not located within the borders of the Greek kingdom yet (Mackridge 2009, 284-85).

The “new” Cretans also tried to prove their “Europeanness” in their taste of music, entertainment and the arts. Even as early as 1901, the restless bourgeois of the Cretan capital, Chania, were enjoying the concerts of the municipal philharmonic orchestra (*Patris*, 27/01/1901, 2). Moreover, the newly established municipal theatres of the city staged dramas by famous Italian writers (*Patris*, 06/01/1900, 3). The peasants, in contrast, were committed to their Cretan music and dances, which, as seen in Chapter 6, were admired by both urban and Western elites as part of the national folklore. The high school festivals included them in their programme and Western archaeologists took numerous photos of their workmen dancing during various social occasions (**Fig. 35**). Considering that many of those workers’ festivals were stimulated by the excavators (like the *Fantasia* fest organised by Bosanquet for his employees<sup>191</sup>), one could speculate that some of the “celebrations” of local folklore were organised partially for the

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<sup>190</sup> The term “Renaissance” is used here broadly, to describe the Cretan cultural “movement” that developed in the island under the Venetian administration, between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century; it produced the Cretan School of painting, which, apart from El Greco in his early career, included Theophanes the Cretan and Michael Damaskenos. In literature, a local school of drama emerged, with G. Chortatzis (c. 1545–1610) and V. Kornaros (1553 – 1613/1614) as its main examples; they produced works that were influenced by the Italian bucolic drama of their time and wrote in a highly sophisticated version of the Cretan dialect.

<sup>191</sup> See Chapter 5.

amusement of the foreigners, with an expectation of a financial profit on the part of the locals, perhaps.

But the most striking contrast between urban and rural Christian Cretans was, no doubt, the dress code. As seen in Fig. 34 (left and upper right) and in many other cases, the Western outfit started to emerge timidly in the population of the cities. A similar development took place in mainland Greece, where the Westernised dress code started to take over in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Especially after the Greek War of Independence, the Western dress started to prevail over the local one, which was pejoratively called “Asian”; it was initially adopted among the ruling class and then the rest of the population followed (Politis 1993, 121). A new trend, however, emerged in the young Greek state, according to which the local dress code represented the original aesthetics of the nation (Politis 1993, 123). By 1905, the Western dress code had already become very popular with the Cretan elites. We can see in Figs. 16 and 17 that, apart from the voluminous Cretan breeches, the *vraka*, the typical, everyday Cretan dress consisted of a thick belt, long socks, white shirt, waistcoat, worn closed or open, the *meintani* (a short, open jacket), the *capoto* (a hooded cape) during the winter, the *mandili*, (a fringed kerchief) or a folding fez and *stivania* (high boots). This mode of dress mesmerised the Westerners: in March 1<sup>st</sup>, 1902, Bosanquet passed through Candia when the High Commissioner of Crete was visiting the city, and was amazed by the sight of the *“big black-bearded fighting men from the mountainous hinterland of Candia [...] One party of over thirty horsemen passed me on the main road. Their costume is almost a uniform, dark blue cloaks and loose breeches descending to meet long, yellow boots at the knee. I like the insolence of this free peasantry, exulting in loyalty to their Greek Prince”* (Bosanquet 1938, 104).

#### 7.4 Archaeology & education revisited

Ideally, all Cretans, both of peasant and urban background, could bond as they wore the Cretan State school uniform. As already mentioned on Chapter 6, during my data collection in the Historical Archive of Crete, I came across numerous administrative documents that revealed an intense effort made by the autonomous State to establish a centrally organised, national education system.

After all, the ideal way for the Cretan nationalist narrative, along with the elites preaching it, to secure its existence and reproduction, was to address all the social strata of the “nation”, which, in any case, was seen as ideally classless (Breuilly 1993, 51). Indeed, homogeneity, literacy, anonymity had been essential for any nation-building process (Gellner 1992, 138).

The nationalist narrative of the past was a pre-existing condition in the Cretan State history schoolbooks, even before the material “testimony” was contextualised, but, as years passed, the archaeological discoveries found their place in the curriculum. We have to bear in mind that the impact of this teaching during the Cretan State years is not easily evident. What is evident, though, is the ongoing conflict of two ideologies in the Cretan countryside at that time: that of the state “protection of the monuments” versus the peasant “non-patriotic” (as defined by the state) tactics. What is also apparent is the fact that the children of the Christian Cretans at that time had grown up in a post-“scorched earth” war environment, of broken or entrenched communities, burned down Christian and Muslim villages, toppled minarets, Muslim neighbours emigrating under a reign of intimidation from 1897 onwards (cf. Şenışık 2011, 156-60, 167-69). In the History taught at the Cretan schools, those people were invisible. There was just the “Turkish yoke”, under which the Christian Cretans suffered a “*perpetual revolution, expatriations, massacres and arson attacks*”, from 1770 until the declaration of autonomy, “*when a new period of progress started*” (Valakis 1900, 70-71). The little Christians were taught to contextualize the “otherness” and the “savagery” of the enemy, known collectively under the etiquette of the “Turk”, who existed solely in order to enslave or slaughter the Cretans. Thus, the Ottoman past of the island was decontextualised and narrated with emphasis on what was nationally correct to be “remembered” and “forgotten”, in the sense that Renan first discussed, and Anderson elaborated upon.

This training in the new, national way of producing and consuming the past can be easily traced in the intermingling of the school curriculum with archaeological practice. The Cretan press is full of news of school trips to archaeological sites (cf., for example, *Patris*, 14/12/1900, 2). At the same time, the malfunctions of this policy are also apparent. For example, we can only guess the impact of unfortunate school trips like the one described in Chapter 6, where the students were supposedly forbidden by Evans to demonstrate their patriotism by waving

Greek flags in the Knossos “palace” (*Daphne*, 31/07/1907, 3). Also, even as late as 1910, several high school directors refused to include archaeological day trips in the curriculum, apparently because they considered them useless<sup>192</sup>. Regardless of the outcome all this time, human resources and planning suggest that the embodied initiation of the students into the archaeological discipline was an important feature and primary objective of the Cretan State education policy.

Indeed, when the Higher Directorate of Education and Religious Affairs of the Cretan State was established in 1899, one of its main duties was to “*care for the discovery and conservation of the archaeological treasures and the establishment of archaeological museums*”<sup>193</sup>. The idea of merging education and archaeology predated the years of autonomy. In 1885, during the first years of the Cretan archaeological fever, Hatzidakis had made an open call to the Christian school teachers of the island, through the pages of the local press, writing that: “*Above all, the school teachers and the literate of the countryside ought to take great care for the rescue of any antiquities found, by explaining to the ordinary folk the great importance that these finds have for our place and by acting by any means in order to have them delivered in time to our Syllagos*” (*Nea Evdomas*, 10/01/1885, 3). This philosophy tells a lot about the nature of the Cretan State cultural and educational politics: no time was lost as the new narrative of the past was directly and immediately linked to the school curriculum<sup>194</sup>. This combination of a nationally-charged narrative taught in the classrooms, along with visits to archaeological sites, introduced the young Cretans into a new relationship with their material surroundings. A Cretan communal identity emerged through the classrooms, with a bond to the

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<sup>192</sup> Letter of Inspector General of Education to Ephor of Antiquities, J. Hatzidakis, Protocol No. 112, 14/04/1910, Folder *Cretan State, Higher Directorate of Education and Religious Affairs 1910, various documents*, Subfolder “headmaster of Chania High School 1910”, Historical Archive of Crete, Chania (Appendix A.A10). The Inspector General does not specify the reason for this attitude, apart from the fact that it has an increasing tendency: the participation rate in these trips is low, teachers are not volunteering and in some schools, such as the Rethymnon Gymnasium, the staff informed the Directorate that none of them is willing to participate.

<sup>193</sup> Document with Minute/Decision No. 1/1, p. 56, Article 5, “Minutes”, 1899 1-60 (4), *Archive of the Council of the High Commissioner*, Historical Archive of Crete (Appendix A.A11).

<sup>194</sup> See subchapter 6.14.

landscape, as the imagined sacralised cradle of the ancestral material past. This identity was not present in the previous generations of Cretans, because archaeology, as an organised and institutionalised practice and narrative, was absent until the Cretan State had been established. The question then is in what terms this identity was consumed “from below”, i.e. by the local population.

## 7.5 The “other peasants”

What is certain is that during the autonomy period, state and Western archaeology brought the Cretans “face to face” with the antiquities in an unprecedented scale and, more importantly, with a different perspective. The peasants were introduced to the archaeological excavation, a process unknown to them until recently and associated with a narrative that, through the nationalist perspective, promised a privileged identity for the present and a bright future. The outcomes of this interaction varied, since, as we will see below, there was a lot of free space for “*clandestine*” interpretations and engagement; the term is not random: “*clandestine*” was the adjective used by Bosanquet to describe the illegal excavations performed by the peasants at Palaikastro, before he excavated the site: “*Ten miles east of Petras, across the Itanos peninsula, is another early site, Palaiokastro, which has been sadly mauled of late years by clandestine excavation*” (Bosanquet 1901, 189). No doubt, the Cretan nationalist imagination, disseminated by the Cretan State, contributed successfully to a very specific outcome: the production of a lower collaborator class, emerging from the peasant world. The “eyes” and “ears” of the Cretan State archaeologists, i.e. the supervisors of antiquities, and the guards of archaeological sites, gendarmes and other lower scale officials reporting to the Archaeological Service, brought the conflict within the rural societies. The burden must have been heavy for those people, since they were “snitching” on their own folk, sometimes even relatives, accusing them of violating the Antiquities Law.

A weird incident at the highland village of Axos illustrates this situation clearly. In 1910, the Italians revealed a temple of Aphrodite-Astarte there; when the excavation was over, the site had been reburied by the foreign archaeologists, in order to be protected from any possible damage. Nevertheless, ten years later,

the owner of the field dug on the spot and, without hesitation, turned the finds into building material ready for use. The story is described in detail by Xanthoudides, Ephor of Chania, in his letter to the Curator of the Archaeological Museum of the city of Rethymnon, under whose jurisdiction the village lay (**Fig. 36**)<sup>195</sup>. What makes it more intriguing is Xanthoudides' barely covered innuendo against the Curator: he wondered how the latter "failed" to report the serious incident, although many days had passed since its occurrence. All this had reached his ear through a "trusted source", as he wrote. That implies two facts: first of all, peasants, or other officials in the countryside, were willing to share information with the Archaeological Service, the nature of which would potentially put them at odds with their fellow villagers, if they ever found out. More importantly, a very specific kind of corruption was implied here: that several officials of the Archaeological Service, not necessarily the regional ones, could turn a blind eye to incidents of "non-patriotic" treatment of antiquities. The reason could be various: bribery, threats, pressure from relatives or common friends.

There was also another way for several Cretans of the countryside to participate in the Cretan archaeological venture, without the direct interaction of the Cretan State. Even as early as the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Cretan peasants had been employed as guides by the Westerners who left their armchairs and roamed across the Cretan landscape, in order to trace their beloved antiquities; people like Alevisos Papalexakis, Halbherr's guide and later foreman of Evans at Knossos for one year, had recognised that kind of foreigner as his employers for most of their lives (Momigliano 1999, 65; MacGillivray 2000, 125). Furthermore, the workmen of the Western excavations should be discussed as a separate case. Strong relationships between locals and archaeologists were built, friendships forged, sometimes even overriding religious hatred; children had literally grown up in the trench (**Fig. 37**). The excavation worked as a "contact zone" (cf. Pratt 1991, 34; 2008, 8), within which specific social transactions could take place. As Matt Edgeworth has pointed, the actors involved in an excavation share: 1) a

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<sup>195</sup> Letter from S. Xanthoudides, Ephor of Antiquities of Chania, to the Curator of the Archaeological Museum of Rethymnon, 3/09/1910, Book 29, *Heraklion Archaeological Museum Archive*, 23rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Heraklion (Appendix A.C15).

common spatial environment, where the same things are within sight and/or reach, 2) an unfolding present, where perceptions, actions, intentions and expectations of one partner are synchronised with that of the other, 3) a common purpose towards the future, around what is likely to be found, 4) common assumptions and skills, taking to some extent the same things for granted, thus making cooperation possible and 5) experience of the other, within an environment where all participants are aware of what the other is doing, thinking, seeing, intending to do etc. (Edgeworth 2003, 41-42). This commonly lived space and time, a playground, a place to have lunch and a workplace, for all the people involved, directly or not, affected Cretans and the Western archaeologists in a unique way. Also, to paraphrase Mark Mazower here, “excavation established identity” (2008, 34), but not only in nationalist terms. It also established a new way of bonding with the land and the surroundings of the individual and the community, an extension of the fields where those people met, worked and lived from for years.

## **7.6 A change of approach in the relation between peasants & antiquities**

The appearance of Western antiquarians on the island of Crete during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century brought a significant change in the attitude of local people regarding the material past. A lucrative trend emerged. The story of the (re)discovery of the Psychro cave, in the Lasithi district of eastern Crete, is characteristic. Numerous artefacts had been found *in situ*, and were described as votives. Hogarth’s excavation of the site served to “identify” the cave as the Dictaeon Cave of ancient Greek mythology and Hesiod’s *Theogony*, one of the birthplaces of the god Zeus (Hogarth 1900, 90). Hatzidakis, who was a supporter of this theory (himself being one of the first modern explorers of the cave), wrote an article in the Cretan press, regarding the “discovery” of the site by Cretan peasants; according to him, one night, when a local hunter sought shelter there, he discovered a bronze ox idol. The news reached the nearby Christian village of Psychro, leading to a massive invasion by the peasants, who dug up the whole cave in order to find ancient artefacts: *“The following day, after the news spread in the village, many villagers went up to the cave and, after digging in low depth, they found many bronze and clay statuettes, two or three bronze axes, several*

*arrowheads, short swords and sword handles along with spearheads, all of them made of bronze. Next to them were clay pots, which the villagers called “skoutelia”, due to their similarity with the pots called like this nowadays” (Nea Evdomas 28/12/1886, 2).* One can notice here that the peasants, unaware of pottery-related archaeological terminology, adapted their finds by attributing to them morphologically relevant names coming from their everyday life. In fact, skouteli and many other terms used by the workmen/peasants have now become part of the specialized archaeological terminology used in academic publications.

As mentioned in Chapter 6, every time a Western archaeologist was entering a Cretan village, he would find himself in front of a makeshift flea market of antiquities, set up by the peasants for the occasion; related testimonies were not unusual (cf. Stillman 1901, 642; Bosanquet 1938, 79, 123, 126, 136). This trend was not something endemic to the local culture. It was something new, regulated by the law of supply and demand. Since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, ancient objects and artefacts began to draw the attention of Western travellers to what would soon be the Kingdom of Greece. This quest intensified during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. More wealthy foreigners appeared in local, often impoverished communities, willing to buy antiquities (Hamilakis 2011, 51), thus attributing a monetary value to them. This socioeconomic environment was the background of the Cretan “antiquities flea markets”. Needless to say, apart from the Western archaeologists, those peasants could do business with illegal antiquities traders too; after all, both groups were just “buyers” for them. Hatzidakis had publicly accused his fellow countrymen of this non-patriotic “flexibility” in dealing with antiquities during his early archaeological activities (*Nea Evdomas*, 10/01/1885, 3)<sup>196</sup>.

## **7.7 The war on Cretan indigenous archaeologies**

Before the establishment of the Cretan State, the interaction between peasants and their antiquarian fellow countrymen in the trench must have been

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<sup>196</sup> See Chapter 6.

characterised by mixed feelings and goals on behalf of the former: the economic interest out of a potential looting, but also the will to be initiated – or participate – in the new narrative. The peasants were showing a thirst for knowledge and an opinion of their own when the archaeologists came to their territory; on several occasions, their interest prioritised financial profit, along with the concerns of agrarian life; not surprisingly, all these would be dealt with a dismissive attitude by people like Hatzidakis, as illustrated in the following passage, describing his excavations at Gortyna (*Nea Evdomas*, 06/03/1885, 2-3):

*“...finally, and this was not the most insignificant obstacle, I had to constantly listen to the questions and assumptions by many curious Cretans, of both genders, who, from dawn to dusk, were standing around the trench, and I had to bear the maniacal eruptions of the landowner and the inscription (found in the field), who, thinking that I have deceived him and removed a treasure from the field, was threatening and demanding compensation for his uprooted sycamine”*

The archaeological knowledge-in-the-making seemed to be an exclusive one, at least regarding the participation of the local communities. The narration of Hatzidakis in the newspaper article above relates to the discovery of the “Gortyn Code”, an ancient Greek legal code found on a 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE inscription, in southern Crete, during the years of direct Ottoman rule; the first fragment was found in the 1850s and Halbherr discovered four more while excavating a site near a mill in 1884 (cf. Halbherr, Fabricius et al. 1885). By the end of 1884 the Italian, along with Hatzidakis, had managed to secure permission from the owner of the land to excavate the site where the mill stood. Nonetheless, the landowner did not hesitate to remove a stone from the find, in order to build his house at the nearby village of Agioi Deka (*Nea Evdomas*, 06/03/1885, 3). As Hatzidakis noted in his article, this happened before Halbherr’s excavation, but after the site had already attracted the interest of foreign antiquarians such as Bernard Haussoullier from France, who published a fragment of the Code in 1880. In fact, what Halbherr did was simply to go over the miller’s house and copy the inscription (*ibid*). No further action was taken, primarily, one would guess, because the landowner’s cooperation was essential to the excavation of

the site. This incident is a characteristic example of the intermingling of and conflict between two different worlds: that of the modernist archaeology, in its Cretan version, on the one hand, and the pre-modern, indigenous archaeologies of the local population on the other (Hamilakis 2011, 63).

The local narrative “from below” played an essential role in the building of those archaeologies. As we have seen in previous chapters, this vibrant tradition was mined by the Western and local antiquarians, in order to spot the location of precious archaeological sites; or became important due to a folklorist’s scholarly interest (cf. Dawkins collection of Cretan *mantinades*). Through conversations with the people of the countryside, Cretan and Western archaeologists managed, deliberately or not, to preserve in their archives this previous layer, the “archaeologies” before “Archaeology”. Notes kept by Xanthoudides include a story told by excavation workman Demetri Stefanakis, from Apokoronas, Western Crete, on the etymology of the name of that region<sup>197</sup>. The story had the King of Crete establish his seat at a locality called *Megala Chorafia* (Great Fields), close to the ancient Greek city of Aptera, where a 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman fortress dominated on a hilltop, whereas medieval, Roman and “Geometric” (Iron Age) antiquities would be discovered during the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. The area had attracted the attention of the Athens Archaeological Society, which allegedly applied to the Cretan State for an excavation licence in 1901 (*To Asti*, 17/12/1901, 1), without success. According to Stefanakis’ story, the king wanted to move his seat to Heraklion, but he was attacked, slaughtered and stripped of his crown – they *apokoroniasan* him, i.e. removed his crown (*korona* in Greek), therefore the name of the territory, Apokoronas.

Another story, from the same notebook kept by Xanthoudides, speaks of the “old folk” who due to a “burden” (unclarified word follows, perhaps a plague?) that was annihilating them, had to dig underground to hide; in order to save themselves, they built “underground houses”. That is why people today find “*those basements*”, (“*the subterranean tombs*” as noted within brackets, perhaps by Xanthoudides). Meanwhile, Bosanquet referred to the rural tales of eastern Crete when he described a group of fallen slabs of limestone, twelve to fifteen

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<sup>197</sup> Xanthoudides’ notebook, Serial No. 101, Folder 4, Archive Code 6, *Donation of Chryssoula A. Xanthoudides from the bequest of Stephanos Xanthoudides, The S. Xanthoudides Archive*, Historical Museum of Crete, Heraklion [Appendix A.B(1)7].

feet long at Cavo Sidero, Lasithi: “...and what they were (a gate of a town?) and how they got in this disorder, Dear knows. There are local stories about *Σαραντοπήχεις* (abbreviated from *Τεσσαρακοντοπήχεις*), ogres 40 cubits long, and this looks like some of their horrid work” (Bosanquet 1938, 121). When this whole rich tradition could not be co-opted by modern archaeology, it was “forgotten”. It was deleted, in a way, like Xanthoudides has crossed out the page with the notes mentioned above (**Fig. 38**)<sup>198</sup>.

The indigenous archaeologies of the Cretan countryside are narrated even nowadays among the Cretans; sometimes they are part of family tales and stories that pass from generation to generation. Both my parents were born and bred in this environment. As a matter of fact, the village where my father’s family comes from is located close to the ruins of Falassarna, a 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE Greek harbour town on the northwest coast of Crete. In 1834 the British explorer, Robert Pashley, “rediscovered” the site and was intrigued by a characteristic material trace of the area, connected to the city: a “throne” (**Fig. 39**), cut out of the solid rock, lying on the side of the dirt road that nowadays leads to the site, and where major excavations began in 1986 (Frost and Hadjidaki 1990; Hadjidaki 2001). Pashley has ascribed a religious background to the “throne”, defining it as a tribute to the gods (Pashley 1837, 64). However, local peasants like my grandfather, who was born in 1912 as a citizen of the Cretan State, had a different version in mind: my father remembers being a child and visiting the place in the early 1960s with him, listening to his story that the “chair” was in fact a podium; there, people would stand and make speeches during popular assemblies. Several elements of this story are highly interesting. My grandfather was not advocating a nationalist or Western based narrative, either because he was a politically active communist<sup>199</sup> (thus the clearly “popular” character of his story), or simply because his education was of a primary school level. Even if

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<sup>198</sup> Similar stories from mainland Greece and Crete have been collected by the renowned Greek classical scholar I. Kakridis (1997).

<sup>199</sup> However, the ideology of a Greek communist would not be necessarily incompatible with national imagination. The Greek left has historically claimed, in its own way, national values, cf. the overtly patriotic narrative of *ELAS* (“The Greek People’s Liberation Army”), i.e. the communist-led resistance guerrilla army during WWII; or the production of national imagination, fuelled by the collective trauma of the concentration camps in the island of Makronisos; the latter were set up to “rehabilitate” the “unredeemed” left-wing or left-affiliated Greek citizens, during the Greek Civil War of 1946-1949 (Hamilakis 2007, 224).

Pashley's story had passed to the local collective imagination, he chose an interpretation that was more fitting to his worldview. I am not aware if this specific version was widely used among the peasants of the nearby villages. Nonetheless, it is highly indicative of the freedom with which people adapted the surrounding materiality of the "old times" to their stories and worldviews.

Apart from pre-modern narratives, the Cretan countryside has also a rich record of physical interaction with antiquities, well beyond the limits of the antiquarian *savoir faire*. Before, during and after the eruption of the archaeological frenzy in the island, leading to the rise of illegal excavations by the local peasantry, interacting with antiquities had always been part of everyday activities, like ploughing (**Fig. 40**). Early on, targeted legislative countermeasures were taken against those attitudes: Article 5 of the 1899 Cretan State Antiquities Law included specific articles against everyday habits of the Cretan peasants that were damaging the "national monuments"; therefore, several activities were explicitly prohibited: like the quarrying of ancient sites; the construction of limekilns closer than 500m to them; any activity adjacent to them that could be harmful; or, in general, any attempt to "repair" them<sup>200</sup>. Furthermore, the public vilification of those defying the "new rules" left no doubt of how serious the people involved in the archaeological enterprise were. Two random stories from Cretan newspaper reports are indicative of this:

*"CONFISCATION OF ANTIQUITIES: Nikolaos Garofalakis from Heraklion has been arrested as illegal antiquities trader, while upon him were confiscated: 3 signet rings [...] 4 silver coins, 14 copper coins and 4 more copper coins, along with 5 bronze arrow heads" (Lefka Ori, 19/02/1910, 2).*

*"DESTRUCTION OF ANTIQUITIES IN PALAIKASTRO, SITIA (Fig. 41): The withdrawal of the gendarmerie at Palaikastro following the revolt of Therisso gave the opportunity to many inhabitants of Palaikastro to destroy several parts of the ancient buildings of the Mycenaean city, excavated by the British School at Athens; they removed plaques and chipped stones from the ancient walls which they demolished. This vandalism went on for a while in secret, thus serious*

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<sup>200</sup> Law N. 24, 18/06/1899, *Official Newspaper of the Cretan State*, Chania, 24/06/1899, n. 51, Historical Archive of Crete.

*damage had been done to the ancient buildings. The incident has been already reported by those in charge, inquests have been made and the culprits have been found, who, as we are sure ourselves, will soon be accountable for their sacrilegious actions and will be made an example for those senseless people who, for a minor profit, consider the ancient relics of their fatherland as handy quarries, not to mention the fact that they become the cause for criticism and derogation of the Cretans, as being barbarians and vandals, not understanding the importance that those ancient relics have and for whom the foreigners give so much (money?) and endure so many troubles and hardships in order to excavate them, while others come from the ends of the world to admire them” (Ide, 02/05/1908, 1).*

The prohibitions reveal the extent of interaction between the local population and the material remains of the past. In fact, they imply that Cretan peasants were accustomed to (re)use antiquities, in order to meet their everyday needs, such as housing. Moreover, stories like the one of the “underground houses” built by the “old folk” leave no doubt that some of those antiquities had found their way into Cretan tales and myths. However, this development did not grant them any sacralised status; it did not transform them into “monuments” worthy of being excavated, preserved and “restored”. In addition, the “name and shame” policy of the press and, through it, the state, reveals a truly special kind of social stigma created during the period discussed. The accusations were grave and – within a nationalist framework – almost equivalent to high treason, in a highly polarised society which had just emerged from a civil war. Needless to say, we have to bear in mind here that class origin defined the gravity of the offence, in both legal and moral terms: if a peasant was caught looting, he was a traitor; however, if a wealthy magnate of the local elite, people like Mitsotakis, mentioned in Chapter 6, was known to be involved in the illegal antiquities trade, silence and impunity prevailed. When those people decided to donate a small part of their collections, they were praised as national benefactors, like in the case of Trifillis and his donation to the Greek prime minister. Nobody was willing to ask difficult questions, *e.g.* regarding the origin of those finds. Soon enough, Cretan peasants learned that it was “one law for them, another one for us”, as

the old street punk song goes [sic]<sup>201</sup>. On top of all this, the sensitivity regarding the destroyed antiquities applied double standards, depending on national priorities. It makes sense, since, beginning in the Cretan State years and continuing along the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, most of the Ottoman monuments were demolished or changed use. Religious places and cemeteries were either destroyed or stripped of their original use, such as the high-profile case of a mosque close to the Itzedin fortress, just outside Chania, which was transformed into a gendarmerie headquarters, drawing a reaction from the Muslim MPs in the Cretan Assembly<sup>202</sup>. After all, these constructions lacked the status of the “national monument”.

What is more remarkable, though, is how people outside the national body interacted with antiquities that were useless, or of minor importance, for nation-building. The story of the Bembo fountain in the city of Heraklion (**Fig. 42**) is a unique example: a stratigraphy, a collage of materiality and meaning, this time within the Cretan urban landscape. Built between 1552 and 1554 by commission of Gian Matteo Bembo (1490 – 1570), *Capitano* (general) of Candia, it was the first fountain with running water in the city. Bembo himself was, in his way, a fan of re-using antiquities; apart from the expected coat of arms of his family, along with other crests from the Venetian ruling class of Candia at that time, the fountain incorporated a statue of a Roman official. During the Ottoman period the statue was left headless. What is more amazing, though, is the fact that in the last years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, during the early Cretan State, the local African slave and ex-slave population, the so-called *Halikoutides*, worshipped it. The latter were a specific ethnic group of the Cretan population, living on the margins of society and mainly employed in despised jobs, such as porters, rowers etc. Some of them might have worked as excavation workmen too, since two *Halikoutides* can be seen in a photo of workmen in front of Villa Ariadne, Evans’ residence at Knossos (**Fig. 43**) (Papadakis 2008, 209, fig. 78). It was those people that painted the statue black, in order to re-introduce it as the epicentre of their May festival, called *Maygousouroú* or *May-kioukiouré*. Although they were Muslims, there have been well-grounded speculations that the rituals

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<sup>201</sup> The 4-Skins, “One Law For Them”, *The Good, The Bad & The 4-Skins* (1982).

<sup>202</sup> *Minutes of the Cretan Assembly*, 26/05/1901, Historical Archive of Crete, Chania (Appendix A.A12).

surrounding this cult incorporated African cults and religions, like that of Santería (Papadakis 2008, 158).

The painted statue on the fountain and the African festival were also described by Hatzidakis in his early travel in Crete (Hatzidakis 1881, 9). The future forefather of Cretan archaeology despised those people, considering them a burden for his tormented island and cited a Cretan couplet saying: “*My ill-fated Crete, you who banish your children, and now you are filled with Niggers that you don’t know*” (Hatzidakis 1881, 6)<sup>203</sup>. The story of the Bembo fountain is important, at least for showing how parts of the Cretan population without a nationalist identity, incorporated antiquities in their everyday life and customs. But they were allowed to do so only with those parts of the material past that had been considered useless to the nation-building in progress.

## 7.8 On contested soil: Living with the Westerners

One of the most interesting aspects of Cretan archaeology is how the local population interacted with the foreign archaeologists whilst working for them. Most of the labour force came from the vicinity of the excavation sites, therefore working close to their natural surroundings (Currelly 1956, 60-61)<sup>204</sup>. It is quite likely that, apart from the nationalist fervour expressed in the *mantinades* collected by Dawkins in Palaikastro, one could detect new, less-direct affections. The Christian excavation workmen felt attached to their British bosses, both for being “liberators” and due to common working experiences in the field. But most importantly, they could flatter them simply for what they were to them: bosses. Apart from an ingredient for nation and identity-building utilised by local and foreign archaeologists, archaeology became a highly lucrative business for many Cretans, and not only through looting. The countryside of the island was transformed into a vast job fair. New employers brought new opportunities that brought new capital, not just for the excavation workmen, but for whole village communities, directly or indirectly involved in local excavation projects: hotel owners, equipment and food suppliers, craftsmen and so on. Hogarth

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<sup>203</sup> In Greek: “*Kriti mou kakoriziki ta tekna sou ksorizeis,  
Ki egemises Arapides opou den tous gnorizeis*”

<sup>204</sup> Quoted in MacGillivray 2000, 161.

commented on the ready availability of workers, while in Psychro village, to organise the digging of the nearby cave: *"I found no lack of hands to make me a zig-zag mule-track up five hundred feet of rock. Knowing that the path would serve them thereafter to bring down the black cave mould, which the farmers of the plain prize above all top-dressings, the Psychró men finished it in less than a day"* (Hogarth 1910, 72). New economic relations, trade networks and social dependencies were built between Westerners and peasants or among Cretans, because of the archaeological activities of the former; to a great extent, these relationships and partnerships were free from the burden of the local clientelism and power struggles.

Sometimes, even legal loopholes and naivety of the foreigners became another source of income. At least, this is what the story from Chapter 6, which the farmer from Goulas taught us: he was asking the French archaeologists for compensation for damages caused to his field, only to have Xanthoudides accusing him of fraud. Regardless of the degree of truth behind that claim, the story is highly indicative of the various ways through which the local peasantry managed to adapt, and take advantage of the new environment. The lack of crops for one year, if an organised excavation would take place on one's land, meant economic disaster, or even starvation for a rural family dependent on the produce. Naturally, improvisation in order to find new sources of income in the new environment was available. Furthermore, as we have seen in Chapter 2, the transfer of land from the Muslim to the Christian Cretans following the emergence of the Cretan polity, generated a new class of small landowners (Herzfeld 1999, 224-25). New interests were at stake. It was not just the fear of losing the ownership of a field, due to compulsory expropriation, if antiquities were found there: the Christian peasants were more directly concerned to address the Muslim minority and make immediate claims on specific tracts of land, rather than inventing history in the abstract for distant or not so distant audiences. Likewise, the remaining Muslim landowners could easily perceive a potential archaeological interest upon their lands as another tactic devised by the Christians, in order to strip them of their property.

Another, not so obvious, aspect of how the Cretans of the countryside interacted with the archaeological quest taking place in their surroundings can be seen in the relations created during the excavation. We tend to forget that local people

working there were interacting daily with the archaeologists in the trenches and after leaving them. A vivid description of this can be found on Bosanquet's correspondence from 1901, during the excavation of the ancient Greek city of Praesos, in Eastern Crete (Bosanquet 1938, 82):

*“On Thursday we had a feast for our workmen; work should have stopped on Wednesday evening, but our tomb-foreman, John the Miller, dropped upon a promising vaulted tomb and some enthusiasts helped him with it until noon on the Thursday. Then all hands and numerous wives and sisters and children assembled round the threshing floor below our verandah<sup>205</sup>, and dined under a booth constructed of poles and big striped coverlets from their own houses [...] Then they danced and played games, and there was some speech-making<sup>206</sup>. 235 people were present and dined and drank wine and behaved beautifully”*

A Cretan peasant working in an excavation could easily take advantage of his/her position to extract some antiquities and sell them to the illegal traders. The interesting part is the solution chosen by Western archaeologists in order to deal with this behaviour: *“All soil was carried out of the dark up the steep incline, and to sifting it and washing the blackened potsherds it contained was a gang of women, who are always more patient in minute search than men, and less apt to steal. It is always well to have a few women among your diggers. The men labour better in their company, and with a vivacity which is of no small value where boredom spells failure”* (Hogarth 1910, 73). The association of taught labour skills – which, in this case, was organised upon gender criteria – with the lack of trust on behalf of the archaeologist/employer, was not a rare case; in 1888, the famous Egyptologist Sir William Matthew Flinders Petrie was training his workforce in a way that would make sure supervision was continuous, and taught skills reduced to the necessary ones needed for particular tasks (Quirke 2010, 45). The solution to the problem in Crete came out of some rough gender profiling by Hogarth. It was a rather subliminal way of policing the trench, so that no finds could be stolen. His policy also generated a really effective way of

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<sup>205</sup> A roofed open porch (from the Portuguese *veranda*).

<sup>206</sup> Probably referring to the impromptu making of *mantinades* (couplets in Cretan dialect).

managing the labour process, which took advantage of the flirting taking place during the excavation. Part of this was based on the observance that the dig had become for the male workmen another platform upon which they could project their skills as worthy, hard-working males and, therefore, trustworthy future husbands. This attitude was channelled by the overseeing Western archaeologist into extra productivity.

The system of mixed gender labour groups was the supplement to a special rewards policy that was apparent in most foreign excavations in Crete, and aimed at ensuring maximum productivity: *“By this time, more than half the workfolk were splashing in the nether pool, eager for the special rewards promised to lucky finders”* (Hogarth 1910, 76). The whole process of digging was being transformed into an artefact-orientated, treasure hunt; thus transferring the looting spirit of the peasants into the archaeological excavation process. Bosanquet was thrilled when he witnessed this invention at Knossos: *“They work in gangs on an ingenious system invented by Mackenzie, that of the στοίχημα or match. Two gangs of our men each are given an equal number of cubic metres, and a prize of a franc a head per day is paid to the team that finishes first. They work like heroes in these matches – and are paid at a higher rate than usual, apart from the trifling prize”* (Bosanquet 1938, 170-71). The pay rates, directly associated with labour organisation and productivity in the trench, were carefully designed and applied by Western archaeologists in Crete and other countries, like Egypt (cf. Quirke 2010, 46-47).

The opinion of the archaeologist, as both the “boss” and the “specialist”, was undoubtedly dominant in the trench; probably the extent of this power can be measured through stories like the one in Chapter 5, with the workmen allegedly believing that Evans had divine powers, because he “magically” discovered a well. Meanwhile, several subgroupings within the workmen tried to prove themselves as “civilised men” in front of the Western archaeologists (the *ad hoc* “civilised man”): Cretans coming from the urban centres did not hesitate to diminish their peasant countrymen, in order to present themselves as being closer to what they perceived as the Western cultural ethos; therefore, when the villagers hesitated to work on Friday after Easter, Bosanquet’s men from the Candia (Heraklion) region laughed and said: *“These are uncivilised men and certainly their fear of episcopal wrath is rather medieval”* (Bosanquet 1938, 126).

Nonetheless, in many cases, like the one at Praesos, the archaeologist was obliged to follow the “instinct” or stubbornness of those local workmen that amused him with their “medieval” or aspirational “civilised” attitudes: Bosanquet’s description of one of his foremen is reminiscent of this: *“Antonio is a man of forty, with a somewhat harsh, lean countenance, a wrinkled brow and a throat all cords, whom I have come to trust implicitly. He is absolutely straight-forward and just, by instinct; and has an unwavering will”* (Bosanquet 1938, 121). Photos like the one below, showing Evans’ second in command, Duncan Mackenzie from Scotland, speaking with a workman during the digging of a test trench at Knossos, are revealing of this paradoxical balance of power (**Fig. 44**). What is happening in the photo is debatable: Mackenzie may be discussing the progress of the dig with the Cretan, listening to him, reprimanding him or simply giving instructions and commands. The locals, either as looters or workmen, were directly, bodily and mentally involved to the process of the excavation, working with the soil, taking antiquities out of it; they had an embodied experience with them that the archaeologist who simply gave the orders would rarely capture. Indeed, as Edgeworth points out: *“...it is the troweller (not the planner, supervisor, photographer, director, analyst or reader of the excavation report) who initially encounters the material evidence as it emerges from a state of hiddenness – comes into direct bodily contact with it, manipulates, shapes and constitutes it, and through this manipulation brings further evidence to light. It is the troweller, for all his lowly status, who transforms the emerging evidence from a NATURAL to a CULTURAL object. That is, it is upon the shoulder of the troweller that falls the principal burden of making sense of emerging evidence for<sup>207</sup> the social group”* (Edgeworth 2003, 48).

In the end, the workman was becoming the “specialist”; he would give advice to his/her boss and, many times, the latter had to listen. Surely, anyone (including me) who has worked on an excavation has dealt with a veteran of that kind: experienced and stubborn workmen, who insist on applying a specific way of digging for a specific part of a trench, immediately recognizing the change of the soil when new layers come up, or even having an idea on the dating of the

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<sup>207</sup> Italian in the original text.

find, not because of their studies, but due to their experience. Those attitudes, apart from a certain amount of pride in someone's field of proficiency, reveal also hints of competitive attitudes, indirectly questioning the hierarchy of the excavation. The haste shown by the local archaeologists in the administrative correspondence, to dig before the sites are "*completed destroyed and looted by the peasants*" (Fig. 45)<sup>208</sup> seems futile; yesterday's potential looters would become the next day's workmen, when the excavation started. The case of Greek Cypriot Gregorios Antoniou, who became foreman at Knossos after Hogarth's suggestion, is typical. Before working with Hogarth in Cyprus, *Gregóri* was an acclaimed grave robber and looter of antiquities (MacGillivray 2000, 170-73). Let's also recall here Bosanquet from Chapter 5, being "*very angry*" against his "*reckless*" workmen, when some of them were caught using stones from "*our best Minoan houses*" in order to build or repair their homes (Bosanquet 1938, 173). The authority of ownership denied to the peasants was contested by their deep knowledge of the landscape and the local anthropogeography, from day one.

## 7.9 Conclusions

This chapter has highlighted several crucial aspects regarding how archaeology was received and "consumed" by the Cretan population of the time, especially the peasants; what was discussed here was not only their exposure to the nationalist narrative, but also their own, indigenous archaeologies, their embodied relationship with artefacts and power relationships within the excavation as a process. It would be a mistake though to consider the "peasants" as one homogenous group, when it comes to attitudes towards the antiquities. The generic term used for convenience includes various bodies and groups within the Cretan countryside. Inside this social world, various hybrid identities flourished.

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<sup>208</sup> Letter from S. Xanthoudides, Ephor of Antiquities of Chania to the Higher Directorate of Education, 24/07/1911, Book 29, *Heraklion Archaeological Museum Archive*, 23rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Heraklion (Appendix A.C16).

We saw that, even before the archaeological factor appeared in the Cretan countryside, the land was a contested ground: it was the epicentre of the sectarian violence between Christians and Muslims that devastated the island. In the form of grazing land, it was contested, often violently, by the rural communities surrounding it. As a matter of fact, the rural and the urban parts of the Cretan population could be seen as two different, yet intermingled, worlds. This diversity was re-emphasised and re-introduced when the antiquarian adventure commenced in Crete. Through archaeology, the urban world (the “civilised” world, along with its Western patrons) emerged as the bearer of modernity and, with it, capitalism. Through the influx of this new “archaeological” capital, in both intellectual and monetary senses of the word, local and Western elites opened Crete to the modern world economy; by doing so, they had also changed the material culture of the Cretan population. In order to achieve this major breakthrough, they occupied the countryside, in a physical manner (archaeological sites and zones) and in an intellectual one (redefining the essence of the land as the womb of the national monuments and the role/use of antiquities).

These two worlds met in the Cretan State schooling system and became partakers of the same nationalist historical narrative, which incorporated the newly-discovered “monuments” in the curriculum, along with school trips to their location. The merging of education and archaeology under one roof was indicative of how important the antiquities were to the Cretan elites in the process of nation-building. The initiation took place in an environment that was a “post-conflict” and “conflict” setting at the same time: post-conflict, in the sense that it was the aftermath of a brutal civil war, with many wounds still open, especially in terms of religious hatred and sectarian violence between Christians and Muslims, a condition that surpassed the rural/urban division; conflict in the sense that two mentalities were clashing over the Cretan “monuments”, one prevalent in the countryside, favouring the reuse of antiquities, and one coming from the urban elites, who tried to impose the sacralisation and monumentalising of the newly discovered “national treasures”.

Hence, the “other peasants”<sup>209</sup>, people devoted to the archaeological policy of the state, yet with a peasant background, found themselves trapped in the contradictions of this position. This situation generated several cases of informing and corruption related to archaeological affairs. Among those people, the excavation workmen were a particular case. Their experience was built within a contact and conflict zone, the excavation, where a new, indirect way to bond with the land was taught to them: the archaeologists kept the role of the intermediary, translator, guide and employer for themselves, thus defining the nature of this new bonding. Thus, the archaeologist, both as actor and within his network, bearing this new narrative, acted as a catalyst, changing the peasant attitudes towards antiquities and, consequently, the land. When the perception of the land passed from the hands of the rural population to the hands of the archaeological and political elites, the control to define the use of it was lost too. This was a gradual process, but, even during its early stage, the Cretan archaeologists looked down on their fellow countrymen of the hinterland (as Hatzidakis text regarding the “*questions and assumptions by many curious Cretans*” elaborately reveals); access to the archaeological narrative was denied to the rural population; in fact, access was regulated, reducing the peasants’ role to that of the observer, the labour force or the service provider for the archaeologists and the tourists.

However, there were various stories and tales among the peasants, regarding the material remains of the past (a Cretan indigenous archaeological narrative); two different narratives over the material remains of the Cretan past coexisted during the autonomy period: the official and the indigenous one. There was also an indigenous physical interaction with the antiquities, which, judging from the prohibitions of the Cretan Antiquities Law, was rather rich, including the quarrying of ancient sites and reuse of antiquities (a Cretan indigenous archaeological practice). The peasant narrative did not appear to clash with the practice, since the sacralisation and monumentalisation of the antiquities (especially in terms of their intactness or “restoration”) were not among its prerequisites. The Cretan State elites responded to this mentality, both in legal terms and in term of public discourse, through the press, by suppressing,

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<sup>209</sup> See subchapter 7.5.

persecuting and exposing to public scorn the looters, like in the Palaikastro story; the burden was even heavier in occasions like this, when the looting was performed against the British, therefore allegedly causing shame for Crete in the eyes of the Western “civilised nations”. Alongside the “positive” national identities, new “negative” ones were built too. A new social stigma, a new kind of traitor to the nation emerged, whose existence and performance was institutionally prohibited: the looter. Needless to say, this stigma had the social class as its main variable: a wealthy illegal antiquities trader could be a “national hero” or have good political connections and therefore be untouchable; on the contrary, a poor villager caught looting could not avoid the heavy hand of the Law. At the same time, any possible reuse of antiquities considered to be useless to the nation building (like the Bembo fountain in Candia) passed unnoticed.

Within this environment, the Cretan peasants established new ways of earning an income, from being employed as excavation workers to applying for compensation due to alleged damages caused to their land, as a result of archaeological activities. During the Cretan State years, archaeological work and looting co-existed, occasionally being tolerated, as the stories of the “Gortyn Code”, the temple of Aphrodite in Axos and the “Minoan houses” in Palaikastro highlighted. Furthermore, the Westerners managed to establish new ways of interacting with their employees. The excavation served as a factory for behaviour, an engendered condition where relations and attitudes like flirting were channelled into policing the trench. The motive of reward, directly linked to the increase of productivity, cultivated a treasure-hunting, competitive mentality among the workmen, which glorified profit and associated it with the discovery of antiquities.

I believe that in the light of this multi-levelled pressure, a very particular quality of resistance emerged among the peasants. Throughout the last three chapters we witnessed several cases where they dynamically ignored the archaeological policy and the narrative related to it. But removing stones from ancient ruins is not resistance; the action by itself does not say much. The confidence driving this act is itself resistance. Equally, telling their own stories was resistance to the official narrative. Through these attitudes, the peasants were asserting their right to make the decisions on their own and to describe themselves on their own terms. And of course that included the way they shape their surroundings,

build their houses, grow their crops and experience the material world around them.

## 8. *L'archéologie enragée pacifiée* (Conclusions)

*"All a guy needed was a chance. Somebody was always controlling who got a chance and who didn't"*<sup>210</sup>

For many people who needed a chance the years around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century probably looked like a good time to be in Crete - unless they were Cretan Muslim of course. The setting was promising and the players in full swing. Everybody knew the game was rigged but nobody cared, since ambition and need soared, within a post-mortem setting that promised rebirth. As in every situation like this, there were many winners and even more losers, sometimes overlapping with each other. This thesis examined the dynamics between state-building, identity formation, archaeology, nationalism and colonialism. The focus was on the island of Crete during the period of the Cretan State (1898 - 1913), i.e. between Ottoman rule and the incorporation of Crete within the Greek nation state. When I started the writing of this thesis I had two questions to ask:

- How did the colonial foundations of Cretan archaeology affect its relationship with Greek nationalism?
- How was "Minoan" archaeology received and "consumed" by the Cretans of the time?

What happens if we revisit these questions now? One could certainly say that the Cretan Archaeological Service was, overall, a colonial institution. Its members and political supervisors championed the idea of protecting the "national monuments", but were lenient regarding their integrity, when it came time to

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<sup>210</sup> Charles Bukowski, *Ham on Rye* (1982).

satisfy a Western request. In this way, the Cretan archaeological elite was a hybrid group, standing with a foot on each of two boats, the one being the Cretan everyday life, succumbing to its Greek nationalist make-believe, and the other the dream of a Western, Cretan “model kingdom in the East” (cf. Skopetea 1988)<sup>211</sup>. They surely thought they deserved this privileged bipolarity, since they had managed to obtain a privileged relation with their foreign patrons. In fact, the Cretan State as a whole could be better described as a crypto-colonial establishment (cf. Herzfeld 2002, 900-901): although blatantly open regarding its characteristics, there were constant efforts from both Western colonisers and the local collaborator class to negotiate its nature. Some of its more blatant colonial features were coming into public view by chance, through disputes that reached the press. The Westerners were represented by the local political elites and the Cretan press as *ad hoc* “friends of the nation”, allies and philhellenes; but they could also become “enemies of the nation” (Gourgouris 1996, 275-76)<sup>212</sup>. Some of the local intermediaries were far from having a stable and positive idea of their Western patrons, as several cases in this thesis highlighted. Nonetheless, although sharing the same nationalist imagination with their Greek brothers, the Cretans disappointed them when they tried to archaeologically colonise the island through the efforts of the Archaeological Society at Athens. This, in a way, was the scholarly localism of the Cretan archaeologists, a true Oedipus syndrome against two fathers, one Western and one Greek, and product of Cretan State archaeology. Not surprisingly, this tight balance produced various internal conflicts among the Cretan antiquarians, and made them feel the pressure of the Western archaeological activity.

Due to the work of this collaborator class, the Westerners managed to successfully incorporate Cretan archaeological production within their identity-building focused on the origins of the European civilisation. The Western imagination had taken over Crete; the past of the island was colonised and, in its turn, colonised the minds of its inhabitants and people across the Western world who, through a flourishing production of academic material and the popularised reports in the press, found themselves attached to the mesmerizing “Minoans”. This palimpsest of Europeanness generated identities for many

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<sup>211</sup> See subchapter 3.5.

<sup>212</sup> See subchapter 3.4.

audiences. It offered another material bond to the Westerners, who felt more confident regarding their collective, civilised continental identity, which afforded them the privilege to colonise the world beyond their perception. Within this imagination, Crete became the redefined border between the Orient and the West (McEnroe 2002, 59), a European borderland.

In terms of the contribution of “Minoan” archaeology to the production of a Hellenic national identity during that time, the idea of “Minoans” seemed to succumb to a classicist reading, that secured their passing as *point zéro* in the Greek nationalist topography. Inductive thought and syncretism were the key tools in order to create a unified narrative, one within which the Cretan prehistory could not stand independently from the classical Greek vision. The ancient Cretans were the *Prehellenes*, the forefathers of the ancient Greeks, who, in their turn, were the forefathers of the modern Europeans. Therefore, the people declaring themselves to be their modern descendants, i.e. the Christian Cretans of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, were both Europeans and Greeks, as *primi inter pares*. This process adapted the Cretan past to be incorporated in both modern European and Greek national identity narratives. Furthermore, Crete proved to be an ideal test tube for the solidification of the “Great Idea” and the Paparrigopoulou narrative of national continuity, by managing to incorporate its antiquity, medieval past and modernity into one heritage, and erase the unwanted pages. The dissemination of this narrative had been achieved through its banalisation, via public education and the use of antiquities-related state and private symbolism in everyday life. The press was also a vital part of training the population of both Crete and Greece into this new self-image, and introducing the “national monuments” into the collective patriotic dreamscape.

The new archaeological narrative was also used as a tool of subjugation; this was made possible through the advocating of a “law and order” reading of the “Minoan” past, preaching the “civilising” of the “unruly” peasants and incorporating archaeological values into the notion of the “traitor to the nation”, i.e. the looter. Crete needed to be “pacified” for reasons that were beyond her borders: the rising tide of socialist revolts, trade unionism, and general strikes against social inequality across Europe demanded the creation of strong preventive and inspirational models. Thus, in these terms, the Cretan blend of Greek nationalism was the response of both European and Cretan/Greek elites to this peril. In addition, one of the pioneers of the Greek socialist movement

was Cretan; Stavros Kallergis from Houmeri of Mylopotamos, in the Rethymnon region (1865 – 1926), had grown up and was introduced to socialist values in Athens. He ran for MP in Rethymnon during the Cretan State years and published the first Greek socialist newspaper in Athens, *The Socialist*. He had been arrested many times in Greece for his political activities and was the victim of assassination attempts while in Crete (cf. Karpozilos 2011; 2013). In fact, a few years before the establishment of the Cretan State, in 1893, he published a brochure which contained a text called *The Socialist State in Crete* (Beltsios 2010)<sup>213</sup>; when the future of the island was at stake and every scenario was possible under the pressure of the Great Powers, Greece and the Ottoman Empire, Kallergis built up his vision on the Cretan peasant tradition; for him, the rural Cretans were not the leftover of an uncivilised world that needed to be put aside but, through their idealised communal heritage, a basis upon which the socialist utopia could flourish.

Regarding the reception and consumption of archaeology by the Cretan peasants, what is remarkable is their skills and quality of adaptation to the new reality emerging around them. They took up roles that could be profitable for them, regardless of whether they really converted to the national archaeological narrative or not; excavation workmen, farmers receiving compensation for crops allegedly destroyed by excavations, tour guides, employees of the Archaeological Service and looters. The level of flexibility that is implied is impressive. The same goes for the level of intermingling of these roles. Also, along with this framework of practices, emerges a whole universe of embodied interactions between peasants and antiquities, beyond the limitations of modern archaeology and its legislation. This persistence during the enforcement of policy could be seen as a resistance of that part of the population against a subliminal alienation applied to their connection to the land. Because, in essence, what took place was a reintroduction of the landscape to them, orchestrated by the Cretan urban elites and the Westerners; within this new narrative, their interaction with their material surroundings was restructured,

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<sup>213</sup> [http://www.anarxeio.gr/files/pdf/Eutopia18\\_2010-01\\_PE.pdf](http://www.anarxeio.gr/files/pdf/Eutopia18_2010-01_PE.pdf) (last accessed in 27.10.2014).

regulated from scratch, invested with new values and narratives, policed in new ways; in a nutshell: modernised. One of the first victims of this conflict were the indigenous narratives and tales connected to the Cretan antiquities; they were put aside by the new conquering identity, spreading from the Cretan cities to the countryside and championing its values in vital contact zones, from the excavations to the classrooms and the Sunday Masses. In this conflict of the Cretan elites vs. the peasants, the press played an essential role in disseminating the power narrative of the former and cultivating the nationalist archaeological values amongst the latter.

Modern Cretan archaeology emerged through this process as a highly destabilizing agent, in terms of class/social balance; it tamed the countryside economically (by introducing the archaeological capital, especially the Western one in the economic relations, in physical terms (archaeological sites and zones as conquering outposts of this new policy), in terms of human relations (new hierarchies, new enmities, informing, corruption and collaboration) and in terms of identities (modern ones, Westerner wannabes, scapegoated communities and individuals). I started writing this thesis aiming to deconstruct and delegitimise the Greek national narrative in Crete; in order to achieve this, I focused on the identities built on the intersection of nationalism and archaeology, amidst the crypto-colonial setting of the Cretan State. Eventually, during my research, I have discovered much more than I bargained for. I believe that I have justified my argument that a double colonisation took place in Crete during the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: it was not simply an archaeological colonisation<sup>214</sup>, i.e. the archaeological takeover of the island by the Western antiquarians, taking advantage of the political *status quo*. It was also the colonisation of the Cretan landscape by the Cretan upper classes, with the local archaeologists and their Western colleagues spearheading this procedure: this was accomplished by changing the “cultural” and “natural” features of the land; a development which, seen on a grand scale, was just another page in a long history, which had the reshaping of the Cretan landscape according to human aspiration as its epicentre. In this light, even the first settlement of Knossos, that would lead to

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<sup>214</sup> See subchapters 1.4 & 3.7.

the formation of the Kephala hill, was part of this process (Day and Wilson 2002, 145).

The research context of this thesis has been discussed extensively in the introductory section (Chapters 1-4) and was sufficiently supported by the data section. I believe that my methodological approach was effective: by applying the ANT toolkit selectively, I managed to highlight the antiquities as the main association linking the discourses presented here. The attributes attached to them by the various groups that were involved defined narratives, practices and, eventually, identities. Moreover, previously published material was presented in a new light, along with previously unpublished data, thus creating a new corpus as a valid contribution to scholarship. The analysis and discussion of the archival resources in three sections, based on distinct interest groups was, I think, well justified, in term of producing a detailed account of the practice of archaeology and the conflicts and alliances that developed between the main actors involved. Several theoretical devices have been used for the critical analysis of the material, in particular: the ability to “forget” or “remember”, as discussed by Renan and elaborated by Anderson, banal nationalism, introduced by Billig and collaborator systems, a concept heavily used by Breuilly.

This thesis focuses on a period that is vital to the history of modern Cretan, Greek and European archaeology. Hopefully, novel approaches, such as this, will make way for some honest discussion regarding the attitudes of archaeologists towards: 1) the persistence of national imagination and Western, classicist aesthetics in the archaeology of Crete and Greece, 2) the need to change the way prehistory is taught in schools or presented in the public discourse and 3) the hostility of state archaeology towards various communal archaeologies “from below”. In addition, I think that my “Kafkian” [sic] experiences during my archival research depict accurately the issues generated because of limited accessibility to archival resources, both in Greece and abroad. A problematic that needs to be addressed constantly, as it defines the levels of quality and independence of the research performed. After all, I have to bear in mind that even this thesis is directly connected to the level of accessibility I gained during my data collection. Thus, in a way, it is – also – a by-product of the various Derridean *archons*, the administrators and owners of the archival collections which I visited.

My subject was based on the ancient material past and dealt with the early modern past of a European borderland. But my research is clearly relevant regarding contemporary European and Greek identity-building as well, finding its place in the vibrant current debates about the future of the European Union (EU) and Greece, what is “European” and what is “national” today. The intermingling of archaeology and heritage management with nationalism and identity politics has been studied extensively, especially regarding “postcolonial” countries. What is still missing is what happens when crypto-colonial policies are applied by European states in order to subjugate areas in the periphery of what is perceived as “Europe”. Themes like this were discussed extensively in *L'archéologie enragée*. Amidst the current debt crisis (which, one could say, evolved into an identity crisis), the world “debt colony” is heard more and more in Greece and abroad<sup>215</sup>. Greeks and, among them, Cretans, keep referring to the past in order to gain courage, points of reference or justification for their present actions, or inaction. References to the German occupation of Greece during the WWII<sup>216</sup>, and reminders that Greece is the cradle of Europe, therefore needs to remain within the EU by any means necessary, monopolise the current political discourse<sup>217</sup>.

These phenomena come as a natural consequence, since, in Greece, everybody has a fervent opinion regarding the past, which is very important for self-determination. Nationalist pseudoarchaeologies and conspiracy theories about the “hidden” pages of History have a dominant presence in the Greek internet, overpowering the outreach of official narratives of the past, but also adopting their external framework<sup>218</sup>. Through the social media, these stories are widely disseminated to a society that seems, I think, to produce and consume national pride as a remedy for socio-political passivity and lack of collective self-

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<sup>215</sup> <http://blogs.channel4.com/paul-mason-blog/greece-debt-colony-bit-home-rule/3419> (last accessed 25/07/2015).

<sup>216</sup> Cf. Greek protesters dressed up as Nazis and the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, depicted as Adolf Hitler by them, during her visit to Athens in 2012 (<http://www.businessinsider.com/protester-dresses-up-as-hitler-in-greece-to-protest-merkel-2012-10>, last accessed 24/07/2015).

<sup>217</sup> The quote “Europe without Greece is like a child without a birth certificate”, made by the French politician, Valéry Giscard d’Estaing, was used extensively as an argument in the Greek social media during the crisis (cf. <https://twitter.com/ggworld/status/567436014420238336>, last accessed 24/07/2015).

<sup>218</sup> See, for example, the rich “History and culture” thread on the official webpage of the Greek neo-Nazi party, Golden Dawn: <http://www.xryshaygh.com/enimerosi/istoria/C1>.

awareness. Stories like the “discovery” of “Minoan” DNA among the modern day Cretans and Europeans<sup>219</sup>, disseminated through the press, mesmerise the Cretan and Greek audience that brags about ancient glory, in denial, one could say, of its present destitution<sup>220</sup>. It is this toxic identity that feeds the Cretan localist stereotype, mentioned in the beginning of this doctoral dissertation: the ever-revolting, yet obedient, racist and macho Cretan patriarch, *primus inter pares* among Greeks. I believe that this phenomenon owes a lot to developments taking place during the Cretan State period and the consumption of the local and national identities created then: the ambivalent, self-conflicting reference points of a hybrid, irredentist yet subservient self-image reap what they sowed, and I think it is time to move beyond this frontier. As archaeologists, academics, school teachers, specialists or non-specialists, but, above, all, members of our community, we need to deliver a sociocultural ethos for the Cretan past, present and future that emphasises on values that are bonding, beyond ethno-religious divisions or European essentialisms.

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<sup>219</sup> See subchapter 1.5.

<sup>220</sup> The case of Amphipolis had a similar, if not greater impact. See Hamilakis’ comment on the story (<http://www.lrb.co.uk/blog/2015/01/22/yannis-hamilakis/archaeo-politics-in-macedonia/>, last accessed 24/07/2015).

# Figures

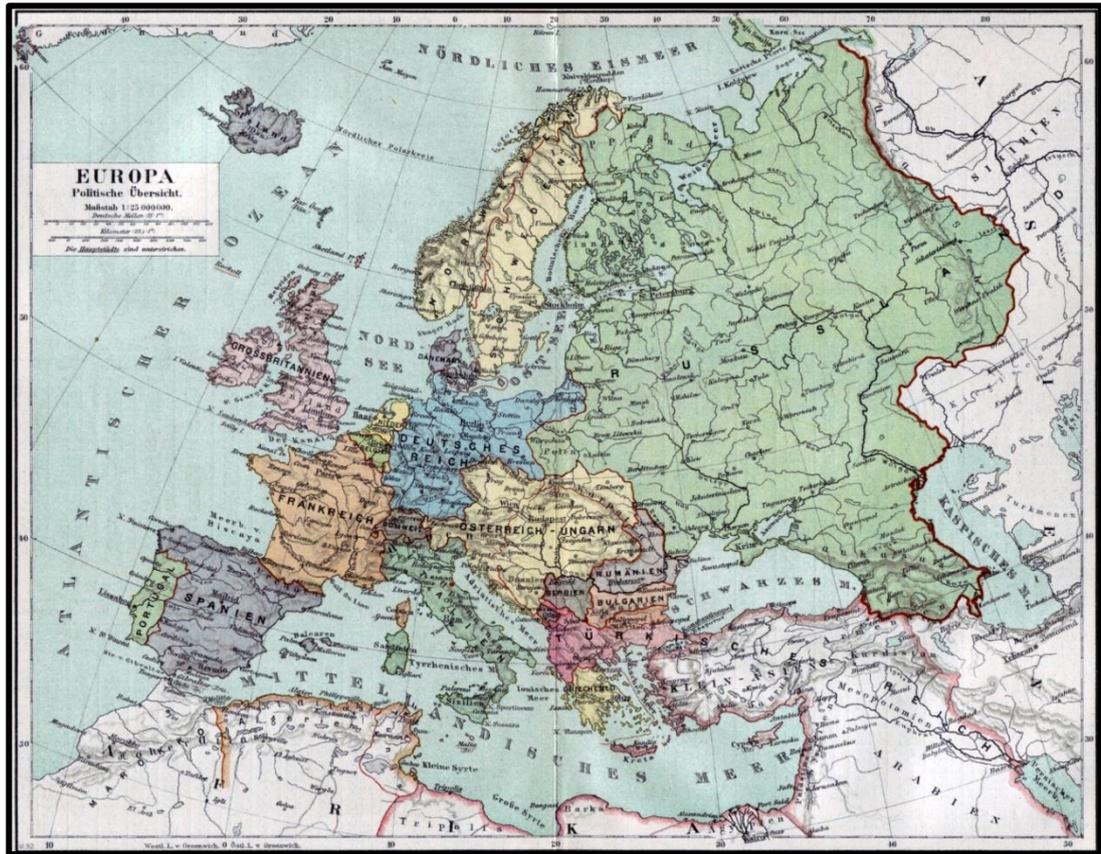


Figure 1: Europe and the Ottoman Empire in 1890  
(Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Europa\\_1890.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Europa_1890.jpg))



Figure 2: Map of the Ottoman Empire decline

(Source: <http://www.theottomans.org/english/images/Map/buyuk/4.htm>)





This whole affair is ~~rather~~ rather interesting: esp. from  
our friends of the Euboeos -

Laubia.

Ligortino

22.4.95.

lamax + birds in house  
(v. P&M) published in  
AE

Dear Evans,

Dr. Star has just taken me to see the contents of a  
Dolos, with two osteothecae (like those in the museum but  
unpainted) which are for sale: the proposal is to give some-  
thing on account to the binder, who will dig again -  
his field seems to contain several Dolos - , make  
collection of everything found (I told him about  
skulls, & stone implements, & other not-obvious things.)  
- and get it all out of the island; & eventually  
reveal the name of the site, which is associated  
with a town-site, acc. to Dr. Star, which is not in  
Spratt, or anywhere else that he knows.

In case you don't see the things yourself; -

3 Mysk: amphorae. one with goat & tree-group, with  
fish (Kamaraia type) below, Mysk. flowers, & "Rhod-  
can" <sup>the reverse a stylistic cuttlefish</sup> in field; one with cuttlefish naturalistic;  
& one with half-geomet. ornament.

a bull's head vase, painted, with a handle at back  
of neck.

a very globular myrthos. a spoon like ~~spoon~~

and a lot of other vases: also a large  
clay tripod. Mysk sword & knife

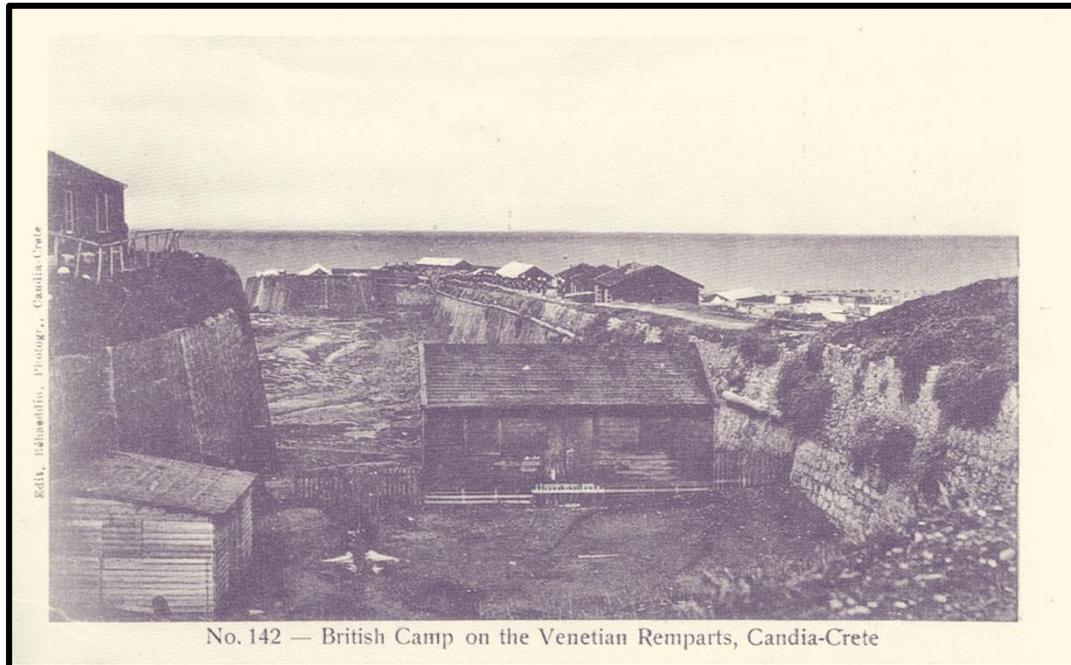
porcelain <sup>two</sup> necklaces. 

I was asked to value them: & said 15 £ explaining  
that Mysk. vases in themselves did not fetch much;  
that the goat vase was the only first rate piece; &  
that ~~the~~ the rest got their value mainly from

Figure 5: Letter from J. Myres to A. Evans regarding the Ligortino  
antiquities (*The Sir Arthur Evans Archive*, Non-personal letters, No. 78,  
Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford)



**Figure 6: English troops parade in the Three Kamares Square of Heraklion, in honour of the High Commissioner of Crete, Prince George, in 1899 (Marinakis 2008, 86)**



**Figure 7: British barracks on the Venetian walls, ca. 1899? (Marinakis 2008, 171)**

# ΕΠΙΣΗΜΟΣ ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΡΗΤΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ

ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΝΟΜΟΥ 24

## ΔΙΑΤΑΓΜΑ

Περί ἀρχαιοτήτων.

ΗΜΕΙΣ ΗΡΩΔΙΚΗ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ  
ΥΠΑΤΟΣ ΑΡΜΟΣΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΚΡΗΤΗ

Έχοντας ὄψ' ἔβην τὰ άρθρα 19, 111 καὶ 113 τοῦ Συντάγμα-  
τος, προτάει τῶν ἐπι τῆς Δημοσίας Ἐκπαίδευσως καὶ τῶν  
Θρησκευμάτων καὶ ἐπι τῆς Διακοσμητικῆς Ἡμετέρου Συμβουλίου  
καὶ τῆ ὁμοψήφου γνώμῃ τοῦ Συμβουλίου Ἠρώων.

Ἀποφασίζομεν καὶ διατάσσομεν  
ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ Α΄.

Περί ἀρχαιοτήτων ἐν γένει.

Ἄρθρον 1ου.

Πάντα τὰ ἐν Κρήτῃ ἀρχαία, κινητὰ τε καὶ ἀκίνητα, εἰνε ἰδιο-  
κτησία τῆς Κρητικῆς Πολιτείας. Κατ' ἀπολυθίαν τὸ δικαίωμα  
καὶ ἡ φροντίς περὶ διασώσεως, ἀνακαλύψεως, περιουσιολογίας καὶ  
καταθέσεως αὐτῶν ἐν δημοσίῃς Μουσείοις ἀνάκει ἐπὶ τὴν Κρητι-  
κὴν Κυβέρνησιν.

Πᾶσα πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν τούτων ἐνέργεια ὑπάγεται εἰς τὴν δικαιο-  
δοσίαν τῆς Ἀνωτέρας Διοικήσεως τῆς Δημοσίας Ἐκπαίδευσως.

Ἄρθρον 2ου.

Ἀρχαία λογίζονται πάντα ἀνεπιτήρητὰ ἔργα τῆς Ἀρχιτεκτονι-  
κῆς, Γλυπτικῆς, Γραφικῆς οἰκονομίας ἐν γένει τέρηνς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιο-  
τάτων χρόνων μέχρι τῆς καταλήψεως τῆς Κρήτης ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑνε-  
τῶν, οἷον παντὸς οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἀρχιτεκτονικὰ μνημεῖα, λίθινά  
μετὰ γλυφῆς τινος ἐν τῶν μνημείων τούτων προερχόμενα καὶ θάλαρα,  
τεῖχη, τάφοι, λαξεύματα, ἀγάλματα, ἀνάθηρα, εἰδωλία, ἐπιγρα-  
φαί, ζωγραφίαι, ψηφιδωτὰ, ἀγγεῖα, ὄπλα, κοσμήματα καὶ  
ἄλλα εἰς οἰκονομίας ἄλλοι ἔργα καὶ σκευὴ, διακοσμητικὰ, νομι-  
σματα κτλ.

Εἰς τὰς διατάξεις τοῦ παρόντος νόμου ὑπάγονται καὶ τὰ κατὰ  
τὴν γνώμην τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Επιτροπῆς ἱστορικὴν ἢ καλλιτε-  
χνικὴν ἀξίαν ἔχοντα κινητὰ τε καὶ ἀκίνητα μνημεῖα τέρηνς ἀπὸ τῆς  
καταλήψεως τῆς Κρήτης ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑνετῶν, μέχρι τῆς ἀπελευθε-  
ρώσεως αὐτῆς.

Πᾶσιως ὑπάγονται εἰς τὰς διατάξεις τοῦ Νόμου τούτου καὶ  
σκευὰ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ζῴων ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν χρόνων προερχόμενα  
καὶ παλαιοντολογικὰ εἰρήματα.

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ Β΄.

Περί κινήτων ἀρχαίων.

Ἄρθρον 3ου.

Ἀρχαία οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἄλλα οἰκονομίας ἀκίνητα μνημεῖα ἀνα-  
καλυφθέντα ἤδη ἢ ἀνακαλυφθησόμενα ἐν ἰδιωτικῷ κτήματι θεωροῦν-  
ται ὡς δημόσια κτήματα, ἀποζημιούμενα τοῦ ἰδιοκτῆτου διὰ τῆς  
ἀξίας τοῦ ἀφαιρούμενου αὐτῷ χωροῦ ἐκ τοῦ κτήματος τοῦ κατ' ἐκ-  
τίμησιν γινόμενου κατὰ τὰς διατάξεις τοῦ περὶ ἀναγκαστικῆς ἀπαλ-  
λοτριώσεως νόμου. Εἰς τὴν ἐκτίμησιν ταύτην δὲν συμπολογίζεται ἡ  
ἀρχαιολογικὴ ἀξία τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος ἢ κινήτου μνημείου. Δὲν ὑπο-  
χρεούται τὸ Δημόσιον νὰ πληρῶν ἀποζημιώσιν εἰς τοὺς Δέμους,  
τὰς Μονὰς, τὸ Ἐρχάριον, τὰ Θρησκευτικὰ ἢ εὐαγγ. ἰδρύματα ἐν γέ-  
νει, τὰς Κοινότητας καὶ τὰ ἐπιστημονικὰ ἰδρύματα.

Ἄρθρον 4ου.

Ὁ ἀνακαλύψας οἰκονομίας καὶ καθ' οἰκονομίας τρόπον ἀρχαίων  
οἰκοδομήματα ἢ μνημεῖον τι, ὀφείλει νὰ δῆλωσῃ τούτο ἐγγράφως ἐν  
τῶν Ἐρώων ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ οἰκονομίας Ἀρχῆ, υποχρεούμενη νὰ διαβ-  
άσῃ αἰσίως τὴν δῆλωσιν ταύτην ἐν τῶν Ἐρώων ἐπι ποιῆ προ-  
στίμου δρ. 50—500 καὶ ἐν περιπτώσει δολικῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ ποιῆ  
ἀπολύσεως ἀπὸ τῆς υπηρεσίας. Ὁ δὲ ἰδιοκτῆτης καὶ κάτοχος ἐν τῷ  
κτήματι τοῦ οὗ οἰκοδομήσῃ, εἴτε ὄψ' αὐτοῦ, εἴτε ὄψ' ἄλλου τι-  
νός, τὸ ἔρχαριον, ὑποχρεούται ἐπι ποιῆ φυλακισίως 15 ἡμερῶν μέ-  
χρι ἰνὸς Ἰουλίου νὰ διατηρήσῃ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ δύο μῆνας ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς  
δῆλώσεως.

Ἐντὸς τῶν δύο τούτων μηνῶν ὁ Ἐρώος ἀποφαίνεται ἂν πρέπει τὸ  
ἀνακαλυφθὲν οἰκοδομήματα νὰ διατηρηθῇ, ὅποτε περιέρχεται τούτο εἰς  
τὴν ἰδιοκτησίαν τοῦ δημόσιου ἐφαρμοζομένων τῶν διατάξεων τοῦ  
ἔχρου δού.

Ἄρθρον 5ου.

Ἀπαγορεύεται ἡ καταστροφὴ, βλάβη, ἐπισκευὴ ἢ μεταβολὴ καθ'  
οἰκονομίας τρόπον ἐρείτων, λιθίνων, μνημείων καὶ οἰκονομίας  
ἄλλων ἀκινήτων ἀρχαίων ἀνεῦ ἀδείας τοῦ Συμβουλίου ἐκδιδόμενης  
ἐπι γνωμοδοτήσεως τοῦ ἀρμοδίου Ἐρώου. Ἐπὶ πλῆν ἀπαγορεύεται  
ἀνεῦ ἀδείας τῆς Ἀνωτέρας Διοικήσεως τῆς Παιδείας, 1) ἡ λατο-  
μικὴ καὶ ἡ σκαφῆ πρὸς περιστῶν ὕλικου οἰκοδομίας, οἷον λίθων, μαρ-  
μάρων, ὀπῶν πλίνθων, κίωνων κτλ. ἐπὶ ἀρχαίων ἐρείτων πόλεων,  
συναρισμάτων, νεκροπόλεων καὶ εἰς ἀπόστασιν 500 μέτρων ἀπ' αὐτῶν·  
2) ἡ κατασκευὴ ἀβιστοκαμίνων εἰς περιφέρειαν 500 μέτρων ἀπὸ  
τῶν ἀρχαιοτήτων· 3) ἡ πλῆσιον ἀρχαιοτήτων ἐπιχείρησις ἔργων δι-  
ναμένου νὰ βλάψῃ αὐτὰς αἰσίως ἢ ἐμείσω· 4) ἡ ἐπι κτιρίων καὶ  
λιθίνων ἐρείτων ἀρχαίων οἰκονομίας πράξις, καὶ ἂν ἐπι δὲν ἐπι-  
φέρει τινὰ ζημίαν.

Οἱ παραβάται τινὸς τῶν ἐν τῷ ἔχρῳ τούτῳ διατάξεων τιμωροῦν-  
ται ἀνάλογως τῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς σπουδαιότητος τοῦ μνημείου διὰ  
φυλακισίως 15 ἡμερῶν μέχρι δύο ἐτῶν καὶ προστίμου 100—10,000  
δραχμῶν.

Ἐπίσης τιμωροῦνται διὰ κρατήσεως 2—15 ἡμερῶν καὶ προ-  
στίμου 5—100 δραχμ. οἱ ἐργάται οἱ λαβόντες μέρος εἰς τὰς ἀνω  
ἄξιόποινους πράξεις καὶ οἱ οἰκοδομοὶ ἐν γένει οἱ μεταχειρι-  
σθέντες λίθους, πλίνθους καὶ ἄλλα ὕλικα οἰκοδομίας προερχό-  
μενα ἐκ τῆς καταστροφῆς ἀρχαίων καὶ οἱ ἐν γνώσει παρέχοντες  
εἰς τοὺς ἐργάτας τοιοῦτον ὕλικον.

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ Γ΄.

Περί κινήτων ἀρχαίων.

Ἄρθρον 6ου.

Πάντα τὰ κινητὰ ἀρχαία, τὰ ἔχοντα καλλιτεχνικὴν, ἀρχαι-

Figure 8: The first page of the Cretan Antiquities Law (Law N. 24, 18/06/1899, Official Newspaper of the Cretan State, Chania, 24/06/1899, n. 51, Historical Archive of Crete)

ΕΝ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΩ, ΤΗ, 3/15 Janvier 1899.

ΦΙΛΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΙΚΟΣ ΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΣ

ΕΝ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΩ, ΚΡΗΤΗΣ

ΑΡΙΘ .....

Cher Monsieur Evans,

Votre lettre de 25 Decembre  
j' en reçu si temps et j' en lire  
la trait de 50 Louis D' or la  
inclus. - Je vous exprime ma  
reconnaissance pour le signe  
de votre sincere amitie. -

La nouvelle que vous avez  
beaucoup souffert d'un dent  
m' avert cause beaucoup de  
peine.

Minos Calocherino est tout  
a fait gueri, mais il se trouve  
tres bien a sa sante. - Son fils  
Andree, un tres brave gar-  
con est tue par les Turcs  
pendant la massacre de

Figure 9: Letter from J. Hatzidakis to A. J. Evans, 15/01/1899, *The Sir Arthur Evans Archive*, Non-personal letters, No. 78, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

Candia 2/14 Februar 1899.

Cher Evans,

J'ai causé avec notre  
avocat Sr A. Hatzidakis  
pour l'affaire de Ke-  
fula. Il dit que nous  
pouvons réclamer de  
nos copropriétaires, les 300  
Louis d'or qu'ils n'ont  
pas encore payés à vous,  
pour le quart. Il est  
à espérer qu'ils préfe-  
reront à vous céder le  
tout avec une très pe-  
tite indemnité ou pour  
rien au lieu de vous  
payer cette somme.

Figure 10: Letter from J. Hatzidakis to A. J. Evans, 14/02/1899, *The Sir Arthur Evans Archive*, Non-personal letters, No. 78, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

Candie 2/14 Août 1889.

Mon cher Evans,

J'ai parlé avec votre  
avocat : nous avons appelé  
vos copropriétaires et nous  
leur avons montré à sur  
la voie. - Maintenant ils  
sont bien disposés à vous  
ceder le terrain de  
Kegaya à un prix rai-  
sonnable. D'après leur  
parole j'ai compris que  
s'il que vous pouvez

Figure 11: Letter from J. Hatzidakis to A. J. Evans, 14/08/1899, *The Sir Arthur Evans Archive*, Non-personal letters, No. 78, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford



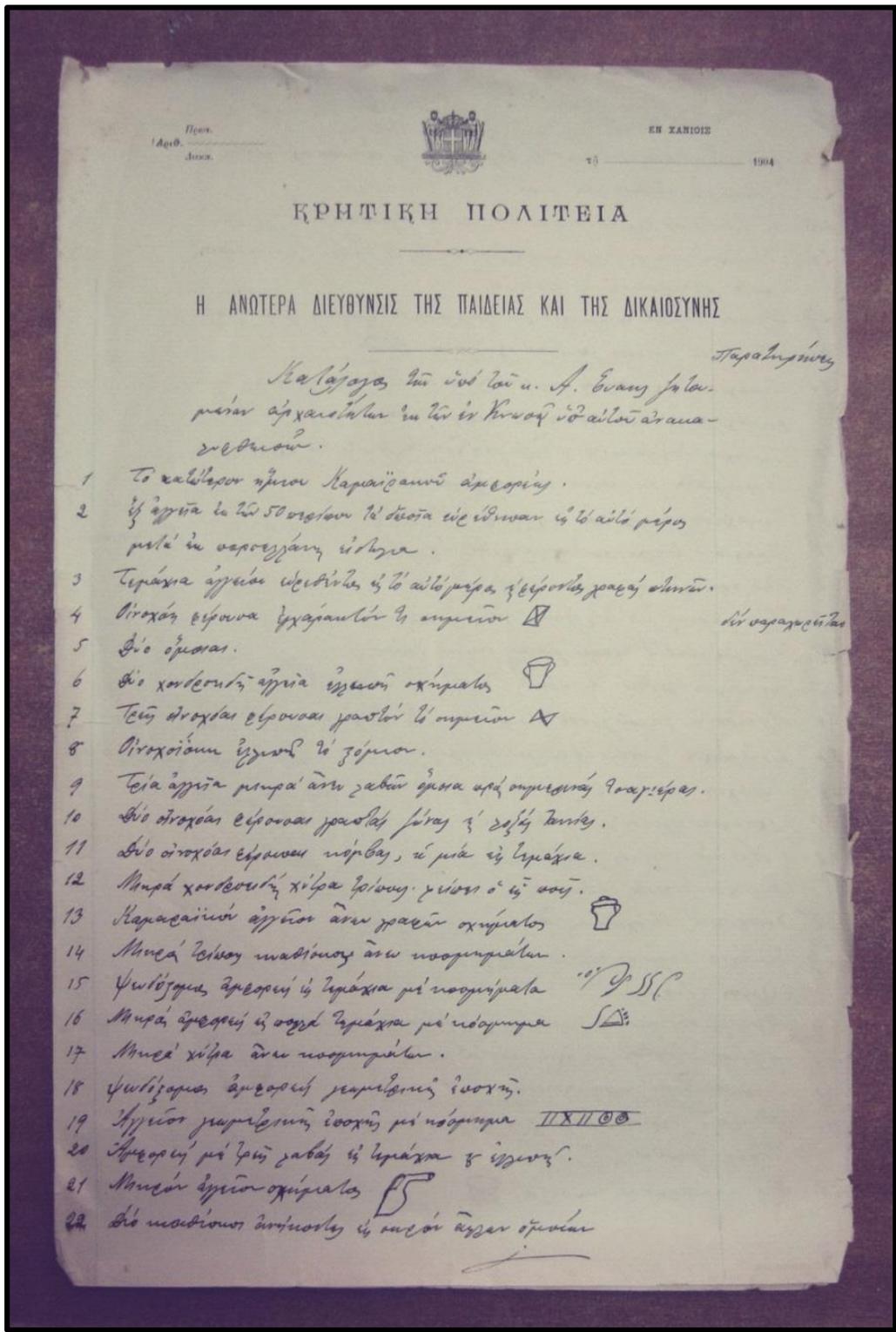


Figure 13: List of “useless” antiquities requested to be exported by Sir A. J. Evans (copy made in 31/07/1904, based on Evans’ application, submitted in 10/07/1904, Folder “Higher Directorate of Education & Religious Affairs, 1901-1905. Various Documents”, Historical Archive of Crete)





Πρακτικὸν Ἀρχαιολ. Επιτροπῆς ἀριθ. 27.

Κατὰ τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν <sup>2190</sup> ~~190~~ καὶ προεδροῦν τὴν 14 Ἰουνίου 1911 καταγγέλλει καὶ  
 α. ἐπὶ τῆς Παιδείας ἑπιτροπῆς συνελθόντι ἡ Ἀρχαιολογικὴ ἑπιτροπὴ ἐν τῇ  
 Μουσικῇ Ἡρακλείου ἑπιτροπῇ τῆς 18 Ἰουνίου 1911 ἀποβουλευόμενοι ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ  
 Ἡρακλείου ἑπιτροπῆς καὶ ἐπιτροπῆς καὶ ἔργῳ Ἡρακλίου Χρυσῆς Μουσικῆς  
 Ζανδουλιάνου καὶ ἑπιτροπῆς καὶ Μουσικῆς Ἡρακλείου Ἀνδρέου Βαυδαμ-  
 πῶν αἰ μετὰ, ἵνα ἀποφανθῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς παρασκευαστικῆς αἰτίας αὐτίους καὶ κ.  
 Ἀλέξανδρου Ρένου καὶ ἐπὶ ἐπιτροπῆς τῆς Παιδείας ἐπὶ προεδροῦν  
 9 Ἰουνίου 1911, ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ τῇ ἐπιτροπῆς αἰτίας καὶ ἔργῳ  
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ αἰτίας τῆς παρασκευαστικῆς αἰτίας αὐτίους καὶ κ.  
 ἐπὶ τῆς Μουσικῆς Μουσικῆς ἐν τῇ ἐπιτροπῇ καὶ ἐπὶ κ. Demargue ἐπιτροπῆς  
 ἵνα ἐπὶ παρασκευαστικῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τῆς Παιδείας

Ἡ Ἀρχαιολ. ἑπιτροπὴ, ἀφ' οὐδεὶς ἔλασεν ἑπιτροπῆς ἐπιτροπῆς  
 ἀποβουλευόμενοι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποβουλευόμενοι ἑπιτροπῆς αἰτίας

ἐν τῇ ἐπιτροπῆς ἀρχαίων Ἡρακλίου ἐπὶ ἀρχαίων ἀρχαίων ἐπιτροπῆς  
 καὶ ἀρχαίων ἀρχαίων ἐπιτροπῆς ἐπιτροπῆς ἐπιτροπῆς ἐπιτροπῆς  
 καὶ ἀρχαίων ἀρχαίων ἐπιτροπῆς ἐπιτροπῆς ἐπιτροπῆς ἐπιτροπῆς  
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 ἐπιτροπῆς ἐπιτροπῆς ἐπιτροπῆς ἐπιτροπῆς ἐπιτροπῆς ἐπιτροπῆς

ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπιτροπῇ  
 Ἀνδ. Α. Βαυδαμπῶν

Figure 16: No. 27, 18.06.1911 (reply to French application), *Minutes of the Archaeological Commissionership*, Heraklion Archaeological Museum Archive

νόμοι να θέσωμεν τὸν ἕνα αὐτῶν—κατορθώσῃ τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτό, τότε νὰ ἀποβῇ τὴν συμβασιὶν εἰς τὴν Βουλὴν καὶ ἡ Βουλὴ νὰ τὴν κινήσῃ ἐάν ἴδωμεν ὅτι νὰ παραβῆται ἡ κριτικὴ τῶν νομοσχεδίων ὅπως ἔχει συμπληρωθῆναι μόνον τὸ πρῶτον τὸν ἕνα.

**Δ. Ξανθοῦδίδης.** Ἐνοεῖται γενικὴ ἀποκρίσιν ἢ μὴ.

**Γ. Φουῦρης.** Ἐάν ἡ Κυβέρνησις δευτεῖα νὰ κινήσῃ τὴν ἀποκρίσιν, νὰ κινήσῃ γενικὴν ἀποκρίσιν, ἐάν ἴδωμεν ὅτι νὰ παραβῆται ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος· νὰ κινήσῃ γενικὴν ἀποκρίσιν, τότε δὲν πρέπει νὰ στεφῆται τῆς ἀποκρίσεως, ἀλλὰ νὰ κινήσῃ τὸ ἕνα ἢ τὸ ἄλλο τὸ ὅποιον ἔδωκεν ἐπιχειρηματικῶς τὸν νόμον νὰ συμπληρωθῇ τὸ πρῶτον ἔρθεον ὡς εἶπε· ὅτι ἀπορρίπτεται ἡ ἴδρισις ἀποκρίσεως καὶ παραβῆται εἰς τὴν Κυβέρνησιν τὸ δικαίωμα νὰ εἴδῃ εἰς συνεννόησιν μετὰ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς καὶ Ἄρ. ὅς τὸ συμπληρωθῆναι κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν τρόπον. Φοβούμεθα καὶ θέτομεν τὸ ζήτημα ἐκεῖ ὅπου πρέπει νὰ τεθῇ, ὅτι ἡμεῖς δὲν ἔχομεν δικαίωμα νὰ κινήσωμεν συμβασιὶν, θὰ πῶν καὶ ἡ Κυβέρνησις, ἀλλὰ νὰ παρακαλέσωμεν τὴν Κυβέρνησιν ἐν ἡ μὴν περιπέσει· καὶ τὴν συμβασιὶν αὐτῶν ἐντὸς τῆς προέσεως συνόδου—δύο ἔχομεν ἀκόμη ἕνα καὶ ἕμισι ἡμέρας καὶ δύνανται ἐντὸς 111 ἡμερῶν νὰ κινήσῃ τὴν συμβασιὶν—τότε νὰ κινήσῃ τὴν συμβασιὶν αὐτὴν νὰ τὴν κινήσωμεν.

**Κ. Αζουροῦδης.** Πρὸς τὴν νομοσχέδιον τὸ ἐπίπαι νὰ εἴπωμεν νὰ παραβῆται εἰς τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν. Αὐτὸ εἶνε ἐπιτήρησις, τὸ ὅποιοι θὰ κινήσῃ ἢ ἀρνηθῆται τὴν Κυβέρνησιν μὴ τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν. Ὁμοίως μὴ νὰ τὸ καταλάβωμεν. Δὲν εἶναι δουλειά μας. Δὲν ἔχομεν ἡμῶς νὰ ἐκδώμεν εἰς συνεννόησιν, οὐκ ἐπιτρέπεται νὰ κινήσωμεν νὰ εἴδῃ ἡ Βουλὴ εἰς συνεννόησιν μὴ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐπιτροπὴν. (Διὰ τὸν Κόρινθον.) Αὐτὰ οἱ προσηγορίαι θὰ ἀποστέλλωσιν συμβασιὶν.

**Β. Πουλοῦδης.** Ἐγὼ ἤμωραὶ νὰ μὴ συμβασιὶν ὅτι πρέπει νὰ γίνωμεν εἰκοστὴ προσηγορία. Ἦμωραὶ νὰ εἴπωμεν.

**Γ. Φουῦρης.** Ἐάν θελήσῃτε νὰ ἐκδώμεν περιορισμὸν τῶν τότε δὲν εἶμαι κατ' ἀρχὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ νομοσχεδίου (Φοβούμενος διὰ τὸν Κόρινθον).

**Α. Κριόρης.** Κυρία Πρόεδρε, Ἐπειδὴ τὸ ὑποβληθὲν νομοσχέδιον εἶνε ἀτελές, ἀσχετὸ καὶ ἀόριστον, προτείνω ὅπως ἀναβληθῇ μέχρι οὗ ἡ ἐπιτροπὴ μὴ παρουσιάσῃ ἕτερον νομοσχέδιον συμπληρωμένον.

**Πολλοί.** Ὁχι ὄχι.

**Πρόεδρος.** (Πρὸς τὸν κ. Κριόρη). Ἀπὸ πῶς εἰδέτε τὴν ἀβυσσιν;

**Β. Πουλοῦδης.** Νὰ ἀναγνώσῃ τὴν ἰδίαν μὴ πρότασιν, Κυρία Πρόεδρε. ἔχομεν ἕτερον πρότασιν.

**Πρόεδρος.** Ἐγὼ νομῶ πῶς ἀρνηθῆται τὸ ζήτημα. Παράβληται, Κύριε, ἡ Βουλὴ τὴν πρότασιν τοῦ κ. προβληθέντος;

**Α. Κριόρης.** Ἀρνησάμε νὰ εἴπω τίνα.

**Πρόεδρος.** Ὅσα εἴπωμεν τὰ ἴδια. Ἐγὼ θὰ προτείνω νὰ συμπληρωθῶσιν τὸν κανονισμὸν μὴ εἶναι τὸ ὅποιον λέγει ἡ Π. Βουλὴ, ὅτι πρέπει εἰς καθὲ πρότασιν ἀπὸ δύο εἰς ὑπὲρ καὶ εἰς κατὰ, νὰ ἀπορρίπτεται. Εἰς πᾶσαν περίπτωσιν νὰ ἐπιβῇ εἰς ὑπὲρ καὶ εἰς κατὰ.

**Πολλοί.** Μάλιστα. Μάλιστα.

**Γ. Παπαδόπουλος.** Δὲν ἔχομεν νὰ γίνωμεν αὐτὰ, διότι ἐξήρθη ὁ κανονισμὸς ἤδη. Ἐπειδὴ βλέπομεν ὅτι σήμερον ἐπιβλήθησαν διαφόροι προτάσεις πρέπει νὰ συζητηθῇ τὸ νομοσχέδιον εὐρέως διὰ νὰ διακριθῆται ἡ Βουλὴ.

**Πρόεδρος.** Αἰσθῆν ἐγὼ διὰ νὰ ληθῇ πᾶσα συζητήσις προτείνω τὸ εἶπε· ἡ ἐπιτροπὴ ἢ ὅποια ἀνέλθῃ νὰ κινήσῃ τὸ νομοσχέδιον αὐτό, πρέπει νὰ μὴ παρουσιάσῃ ἀκριβέστερον νομοσχέδιον πῶς καὶ πῶς πρέπει νὰ γίνωμεν αἱ προσηγορίαι.

**Πολλοί.** Ὁχι. Ὁχι.

**Α. Κριόρης.** Ὁχι. Τὸ ἴδιον νομοσχέδιον νὰ συζητηθῇ.

**Πρόεδρος.** Ὅπως εἶπεν ὁ κ. Πρόεδρος νὰ γίνῃ. **Μ. Βασιλειάδης.** Αἰσθῆν ἢ μετακρίναι, Κύριε Πρόεδρε, νὰ τὸ ὑποβάλῃ. **Γ. Παπαδόπουλος.** Νὰ μὴ διανεμηθῇ προσηγορία εἰς τὸν νὰ μετακρίνωμεν. **Πρόεδρος.** Ἀδελφεὶ συνεδριάσει (ὡρ. 12.10' τῆς μεσσημ.)

ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΑΣΙΣ Π'.

Τῆς 1 Ἰουνίου 1901  
Προεδρεῖα Α. ΜΙΧΕΛΙΔΑΚΗ

Γενικὴ ἀποκρίσις ἀναγνωσκόμενα καὶ κερδίζονται τὰ πρακτικά τῆς προσηγορίας συνεδριάσεως.

**Πρόεδρος.** Ὅσα ἀνακινῶσιν εἰς τὴν Βουλὴν ἐν ἀποβῆται ἐγγράφων, τὸ ὅποιον ἔλαβον ἀπὸ τὸν κ. Ἐβάν, τὸν Διευθυντὴν τῶν ἐν Κνωσῶν ἀνασκαφῶν (ἀναγινομένη ἀπὸ τοῦ κ. Γραμματέως).

Ἐπὶ τὸν κ. Πρόεδρον τῆς Κρητικῆς Συνεδριάσεως

«Ὁ Κύριος Ἀρθουρὸς Γ. Ἐβάν, Μέγας τῆς Βασιλικῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς καὶ Ἀντιπρόεδρος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς καὶ τῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς τῶν Ἀρχαιολογικῶν τῶν Λασιθίων, ἔχει τὴν τιμὴν νὰ παρακαλέσῃ τὸν Κύριον Πρόεδρον τῆς Κρητικῆς Συνεδριάσεως νὰ ἀνακινῶσιν ἐκ μέρους αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Συνέλευσιν ἐπὶ ἐπαράστασι τῆς δευτέρας περιόδου τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ αἰεδομῆματι, τὸ ὅποιον ἀπεκάλυφεν ἐν Κνωσῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰρηκτοῦ αὐτοῦ χώρου τῆς Κρήτης. Οὐδένα πλέον ἔστιν ἀναγκαῖον ἀναβῆλαι ἐπὶ ἐπιπέδῳ ἔργων ἐν κατὰ παράδειγμα Ἀνακτορῶν τοῦ Βασιλικῆς Μνησίου καὶ ἴσως ἐν ταῦτο τὸν Λαβυρινθόν.

«Αἱ ἀνασκαφαὶ ἀπεκάλυψαν τοὺς τοίχους τοῦ περιόλου, τὰς θύρας, τοὺς θαλάμους καὶ τὰς ἀποθήκας αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸν τὸν θρόνον καὶ τὴν αἴθουσαν τοῦ Συμβουλίου καὶ ἔσχατος τὰ μὲν αὐτὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων μετὰ τῶν μεγάλων κληρικῶν καὶ ἑσθῶν αὐτῶν, ἐν κεραλαῖοι λαίβαν ἀρχαιολογικὰ μνηστικά τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀποθήκης, τὰ ὅποια ὑπερέβλυνται κατὰ πᾶσα εἰς μεγάλων καὶ ἐλαττοῦν πᾶν εἶναι εἰς γνωστὸν μέγεθος ἀπὸ τῶν ἰσθῶν καὶ Μυκηνῶν.

«Ἐπὶ πλέον εὐρήθησαν χιλιάδες διαφόρων ἀντικειμένων, ἔργων μαρμαρίνου καὶ ἔξ ἑσθῆς γῆς, ἀγάλματα, τρυφεράματα, ἐγγράμματα, κοσμητικῶν ἐξ ἑλεφαντοῦ καὶ κροτάλλων, ἐκλεκτὰ σκευὰ ἀποδείξεον, οἷον εἰς κατασκευὴν σφαιρῶν τοῦ λατοῦ ὅτι ἡ κατὰ παράδειγμα τέχνη τοῦ Δαδάλου ὑπερῆεν εἰς πρᾶγμα, καὶ ἄλλα θὰ κατακρίνωμεν ἀναγκαῖον εἰς τοὺς περιηγητὰς πᾶσι χώροι τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν τῆς Κρήτης, ὡς κατὰ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν πολιτισμὸν.

«Ἡ μεγαλύτερα ἀνακάλυξις εἶνε γνωστὴ. Εἶνε συλλεγὰι ἑλληνικῶν πινακῶν ἐξ ἀργύρου ἐπιγεγραμμένων διὰ τινος γρηγορῆς προϊστορικῆς, ἥτις ἀποδεικνύει ὅτι ἡ γνῶσις τῶν γραμμάτων ἤδη διαδεδομένη ἐν Κρήτῃ τοὺλάχιστον 600 ἐτη πρὸ τῆς χρονολογίας τῆς πρώτης κρητικῆς ἀπογραφῆς.

«Ἄλλ' ἀποδείκνυται ὅτι ἡ γνῶσις πολλὰ ἵνα συμπληρωθῶσιν αἱ ἀνασκαφαὶ κατὰ τὸν τρόπον ἀνακτῶν τοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένου ἔργου καὶ αἱ δύνανται τῆς ἀνασκαφῆς ἀφῆρται ἤδη εἰς πλείονας τῶν 80,000 πρᾶγμα. Τοῦ ποσῶ τοῦτου μέρους ἐγένετο δοκατὸν νὰ συλλεθῇ διὰ δημοσίας ἐγγραφῆς ἐν Ἀγγλίᾳ, ἀλλὰ πλείον τὸ ἥμισυ εἶναι εἰς ἄρας τοῦ κ. Ἐβάν. Πρὶν ἢ καμῆ νέαν ἐκκλήσιν εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τοῦ Ἀγγλικῶν δημοσίου διὰ μέσου τοῦ Cretan Exploration Fund ὁ κ. Ἐβάνς ποιεῖται ἐκκλήσιν εἰς τὴν ἀγαθὴν θέλησιν τῶν ἀντιπροσώπων τοῦ Κρητικοῦ λαοῦ, ὅπως διακαλῶσιν τὰ προσηγορίας του, παραγορεύουσι αὐτῷ διαγράμματα τῶν ἐκ τῶν χιλιάδων τῶν εὐρεθῆτων ἀντικειμένων, ἵνα ἀπεκάλυξῃ ἕλιγον τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον τῶν συμπολιτῶν του. Ἐάν ἴτε δύνανται νὰ τοῖ βεβαιῶσιν μὲν ἄλλα τινὰ διαγράμματα τῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένων πινακῶν, τῶν ὅποιων πᾶσαν μεγάλην ποσότητα συνέλεξε, καὶ τινὰ διπλὰ ἀντικείμενα καὶ διαγράμματα τῶν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀντικειμένων, ἄλλα εἶναι ἀσχετὰ εἰς τὸ ἔθνος Μουσείον, θὰ εἴδωμεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλήσιν του μίαν ἐπικαρπότητα, τῆς ὅποιας νῦν στερεῖται, καὶ συγχρόνως τοῦτο θὰ ἴτε σημαντικὸν κέρδος διὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην.

Ὁ κ. Ἐβάνς εἶνε ἠγκατακρίτως νὰ ποιήσῃται τὴν εἰσαχθῆ

Figure 17: Minutes of the Cretan Assembly, 01/06/1901, 125-26, with Mihelidakis presenting Evans' claim to sell antiquities, Historical Archive of Crete



Figure 18: Poster of "Psiloritis race" from the website of the event (<http://www.psiloritisrace.com>)

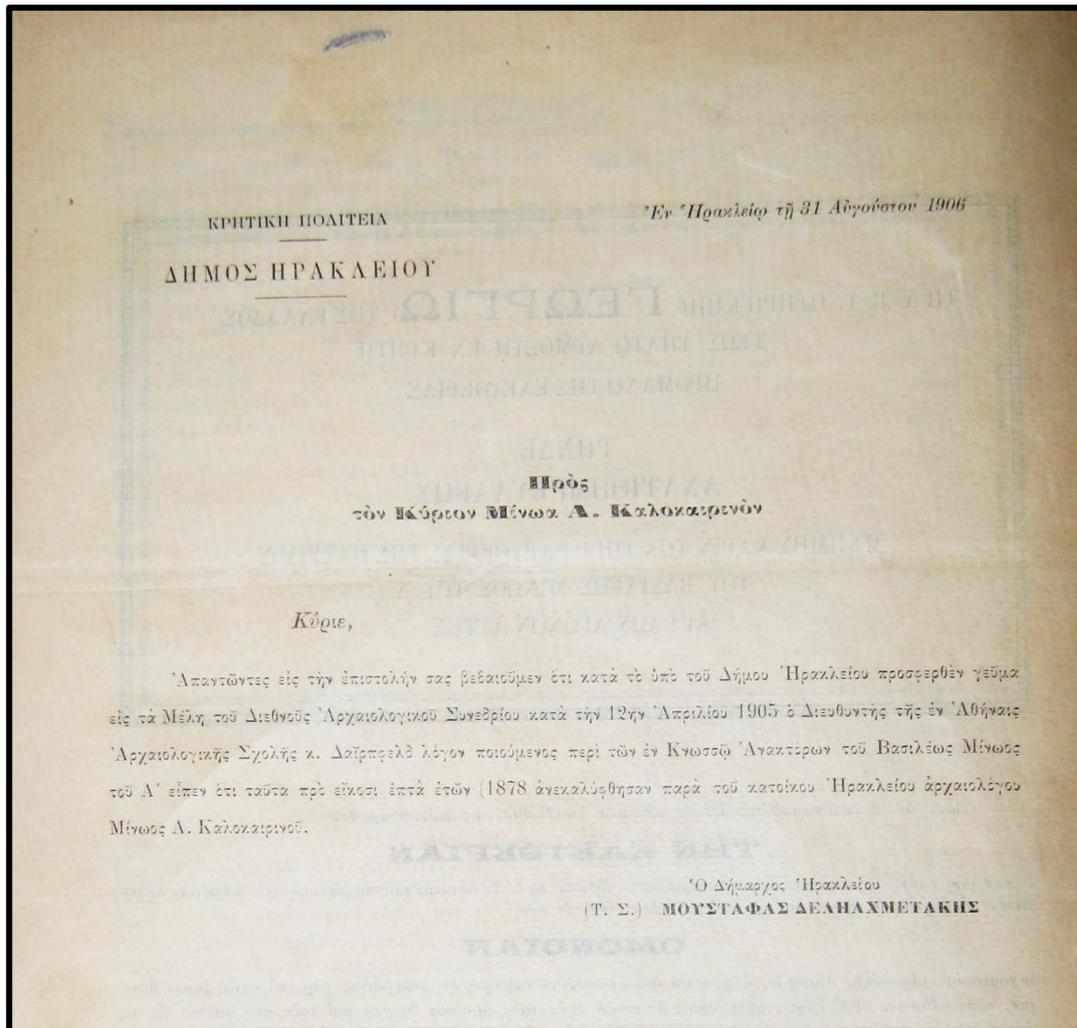


Figure 19: A “*conjectural arrangement*” by Evans of the excavated objects found in the “Tripartite Shrine”, or “Shrine of the Snake Goddess” at Knossos, c. 1600 BCE, now in the Heraklion Archaeological Museum (Fig. 377, Evans 1921)



Figure 20: Three Cretan chieftains in Macedonia; l-r: G. I. Karavitis, G. Volanis & G. Dikonimos-Makris (Dakin 1993, Fig. 16). Detail from postcard.

Editor: D. Sonides, Thessaloniki



**Figure 21: Letter of M. Deliahmetakis, Cretan Muslim and former mayor of Heraklion, to M. Kalokairinos, 31/08/1906, *Cretan Archaeological Newspaper*, Issue 1, 11/09/1906, Serial No. 429, Folder 24, Series 1a, Historical Museum of Crete, Heraklion**







επίσης μανθάνομεν και εκ του αρχαιολογικού Λεξικού του Άγγλου F. Σμιθ, ότι ο Μίνως υιός του Διός και της Ευρώπης αδελφός του Ραδάμάνθυος, υπήρξεν ο Βασιλεύς και Νομοθέτης της Κρήτης. Εν τῷ Ἡνωμένῳ Βασιλείῳ τῆς Μεγάλῃς Βρετανίας πλείστορον τῶν λοιπῶν πεπολιτισμένων Ευρωπαϊκῶν Ἐθνῶν ἐφαρμόζεται ἡ Νομοθεσία τοῦ Μίνως. Νομοκράτορες ἐκεῖ εἰσὶν οἱ Λόρδοι, οἵτινες περιέρχονται τὰς διαφόρους ἐπαρχίας τοῦ Κράτους καὶ ἀπονέμουσι ὅπως ποτὲ τὸ πάλαι ἐν Κρήτῃ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ταχέως καὶ ἀπροσωπολήπτως. Κατὰ τὴν ἰδρυσιν τῆς Κρητικῆς Πολιτείας ὁ θεσπισθεὶς νόμος περὶ Μικροδιαφορῶν ἔχει τι τὸ σχετικὸν πρὸς τοὺς Νομοκράτορας τῆς Κρήτης, ἀλλ' ἔχει ἐπι ἀνάγκη βελτιώσεως εἰς τὴν ἐφαρμογὴν οἱ ὅσον ἀποβλέπει τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν 16 Νομοκρατῶν περὶ ὧν δέον νὰ ἀρισθῶσιν πρόσόντα ἵνα κανονικῶς λειτουργεῖ ὁ Νόμος πρὸς ἀπονομὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ οὕτω ἡ Πολιτεία εὐνομεῖ δηλ. οἱ δὲ δέκα ἐξ Νομοκράτορας νὰ περιέρχονται τὴν Νῆσον ἀσχολούμενοι μονίμως εἰς τὰς περὶ μικροδιαφορῶν οἰκίας, καὶ ἐκδίδοντες αὐθημερὸν τὴν ἀπόφασιν αὐτῶν πρὸς εὐκολίαν τῶν κατοίκων τῆς Νήσου, οἵτινες ἰδίως ἀσχολοῦνται νῦν εἰς τὴν γεωργίαν καὶ δέον νὰ μὴ παρακωλύονται εἰς τὰς γεωργικὰς τῶν ἀσχολίας. Εὐχόμεθα ὅμως ἵνα οἱ Κρήτες οἵσι ἦσαν ἐπὶ Μίνως, ἐπιδοθῶσι καὶ εἰς τὴν ναυτιλίαν, ἥτις θὰ προσπορίσῃ πολλά ὠφελήματα εἰς τὴν Πολιτείαν ὅπως ὀργανωθῇ στρατιωτικῶς καὶ ναυτικῶς καὶ μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν Ὀμοσπόνδων Ἑλλήνων, ἡ Ἑλλάς καταστῇ θαλασσοκράτωρ. Τοῦτο δὲ δύναται οἱ κ. πληρεξούσιοι τῆς Β' τῶν Κρητῶν συνεργησάντων Συντακτικῆς Συνλεύσεως νὰ κατορθώσωσιν ἰδρύοντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐπὶ εὐραίων βάρων, οἷα ἦν ἐπὶ Μίνως, ἵνα αἰρομένων τῶν προνομίων καπιτουλασιῶν τῶν Ευρωπαϊκῶν Δυνάμεων εὐημερήσῃ ἡ Κρήτη κατασκευάζουσα λιμένας καὶ ὁδοὺς, διότι ὑπαρχούσης δικαιοσύνης, ἡ ἑτεροδικία τῶν ἀλλοδαπῶν αὐτῇ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὀφείβη, ὡς παρακωλύουσα τὴν εἰσπραξίν τῶν λιμενικῶν τελῶν καὶ φόρων ὁδοποιίας.

μῖα ῥόδακι χρώματος ἐρυθροῦ ἐρ' ἐκάστης γωνίας τὸ ἔδαφος αὐτῶν ἐπεστρωμένων διὰ πλακῶν γυφίνων ὡς εἰρηγὰ ἐμπροσθεῖς τρία ἐπιμήκη ὑπόγεια δοχεῖα χρησίμου πιθανῶς πρὸς φύλαξιν μελιττός μήκους μ. 1 πλάτους μ. 0.50, βάθους μ. 1 κατασκευασμένα ἐπιμελῶς ἐν γυφίνων πλακῶν μόνον ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ στοιχείῳ Α. αἰθούσῃ, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα ἢ ὡς ἐστιατῆριον ὑπὸ στοιχείῳ Β. χρησιμεύουσα δὲν περιεῖχε τοιαῦτα ὑπόγεια δοχεῖα, ἀλλ' ἦν ἐπιμελῶς ἐστρωμένη διὰ πλακῶν γυφίνων, αἱ ὡς τράπεζαι ἐχρησίμευσαν, τῶν δαιτυμένων Ὀκλάδην καθέζομένων περὶ τὴν τράπεζαν. Ἀληθῶς μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα πίθων ἐξ ἐπιτήης γῆς εὐρέθησαν πλείστα κύπελλα (ποτήρια) ἐξ ἐπιτήης γῆς ὕψους ὑρεκατοστάμετρα 6 1/2 διαμέτρος κατὰ τὸ στόμα ὑρεκατοστ. 3 1/2 καὶ πυθμὴν τοῦ ποτηρίου μ. 0.02 τὰ ὅποια ὑπῆρχον ἐρριμένα ἐν τῇ αἰθούσῃ τῶν τροφῶν ὑπὸ στοιχείῳ Α. ἐν ἧ ὑπῆρχον τοποθετημένοι οἱ δώδεκα πίθοι. Οἱ τρεῖς τούτων εὐρέθησαν πλήρεις καυμῶν καὶ φακῶν ἀπηνθρακωμένων καὶ ἀπολεθωμένων τῶ μεγέθους τῶν νῦν Αἰγυπτίων καυμῶν, ἐν τῷ Μουσεῖῳ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν κατέθηκα ἐντὸς σιάλλης ὑαλίνου μικρᾶς τοῦς καυμῶν καὶ ἐντὸς ἑτέρας τοῦς φακοῦς, καὶ ὁ βουλούμενος δύναται νὰ τοὺς ἴδῃ ἐκεῖ. Ἡ συνήθης τροφὴ τῶν Κνωσίων ἐν τοῖς συστασίσις ἐκτὸς τῶν κρεῶν ὧν ἐνίστατο ἐπιούοντα χρῆσιν ἦν αἱ κριθαί, καὶ οἱ πυροί, οἱ κύμασι καὶ οἱ φακοί, διὰ καὶ ὁ Ὀμηρὸς τὰς Κρήσας ὠνεύσασεν ἀλφεισίους, δι' ἀλφειῶν προφύμας ἦτο ἕκ μὲν τῆς γεωργίας τὰ ἄλκυρα καὶ ἔλαιον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς μελιττοποιίας τὸ μέλι, ἐν δὲ τῆς κτηνοτροφίας τὰ πρόβατα καὶ οἱ βόες ἦν συνήθης ἐν τοῖς συστασίσις τροφῇ, τῶν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὅσον καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ παιδῶν τῶν Κνωσίων. Ἰδοὺ τί ἐκ τοῦ Πλάτωνος Ν. Μανθάνομεν ἡ. § 13. «Προφῆς δὲ καὶ » διαμονῆς τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐγγύς τοῦ Κρητικοῦ νόμου » εἶαιεν ὀρθότες ἂν τις γιγναμένη κατὰ τῶν γίγνασθαι » δώδεκα μὲν γὰρ δὴ μέρη τὰ πάντα ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνάσθαι » μὲναι νέμειν χρεῶν πάντας, ἥπερ καὶ ἀναλωτῶν τὸ » δωδέκατον μέρος ἕκαστον οἷον πυρῶν καὶ κριθῶν, οἷα » δὴ καὶ ἀπάντων ἀκολουθεῖται τὰ ἄλλα ὠραῖα νεμέμα » νον, καὶ ὅσα ἕα ἔμπαντα προῖμι ἂν ἐκάστοις ἡ » πριγγὴ διαίρεσθαι κατὰ λόγον, ἐν μὲν μέρος τοῖς ἔλευ » θέρσι. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τούτων οἰκέτοις, τὸ δὲ τρίτον δημιουργ » γοῖς τε καὶ πάντως τοῖς ξένοις, οἳ τὲ τινες ἂν τῶν μετοι » κούτων ὡς ξηνοικούντες.»

Ἐντὸς τῆς ὑπὸ στοιχείῳ Β. αἰθούσης ἐν ἧ αἱ ἐκ γύφου πλακῆς αἵτινες ἀναμοιβῶς ἐχρησίμευσαν ὡς τράπεζαι οὐσαι λείαι ἐστιλθωμένα ὁμοιάζουσαι ὡς λευκὸν μαρμαρῶν, ὑπῆρχον καὶ δύο (2) τράπεζαι τῶν ξένων καὶ τοῦ ξενίου Διός. Ἐκάστη πλάξ ἦν μήκους μ. 0.70 πλάτους μ. 0.33 πάχους μ. 0.015 με ἐπιφάνειαν ἐστιλθωμένην, χρώματος λευκοῦ

Figure 25: Cretan Archaeological Newspaper, Issue 2, 02/10/1906, p. 15, Serial No. 429, Folder 24, Series 1b, Historical Museum of Crete, Heraklion

ρεται ή δι' εαυτόν». Καί δι' αυτό δέν τον αγαπούν! Ποσον έχουν άδικον. Δέν σκέπτεται παρά μόνον εαυτόν. Δέν σας ένοχλεί. Έξ αναγκίας δέ άνυπόφορος είνε εκείνος όστις ένοχλείται και ένδιαφέρεται πάντοτε δι' υμάς παράλογος έπιστητών την εύτυχίαν σας, σας άνοσιείζει όλον σας τόν βίον ότότι καλά και σώνει θέλει να τόν τακτοποιήση με τάς κλίσεις και όρέξεις του. Ο Λακωνταίνος έλεγεν ότι προτιμά περισσότερο ένα σφόν έχθρον παρά ένα άδέξιον φίλον.

Και ως προς τόν άγγλικόν έγωισμόν δέν περιορίζει μόνον τό ένδιαφέρον του εις τό προσωπικόν του έγώ, αλλά και εις αυτό τό ότι καλείται Άγγλικόν, είνε όγλαδύ έγωιστής δι' όλην τήν Άγγλίαν χωρίς να κυττάξη να τήν διορθώη και χωρίς να μεμψιμοιρή, όλα τά εύρίσκει άριστα και όταν εισέτι δέν είναι τοιαύτα. Δέν είνε ξενολόγος και εις αυτήν δέ άκομη τήν γλώσσαν του είνε έγωιστής, δέν εκμανθάνει ξένας τοιαύτας και εάν τάς μανθάνη δέν τάς ομίλει. . . Καί ούτω καθ' έξής. Έν άλλοις λόγοις συμβαίνει έν Άγγλία καθώς και εις πολλά άλλα κράτη. Ελθετίαν, Γερμανίαν κλ. άλλως τ' αντίθετα των όσων παρ' ήμίν γίνονται όίτινες καιτόι άληθώς εις πολλά είμεθα ύποχρεωμένοι ν' άπομιμνήσκωμεν τούς λαούς της Δύσεως ούχ ήττον όμως συχνάκις παραγκωνίζωμεν τό ό,τι καλείται έλληνικόν περιστέλλοντες ούτω και άποθαυρόνντες την πρόδον, πράττομεν δέ τούτο δυστυχώς όταν πρόκειται έχι μόνον περί βιομηχανικόν προϊόντων άλλα προκειμένου και περί ξένων προσώπων. Διά πολλούς όθεν λόγους ό άγγλικός έγωισμός είνε ζήλευτός και κατα πολλά άξιος άπομιμνήσεως.

Αύται είναι άληθίαι άκαταμάχητοι. Δυστυχώς όμως δέν είνε μόνον αύτά. Έπί παραδείγματι ρίπτοντες βλέμμα έπισκοπήσεως επί της κοινωνικής ζωής και της καθημερινής βιοπάλης τού Έλληνος πολίτου δέν δυσκόλευμεθα να διακρίνωμεν ότι δέν είνε ένίοτε έκαστος τοποθετημένος εκει όπου έτάχθη να ήγαι. Καθ' όσον λέγεται μάλιστα ότι είδόν και τό δυσάρεστον φαινόμενον, άληθές δυστυχώς τώ όντι, ρασοφόρους άσχολουμένους εις τα κομματικά. Αλλά ήα μοι είπτε μήπως δέν όρείλει μέγα μέρος ή Έλληνική Άνεξαρτησία εις τόν κλήρον τόν τόσον καλόν στρατιώτην όσον και χριστιανόν και πατριώτην; Βεβαίωςτα τό άναγνωρίζωμεν ως άναγνωρίζωμεν και την μεγάλην έπιρροήν ήν έχουν και έχουν έξ αίτίας της χριστιανικής θρησκείας (διά του κλήρου) εις όλον τό Πανελληνισμόν της διασώσεως και διατηρήσεως των έλληνικόν γραμμάτων και της έλληνικής γλώσσας, διά μέσου σκοτεινών αιώνων δουλοσύνης και βαρβαρότητας.

Πλήν όμως διατρέχοντες στάδιον πλήρους άνα-

γεννήσεως και πρόδου δέν να ακολουθήσωμεν τήν σοράν των πραγμάτων και των οικονομολογικών όρων, όπως είνε σήμεραν οικηρομυθμηνάς έξ έπιρροείας της καθολικής πρόδου εις τάς τέχνας και εις τάς επιστήμας εις όλκληρον τό σωμα τού πολιτικού οργανισμού και να τυμβαδίσωμεν με τήν σοράν των πραγμάτων όπως τούλάχιστον αυτή καθιερώθη εις ήθη βιούντα ούχι εις καλλιτέρας ήμων συνθήκας, έν τούτοις όμως πολύ πλέον ήμων προωδευμένα εις πλούτον εθνικόν.

Όστε άνεξαρτήτως των ούτως είπειν ρασοφόρων πολιτικόν και λαϊκόν κακώς τοποθετημένον κοινωνικόν παραγόντων όρείλωμεν νομίζω να ένοηώσωμεν ότι είνε άριστον άνδρός πατριώτου τό να μάχεται όπου έτάχθη διότι όπως είνε έν τή εργασία ό πλούτος είνε και έν τή τάξει ή πρόοδος. Πράγματι ήλιθεταί τις βλέπων τήν Ελλάδα να μη προσδεύη ταχύτερον και να κινουμένη την υπαρέξιν της από έσωτερικούς και έξωτερικούς έχθρούς.

[Έπειτα συνέχισε].

Ο Κ. ΙΩΑΝ. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΔΗΣ

Μετά χαράς αναγγέλλωμεν τήν ένταθα αίσταν άρεών και όριστική έγκατάστασιν τού Ιατρού κ. Ιωάννου Άλεξανδρίδου. (1) συμπατριώτης ήμων ούτος και διαπρεπής έπιστήμων ού μόνον επί ίκανά ήδη έτη εξήκησης τό Ιατρικόν επάγγελμα μετά πλήρους έπιτυχίας εις Άγγλικας, Γαλλικας και Γερμανικας Ύγειας μεταλλείων και όλων των σύδρομικων γραμμών της Ανατολής ως παθολόγος και μαιευτής, άλλα τυγχάνει και συγγραφεύς διαφόρων επιστημονικόν έργων, κασιδιώντων πολλές της Ευρώπης βιβλιοθήκας.

Κατά τό διάστημα δέ της Ιατρικής δράσεώς του ού μόνον τήν έπιστήμην, αλλά και την πατρίδα ήμων δεοντως έτίμησεν, ως τούτο τ' άνα χείρας του ευχαριστήρια ένδεικτικά των διαφόρων Έταιριών έπιμαρτυρούν.

Πάσαν λοιπόν ιδιαιτέραν σύστασιν θεωρούμεν όλως περιττήν λογίζομεθα δ' εύτυχεί, άποκηράντες τούτων διαπρεπή επιστήμονα έν τή παλαι ήμων.

Ο ΙΑΤΡΟΣ  
ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΔΗΣ  
Παθολόγος-Μαιευτής

έγκαταστάθεις κατ' αύτας όριστικώς ένταθα θέγεται άσθενές καθ' έκάστην έν τή κατοικία του παραπλεύρωε της Άγ. Λίκατερης, οικία Παλατιάκη.

Τους άτόμους Αποδείν,

Τύποις 142. ΣΜΥΡΝΑΚΗ και Σας

Figure 26: Cretan Archaeological Newspaper, Issue 3, 15/12/1906, p. 57-58, Serial No. 429, Folder 24, Series 1d, Historical Museum of Crete, Heraklion

1904.

Την 27 Φεβρουαρίου μετέβην εις Κραυγιάου  
 εις Κνωσόν δια τῆς ἀνακτορῆς τῆς ἀγορῆς  
 τοῦ ἐν Κνωσῶν ἱεροῦ.

Την 1 Μαρτίου μετέβην εις Κραυγιάου εις  
 Κνωσόν δια τῆς ἐγορῆς τῆς ἀνακτορῆς

Την 2 Μαρτίου ἔστησεν καὶ τὴν 3 Μαρτίου  
 τὴν 4 Μαρτίου ὄψον.

Την 5 Ἀπριλίου ἐνεπλήρωσα δια τοῦ ἀγρο-  
 ῦ τοῦ ἐν Κνωσῶν ἀυτονομίας τῆς Κραυγιάου  
 καὶ ἔβλεπα τὴν ἐκκλῆσον τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς  
 Συρίας.

Την 6 Ἀπριλίου μετέβην εἰς Παναγιῶτα.

Την 22 Ἀπριλίου ἐνεπλήρωσα εἰς Παναγιῶ-  
 ταν καὶ ἔβλεπα εἰς Κνωσόν ἔβλεπα δὲ τὴν  
 ἐκκλῆσον

Την 23 Ἀπριλίου μετέβην εἰς Γουρῆα.

Figure 27: "Diary of the Ephor of Antiquities of Chania, Stephanos A. Xanthoudides, from 01/02/1904", Serial. No. 108, Eta Series, Folder 4, Archive Code 6, Donation of Chryssoula A. Xanthoudides from the bequest of Stephanos Xanthoudides, The S. Xanthoudides Archive, Historical Museum of Crete, Heraklion









Figure 31: Cretan State stamp with “Minoan” scene, detail from postcard (Marinakis 2008, Fig. 33d, detail), based on a reconstructed drawing from a seal found at Knossos in 1901; The Cretans interpreted the scene as a depiction of the “prehellenic” antecedent of the Greek goddess of the hunt, Artemis (MacGillivray 2000, 207). When it was found, Evans described it as “a Goddess on a sacred rock or peak with two lions in heraldic attitudes on either side of it, her temple behind, and a votary in front” (Evans 1943, 337). The stamp series was printed in 1904 at the Bradbury Wilkinson & Co. Ltd. factory in London. It was launched in 1905 (Mitakis 1999, 10). One can notice that although the postcard is from 1910 (still during the Cretan State rule), the stamp seal says “HELLAS”.

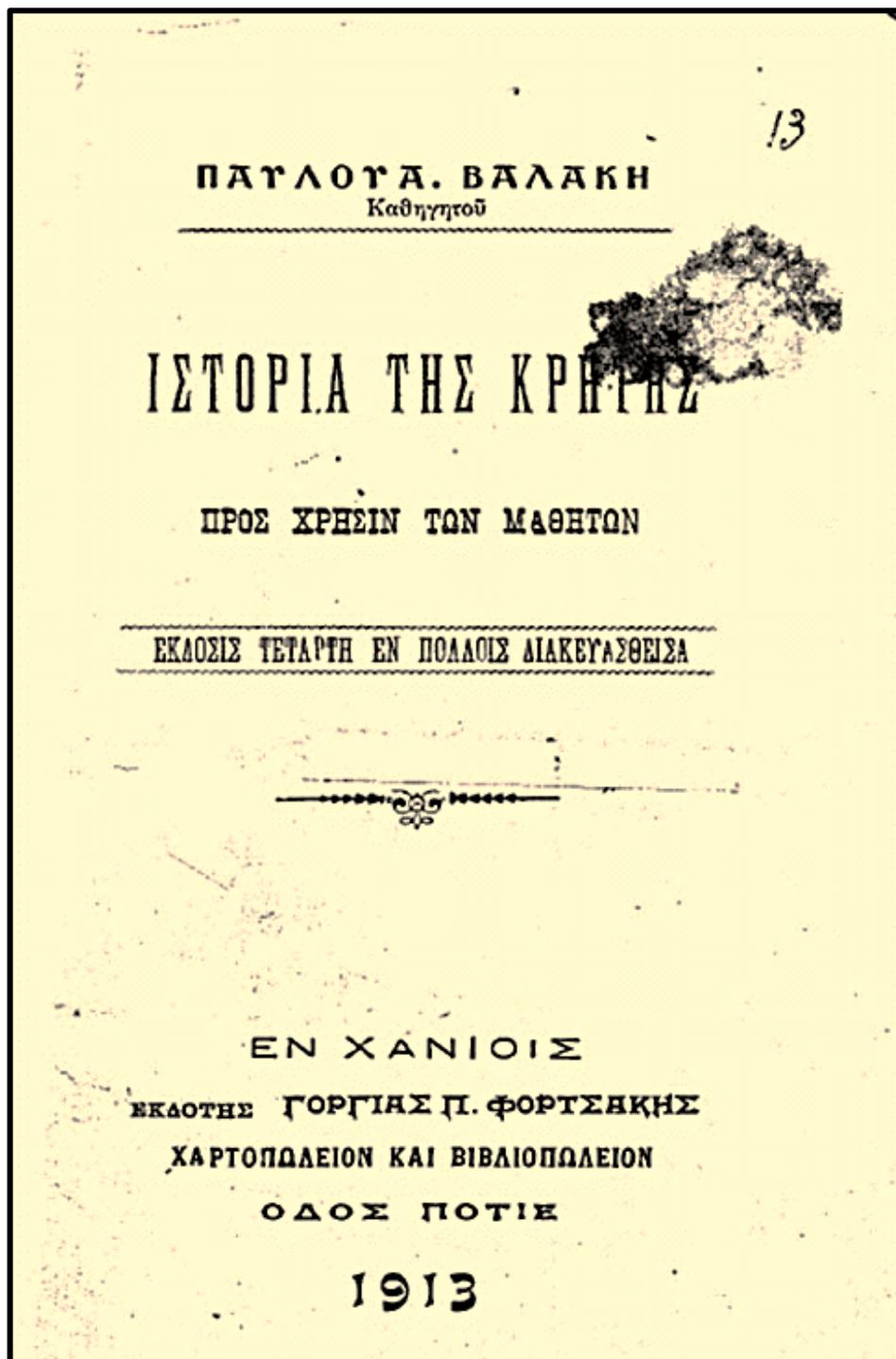


Figure 32: Cretan State Schoolbook (*History of Crete*), by P. Valakis

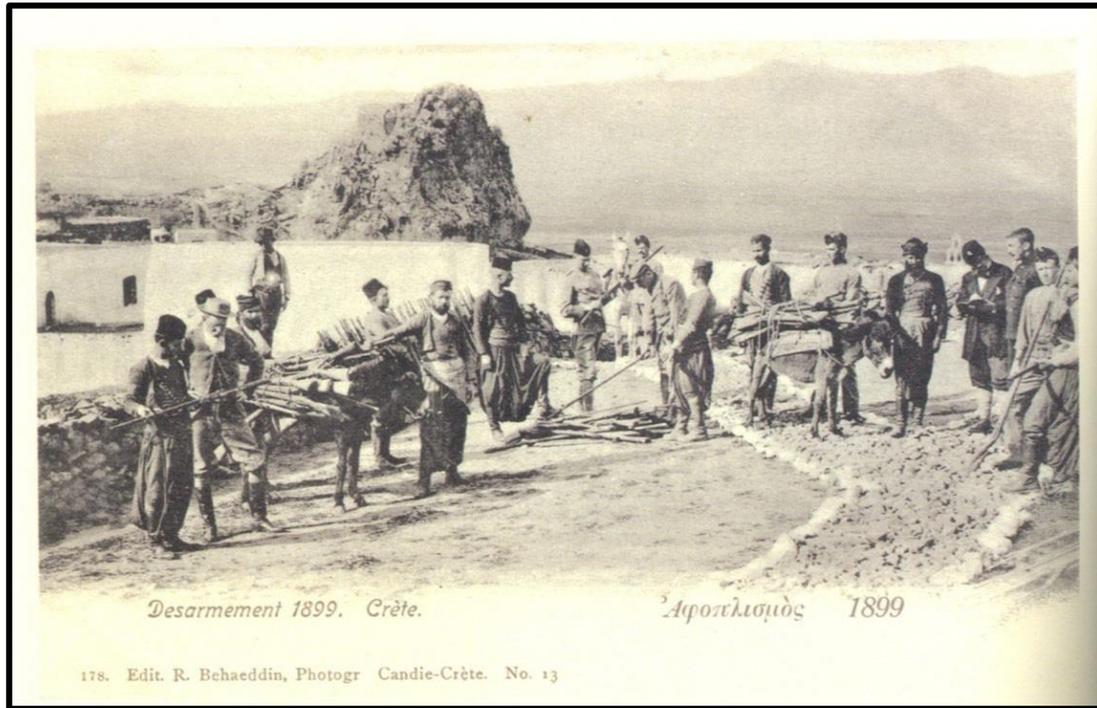


Figure 33: The disarmament of the Cretans in 1899 (Marinakis 2008, 48, Fig. 13)

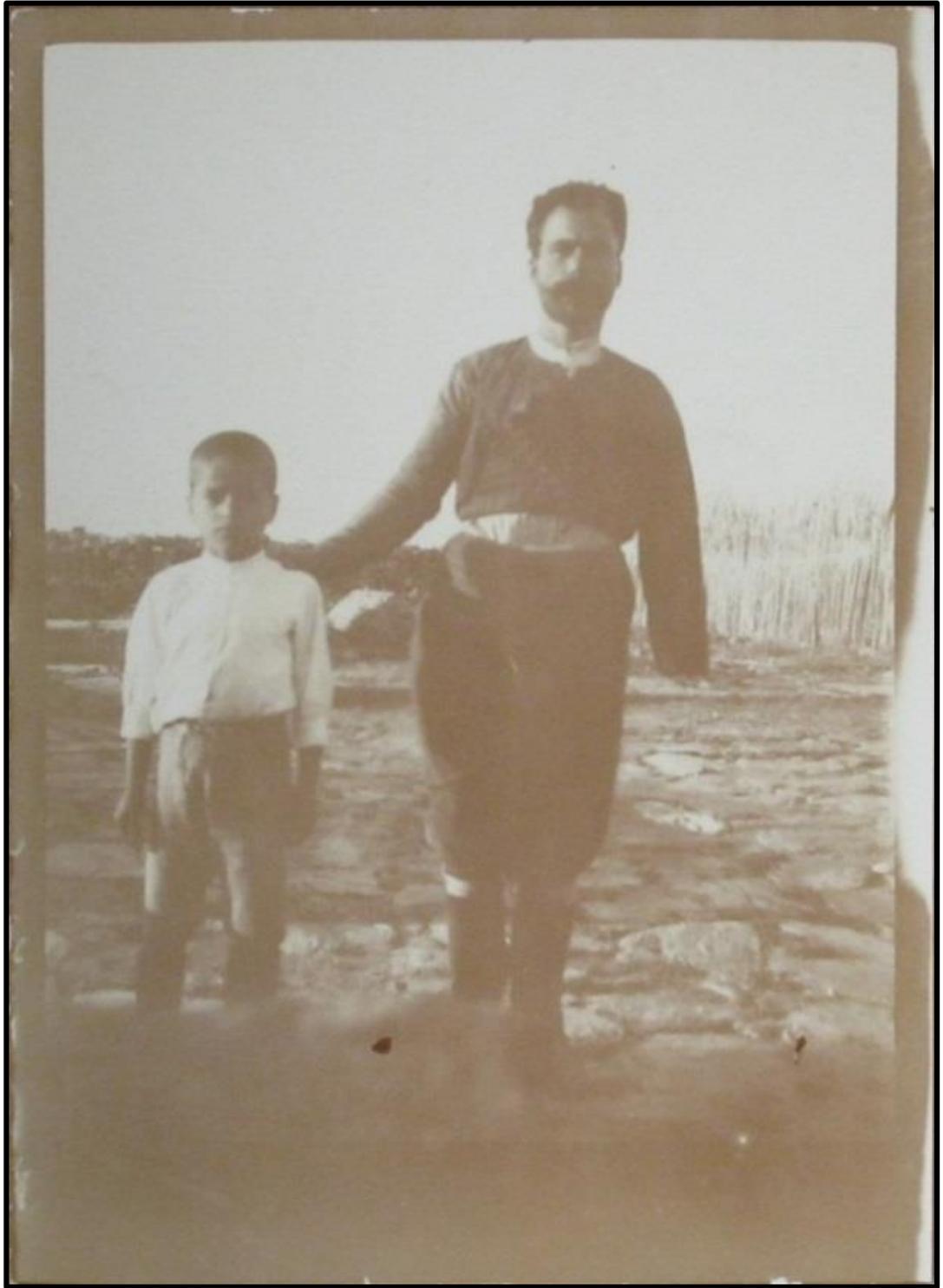


Figure 34: Heraklion food market in 1904 (after Marinakis 2008, 59, Fig. 23a)



**Figure 35: Workmen of Knossos dancing (E. TOP 691, *Sir Arthur Evans Photographic Archive*, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford; Brown 2000, 29, Pl. 10a)**





**Figure 37: Workman with child at the Knossos excavations (E. TOP 2406, *Sir Arthur Evans Photographic Archive*, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford)**



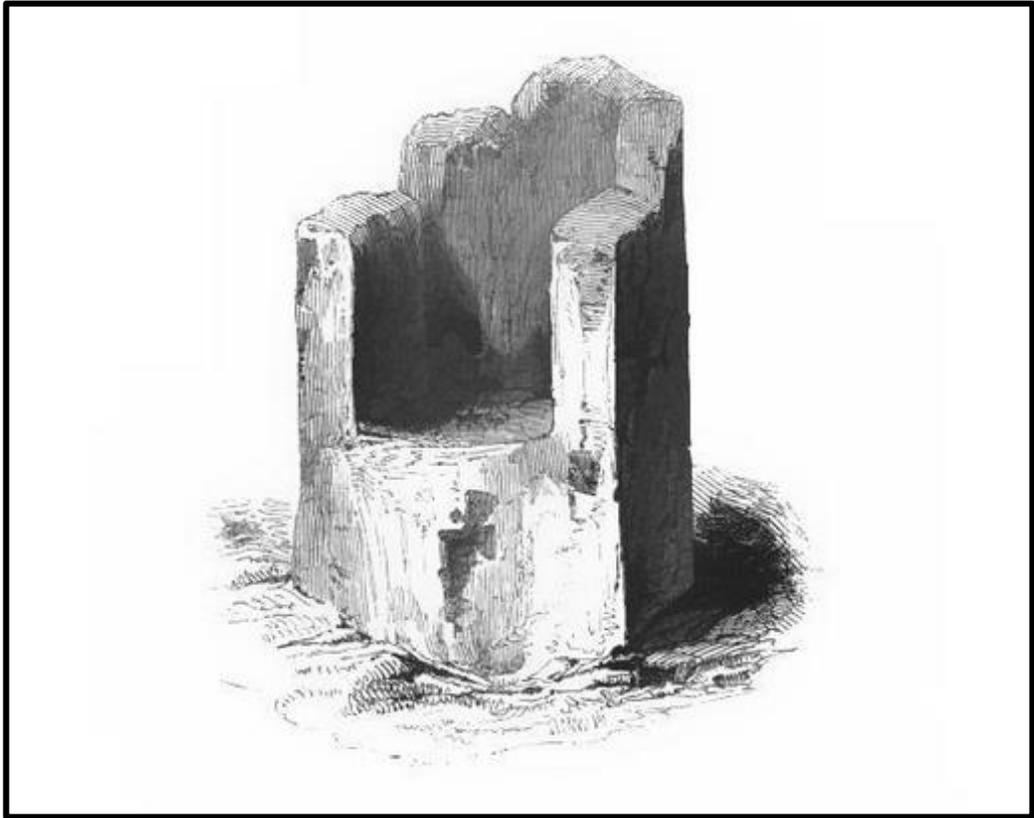


Figure 39: The "throne" of Falassarna (Pashley 1837, 64-65)

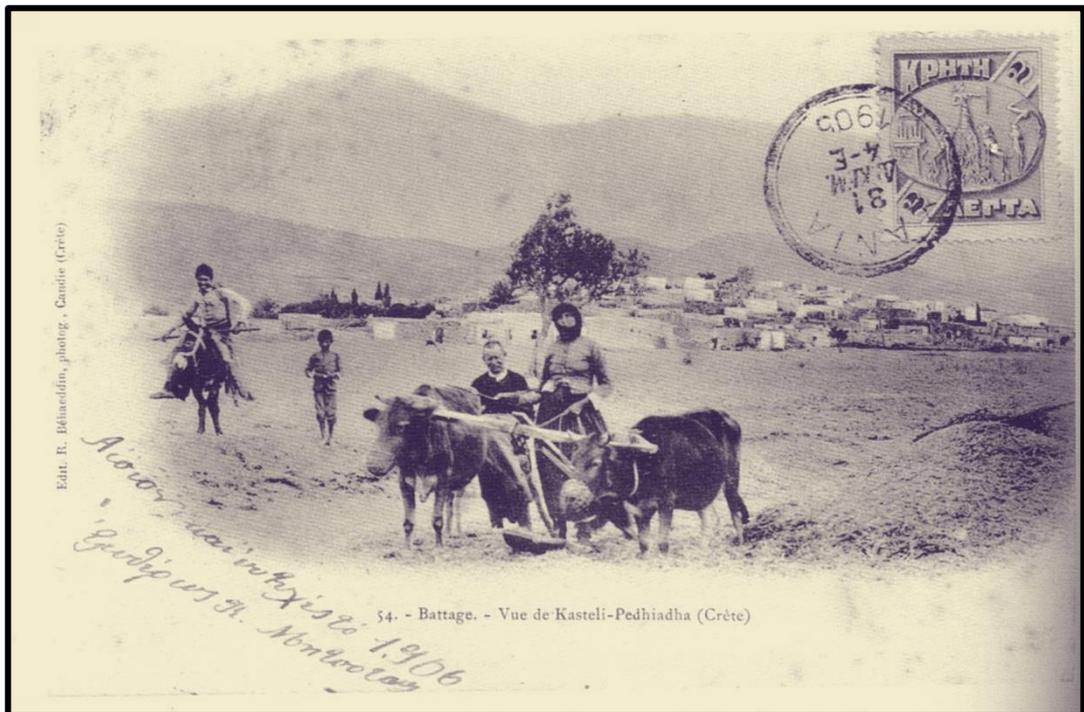


Figure 40: Ploughing in Kasteli, Pediada (Marinakis 2008, 91, 54d)

ἐγκαταλίπη τὴν

χειλιδόνος ἐπα-

τῆς φύσεως.

βεβλημένη τὸν

πολυποίκιλον

εἰς τὰς χεῖρας,

εὐγλήτων, ὑπε-

εἶ νὰ τὴν ἐπι-

τρέχουν, τρέ-

σοσμειδιώσης.

ἀάθεκτοι σπεύ-

οφανῆς τὸ θέ-

ῆ μήπως τρέ-

πράγματα καὶ

ητρα, οἷα καὶ

τῆ ἀληθεία μὲ

εἶναι τὰ αὐτὰ

ἐποχὰς μὲ τὰς

ως πόσον φαί-

ν μᾶς ἐκπλήτ-

ίνα ἄρά γε λό-

μὲ αὐτὰ, διότι

μᾶς. Τὰ ἔτη πα-

όνου λαμβάνο-

αβολή, πρόοδος

ἀόρατος, πλὴν

ἐπλάνοδος τῶν

διαφόρων τῆς

εἶνα, τὰ ὅποια

σωμεν τὰς ἐπι-

ιστορικῶν ἐποχῶν καὶ σφραγίδες τινες. Περισ-  
σότερα ἐλπίζονται ἀπὸ τὸ νεκροταφεῖον τοῦ συ-  
νοικισμοῦ, τὸ ὅποιον δὲν ἐζητήθη εἰσέτι.



### ΚΑΤΑΣΤΡΟΦΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΩΝ ΠΑΛΑΙΚΑΣΤΡΟΥ ΣΗΤΕΙΑΣ

Ὅτε κατὰ τὸ κίνημα τοῦ Θερίσου εἶχεν ἀπο-  
συρθῆ ὁ ἐν Παλαικάστρῳ σταθμὸς τῆς χωροφυ-  
λακῆς εὐρόντες εὐκαιρίαν πολλοὶ τῶν κατοίκων  
Παλαικάστρου κατέστρεψαν μέρη τινὰ τῶν ὑπὸ  
τῆς Ἀγγλικῆς Σχολῆς τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἀνεσκαμ-  
μένων ἀρχαίων κτιρίων τῆς ἐκεῖ Μυκηναϊκῆς  
πόλεως, ἀφαιρέσαντες πλάκας καὶ πελεκητοὺς  
λίθους ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων τοίχων, τοὺς ὁποίους  
ἐκρῆμνιζον. Ὁ βανδαλισμὸς αὐτὸς ἐξηκολού-  
θησε καὶ κατόπιν λάθρα εἰς τρόπον ὥστε σημαν-  
τικὴ βλάβη ἐπῆλθεν εἰς τὰ ἀρχαῖα κτίρια. Τὸ  
πρᾶγμα κατηγγέλθη ἤδη ἀρμολίως, ἐγένοντο  
ἀνακρίσεις καὶ ἐξηκριβώθησαν οἱ ἔνοχοι, οἵτινες  
εἶμεθα βέβαιοι λίαν ταχέως θὰ δώσωσι λόγον τῆς  
ἱεροσύλου πράξεως καὶ θὰ γίνωσι παράδειγμα  
διδακτικὸν εἰς τοὺς ἀναισθήτους ἐκείνους, οἵτινες  
δι' ἐλάχιστον κέρδος θεωροῦσι τὰ ἀρχαῖα κει-  
μήλια τῆς πατρίδος των πρόχειρα λατομεῖα, γί-  
νονται δὲ καὶ ἀφορμὴ κατακρίσεως καὶ δυσφη-  
μίσεως τῶν Κρητῶν ὡς βαρβάρων καὶ βανδάλων  
μὴ κατανοούντων τὴν σημασίαν, τὴν ὅποιαν  
ἔχουσιν τὰ ἀρχαῖα αὐτὰ κειμήλια, διὰ τὰ ὅποια  
οἱ ξένοι τόσα καταβάλλουσι καὶ τόσους κόπους  
καὶ κακουχίας ὑφίστανται νὰ τὰ ἀνασκάψωσι,  
ἄλλοι δὲ ἐκ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς ἔρχονται νὰ  
τὰ θαυμάσωσι.

ΛΑΜΠΡΑ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ!

Figure 41: The newspaper article on the Palaikastro looting (*Ide*,  
02/05/1908, 1)



**Figure 42: The Bembo fountain with the roman statue painted black  
(Papadakis 2008, 146, Fig. 54)**



Figure 43: Cretan workmen outside Villa Ariadne at Knossos. Among them (first one on the left and the right), two *Halikoutides* (Papadakis 2008, 209, fig. 78)



**Figure 44: Mackenzie discussing with a workman during the preparation of a test trench at Knossos (P 60, *Sir Arthur Evans Photographic Archive*, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford; Momigliano 1999, Fig. 12)**



# Appendices

A. List of archival resources

B. List of Transcripts

C. List of newspapers



# Appendix A

## List of archival resources

### A. Historical Archive of Crete (Chania, Crete)

1. 16/12/1899 document issued by the Higher Directorate of Internal Affairs, signed by M. Koundouros, "Minutes", 1899 1-60 (4), *Archive of the Council of the High Commissioner*. **Subchapter 5.2.**
2. Law N. 24, 18/06/1899, *Official Newspaper of the Cretan State*, Chania, 24/06/1899, n. 51. **Subchapter 5.3 (FIG. 8 – APPENDIX B.2).**
3. Copy of 28/11/1901 document, satisfying Halbherr's 1899 application for licence to excavate Phaistos & Levina. Signed by Councilor N. Yamalakis, Higher Directorate of Education & Justice, Protocol/Processing Number 2364/1283, *Folder "Higher Directorate of Education & Religious Affairs, 1901-1905. Various Documents"*. **Subchapter 5.4 (FIG. 12).**
4. Law N. 481, 25/06/1903, *Official Newspaper of the Cretan State*, Chania, 28/06/1903, n. 32. **Subchapter 5.4 (APPENDIX B.3)**
5. List of "useless" antiquities requested to be exported by Sir A. J. Evans (copy made in 31/07/1904, based on Evans' application, submitted in 10/07/1904), *Folder "Higher Administration of Education & Religion, subfolder 1* **Subchapter 5.4 (FIG. 13).**
6. Application by Halbherr (06/08/1904) for the export of "useless" or "double" antiquities, *Folder "Higher Administration of Education & Religion, subfolder 1*. **Subchapter 5.4.**
7. *Folder Higher Directorate of Education and Religious affairs, 1901 – 1905. Various documents*. **Subchapter 6.14.**
8. "Report on Schools (and various other issues) of the Mylopotamos Region", by N. E. G. Stefanakis, 20/08/1899, *Folder Higher Directorate of Education & Religious Affairs, 1899. Various documents*, Subfolder 1. **Subchapter 6.15.**
9. "Archive of Fighters", *Minutes of the Fighters Committee of the Prefecture of Chania (applications and certificates)*. **Subchapter 7.3.**
10. Letter of Inspector General of Education to Ephor of Antiquities, J. Hatzidakis, Protocol No. 112, 14/04/1910, *Folder Cretan State, Higher Directorate of Education and Religious Affairs 1910, various documents*, Subfolder "headmaster of Chania High School 1910". **Subchapter 7.4.**
11. Document with Minute/Decision No. 1/1, p. 56, Article 5, "Minutes", 1899 1-60 (4), *Archive of the Council of the High Commissioner*. **Subchapter 7.4.**
12. *Minutes of the Cretan Assembly*, 26/05/1901. **Subchapter 7.7.**
13. *Minutes of the Cretan Assembly*, 01/06/1901, 125-26. **Subchapter 5.4 (FIG. 17).**
14. *Minutes of the Cretan Assembly*, 29/05/1901, 89. **Subchapter 6.10.**

## B. Historical Museum of Crete (Heraklion, Crete)

### I. Stephanos Xanthoudides Archive

1. "Excavation diary", 1903, Serial No. 96A, Eta Series, Archive Code 6, Donation of Chryssoula A. Xanthoudides from the bequest of Stephanos Xanthoudides. **Subchapter 6.5 (FIG. 23).**
2. Letter from H. R. Hall to S. Xanthoudides, 13/11/1912 (Serial No. 54, Folder 1/54, Archive Code 6, Donation of Androcles Xanthoudides from the bequest of Stephanos Xanthoudides<sup>221</sup>. **Subchapter 6.5-6.6.**
3. "Diary of the Ephor of Antiquities of Chania, Stephanos A. Xanthoudides, from 01/02/1904", Serial. No. 108, Eta Series, Folder 4, Archive Code 6, Donation of Chryssoula A. Xanthoudides from the bequest of Stephanos Xanthoudides. **Subchapter 6.8 (FIG. 27).**
4. Letter from the President of the Municipality of Heraklion to S. Xanthoudides, 22/01/1905, Serial No. 746, Folder 19, Series 6, Donation of Androcles Xanthoudides from the bequest of Stephanos Xanthoudides. **Subchapter 6.12.**
5. Draft of a popularised version of the Cretan Antiquities Law by S. Xanthoudides, serial No. 744, Folder 19/4, Archive Code 6, Donation of Androcles Xanthoudides from the bequest of Stephanos Xanthoudides. **Subchapter 6.8 (FIG. 29).**
6. "The Skolion of Yvrias and the Pyrrhichi", stapled pages with notes, Serial No. 193, Gamma Series, Archive Code 6, Donation of Chryssoula A. Xanthoudides from the bequest of Stephanos Xanthoudides. **Subchapter 6.13.**
7. Xanthoudides' notebook, Serial No. 101, Folder 4, Archive Code 6, Donation of Chryssoula A. Xanthoudides from the bequest of Stephanos Xanthoudides. **Subchapter 7.7 (FIG. 38).**

### II. Historical Archive

1. *Cretan Archaeological Newspaper*, Issue 3, 11/09/1906, Serial No. 429, Folder 24, Series 1a. **Subchapter 6.3.**
2. Letter of M. Deliahmetakis, Cretan Muslim and former mayor of Heraklion, to M. Kalokairinos, 31/08/1906, *Cretan Archaeological Newspaper*, Issue 1, 11/09/1906, Serial No. 429, Folder 24, Series 1a. **Subchapter 6.3 (FIG. 21).**
3. *Cretan Archaeological Newspaper*, Issue 2, 02/10/1906, p. 15, Serial No. 429, Folder 24, Series 1b. **Subchapter 6.7 (FIG. 25 – APPENDIX B.5).**
4. *Cretan Archaeological Newspaper*, Issue 3, 15/12/1906, p. 57-58, Serial No. 429, Folder 24, Series 1d. **Subchapter 6.7, 6.15 (FIG. 26).**

## C. Heraklion Archaeological Museum Archive (23rd Ephorate of Prehistoric & Classical Antiquities, Heraklion, Crete)

1. *Minutes of the Archaeological Commissionership (Archeologiki Epitropeia)*. **Subchapter 5.4.**

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<sup>221</sup> Published in Detorakis 1990.

2. No. 19, 07/06/1909, *Minutes of the Archaeological Commissionership*. **Subchapters 5.4, 6.5 (FIG. 14 – APPENDIX B.4).**
3. No. 24 (21.04.1910), Application for the export of “double” or “useless” antiquities by the Italian Archaeological School, *Minutes of the Archaeological Commissionership*. **Subchapter 5.4 (FIG. 15).**
4. No. 27 (18.06.1911), Application for the export of “double” or “useless” antiquities by the French Archaeological School, *Minutes of the Archaeological Commissionership*. **Subchapter 5.4 (FIG. 16).**
5. Letter from F. Halbherr to J. Hatzidakis, 18/05/1895, 4, Book 8. **Subchapter 5.4<sup>222</sup>.**
6. “Memo on Cretan Antiquities”, 28/04/1914, Book 3. **Subchapter 5.6.**
7. Letter of S. Xanthoudides to the Higher Directorate of Education, 01/07/1911, Book 29. **Subchapter 6.4 (FIG. 22).**
8. Draft letter from J. Hatzidakis to A. J. Evans, 22/05/1909, Book 28. **Subchapter 6.5 (FIG. 24).**
9. Letter from I. Svoronos to J. Hatzidakis, 01/12/95?, Book 8. **Subchapter 6.6.**
10. Letter from the Ephor of Antiquities of Chania, S. Xanthoudides to the Higher Directorate of Education, 29/06/1910, Book 29. **Subchapter 6.8 (FIG. 28).**
11. Letter from S. Xanthoudides to the Commissioner of the High Directorate of Education, 11/06/1910, Book 29. **Subchapter 6.8.**
12. Letter from foreman of Phaistos to Ephor of Antiquities, 01/05/1910, Book 29. **Subchapter 6.8.**
13. Letter from S. Xanthoudides to the General Governor of Crete, 03/07/1913, Book 29. **Subchapter 6.10.**
14. Letter from S. Xanthoudides to the Higher Directorate of Education, 27/05/1912, Book 29. **Subchapter 6.11 (FIG. 30).**
15. Letter from S. Xanthoudides, Ephor of Antiquities of Chania, to the Curator of the Archaeological Museum of Rethymnon, 3/09/1910, Book 29. **Subchapter 7.5 (FIG. 36).**
16. Letter from S. Xanthoudides, Ephor of Antiquities of Chania to the Higher Directorate of Education, 24/07/1911, Book 29. **Subchapter 7.8 (FIG. 45).**

#### **D. Vikelaia Municipal Library (Heraklion, Crete)**

1. Minutes of the Permanent Committee (Municipal Council) of Heraklion, Vol. 1, No. 9, 23/05/1900, 41. **Subchapter 5.2.**
2. Minutes of the Permanent Committee of Heraklion, Vol. 1, No. 32, 11/10/1901, 154. **Subchapter 5.2.**
3. Minutes of the Permanent Committee of Heraklion, Vol. 1, No. 2, 16/05/1900, 5. **Subchapter 6.12.**

#### **E. Gennadius Library – The American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA, Athens)**

##### **I. The H. Schliemann Archive**

1. Letter from J. Hatzidakis to H. Schliemann, No. 247, 11 June 1889, Box 104.3, Series B Correspondence. **Subchapter 5.1 (FIG. 3).**

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<sup>222</sup> See also La Rosa 2000.

## II. The Stephanos Dragoumis Archive

1. Brief report from S. Xanthoudides to S. Dragoumis, regarding his actions during the Cretan State period, Series IV, Folder 93.3, No. 71, 19/01/1913. **Subchapter 5.4.**
2. Report from S. Xanthoudides to S. Dragoumis, Series IV, Folder 93.3, No. 68, 06/09/1912. **Subchapter 6.4.**
3. Letter from J. Hatzidakis to S. Dragoumis, Series IV, Folder 93.3, No. 73, 15/02/1913. **Subchapter 6.4.**
4. Response to J. Hatzidakis from S. Dragoumis, Series IV, Folder 93.3, No. 74, 18/02/1913. **Subchapter 6.4.**
5. Letter from E. Petroulakis to S. Dragoumis, Series IV, Folder 93.3, No. 81, 10/02/1913. **Subchapter 6.5.**
6. Letter from J. Hatzidakis to S. Dragoumis, Series IV, Folder 93.3, No. 79, 06/12/1912. **Subchapter 6.11.**

## F. The British School at Athens Corporate Records (Athens)

1. Letter from W. Loring to D.G. Hogarth, 14/01/1898, Letter Book 1 (Nov. 1897 – August 1900). **Subchapter 5.3.**
2. Letter from W. Loring to D.G. Hogarth, 31/03/1898, Letter Book 1 (Nov. 1897 – August 1900). **Subchapter 5.3.**
3. Letter from W. Loring to D.G. Hogarth, 20/01/1899, Letter Book 1 (Nov. 1897 – August 1900). **Subchapter 5.3.**
4. Letter from W. Loring to D.G. Hogarth, 20/11/1899, Letter Book 1 (Nov. 1897 – August 1900). **Subchapter 5.3.**

## G. The Sir Arthur Evans Archive (Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford)

1. A. J. Evans, "Letters from Crete" (reprinted from the Manchester Guardian), 12-13, Books & Offprints, I/1: Evans, Crete, and the Aegean, I/1/1: Offprints<sup>223</sup>. **Subchapter 2.3.**
2. Letter from S. Xanthoudides to A. J. Evans, 29/06/1896, Non-personal letters, No. 187. **Subchapter 5.1 (FIG. 4 – APPENDIX B.1).**
3. Letter from J. L. Myres to A. J. Evans, 22/04/1896, Non-personal letters, No. 78. **Subchapter 5.1 (FIG. 5).**
4. Letter from F. Halbherr to A. J. Evans, 15/01/1899, Non-personal letters, No. 71. **Subchapter 5.3.**
5. Letter from F. Halbherr to A. J. Evans, 21/02/1899, Non-personal letters, No. 71. **Subchapter 5.3.**
6. Letter from F. Halbherr to A. J. Evans, 16/07/1899, Non-personal letters, No. 71. **Subchapter 5.3.**
7. Letter from F. Halbherr to A. J. Evans, 09/08/1899, Non-personal letters, No. 71. **Subchapter 5.3**<sup>224</sup>.

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<sup>223</sup> Mentioned in MacGillivray 2000, 162.

<sup>224</sup> G4-7 and G11 have been published in Momigliano 2002.

8. Letter from J. Hatzidakis to A. J. Evans, 15/01/1899, Non-personal letters, No. 78. **Subchapter 5.4 (FIG. 9).**
9. Letter from J. Hatzidakis to A. J. Evans, 14/02/1899, Non-personal letters, No. 78. **Subchapter 5.4 (FIG. 10).**
10. Letter from J. Hatzidakis to A. J. Evans, 14/08/1899, Non-personal letters, No. 78. **Subchapter 5.4 (FIG. 11)**<sup>225</sup>.
11. Letter from F. Halbherr to A. J. Evans, 12/11/1901, Non-personal letters, No. 71. **Subchapter 5.7.**
12. Lawsuit by M. Kalokairinos against A. J. Evans, 31/07/1907, Non-personal letters, No. 89<sup>226</sup>. **Subchapter 6.7.**

#### **H. The Sir John Linton Myres Archive (Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford)**

1. Letter from M. Younous to J. L. Myres, 01/02/1894. **Subchapter 2.4.**

#### **I. Papers of Sir John Linton Myres (Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)**

1. Letter from R. M. Dawkins to J. L. Myres, no date, MSS. Myres 11, Fol. 47. **Subchapter 5.7.**

#### **J. The R. M. Dawkins Archive, Taylor Institution Library (University of Oxford)**

1. ARCH.Z.DAWK.7 (1), 335, R. M. Dawkins Archive, Taylor Slavonic Library Rare Books. **Subchapter 5.7.**
2. ARCH.Z.DAWK.7 (1), 338, R. M. Dawkins Archive, Taylor Slavonic Library Rare Books. **Subchapter 5.7.**

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<sup>225</sup> The topic of G8-10 have been discussed in Panagiotaki 2004a and Brown 2001.

<sup>226</sup> See also MacGillivray 2000, 249.



# Appendix B

## List of transcripts

1. Letter from S. Xanthoudides to A. J. Evans, 29/06/1896, Non-personal letters, No. 187, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Subchapter 5.1, Appendix A.G2, Fig. 4 (extract).

*“Being loyal to the promise that I gave you during your departure from Heraklion, I am sending you several notes regarding the clay larnakes of Ligortino, which I acquired a couple of days after their discovery, by going to the site.*

*I have to confess that the notes were taken hastily and almost against the will of the landowners, therefore I am not completely sure about their accuracy, still they are the closest possible to the truth.*

*The discovery of the tomb took place by chance, during the farming of the field within which it was, on Christmas day of the year 1894 (according to the old calendar), by Ottoman peasants outside the village “Ligortino”, at a place called “Moskato”*

2. The Cretan State Antiquities Law, N. 24, 18/06/1899, *Official Newspaper of the Cretan State*, Chania, 24/06/1899, n. 51, Historical Archive of Crete. Subchapter 5.3, Appendix A.A2, Fig. 8 (extract).

### **Article 1**

*“All antiquities in Crete, movable or immovable, belong to the Cretan State. Consequently, the right to take care of them, rescue them, discover them, collect them and deliver them to the public Museums belongs to the Cretan Government.*

*Any action related to this cause is under the jurisdiction of the Higher Directorate of Public Education”*

## **Article 2**

*“As antiquities are regarded without exception all the works of Architecture, Sculpture, Writing, or any other form of art in general, from ancient times to the conquest of Crete by the Venetians, such as all kinds of buildings and architectural monuments, inscribed stones coming from those monuments, pedestals, walls, tombs, carvings, statues, reliefs, idols, inscriptions, paintings, mosaics, vases, weapons, jewellery, and other works and utensils of any kind of material, stone rings, coins etc.*

*The movable or immovable monuments of art dating from the conquest of Crete to its liberation that, according to the Archaeological Committee, have any historical or artistic value are also placed under the provisions of this law.*

*Likewise, human and animal skeletons from the old times and paleontological finds are placed under the provisions of this law”*

[...]

## **Article 5**

*“The destruction, damage, repairing or modification in any way of ruins, relics, monuments and any other immovable antiquities without the licence of the Counsellor, published after the Ephor’s opinion is voiced, is prohibited. Additionally, it is prohibited without the permission of the Higher Directorate of Education to: 1) the quarrying or digging in order to obtain building material of any kind of stone, marble, baked brick, pillar etc. located in ruins of ancient cities, settlements, necropolises and within 500m distance from them, 2) the construction of limekilns closer than 500m to the antiquities, 3) the performing of any work close to the antiquities that can harm them, directly or not, 4) any action over buildings, relics or ancient monuments, even if it does not cause any harm to them.*

*The transgressors of any of the provisions mentioned in this article are punishable according to the archaeological importance of the monument by imprisonment of 15 days to two years and a fine of 100 - 10,000 drachmas.*

*Moreover, punishable by detention of 2 – 15 days and a fine of 5 – 100 drachmas are the workmen taking part in the aforementioned offenses and the construction workers in general, those who used stones, bricks and other building material derived from the destruction of antiquities and those who knowingly provided the workers with such material”*

*[...]*

#### **Article 8**

*“He who reports the illegal possession of an antiquity mentioned on the article above and contributes in any way to its confiscation, receives the whole or part of the rewards mentioned on the previous article”*

*[...]*

#### **Article 10**

*“Only the Government, by decision of the authorizing Counsellor, issued after the Archaeological Committee or at least one Ephor have voiced their opinion, has the right to perform archaeological excavations; it can do so on every estate, as long as it holds the needed sum of money, from the budget or elsewhere, for the expropriation of the estate and the necessary reimbursements. The government performs these excavations either directly, through its own employees and workmen, or indirectly, through scientific institutions of any nationality working for the advancement of the Archaeological science, such as Clubs, Societies, Schools, Academies, Institutes etc.”*

*[...]*

#### **Article 13**

*“Excavations are always performed for the benefit of the Museums of Crete and under the supervision of employees appointed by the Government. Whenever these excavations are performed by a scientific institution, the latter is offered the exclusive right of making moulds from the antiquities it has discovered and producing the first scientific publication out of it. This right is valid for five years maximum since the discovery of every antiquity”*

#### **Article 14**

*“Every civilian is entirely prohibited from performing excavations with the aim to discover antiquities.*

*He who performs this kind of excavations, either on his estate or in one belonging to someone else, is punishable as the destroyer of antiquities, according to article 5. The antiquities found are confiscated. The workmen employed in these excavations and any other accomplices are punishable by 15 days to three months of imprisonment”*

[...]

#### **Article 18**

*“The export of antiquities found on Crete abroad and the importation of antiquities from abroad is prohibited.*

*The person directly or indirectly exporting antiquities abroad and every accomplice is persecuted and punishable by imprisonment of 3 months to 5 years. The antiquities are confiscated; if the confiscation happens to be impossible, the offender is required to pay compensation equal to their value. Apart from that, all criminal provisions against smugglers are applicable for the offender and his accomplices. This sentence equals to ipso jure loss of political rights for up to 10 years, except less time is decided according to the ruling.*

*A financial reward analogous to the value of the confiscated antiquities and defined by the Counsellor after the proposal of the Archaeological Committee is given to the police and customs officers and any other person that discovered and prevented the smuggling of antiquities”*

#### **Article 19**

*“Within Crete, the following can be available, sold and bought, a) antiquities useless for the Cretan Museums according to the opinion of the Archaeological Committee, b) antiquities imported from abroad under the provisions of articles 15-17, c) antiquities found before the passing of this Law, for which the provisions of article 31 have been applied and have effect”*

[...]

### **Article 23**

*“In order to curate, inspect and oversee the Museums, the antiquities and the excavations, an archaeological service is established under the jurisdiction of the Directorate of Public Education. The staff of this service consists of the following:*

- a) Two Ephors of antiquities, the one residing in Chania, the other in Heraklion, receiving a monthly salary of 300 drachmas.*
- b) Six unpaid curators and supervisors of antiquities with a permanent contract, appointed by the Counsellor in charge following the proposal of one of the Ephors. If one of these employees demonstrates zeal during the fulfilment of the assigned duty, a monthly allowance can be granted to him, not exceeding 30 drachmas; and*
- c) Six foremen of the Museums and guards of antiquities, appointed by the Counsellor after the proposal of the Ephor responsible. The number and salary of the latter is decided by a Commissioner Decree, in accordance to the needs of the service”*

[...]

### **Article 26**

*“School Principals and active Professors are appointed as curators of antiquities; active teachers and other intellectual officers are appointed as supervisors. They supervise the antiquities of their region and report for every need of the service to the nearest Ephor, while the curators have the right to report directly to the Counsellor too”*

[...]

### **Article 29**

*“In order to enforce the provisions of articles 2, 10, 19 and 37 and to voice opinion regarding issues that concern the archaeological service an archaeological Committee is established, consisting of the Director of the archaeological Department of the Higher Directorate of Public Education, the two Ephors of the Museums and the two curators of antiquities”*

[...]

### **Article 35**

*“Those who systematically perform illicit trade of antiquities are punishable by imprisonment of three months to two years or a fine of 20 to five thousand drachmas and, depending on the circumstances, by both penalties. The antiquities found with them are confiscated and become a public domain. In the occasion of recurrent criminal behaviour, the sentence is doubled”*

[...]

### **Article 37**

*“He who has pointed out to any Authority discovered antiquities or a place where antiquities are located and thus contributed to their discovery may be granted a reward, by decision of the Counsellor and defined by the Archaeological Committee, depending on the importance of the service and assistance he has provided”*

- 3. The 1903 amendment of the Antiquities Law, N. 481, 25/06/1903, Official Newspaper of the Cretan State, Chania, 28/06/1903, n. 32, Historical Archive of Crete. Subchapter 5.4, Appendix A.A4.**

*Law No. 481*

### **LAW**

*For the amendment of Law No. 430 on antiquities*

**WE PRINCE GEORGE OF GREECE  
HIGH COMMISSIONER OF CRETE**

*After we voted unanimously with the Assembly*

*We have decided and ordered:*

*The following paragraphs are added to the article 18 of Law No. 430 of August 30 1901<sup>227</sup> “on antiquities”:*

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<sup>227</sup> A later version of the 1899 law.

*Any movable antiquities found during excavations in Crete or imported from abroad are allowed to be exported from the island only if they are completely useless in terms of scientific value or use for the Cretan Museums; the Archaeological Commissionership decides for this, after justifying its decision and with a unanimous vote by all its members. This ruling is submitted for approval by the Higher Directorate of the Education.*

*Only the antiquities mentioned on the previous paragraphs and the regulations mentioned here are allowed to be subjects of exchange with foreign Museums and scientific institutions of any nationality. If these institutions or even individuals have performed excavations in Crete without any financial assistance from the public treasury, antiquities having no scientific value or use for the Cretan Museums are allowed to be granted to them without any exchange, always according to the designated regulations.*

*There is no way that the customs service can allow the exportation of antiquities from Crete without a document issued by the Higher Directorate of Education authorizing it and certifying that the antiquities whose exportation is allowed come under one of the aforementioned provisions in the paragraphs above and that they comply with all regulations mentioned in them.*

*The present law, passed by the Assembly and ratified by us today, is to be published in the Official Newspaper of the Cretan State and implemented as a law of the State.*

*Chalepa, June 25 1903*

GEORGE A. VOREADIS

4. **No. 19, 07/06/1909, Minutes of the Archaeological Commissionership, Heraklion Archaeological Museum Archive. Subchapters 5.4, 6.5, Appendix A.C2, Fig. 14.**

*“By order No. 1768/1185 of Mr the Commissioner of Education and in June 4<sup>th</sup> 1909, the Archaeological Commissionership met today, June 7<sup>th</sup> 1909, in the Heraklion Museum, comprised of Mr J. Hatzidakis, Ephor of Antiquities of Heraklion and President of the Commissionership, the Ephor of Antiquities of Chania, Stephanos Xanthoudides, and the Curator of the Heraklion Museum, Andreas Vourdoumpakis, in order to decide if it is possible to grant to Mr Arthur Evans 12 tablets of the linear and 6 of the ideographic system, which were requested by him since 1904, but were not allowed to be granted by the Archaeological Commissionership back then.*

*The Archaeological Commissionership, taking into account that, since that year and until now, hundreds of those tablets have been discovered both at Knossos and Agia Triada and, based on their syncretic study so far, don't seem to have any sequence or historical content, instead they probably are catalogues or receipts or accounts of the palace, taking also into account the great services that Mr Evans has offered to the discovery of the Cretan antiquities and the costly fastening and restoration, protection and conservation of them, decides to grant the tablets requested by him.*

*Heraklion, June 7<sup>th</sup> 1909*

*The President*

*J. Hatzidakis*

*The members*

*S. Xanthoudides*

*A. Vourdoumpakis*

5. **Cretan Archaeological Newspaper, Issue 2, 02/10/1906, p. 15, Serial No. 429, Folder 24, Series 1b, Historical Archive, Historical Museum of Crete (extract). Subchapter 6.7, Appendix A.B(II) 3, Fig. 25.**

*"...But I hope that Cretans, like during the time of Minos, will get involved with shipping, which will provide many benefits to the State, so that it can organise its military and navy; and then, along with the rest of the Confederate Greeks, Greece will become a thalassocracy [a seafaring empire]. This can be accomplished if the members of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Constituent Assembly that is about to meet, manage to establish justice upon a solid base, like in Minos time, by removing the capital benefits of the European Powers, thus leading Crete into prosperity, by building ports and roads, because, as long there is justice, the immunity of the foreigners itself will be removed, as an obstacle to the collection of port and road-building taxes"*

6. **To Asti, 15/04/1899, 2 (article on the activities of the foreign archaeological schools during the early Cretan State period). Subchapter 5.3 (extract).**

**THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL WEALTH OF CRETE  
POSSIBLE SITES FOR EXCAVATION**

*The representatives of the foreign archaeological schools remaining in Chania have already been coveting sites for which they plan to ask permission for archaeological excavations.*

*Apart from the English and the Italian school, who, from the very beginning, applied, the one for Knossos, the other for Gortyna, the rest of*

*the schools designated several sites, without declaring anything openly yet.*

*According to our information, archaeological excavations will start right after the Antiquities Law is published, not only at Knossos or Gortyna, but also in other areas of the island, particularly, in the eastern part, at Arcadia, Inatos, Olountas, Ierapytna (Ierapetra), Minoa, Ampelos, Dia and Eleftherna. In the western part, at Aptera, next to Suda, Apollonia, Pergamos, Elyros, Falassarna, Polyrrrenia and Diktynaion [...].*

7. **To Asti, 21/06/1901, 1 (article on the claim by Evans to sell antiquities and the related discussion in the Cretan Assembly). Subchapter 5.4 (extract).**

#### THE PALACE OF MINOS

*We suppose that there was no discussion in the Cretan Assembly yet, regarding the written proposal submitted by the English archaeologist, Mr Arthur Evans, who had the fortune to perform greatly successful excavations at Knossos. But even if it has been discussed, we reckon that it is not possible for the proposals of the wise Briton to be accepted. Evans, recounting in his letter the expenses of his excavation at Knossos, notes that they have reached the amount of 80,000 franks, of which only half could be collected through public fundraisers in England, while any other expense had to be paid by Evans himself.*

*This statement is quite true, since, as anybody knows, apart from the priceless scientific service of the wise Briton to Greek archaeology and, therefore, Greece and Greek Crete, which he provided through his excavation at Knossos, outmatching any other related to the discovery of the Mycenaean civilisation, gratitude is also owed to him due to the material sacrifices he had to make, truly unreasonably high for a scientist.*

*For all the reasons above, the refusal of the Cretan Assembly to accept Evans' proposals will be unpleasant and sad; unfortunately though, this refusal is necessary due to broader national interests.*

*Mr Evans requests from the representatives of Crete to be granted the right to export to England part of the discovered precious archaeological findings, "in order to stir up some interest among his fellow citizens, since he is forced to rely upon their generosity in order to continue the excavations". We think that this is impossible. If the generosity of the antiquarians abroad to perform excavations in Greece or in Crete has to be the outcome of our generosity, transforming the archaeological findings into objects to be exported, we think that it is doubtlessly more preferable for the archaeological excavations in Greece and Crete to be postponed for a better time, since the resources of the country are not sufficient for them at the moment. Crete made provision, even before the passing of the Antiquities Law in Greece, which secures as much as possible our ancestral wealth, to take advantage of the latter's fundamental rules, which are so innovating, while it was still a draft law, and she already has an archaeological legislation that protects the*

*archaeological treasures, those that, perhaps more than any other Greek land, the Cretan soil hides in abundance and away from any peril. [...] Perhaps somebody will note that we speak of Greece, while this claim has to do with the archaeological excavations of Knossos. We think it is one and the same. Of course, Crete has not been nationally restored but this, regardless all the obstacles and the reactions, obvious or concealed, is a matter of time, not doubt. Being autonomous nowadays, Crete rightfully considered as one of her main priorities to protect her archaeological relics by law, which prohibits the exportation of them. Unfortunately, other Greek lands are far from being under these circumstances. The Greek civilisation of Asia Minor feeds the European museums with marvellous ancestral treasures and monuments of the highest art, while the treasures of Ancient Ephesus are squeezed in the rooms of the Vienna museum. Yet, for the evacuation of those relics, our mourning is futile and any effort to save them pointless.*

*But Crete, being autonomous, can and is obliged to save her ancestral relics. These reasons, we think, necessitate the rejection by the Cretan Assembly of the proposal made by the amiable scientist, who is among the finest friends of the nation. Besides, we are sure that him too Mr Evans will realise that these reasons are both imposing and inescapable.*

8. **To Asti, 29/04/1899, 1 (article accusing the Westerners of putting obstacles in the implementation of the Antiquities Law), Subchapter 5.3.**

#### THE CRETAN ANTIQUITIES LAW OBSTACLES REGARDING ITS IMPLEMENTATION

*The Antiquities Law, which was edited and delivered upon the hands of Prince George, in order to be implemented, has not been published yet in the newspaper of the Cretan State, as it has to be, in order to obtain legal force and start being implemented.*

*According to information, this tardiness is due to external remonstrations that generated these circumstances, performed in front of the High Commissioner, through the Consuls, by the foreign Archaeological Schools, because this draft law, as it is, if it is implemented, it will be an obstacle for the scientific research and obstruct any scientific activity.*

*Those Schools who have obtained a license by the Cretan government in order to commence trial excavations have not proceeded into any related preliminary activity, because, as it seems, they expect for the amendment of the law before its implementation.*

*Regardless these efforts though, we are informed that the Cretan government will not make any amendment of the draft law, but it will publish the law in the newspaper of the Cretan State as it is, in order for it to have legal force, with the conviction that, with this law, the archaeological wealth of the island, which belongs to the government unconditionally, will not be endangered, while, at the same time, there will be no obstacles for science, research and any related activity.*

# Appendix C

## List of newspapers

- *Acropolis* (GR<sup>228</sup>)
- *Daphne* (CR)
- *Elpis* (CR)
- *Ephemeris* (GR)
- *Estia* (GR)
- *Ide* (CR)
- *Lefka Ori* (CR)
- *Neon Asti* (CR)
- *Nea Kriti* (CR)<sup>229</sup>
- *Nea Ephemeris* (CR)
- *Nea Evdomas* (CR)
- *Patris* (CR)
- *Simaia* (CR)
- *To Asti* (GR)

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<sup>228</sup> CR = Cretan press, GR = Greek press. The Greek press articles have been obtained from the online database made by Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, regarding the archaeological news in the Greek press (1832 - 1932): <http://goo.gl/zlKhSq> (last accessed 29/10/2014). The Cretan press titles can be found in the Historical Archive of Crete, Chania and the Vikelaia Municipal Library, Heraklion.

<sup>229</sup> Online edition: <http://www.neakriti.gr>.



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