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# GREEK AND ROMAN KNOSSOS: THE PIONEERING INVESTIGATIONS OF MINOS KALOKAIRINOS

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*Minos Kalokairinos is renowned for his discovery of the Minoan palace of Knossos. However, his pioneering investigations of the topography and monuments of Greek and Roman Knossos, as laid out especially in his* Cretan Archaeological Journal, *have largely been overlooked. In the* Journal, *Kalokairinos offers invaluable information on the changing archaeological landscape of Knossos in the second half of the nineteenth century. This enables the identification of several unknown or lost monuments, including major structures, inscriptions and sculptures, and allows the location of the context of discovery to be assigned to specific parts of the ancient city. Additionally, the* Journal *offers glimpses into the collection of Knossian antiquities and their export beyond the island. Antiquities from the site ended up in Athens, and as far afield as Egypt and western Europe, and have hitherto been considered as unprovenanced. They are here identified as Knossian and are traced to their specific context of discovery, with considerable implications for our understanding of the topography, the monuments and the epigraphic record of the ancient city.*

## INTRODUCTION

The history of archaeological research in Crete has focused on the Bronze Age because of the island's celebrated Minoan past (*e.g.* Brown and Bennett 2001; Momigliano 2002; Papadopoulos 2005; Coutsinas 2006; Hamilakis and Momigliano 2006; Kopaka 2015). In recent years, however, numerous studies have targeted the history of research on Classical Crete by focusing on specific scholars or specific sites. The work of Federico Halbherr has been studied by Vincenzo La Rosa (2000a; 2000b; 2004), while Yiannis Sakellarakis (1998) has explored the history of research on the Idaean Cave, James Whitley (2015) on Praisos, and this author (Kotsonas 2008; 2009; forthcoming a and b) on Eleutherna and Lyktos. In this paper I combine these two different lines of inquiry by assessing the contribution of a single scholar to the study of a single site.

Minos Kalokairinos (1843–1907) is renowned as the first excavator of Knossos and the man who discovered the 'Palace of Minos' in 1878–9, the monument that Arthur Evans explored systematically from 1900.[1] Kalokairinos's discovery of the Minoan palace quickly caught international attention (Haussoullier 1880; Stillman 1881; Fabricius 1886; Halbherr 1893, 110–11; Mariani 1895, 225–8; Clermont-Ganneau 1901, 43; *cf.* O.M. Kalokairinos 1939, 81–3; Hood 1987; Driessen 1990, 14–31), but the contribution of the Cretan scholar was overlooked and even dismissed for a long time, and was only acknowledged a full century after his excavation. In recent decades, numerous scholars, and especially Katerina Kopaka, have shed light on the biography of Kalokairinos and his discoveries at Knossos (Hallager 1977, 81–7; Aposkitou 1979, 89–92; Hood 1987, 90–3; Kopaka 1989–90; Driessen 1990, 14–31; Kopaka 1992; 1993; 1995, 502–3, 508–9; 1996; 2015). Understandably, much of the relevant literature has focused on the excavation of the palace and the prehistoric finds.[2] This paper takes a different approach by collecting and assessing the testimonies of Kalokairinos on the topography of Classical Knossos

[1] For biographies of Kalokairinos see Spanakis 1960, 295–301; Kopaka 1989–90, 7–12; Sakellarakis 1998, 171–2; Brown and Bennett 2001, 389–90; Kopaka 2015, 143–5.

[2] Emphasis has been given to the pithoi, including the piece presented by Kalokairinos as a marriage gift to the Croén Prince Constantine of Greece in 1889 (Kopaka 2015, 145). The newspaper *Νέα Ἐφημερίς*, 2 January 1887,

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and his reports on Greek and Roman antiquities located beyond the site of the Minoan palace. This enables the identification of several unknown or lost monuments, including major structures, inscriptions and sculptures, allows the location of their context of discovery in specific parts of the ancient city, and sheds light on the export of Knossian antiquities to mainland Greece, and as far afield as Egypt and western Europe.

Kopaka has hitherto identified four writings of Minos Kalokairinos regarding the archaeology of Knossos; she has published three of them and is currently studying the fourth (item 3 below). In chronological order, these are:

1. An inventory of his collection written by hand in Greek and dated to 1895 (published in Kopaka 1996).
2. A manuscript in French written shortly after 1896 and entitled *Fouilles à Cnossos faites par M. Kalokairinos* (published in Kopaka 1989–90, 13–25).
3. An unpublished and largely unknown manuscript by Kalokairinos entitled *Ὁδηγὸς διὰ τὴν ἀρχαῖα πόλιν Κνωσσόν* (*Guide to the ancient city of Knossos*) composed shortly after 1904.[3]
4. The *Κρητικὴ Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς* (*Cretan Archaeological Journal*), 13 issues of which were published (in Greek) shortly before the death of the Cretan scholar, from September 1906 to May 1907.[4] Although published, the *Journal* apparently did not attract the attention of other archaeologists active at the time.[5] Moreover, the work remains largely inaccessible to the present day. Kopaka consulted a print version kept in the Historical Archive of Crete at Chania, and I have used another held by the library of the British School at Athens.[6]

More works by Minos Kalokairinos are mentioned in a little-known booklet produced by his son Odysseus. In addition to items 2 to 4 in the list above, Odysseus Kalokairinos records the following: *Ὁ Κνώσσιος Λαβύρινθος* (*The Knossian Labyrinth*), and *Τὰ Βασιλικὰ Ἀνάκτορα τοῦ Μίνωος* (*The Royal Palaces of Minos*).[7] The last two titles remain to be discovered, but we now know what we need to look for. Additionally, Odysseus cites the full text of a speech delivered by his father at the palace of Knossos in 1903 (O.M. Kalokairinos 1939, 28–31) and provides scattered biographical information on the Cretan scholar.

In this paper I draw from all known works by Minos Kalokairinos but focus on the *Cretan Archaeological Journal* (especially on its first and second issues). The *Journal*, which was written by Kalokairinos in its entirety, covers his excavation in Knossos, comments on monuments elsewhere at the site, reports on other excavations in Crete, and discusses Cretan mythology and history. Most of these issues are not closely relevant to this study, but the *Journal* includes invaluable information on the topography of Classical Knossos and allows the identification and contextualisation of known and unknown monuments of the Greek and Roman periods. These monuments largely escaped the attention of foreign travellers of the time, who commented only briefly on the antiquities of Knossos (*e.g.* Moore 2010, 22, 28–9, 44, 66–8). A passionate

issue 2, p. 3 adds that two year earlier Kalokairinos had donated to the Prince a box 'containing varied antiquities collected in Crete'.

[3] The manuscript was purchased at auction in 2010 and is currently on display at the Historical Museum of Crete in Herakleio. It contains a description of Kalokairinos's excavation at Knossos and an inventory of finds, in addition to a letter by Heinrich Schliemann, two photographs of the area of Knossos and one of pottery from Amnissos. I thank Katerina Kopaka for confirming this information.

[4] M. Kalokairinos 1906–7. The most interesting first issue of the *Journal* is published in Kopaka 1989–90, 14–15, 25–59.

[5] The list of subscribers does not include any Cretan or foreign archaeologist (Kopaka 1989–90, 26).

[6] The print copy of the *Journal* was given to the British School by the Ashmolean Museum and was registered on 29 November 1960 (acquisition no. 17466), together with 17 other Greek publications dated from 1845 to 1906. In 1946, the Ashmolean gave 740 titles from Evans's personal library to the British School (Waterhouse 1986, 37), but there had been no other donation until 1960 and it is unclear whether this printed copy once belonged to Evans. I thank Penny Wilson of the British School at Athens and Alison Roberts of the Ashmolean Museum for their advice.

[7] O.M. Kalokairinos 1939, unnumbered introductory page (also citing Kalokairinos's *Procédé de Strabon contre le phylloxèra*) and 20.

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antiquarian, rather than a scholar by formal training, Kalokairinos does not always avoid errors in his description and identification, which may well be explained by the lapse of time between his original observations (made largely in the 1870s) and the publication of them (in 1906–7). However, many of his testimonies are confirmed by eminent scholars of the time, including Arthur Evans, David Hogarth and Federico Halbherr.

Kalokairinos presents his report as an itinerary of ancient Knossos (Fig. 1), from north to south, and this approach is reflected also in the map that accompanies the French manuscript (Fig. 2). I have maintained this topographical approach and introduce each section with a translation of the relevant passage by the Cretan scholar. Citing these passages in translation was considered essential since the *Cretan Archaeological Journal* is a rare text available only in Greek, and remains largely inaccessible to the scholarly community. Additionally, I provide a commentary on Kalokairinos's testimonies on Greek and Roman Knossos, and assess them in the light of more recent research.

## THE NORTH END OF THE CITY

According to Kalokairinos: 'An avenue leading from Herakleio to Knossos crosses the land of Knossos and is flanked by Roman ruins, built of mortar and small stones' (M. Kalokairinos 1906–7, 4; *cf.* Kopaka 1989–90, 28). '*c.*1000 m' north of the Kefala Hill (which is the hill of the Minoan palace) 'is the tomb of Caiaphas … and two tombs of Hellenic date were found in 1881. The cemetery of the city of Knossos perhaps lies to the right of these tombs and is covered by 2–3 m of soil'. From this area up to the Kefala Hill

> the visitor coming to Knossos can see on the left side piles of unworked stones with mortar; there were many such piles arranged in two rows, clearly of Roman date, and tradition calls them 'Royal'. These structures were demolished by Ottoman soldiers and their material, especially the white stone (marble), was used for the building of the barracks of Herakleio. (M. Kalokairinos 1906–7, 5; *cf.* Kopaka 1989–90, 29; 2004, 498)

The monuments Kalokairinos describes have been destroyed or lie under the southern suburbs of modern Herakleio, on both sides of the Knossos Avenue. The ancient road leading to Knossos has, however, been sufficiently documented and there is evidence for monuments flanking it.[8] Kalokairinos locates the cemetery of Knossos by the tomb of Caiaphas, a Late Roman mausoleum located west of the Venizeleio hospital.[9] This monument had long been (erroneously) associated with the homonymous high priest of the New Testament, and was the prime tourist attraction in Knossos from the eighteenth century until its destruction in 1878.

Kalokairinos offers above two brief archaeological notes on the thick surface layers overlying the cemetery and on the discovery of two graves of Hellenic date. The Cretan scholar does not specify the type of the graves, but the vicinity of the tomb of Caiaphas later produced Early Iron Age chamber tombs (Hood and Smyth 1981, 38 nos 55–6). Roman graves are also known from this area and at least one of them was explored in the nineteenth century and yielded a golden statuette of a Nike (Halbherr 1893, 112; Xanthoudides 1901, 315; Chatzidakis 1931, 19; Platon 1955, 137).

[8] Paton 1994, 146; Karetsou 2008, 67–74; Bowsky 2012; also Hood and Smyth 1981, 22, 35–6 no. 24. Traces of a bridge and a road have been found in the area of the Venizeleio hospital and have been tentatively considered as Minoan (Evans 1928, 154; Hood and Smyth 1981, 39 no. 69). There is nothing in Duncan Mackenzie's notebook of the excavation to confirm a Minoan rather than later date (Whitelaw, pers. comm.).

[9] *Cf.* Halbherr 1893, 112; Xanthoudides 1901; O.M. Kalokairinos 1939, 31; Hood and Smyth 1981, 1, 38 no. 57; Paton 1994, 149; Kopaka 2004, 503–4, 508. For Greek and Roman tombs in the area see Coldstream and Catling 1996; Grammatikaki 2004; Sweetman 2013, 24, 303.

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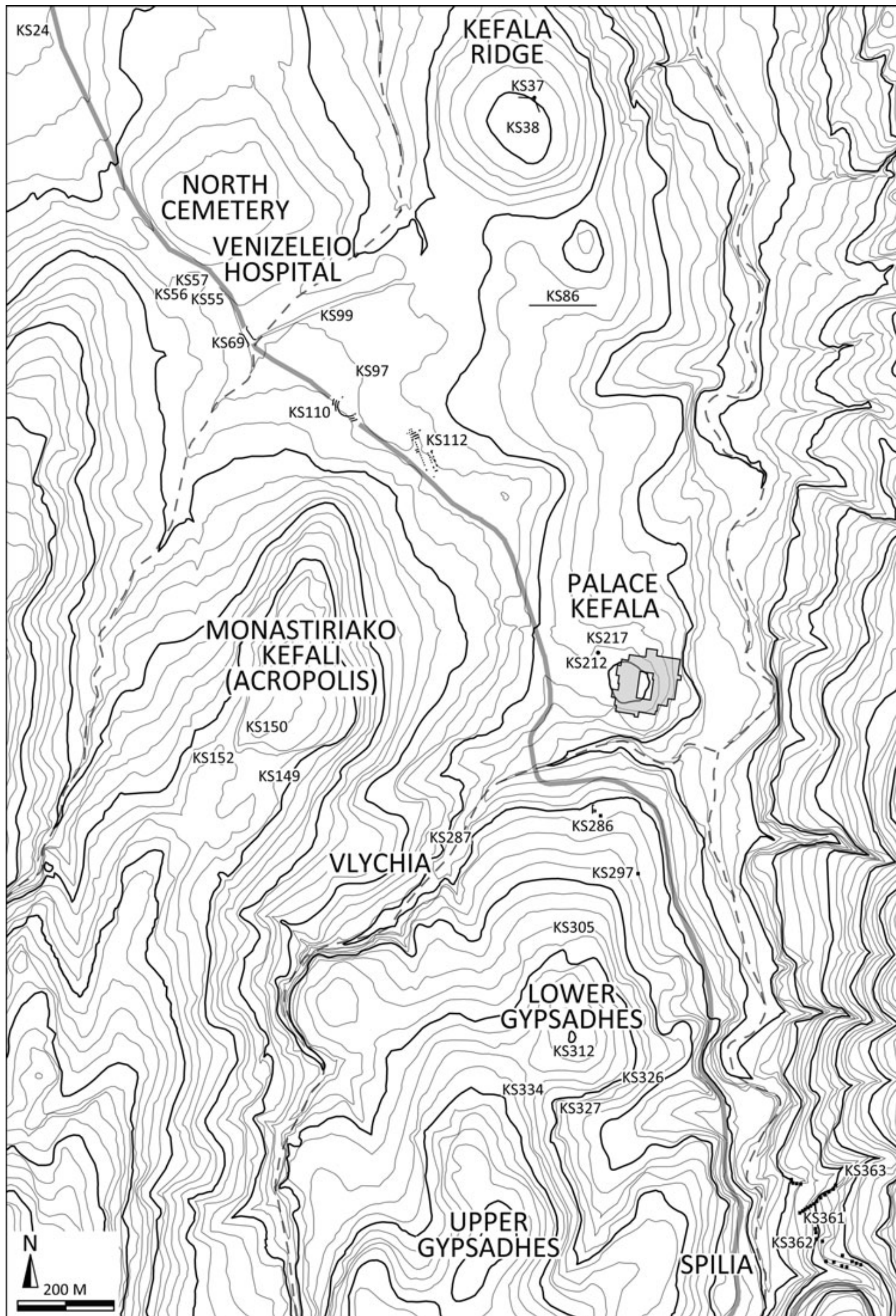


Fig. 1. Map of Knossos by Todd Whitelaw. Locations and monuments are marked according to the numbering in Hood and Smyth 1981.

Closer to (but still north of) the Kefala Hill, Kalokairinos identified two rows of stones with mortar on the left side of the visitor heading south. These are probably the 'ruines Romains' (*sic*) of the map in Fig. 2, and can be identified as the remains of the Roman Civil Basilica, the survival of which in primarily two rows is clearly identifiable in illustrations of the late

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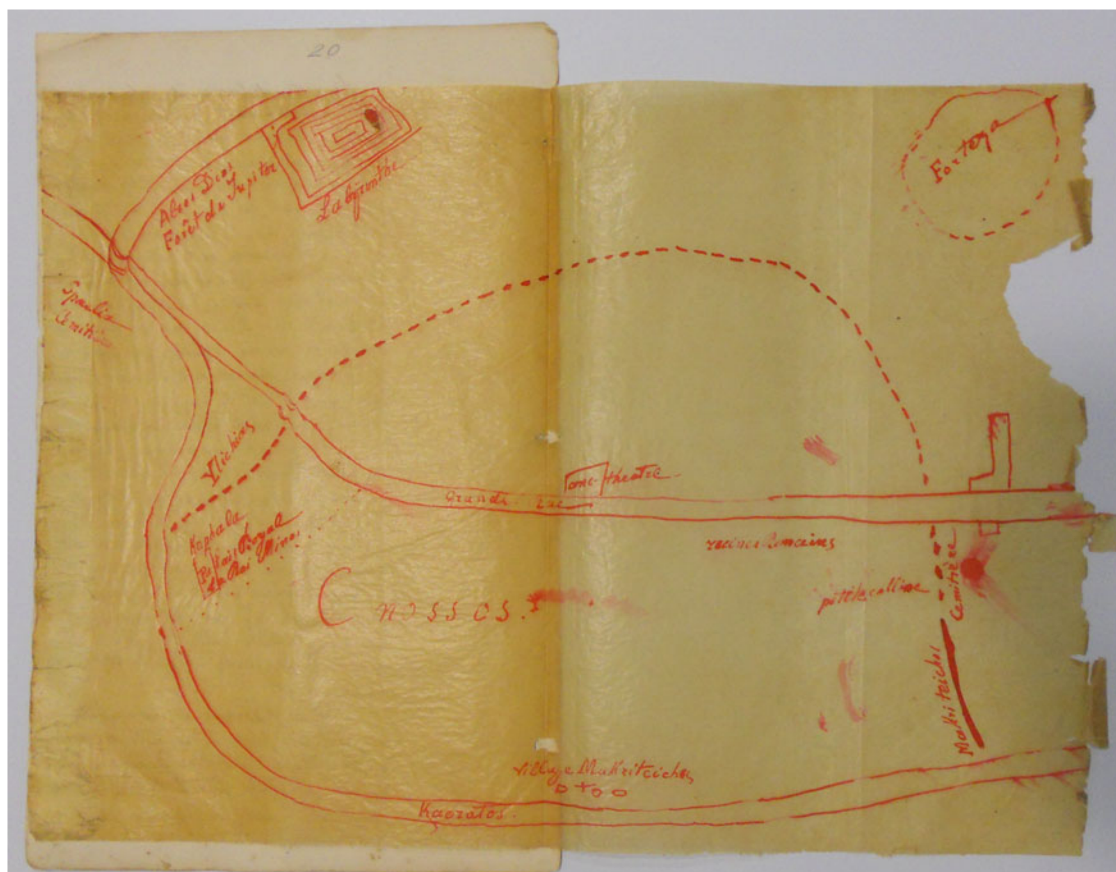


Fig. 2. Sketch map of Knossos by Minos Kalokairinos. Photograph by the author. © Ephorate of Antiquities of Herakleio – Ministry of Culture and Sports – Archaeological Receipts Fund.

nineteenth century.[10] Halbherr, who dug in the area in 1885, confirms the destruction of the Basilica by the Ottomans and calls this an 'act of Vandalism' (Halbherr 1893, 111; *cf.* Morgan 2009). Building materials (especially marbles) from the Basilica and perhaps other Knossian monuments were used for the erection of the Ottoman barracks at Herakleio (Halbherr 1893, 110–11; Xanthoudides 1901, 305; Hood and Smyth 1981, 1). Indeed, the newspaper *Ἀκρόπολις* (23 July 1886, p. 3) reports that the locals protested at the removal of Corinthian capitals and pieces of *geisa* (cornices) from the Basilica for use in the barracks.[11] The Ottoman building was erected in 1883 and took the place of the Venetian barracks of Saint George, which had been built in 1585 and had been destroyed by an earthquake in 1856. The Ottoman barracks can be seen at Eleftherias Square and currently house the regional administration of Crete and the law courts (Xanthoudides 1927, 68, 127, 151–2).

The marbles from Knossos that were taken to the seat of the regional administration included a cuirassed statue of Emperor Hadrian, which belongs to a well-known sculptural type represented in

[10] On the Basilica see Hood and Smyth 1981, 1, 42 no. 112; Sanders 1982, 67–9. On recent digs in this area see Sweetman 2010, 362, 377. For late 19th century illustrations of the Basilica see Hogarth 1899–1900 (general map); Christofi 1996, 363 fig. 3; Morgan 2009, 50–1 fig. 3 (photograph taken by André Joubin probably in 1892. On Joubin see Christofi 1996, 362–6; Brown and Bennett 2001, 389; Kotsonas 2009, 439–40). Other landmarks from the north end of the city marked in Fig. 2 are illustrated in British maps of the early 20th century; see Payne 1927–8, 225 fig. 1 and Hogarth 1899–1900 (general map).

[11] I thank Katerina Athanasaki for this reference.

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Fig. 3. Statue of Hadrian from Knossos in the Archaeological Museum of Herakleio (inv. no. 5). Photograph by the author. © Archaeological Museum of Herakleio – Ministry of Culture and Sports – Archaeological Receipts Fund.

different Cretan cities.[12] Iossif Chatzidakis saw the statue standing in that building in 1881, but this was later donated to the Archaeological Museum of Herakleio and is currently on display in room XXVII (Fig. 3).[13] The Knossian provenance of the statue is established by the reference of

[12] For the type see Vermeule 1959, 55; Vermeule 1968, 254; Beschi 1974; Romeo and Portale 1998, 447–51; Gergel 2004; Karanastasi 2004, 1049–52; 2012, 440–2. Individual specimens are known from Hierapytna, the Diktynnaio, Gortyn, Knossos (Villa Ariadne), Kissamos and Lyttos (see lately Karanastasi 2004, 1049–52, where Lyktos is meant instead of Itanos, as acknowledged in Karanastasi 2012, 440–1 n. 37). On the statue from Lyttos, which is now lost, see Beschi 1974, 221–2. Sanders (1982, 48) reports a second unpublished piece from Hierapytna in the Herakleio(?) museum. He also mentions two pieces from Gortyn, which is probably a mistake. A different piece in the Louvre is said to come from Herakleio (Karanastasi 2004, 1050–1 n. 7; 2012, 435, n. 10).

[13] Chatzidakis 1881, 10; *cf.* Romeo and Portale 1998, 445 (noting a lack of correspondence in dimensions, which is explained by the later attachment of the legs; see below. The statue was 1.90 m before the attachment of the legs, but is now 2.18 m).

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Chatzidakis, and finds additional support in the museum catalogue and the published guide (Platon 1955, 145 no. 5). Literature on Roman sculpture has missed this evidence and considers the piece to have been found at Gortyn.[14] The Knossian provenance is confirmed, however, by a little-known report by Richard Wyatt (Squire) Hutchinson, which establishes that the legs of the statue were discovered north of the Civil Basilica in 1935.[15] The overlooked testimonies by Chatzidakis and Hutchinson solve a confusion that has persisted for over a century, and establish that there are two similar statues of a cuirassed Hadrian from Knossos, and none from Gortyn.

The references by Kalokairinos and Chatzidakis to the destruction and removal of Knossian antiquities are not isolated. Several foreign visitors from the sixteenth century onwards describe the systematic demolition of ancient structures in Knossos and the use of the building material in Herakleio (Kopaka 2004, 498, 503–5, 508; also Xanthoudides 1901, 305; Hood and Smyth 1981, 1; Paton and Schneider 1999, 281–2; Paton 2004, 453); one other such case is described below.

## THE ACROPOLIS HILL AND THE CITY WALLS OF KNOSSOS

Kalokairinos comments:

> To the right of the avenue to Knossos, at a distance of *c.*100 m from the Kefala, at the south-west corner of the city of Knossos the visitor sees the abovementioned hill of 'Monasteriaka', which rises to a height of 100 m. On the foot of the hill, by the road, there are structures, which are hypothesised to belong to the theatre. (M. Kalokairinos 1906–7, 5; *cf.* Kopaka 1989–90, 29)

> Most of the material of the city walls was used by the Venetians for the construction of the fortress of Herakleio, but in the year 1864 traces of the walls were found south of Knossos, particularly at the foot of the hill that is nowadays called 'Monasteriaka', the estates of [the monastery of] Agios Georgios Epanosifis, and to the west of this hill, which was, in my view, the acropolis of ancient Knossos . . . The walls of Knossos discovered in 1864 were *c.*100 m long, 2 m high and 1.20 m broad and were made of rectangular blocks 2.40 m in length, 0.73 m in breadth, and 0.55 m in height, without any mortar, which confirms the antiquity of the monument. Unfortunately, this monument was destroyed and its remains were transferred to Herakleio to serve as building material for private houses. The Ottoman authorities stopped the destruction of those walls. Hence, future research conducted on the spot could reveal the wall circuit of the city of Knossos. (M. Kalokairinos 1906–7, 4; *cf.* Kopaka 1989–90, 28)

Kalokairinos refers here to two monuments on the east and west side of the Acropolis of Knossos.[16] The theatre (or amphitheatre) on the lower east slope of the hill, which is also mentioned in his French manuscript and is demarcated on the accompanying map (Fig. 2) (Kopaka 1989–90, 18), is discussed by visitors of the sixteenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Kopaka 2004,

[14] The confusion is traced back to Savignoni and De Sanctis 1901, 307–9 fig. 10. This publication led Cornelius Vermeule (1959, 55) to assure that the piece comes from Gortyn and this view has prevailed (n. 12). However, the Gortynian provenance is questioned in Romeo and Portale 1998, 445–51 no. 33; and a Knossian origin is assumed in Toynbee 1956, 213 n. 2.

[15] The discovery was made in 1935, according to an unpublished letter by Hutchinson to Humfry Payne dated 10 January 1935, and Hutchinson's notebook for 9 October 1940. The findspot is Hood and Smyth 1981, 41 no. 99 or no. 97 (the confusion goes back to Hutchinson's writings; Whitelaw pers. comm.). The catalogue of the Archaeological Museum of Herakleio confirms the later attachment of the statue legs.

[16] The Acropolis of Knossos was owned at the time by the monastery of Agios Georgios Epanosifis and was hence called Monasteriaka, Monastiriako Kefali or Monastiriaki Kefala (Hood and Smyth 1981, 5; Vasilakis 2004, 494).

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501–4; Moore 2010, 22, 44). It must have been damaged in the 1880s when the modern road to Knossos was constructed (Hood and Smyth 1981, 42 no. 110; Paton 1994, 152; Paton and Schneider 1999, 282), but part of the cavea is shown on maps of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Hogarth 1899–1900: general map; Panagiotaki 2004, 526–7, fig. 48.7). Sections of the monument were traced in rescue excavations in 1977 and 1992–3 (Sweetman 2010, 344, 349, 360, 364).

Very interesting is the discussion of the circuit walls of Knossos. Kalokairinos introduces this with a passage from Strabo (10.4.7) (M. Kalokairinos 1906–7, 3–4; *cf.* Kopaka 1989–90, 27): κύκλον ἔχουσα ἡ Κνωσσὸς τὸν ἀρχαῖον τριάκοντα σταδίων ('Knossos has an ancient perimeter of 30 stadia [*c.*5.5 km]'). Strabo's reference has occasionally been taken to imply the existence of city walls, but this interpretation has been doubted (Hood and Smyth 1981, 20, 23, 36 no. 37; Coutsinas 2013, 358). Likewise, the reference of the eighteenth-century traveller Richard Pococke (1745, 256) to 'some little remains of the walls' in the north part of the city has been associated with the Makriteichos, the retaining wall of a large Roman stoa (Hood and Smyth 1981, 23, 40–1 no. 86). Thus, current scholarship concludes that the city had no wall circuit (Hood and Boardman 1957, 226; Coutsinas 2013, 65–6, 357). Indeed, evidence for defensive structures at Knossos remains rare, and a Hellenistic round tower with two curtain walls forming an angle, which was discovered on the Kefala ridge, beyond the north edge of the ancient city, has been called 'the first undisputed fortification of any period of antiquity'.[17] The monument was considered 'more likely to belong to an isolated fort than to form a part of a city wall round the whole of Knossos' (Hood and Boardman 1957, 224, 226; *cf.* Coutsinas 2013, 65–6, 357–8, 421–2).

It is worth revisiting the widespread assumption about the paucity of archaeological evidence for defensive structures at Knossos in the light of the passage above, but also on the basis of an unpublished find from a rescue excavation of 1984 in the east end of the plot of the Venizeleio hospital.[18] The wall, which is *c.*7 m long and 1.60 m broad, and has a minimum height of 1.5 m, is aligned with (and perhaps related to) the fort on the summit of the Kefala ridge. It is made of a row of boulders overlying rows of roughly rectangular blocks, a style of masonry that recalls Archaic walls, including terraces, from elsewhere in Crete (Donald Haggis, pers. comm.). The pottery lying in the vicinity of the wall is all of Greek date.

Kalokairinos reports above on a much longer stretch, which ran for *c.*100 m along the west side/foot of the Acropolis of Knossos and may have formed part of a circuit wall, rather than of an isolated fort protecting the Acropolis.[19] The Cretan scholar certainly interpreted it as such, as evidenced by his map in Fig. 2. Kalokairinos discusses the size and construction of the monument, but the dimensions he gives are problematic. Stone blocks of 2.40 m in length are highly unlikely, and their reported breadth of 0.73 m cannot easily fit the very narrow breadth of the wall (1.20 m). Perhaps Kalokairinos confused the figures for the length of the individual blocks and the breadth of the wall, but this cannot be confirmed. In any case, the construction of this wall is dissimilar to that of the fort on the Kefala ridge[20] and the possible stretch east of the Venizeleio, and also seems different to Late Antique fortifications from elsewhere in Crete (Tsigonaki 2007, 272–6).

[17] Hood and Boardman 1957, 224; *cf.* Hood and Smyth 1981, 36–7 nos 37–8. The Kefala ridge is not to be confused with the Kefala Hill or *tou Tselevi (Tselebi) i Kefala*, which is the site of the Minoan palace (Hood and Smyth 1981, 6).

[18] I thank Todd Whitelaw for drawing my attention to this find, Andonis Vasilakis, the excavator, for providing information, and Nadia Coutsinas and Donald Haggis for sharing advice.

[19] The peculiar syntax in the Greek text suggests a spot on the south-west part of the Acropolis. Unfortunately Kalokairinos did not render this on the map of Fig. 2, which is, however, part of an unfinished manuscript (*cf.* Kopaka 1989–90, 13–16).

[20] *Cf.* Hood and Boardman 1957, 224–6. The construction also seems different from that of a cemented rubble wall, which has been traced by Whitelaw (pers. comm.) around the north point of the Acropolis and may be a northern extension of the Roman aqueduct, or form part of a late and thin defensive wall.

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The passage of Kalokairinos cited above explains the paucity of evidence for defensive structures in Knossos by describing extensive stone robbing. Similar episodes are documented in the nineteenth century and earlier (see above), but this case is interesting in that the Ottoman authorities intervened to prevent the complete destruction of the monument. It would be worth revisiting terraces and earth scarps on the west part of the Acropolis to see if any traces of the wall reported by Kalokairinos survive and can be investigated more fully with geophysics. The west part of the Acropolis Hill is poorly researched (Hood and Smyth 1981, 45–6, nos 149–50 and 152), but Todd Whitelaw informs me that the Knossos Urban Landscape Project (KULP) has traced a sharply defined fall-off of surface material at the south-west and along the west slope of the Acropolis in both the Prehistoric and Greek periods, which could be explained by the constraining effect of fortifications on the spread of occupation. This sharp edge of the sherd distribution can serve as a starting point for future investigations.

## THE LOWER GYPSADHES HILL

Kalokairinos offers much new information on the archaeology of the Lower Gypsadhes Hill:

> The avenue in question continues south beyond the area of the city and leads to the second cemetery of Knossos at the site of Spilia. Another low hill lies to the right and west of the road, at a distance of 300 m from the Kefala. On top of this hill, a statue made of white stone (marble) and rising to 1 m, with a base inscribed 'Theseus' (Θησεύς), was found before my own excavation, that is in 1873. The statue is currently kept in the Museum of Athens and is broken into pieces. I donated it and received a confirmation of acceptance by the then director Philippos Ioannou, Professor of Philology at the University of Athens. The low hill rises to *c*.300 m and overlooks the road. On the same hill, the man who found the previous statue also found a second one, 1 m in height and made of white stone (marble). The statue base was inscribed 'son of king Phoenix' (Φοίνικος βασιλέως υἱός) and the figure held a duck. The man who found the statue smuggled it to Alexandria in Egypt, but had a photograph of it and on this basis I bought the statue at the order of the abovementioned Philippos Ioannou for 1000 drachmas, which I paid but was not reimbursed because the owner never sent the statue to the Athens Museum, for which I made the deal. On the same hill, the owner of the statues found many small terracotta heads of the goddess Britomartis, which I bought in 1873. These heads were part of my collection of antiquities. In 1882 Mr Ernst Fabricius, of the German Archaeological School of Athens, classified the heads of the goddess Britomartis on stylistic grounds into three periods. Pausanias (VIII.2.4) writes of Britomartis. The man who found the statues reassured me that he has two more sizeable statues made of white stone hidden at the foot of the hill in question. He complained that he could not smuggle them because of their size and weight. There is no doubt that the systematic excavation of this hill to the great depth of 7 to 10 m will reveal important archaeological finds and the two hidden statues. (M. Kalokairinos 1906–7, 5; *cf*. Kopaka 1989–90, 29–30)

The hill, which is located by Kalokairinos at a distance of 300 m south of the Kefala, to the right of the road that leads south of Knossos, is the Lower Gypsadhes Hill.[21] The Cretan scholar reports on four marble statues and numerous terracotta statuettes found on this hill in 1873. Kalokairinos had first-hand knowledge of the statue of Theseus, which he sent to Athens, and the terracottas, which

[21] The Lower Gypsadhes (and even the Upper Gypsadhes) Hill is considerably lower than the 300 m given by Kalokairinos. The repetition of the figure of 300 m is probably an error. On the contrary, the repetitive description of the two inscribed statues is reliable. The terracottas and the two inscribed statues are also mentioned in the French manuscript of Kalokairinos (Kopaka 1989–90, 19).

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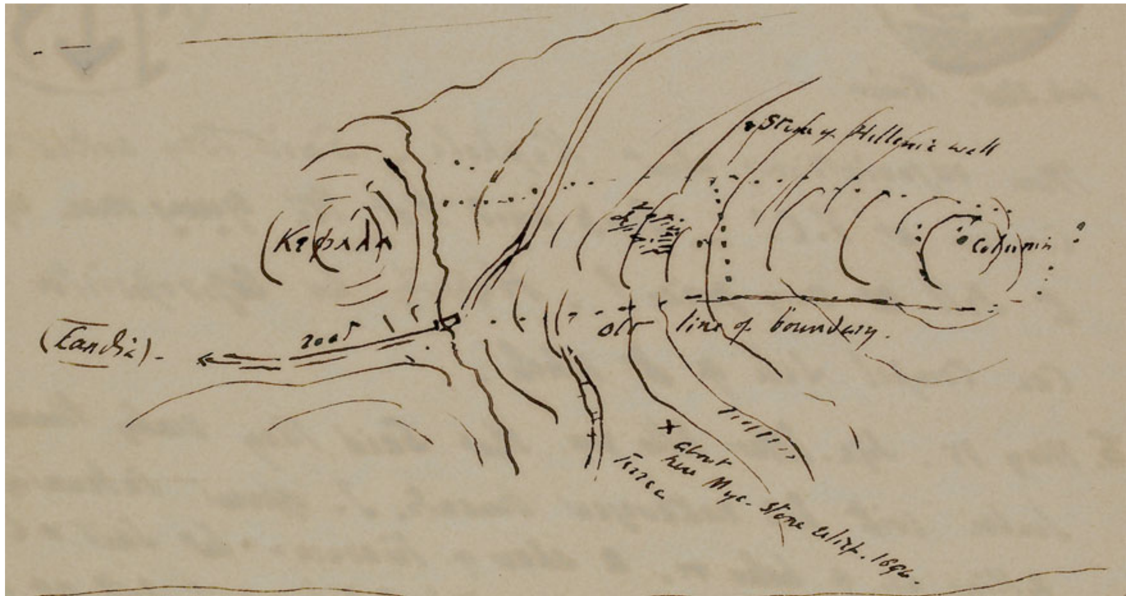


Fig. 4. Sketch map of Knossos by Sir Arthur Evans, from Notebook C, p. 94, 1896, Sir Arthur Evans Archive. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

he acquired for his collection. It is, however, probable that he never saw the remaining statues, and that of the 'son of king Phoenix' was probably only shown to him in a photograph.

The Lower Gypsadhes Hill was explored on several occasions in the twentieth century, especially by David Hogarth in 1900, Humfry Payne in 1933, and Sinclair Hood, Peter Fraser and Nicolas Coldstream in 1957–60 (Coldstream 1973b, 1a; Hood and Smyth 1981, 56, nos 286 and 297). More recently, the hill was surveyed by the KULP in 2005 and 2007, while its lower northern slope was explored by the Knossos Gypsadhes Geophysics Project in 2010–11, and excavated by the Knossos Gypsadhes Project in 2014–15.[22] The finds from the sanctuary of Demeter on the lower slopes of this hill best recall those mentioned by Kalokairinos in including hundreds of terracottas and several pieces of marble sculpture (Coldstream 1973a); indeed, the site was known as 'The Terracottas' among the British excavators. The identification of the sanctuary was once attributed to Humfry Payne in 1927,[23] but recent archival research has traced it back to the late nineteenth century. Indeed, Evans visited the site in 1896 and saw 'a votive deposit of terracottas' (Fig. 4) (Brown and Bennett 2001, 249–50). Closer to the time referred to by Kalokairinos (1873), two letters of 1879–80 written by Thomas Backhouse Sandwith, then British Consul at Khania, record his acquisition of hundreds of clay figurines from the same site.[24]

The looting of the sanctuary of Demeter on the Lower Gypsadhes Hill may have started as early as the sixteenth century, as Luigi Beschi has shown that a group of marble statues in Venice probably comes from this site (Beschi 1972–3, 494–9; *cf.* Hood 1987, 87 n. 14). Kalokairinos attributed the looting of the 1870s to an unnamed man, but Sandwith specifies that this was the Muslim owner of the land, who employed several men to dig.[25] Sandwith tried to sell the

[22] KULP is directed by Todd Whitelaw, Andonis Vasilakis and Maria Bredaki; the Geophysics Project by John Bennet, Eleni Hatzaki and Amy Bogaard; and the Knossos Gypsadhes Project by Ioanna Serpetsidaki, Eleni Hatzaki, Amy Bogaard and Gianna Ayala.

[23] Coldstream 1973b, 1. Unpublished correspondence by Hutchinson implies that Payne may have dug a test trench at the site (Whitelaw, pers. comm.). On Payne see Kotsonas 2008.

[24] Hood 1987, 87–90; Williams 1996, 100–1 (also referring to gilded terracotta jewellery perhaps originating from the site). On Sandwith see also Sakellarakis 1998, 211; Brown and Bennett 2001, 393.

[25] Hood 1987, 90 (letter dated 1880). Writing in 1896, Evans referred to the 'Turkish proprietor of the land' (Brown and Bennett 2001, 249).

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terracottas he acquired to the British Museum, but Charles Thomas Newton, then Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities (on whom see Sakellarakis 1998, 207–8), suspected that these were forgeries and prevented the purchase. Nevertheless, there are specific terracottas in the Louvre, which Reynold Higgins identified as Cretan on the grounds of fabric and style and associated with the Knossian sanctuary of Demeter on the basis of iconography.[26] This suggestion finds support in archival information. Several of the pieces identified by Higgins as Knossian were donated to the Louvre by Charles Simon Clermont-Ganneau,[27] a French scholar who visited Crete in 1895 and met Kalokairinos. On that occasion, Kalokairinos donated a number of antiquities from his collection to the Louvre and actually invited Clermont-Ganneau to choose these pieces.[28]

The sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos can also be regarded as the most probable source for the considerable group of Cretan terracottas at the Museum of Leiden. These have previously been identified as Knossian on stylistic grounds, and are known to have reached the museum in 1882 through the collector Stephanos Savva Nikolaides of Smyrna and Richard Jacob van Lennep, the Dutch consul at this city.[29] Kalokairinos also intended to export the figurines he acquired from Lower Gypsadhes and donate them to the National Archaeological Museum at Athens, but the finds were lost when the Ottoman mob looted and burnt the Kalokairinos mansion at Herakleio on 25 August 1898 (M. Kalokairinos 1906–7, 21; *cf.* Spanakis 1960, 297–8; Kopaka 1989–90, 10; 1995, 510; 1996, 151–2, 154–7; 2015, 146, 150 n. 5).

In the passage above, Kalokairinos proposes the identification of the figurines he possessed with images of Britomartis, which is doubtful. Many female, but also male and animal figurines were later excavated from the sanctuary of Demeter, but their association with particular divinities is not facilitated by any iconographic attributes. Indeed, the identification of female figurines of specific types with Demeter relies on the epigraphic documentation of her cult at the site (Higgins 1973, 61, 78; Coldstream and Higgins 1973, 184). Kalokairinos further reports that Ernst Fabricius studied the finds and divided them into three phases, but the German scholar did not include any relevant comment in his publication of several finds unearthed by the Cretan scholar.[30] The tripartite classification is, however, reflected in the inventory of Kalokairinos's Knossian terracottas, which reports 45 clay heads of Britomartis of 'archaic art', 164 examples of 'later art', and 63 of 'even later art' (Kopaka 1996, 155). Additionally, it records 25 body fragments of clay statuettes of the goddess, 17 pieces showing her on a throne, and 19 fragments of terracotta animals. Not all terracottas need to have come from the same findspot, but all are compatible with a provenance from the sanctuary of Demeter, which has yielded the only major deposit of figurines from Knossos. Additionally, the enthroned type was the commonest at this site and was also seen there by Evans (Higgins 1973, 77–80; Coldstream and Higgins 1973, 184; Brown and Bennett 2001, 249–51).

The sanctuary of Demeter was not equally rich in the kind of stone sculpture mentioned by Kalokairinos, but yielded one Hellenistic marble statue identified with Kore, and several fragments of marble figures, figurines and reliefs, in addition to three inscribed marble pieces, all

[26] Hood 1987, 89–90 n. 27. Some Cretan terracottas in the British Museum find comparisons from Knossos, but Higgins suggests they need not come from the sanctuary of Demeter (Higgins 1973, 56, 78; Hood 1987, 90; Burn and Higgins 2001, 105–9).

[27] Mollard-Besques 1954, viii, 104 nos C115–22. For Classical Cretan antiquities in the Louvre see Sporn 2012, 204–6 nn. 31 and 38.

[28] Clermont-Ganneau 1901, 43 (I thank Tacoui Vakirtzian for this reference); Vakirtzian 2006, 402–4, 409–10. See also M. Kalokairinos 1906–7, 20, 43; Bruneau 1979, 57–8; Kopaka 1989–90, 13, 39–40. An unpublished letter by Kalokairinos also refers to his meeting with Clermont-Ganneau (Vakirtzian 2006, 404 n. 9).

[29] On the Leiden terracottas see Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, 2–3, 48–59 nos 81, 84–105; 114–20 nos 230–4, 236–7, 239, 242. A group of Cretan terracottas in Bonn is unpublished (Sporn 2012, 204–5 n. 31). Stephanos Nikolaides from Smyrna is different from Stephanos Nikolaides from Agies Paraskies, who donated antiquities to the Museum of Herakleio (Parlamas 1949, 309).

[30] Fabricius 1886; *cf.* O.M. Kalokairinos 1939, 82–3. On Fabricius see Sakellarakis 1998, 200–1; Brown and Bennett 2001, 381.

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of Hellenistic or Roman date.[31] Geoffrey Waywell explained: 'That so few marble figures were found . . . merely testifies to the zealous activities of stone robbers and lime burners in this area in later times' (Waywell 1973, 97). Following the testimony of Kalokairinos (and Sandwith), one should add clandestine excavators to this list. Indeed, some of the numerous robbing pits and trenches, which Coldstream associated with 'post-antique plundering' of the site, may have been caused in 1873 (Coldstream 1973b, 4–6, 13, 15; *cf.* Hood 1987, 89). Two Roman inscribed monuments from Knossos mentioning Demeter and Kore, which were seen in Herakleio in the late nineteenth century, must have been looted from the sanctuary of Demeter.[32]

One of the four statues mentioned by Kalokairinos in the passage above may come from the sanctuary of Demeter. This is the marble statue of a figure 1 m in height, which, according to his description, held a duck and was inscribed 'son of king Phoenix' (Φοίνικος βασιλέως υἱός). Classical mythology knows of two figures by the name king Phoenix, a Greek and a Phoenician (*RE* 39, 404–14; *OCD*[4], 1140). The Greek figure is Phoenix, petty king of the Dolopes and elderly advisor of Achilles in the Iliad. Because of wrongdoings in his youth, Phoenix remains childless and does not have any son, as the inscription from Knossos requires. He, however, calls Achilles his son (Homer, *Iliad*, 9.492–4). The second Phoenix is the son of Agenor of Phoenicia and brother of Cadmus, Cilix and Europa. He settled in north Africa (Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 178; Antoninus Liberalis, *Metamorphoses*, 40) and had three sons, Cilix, Phineus, and Doryclus, and a stepson, Atymnius, fathered by Zeus (Scholia on Apollonius Rhodius's *Argonautica* 2.178; *cf.* Wendel 1958, 140). Some treated Phoenix as the father of Cadmus (Scholia on Apollonius Rhodius's *Argonautica* 3.1186; *cf.* Wendel 1958, 252), and others as the father of Europa (Homer, *Iliad* 14.321; Euripides, fragments 472 and 752 g in Collard and Cropp 2008). The Phoenician dynasty is closely associated with Crete through Europa, but also through Phoenix, who is mentioned among other heroes in the Hellenistic inscription of the oath of the ephebes from Dreros (*ICr* I ix 1, line 30; *cf.* Capdeville 2014, 154–5) and is considered as the father of Itanos, *oikistes* of the homonymous east Cretan city (Stephanus of Byzantium, *s.v. Itanos; cf. ICr* III, p. 76; Capdeville 2014, 151–2). Nevertheless, neither the Greek nor the Phoenician Phoenix can be readily associated with the statue in question, and especially with the inscription and the iconographic attribute of the duck.

A 'son of Phoenix' (Φοίνεικος υἱόν) is mentioned also in the transcription of a Roman inscription from Knossos, which was shown to Federico Halbherr by a dealer of antiquities in Herakleio in the 1880s or early 1890s. The transcription includes 19 more letters, which are hard to understand: Φοίνεικος υἱὸν εἰσορᾶ|ς ΣΕΝΕΚΓΩΝΑΜΕΣ.[33] The text was reconstructed by Arthur Maurice Woodward as a pair of tetrameters (with a metrical error): Φοίνεικος υἱὸν εἰσορᾷς Σενεκ(ί)ωνα Μέσ[σιον] ('You are looking upon Senekion Messios, son of Phoenix') (Woodward 1936, 95; *cf.* Baldwin Bowsky 1999, 480, 485 no. 20; 2006, 420 no. 6). The Phoenix in question is not a king, and has been tentatively identified as a 'familiaris' of the procurator P. Messius Campanus (Baldwin Bowsky 1999, 480). This reconstruction is incorrect, as shown below.

It is most likely that the description provided by Kalokairinos and the transcription obtained by Halbherr pertain to the same monument, even if the match is not perfect: the name Phoenix is spelled slightly differently; the transcription has 'son' in the accusative (υἱόν), but Kalokairinos gives it in the nominative (υἱός); and the reference to a king is missing from the transcription. These discrepancies can be attributed to problems in recording. The transcription, which was shown to Halbherr and was not made by this fine epigrapher, has previously been listed among

[31] Waywell 1973 (the sculpture includes male and especially female figures, and several of the latter are identified with Demeter and Kore); Coldstream 1973c, 167 (the inscribed pieces include an Early Hellenistic stele, an Early Roman statue base and a Roman altar).

[32] *ICr* I viii 16 (stele) and 21 (statue base); Coldstream and Higgins 1973, 186. The second inscription was located in the Kalokairinos mansion (Kopaka 1996, 155–6). Sandwith's testimony that a statue of Demeter was unearthed at Knossos *c.*1876 and was sold to the Museum of Vienna cannot be confirmed (Hood 1987, 87).

[33] Ricci 1893, 305 no. 14; *ICr* I viii 32. On Halbherr see Sakellarakis 1998, 202–4; La Rosa 2000a; 2000b; Brown and Bennett 2001, 384–5; La Rosa 2004.

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'copie errate' and has been characterised 'non omnino rectum' (Ricci 1893, 305 no. 14; *ICr* I viii 32). Additionally, Kalokairinos probably only saw the monument in a photograph and published his notes on it more than three decades after that viewing, in 1906. Problems of accuracy have previously been raised with respect to other inscriptions mentioned by Kalokairinos (Kopaka 1996, 156 n. 9).

These problems make the question of the survival of the inscribed statue all the more pressing. A search for the name Φοίνειξ in the *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* of the Packard Humanities Institute yields only one further attestation (<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/search?patt=φοίνει>). Although the text of this 'second' inscription is very similar to the one from Knossos, the provenance given for the piece is Egypt. The two monuments have hitherto been treated as distinct, but they should be identified as one. Indeed, in the text cited above, Kalokairinos reports that he tried to purchase the Knossian inscribed statue for the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, but this was smuggled to Alexandria.[34] This monument was published as soon as it reached Egypt, as early as 1873, in an anonymous report in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*.[35] The report attempts the laundering of the statue right in its first line: 'Long ago, a statue was found in Lower Egypt (currently held in the house of a Swiss)' (Anonymous 1873, 127). The statue had just arrived in the country and needed to be naturalised; its Cretan provenance was written off and was hence forgotten for almost a century and a half. The Swiss collector mentioned is an obscure figure, as confirmed to me by Vassilis Chrysikopoulos, who has investigated the history of collections in Egypt.

The published report describes an inscribed Greek statue 70 cm tall. 'Made in good style, the statue shows an unclothed boy, who holds a goose or a duck in his left hand, and an elongated vase in his right hand. The vase stands on an altar-like base, which carries the following inscription copied with precision: Φοίνει|κος υἱ|ὸν εἰσ|ορᾶς Σε|νεκιῶ|νά με' (Φοίνει|κος υἱ|ὸν εἰσ|ορᾶς Σε|νεκίω|νά με in Preisigke 1915, 105 no. 1165) ('You are looking upon me, Senekion, son of Phoenix'). The text adds that the inscription was read by Heinrich Karl Brugsch, a well-known German Egyptologist, and was assigned to the Late Roman period. Clearly, Brugsch's reading of the inscription is much more convincing than that offered by Kalokairinos, by the recording in the transcription from Herakleio, and also by the reconstruction proposed by Woodward.

The identification of the inscribed statue confirms that Kalokairinos was incorrect in reading 'king' in the inscription and suggests the figure depicted was not any mythological character. How could Kalokairinos make such an addition? There is reason to believe that this was more than a casual error. It is indicative that Odysseus Kalokairinos called the legendary king Minos 'the son of Phoinix' (a title otherwise unattested for the king, who is called only the grandson of Phoenix in some sources; see above) and also considered him as 'a Jew from Phoenicia' (O.M. Kalokairinos 1939, 7, 94; *cf.* Karademas 2011, 823). Minos Kalokairinos was convinced that the Minoans were Semitic in origin, as is clearly manifested in a discussion he had with Baron Nathan Mayer Rothschild. In 1886, Kalokairinos hosted the British banker and politician, showed him his collection of antiquities and took him to Knossos, which makes the Baron the first 'VIP' to tour the site (O.M. Kalokairinos 1939, 47, 49–50). The Cretan scholar described to the Baron (who was of the Jewish faith) his view on the Semitic origins of the Minoans and explained that this remained unknown, probably because of anti-Semitism, a point that stimulated a broader discussion on economics and politics. It was probably his quest for evidence confirming the migration of the Phoenician ruling dynasty to Knossos that directed Kalokairinos to the erroneous reading of the inscription.

Notwithstanding the reading by Kalokairinos, the two names recorded in the inscription are personal names. Both are otherwise unattested in Crete, but Φοίν(ε)ιξ is quite common elsewhere in the Greek world (*e.g.* *LGPN* 1, 475), whereas Σενεκίων is very rarely attested (only in *LGPN* 1, 403 and *LGPN* 5A, 401). Inscriptions recording a name and patronymic and

[34] Contrast the French manuscript, where Kalokairinos claims that the monument was sold in Smyrna (Kopaka 1989–90, 19).

[35] Anonymous 1873, 127–8. Vassilis Chrysikopoulos informs me that the L. in the signature of the article is either Karl Richard Lepsius, the journal editor, or Condarus Leemans, both renowned Egyptologists.

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addressing the passer-by are typically found on tombstones.[36] Indeed, the term εἰσορᾷς is commonly found on Greek funerary monuments and occurs on two examples from west Crete.[37] On this basis, one may assume that the inscribed statue comes from one of the monumental Roman tombs found in the area of the sanctuary of Demeter and Hogarth's houses,[38] or from further south, beyond the summit of the Gypsadhes, where Hellenistic and Roman built tombs with inscribed blocks were (reportedly) found in the early and mid-twentieth century (Hood and Smyth 1981, 59 nos 326, 327, 334).

Although the inscription clearly favours a funerary provenance, the iconography of the statue does not exclude a different possibility. Indeed, the piece in question conforms to a sculptural type that was common in the Hellenistic and Roman periods and was represented in both cemeteries and (predominantly) sanctuaries.[39] In her study of the Hellenistic examples, Olympia Bobou demonstrated that statues of boys holding offerings, especially ducks or other birds, are particularly fitting for sanctuaries, including those of Demeter and Kore.[40] This raises the possibility that the statue from Knossos comes from the sanctuary on the Lower Gypsadhes Hill, which yielded a few Hellenistic terracottas with comparable iconography (Higgins 1973, 86 no. 229; 75 nos 121 and 130). Nonetheless, there is considerable chronological discrepancy between the terracottas and the marble statue, whose provenance from a burial context is more likely on epigraphic grounds.

More reliable is the identification of the find context of the statue of Theseus mentioned by Kalokairinos in the passage above. Indeed, his informant suggested that it was found 'on top of this hill' (*i.e.* the Lower Gypsadhes Hill), a location that was also visited by Evans, Hogarth and Halbherr at the end of the nineteenth century. Evans saw an unfluted column and Roman walls and foundations on the spot (Fig. 4; Brown and Bennett 2001, 249–51). A few years later, Hogarth identified (but did not discuss) the remains of a Roman heroon in precisely this location.[41] There is some information on this monument in Hogarth's unpublished diary.[42] On 19 March 1900, the British scholar noted: 'Finished the "Heroon" + measured it up + photoed it.' This is the only explicit reference to the heroon in his diary, but the entries on previous days contain possible references to the same monument. On 14 March, Hogarth identified 'remains of some building fallen to ruin near top centre [of the Lower Gypsadhes Hill] + site has been so much cultivated that Mycenaean and Roman pottery is all one on top of other'. On 16 March, he noted 'High up [on the hill] a wall showing of good masonry but Roman? No finds but three ghost coins (one, Nero: one province), a bronze lance head + a pierced clay button. A large basin with three bands rude moulding round rim unearthed near top of hill.' Lastly, on 17 March 1900 he recorded: 'Halbherr came out in morning and thought oblong building on summit Hellenic.'

According to these descriptions, the building on top of the Lower Gypsadhes Hill can be reconstructed as well-built, oblong and adorned with columns. The finds were of mixed date, but Roman material predominated, even if Halbherr was inclined to raise its chronology and,

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36 McLean 2005, 265, 269. A funerary purpose has been postulated for the inscription of the apograph on epigraphic grounds (Ricci 1893, 305 no. 14; *ICr* I viii 32).

37 Bandy 1970, 131–2, no. 103; *SEG* XXVIII 747; see also <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/search?patt=εισορ>.

38 Hood and Smyth 1981, 24, 56–7 nos 286 and 297. A Hellenistic and Roman cemetery halfway up the Lower Gypsadhes Hill only produced non-monumental tombs (Hogarth 1899–1900, 70; Hood and Smyth 1981, 57 no. 305).

39 Gardner 1885, 3–5, Type I; Vorster 1983; Bobou 2014: for pieces from west Crete see 136–9 nos 136–45 (sanctuary of Asclepius in Lissos); 155 nos 97–8 (west Crete); 159 no. 114 (Souda). Add Machaira 2011, 443–7 (Lissos).

40 Bobou 2014, 49, 52–3 fig. 20; 55–8, 118–19 fig. 53–4. See also Vorster 1983, 84, 159–88.

41 Hogarth 1899–1900, 70, pl. XII; Hood and Smyth 1981, 22–3, 58 no. 312. Whitelaw (pers. comm.) confirms that no trace of the heroon is currently visible. On Hogarth see Brown and Bennett 2001, 387–8.

42 The diary is in the possession of Hogarth's granddaughter, Professor Caroline Barron, and was brought to my attention by Whitelaw, who provided me with a digital copy of the original in addition to his transcription. I also thank Whitelaw for bringing the photographs of Hogarth's dig (see below) to my attention and Eleni Hatzaki for advice on them.

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more recently, Peter Callaghan has argued for a Hellenistic date (in Hood and Smyth 1981, 22–3, 58, no. 312; *cf.* Alcock 2002, 122). The drawing(s) of the building that Hogarth mentions could not be traced and the collection of photographs from his fieldwork that is kept in the archives of the British School at Athens does not illustrate any monument that can be identified with the heroon. The uncertainties over this monument have discouraged any discussion of the identity of the hero venerated, but Martha Bowsky has hypothesised that a cult of the Dioskouroi was housed there (among other Knossian locations) (Baldwin Bowsky 2006, 399). The find context of the inscribed statue of Theseus, as documented by Kalokairinos, provides important evidence in this respect.

Structures, cults and rituals honouring Theseus are rarely attested in Classical antiquity. The relevant evidence is concentrated in the city of Athens and is even missing from rural Attica (Walker 1995, 20–4). The single exception known to me concerns the sacrifice that the Athenians offered to Theseus at Cape Rhium in Achaia, where they dedicated a ship captured in a sea battle of 429 BC (Pausanias 10.11.6; *cf.* Icard-Gianolio 2004, 270–1). Crete has previously yielded no such evidence (*cf.* Sanders 1982, 36–40; Sporn 2002), but the mythology of Theseus connects him specifically to Knossos. Indeed, Susan Alcock has made a case for the rise of the cults of Minos and the characters associated with him (specifically, but tenuously, including Theseus) in Roman Crete. She identifies this as a new pattern of commemoration, which involved a diminution in the power of the stories about the past that were only known locally, in favour of celebrated stories that could be recognised by audiences across the empire (Alcock 2002, 123–30, 179–80). Additionally, the Cretan labyrinth, the venue of Theseus's labour, is often mentioned in Roman literature, and Philostratus (*Vita Apollonii* 4.34) localises this monument in Knossos and presents it as an attraction pointed out to visitors like Apollonius of Tyana and his companions. A heroon of Theseus, perhaps visually or spatially associated with the assumed location of the labyrinth, would be particularly fitting to Roman Knossos.

The Roman date of this monument is confirmed by the rediscovery of the statue of Theseus mentioned above by Kalokairinos. According to the Cretan scholar, the statue of Theseus was sent to Philippos Ioannou and the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. The relevant correspondence of the two men has not been found, but the statue has been traced to the Epigraphic Museum at Athens (no. 2815) and appears in the records of the Archaeological Society at Athens and the National Archaeological Museum at Athens, where it is specifically identified as a gift by Minos Kalokairinos.[43] What is left of the monument is the base preserving the feet of the statue and the inscription Θησέως (Fig. 5). Kalokairinos recorded Θησεύς, but the difference is slight and his documentation of inscriptions was not flawless (see above and below). In fact, the material (marble), the size (half life-size) and the fragmentary state of preservation confirm the identification. The statue was found in Knossos in 1873, was registered in the inventory of the Archaeological Society at Athens in 1875 and was first published in 1881 by Ludwig von Sybel, who saw it at the Varvakeio Lykeio in 1879–80.[44] The identification of the monument is valuable in establishing the hitherto unknown provenance of the piece.[45] The date in the first or second century AD deduced for the statue on epigraphic criteria accords with the chronology suggested by Hogarth and Evans for the heroon (as opposed to the earlier date proposed by Halbherr and Callaghan).

[43] Vyron Antoniadis first suggested to me this identification, which was confirmed by Maria Salta (National Archaeological Museum) and Ioanna Ninou (Archaeological Society). The statue was registered in the inventory of stone objects of the Archaeological Society (no. 2418) on 24 January 1875. The earliest reference to it is in Sybel 1881, 208 no. 2925. The dimensions are recorded in Graindor 1927, 279. The most thorough documentation is in Brommer 1982, 148, 150–1 n. 7, pl. 30. Photographs are also published in Hafner 1991–2, 57 fig. 1. For the inscription see *IG* II$^2$ 4763; *SEG* XXXII 270; *SEG* XLI 1863; *SEG* LI 232 (1st or 2nd century AD, with the earlier century preferred in Themelis 2001, 415). In addition to the statue of Theseus, Kalokairinos sent to Athens two more pieces of sculpture: the head of a statuette of Dionysus or Ariadne and the torso of a boy (nos 2342 and 2343 in the inventory of stone objects of the Archaeological Society at Athens, registered on 24 January 1875). The specific provenance of these two pieces is unknown.

[44] Sybel 1881, 208 no. 2925 (also pp. II and 196).

[45] The listing of the monument among 'inscriptions attiques' (Graindor 1927, 279–80) should be revised.

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Fig. 5. Statue of Theseus in the Epigraphic Museum in Athens (no. 2815). © Epigraphic Museum, Athens.

Significantly, the earliest description of the piece from the Epigraphic Museum includes a reference to a fragment of a right arm holding a club, a weapon that is commonly held by Theseus in Roman art.[46] As Frank Brommer observes, there is no trace of the club on the base and this must have been held against the shoulder, as in the case of the Theseus shown on a wall painting from Pompeii.[47] The same position is attested on a Roman statue from west Crete, which was found in the *lararium* of an urban villa at Kissamos. The young, beardless hero with the thin club from Kissamos was identified as Herakles by Stavroula Markoulaki (2009, 357 fig. 12), but the resemblance between Theseus and Herakles in Roman art is well known.[48] Further assumptions on the iconography of the statue from Knossos and its dependence on well-known sculptural types, including the Hermes Ludovisi and Ares Borghese, are insecure.[49]

The findspot of the two uninscribed statues that the landowner of the Lower Gypsadhes Hill mentioned to Kalokairinos cannot be identified with any precision. They may be among the statues found later at the sanctuary of Demeter, or could come from the Roman tombs that are located in the area, as noted above. Another possible provenance is indicated by the discovery of a small Hellenistic marble statue of a Nike south of the bridge over the Vlychia stream (Waywell 1973, 97–8; Hood and Smyth 1981, 56 no. 287). However, the piece was found in the ravine and may have eroded from the adjacent slopes.

The fate of most of the finds from Gypsadhes recorded by Kalokairinos was unfortunate. The terracottas must have perished in the fire of 1898, along with the rest of his collection. However, as Kopaka has observed, it is unlikely that all those antiquities were destroyed without leaving a trace (Kopaka 2015, 150 n. 5). It is worth considering whether some of the probably Knossian terracottas in European museums were once held by Kalokairinos and were looted from his mansion in 1898. The fate of the two uninscribed statues is uncertain and they remain to be relocated. It is unlikely that Kalokairinos purchased them, although his collection included many marble statues from unspecified Knossian locations.[50] Lastly, the statues of Theseus and of the 'son of Phoenix' were exported outside Crete, in accordance with a practice that can be traced back to the sixteenth century (Beschi 1972–3, 494–9; Hood 1987, 87; Paton and Schneider 1999, 281; Kopaka 2004, 503). Kalokairinos sent the statue of Theseus to Athens in at least two fragments, but only the

[46] *LIMC* VII.1, 1994, 942, *s.v.* 'Theseus and Minotauros' [S. Woodford].

[47] Brommer 1982, 151. Pompeii: *LIMC* VII.1, 1994, 942, no. 250, *s.v.* 'Theseus and Minotauros' [S. Woodford].

[48] *LIMC* VII.1, 1994, 943, *s.v.* 'Theseus and Minotauros' [S. Woodford].

[49] Brommer 1982, 148, 150–1; Neils 1988, 157–8; Hafner 1991–2; *LIMC* VII.1, 1994, 923, no. 6, *s.v.* 'Theseus and Minotauros' [J. Nelis]; Themelis 2001, 415.

[50] Kopaka 1996, 155–6. Although the material is almost exclusively from Knossos, it includes single pieces from Axos and Lassithi. Another non-Knossian piece once held by Kalokairinos is the Hellenistic statue from Lyktos that he and his brother Lysimachos donated to the British Museum in 1866 (acquisition number: 1867,0212.1). I thank Andrew Shapland of the British Museum for drawing my attention to the letter of the donation (no. 11452). On the early archaeological interest in Lyktos, see Kotsonas forthcoming b.

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base survives and is presently located at the Epigraphic Museum. The Cretan scholar tried to purchase the statue of the 'son of Phoenix' for the National Archaeological Museum at Athens, but this was smuggled to Alexandria, where it was studied and published as early as 1873 as coming from Lower Egypt and located 'in the collection of a Swiss'. To my knowledge, the monument has not resurfaced since and its current whereabouts remain unclear.

## THE TOMBS AT SPILIA

According to Kalokairinos:

> The extension of the avenue in question brings the visitor to Spilia, the cemetery of Greek and Roman Knossos, which lies on the left hand side, at a distance of *c.*1000 m. The Italian archaeologist F. Halbherr and I visited a tomb in 1892. It had a funerary stele of approximately 1 m in height and 0.3 m in width, which had the inscribed warning that any looter would be accountable to Fiscos, archon of the 'Romans' (τὸν Φίσκον, ἄρχοντα τῶν «Ῥωμαίων»). Unfortunately this stone was also stolen. The location was named Spilia because of the ancient Greek rock-cut tombs, which are carved on the rocks at a height of 40 or more metres and are visible on the left of the visitor. (M. Kalokairinos 1906–7, 5–6; *cf.* Kopaka 1989–90, 30–1)

The Roman rock-cut tombs of Spilia (Figs 1 and 2) were known to visitors since the early nineteenth century (if not earlier) and these monuments and adjacent quarries were occasionally identified with catacombs or with the Knossian labyrinth.[51] Halbherr provides further information on the visit of 1892, though without mentioning Kalokairinos.[52] The Italian scholar describes many plundered tombs and notes he excavated one (Halbherr 1893, 112; *cf.* Paton 1994, 149). He also comments on the inscription mentioned by Kalokairinos:

> Near this tomb, on a ledge of rock hanging over another tomb, I discovered an inscription which defied all my efforts to read it. All that I could make out was that it was inscribed in Greek characters of the Roman period, and that towards the end it contains a minatory clause, imposing a money fine on whoever violated that sepulchre. This formula occurs frequently in other sepulchral inscriptions in the cities of Asia Minor, but hitherto had not been found in any Cretan inscription. (Halbherr 1893, 112)

There can be little doubt that Kalokairinos and Halbherr are describing the same inscription, which has remained unknown because the letters were poorly preserved and the monument was stolen shortly afterwards. From the testimonies of the two scholars we can deduce that this was a funerary inscription threatening tomb robbers with a fine; it was written in Greek, but dated from the Roman period.[53]

Kalokairinos suggests that the inscription mentioned a certain Fiscos, but no figure by that name is known from Cretan history and this name is not recorded in the *LGPN*.[54] It therefore comes as no surprise that Halbherr avoided this reference. Instead of a proper name, one should

[51] Chatzidakis 1881, 17; O.M. Kalokairinos 1939, 29–30; Hood and Smyth 1981, 1, 61 nos 361–3; Kopaka 2004, 505–6, 508; Sweetman 2013, 303. The Cretan labyrinth was much discussed by early travellers and was placed at Knossos, Gortyn and other locations (Moore 2010, 61–4). Kalokairinos placed the labyrinth, together with a 'forêt de Jupiter', opposite Spilia, in the area of Agia Irini (M. Kalokairinos 1906–7, 6; Fig. 2).

[52] Kalokairinos and Halbherr revisited the area, along with Arthur Evans, on 24 April 1894 (Brown and Bennett 2001, 185).

[53] For Roman funerary inscriptions from Knossos see Baldwin Bowsky 2004, 102–12, nos 1–5; 2006, 420.

[54] Note, however, that the name Fuscus is written in Latin (in the ablative) on Knossian coins (M.J. Price 1992, 329; Baldwin Bowsky 2004, 131–2 no. 25).

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read here the masculine noun φίσκος (from Latin *fiscus*), which designates the imperial treasury, and should identify a standardised provision threatening potential tomb violators with liability to the treasury.[55] Many of these monuments date to the second and third centuries AD, but there are also later examples.[56] A search for the term φίσκος in the *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* reveals that inscriptions with the provision in question are found across much of the ancient world, but are common only in Asia Minor (<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/search?patt=φισκ>), as Halbherr (1893, 112) suggested. The Italian scholar considered the Knossian inscription as unique for Crete and this has remained so after over a century of research, but Martha Bowsky kindly informs me that there is an unpublished comparable monument from Lissos.

The misreading of the word *fiscus* by Kalokairinos and his misunderstanding of other inscriptions discussed above raises questions over the accuracy of the remaining few words he documented, particularly since Halbherr resisted any reconstruction of this text. The title of the 'archon of the Romans' is peculiar and its reliability is undermined by the erroneous addition by Kalokairinos of the comparable term 'king' in the inscription of the 'son of Phoenix'. The Greek term *archon* can render different Roman magistrates (Mason 1974, 111–13), but, to my knowledge, the designation 'archon of the Romans' does not appear in any of the inscriptions mentioning the provision in question (<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/search?patt=φισκ>), and magistrates are generally not recorded in this kind of monument (Lempidaki 2015, 188–9). However, many of these monuments, especially those from Asia Minor, mention the terms 'Caesar's treasury' (Καίσαρος φίσκον / Καίσαρος φίσκῳ) or 'the lord's treasury' (κυριακὸν φίσκον / κυριακῷ φίσκῳ), which are synonymous. It is probably the latter of the two terms that the Cretan scholar translated as 'archon of the Romans'. Taking together the various hints offered by Kalokairinos and Halbherr and drawing from the rich evidence on this epigraphic type, one can reconstruct the Knossian inscription as having: a clause against those entering more bodies in the tomb; the standardised provision ἀποτ(ε)ίσει/δώσει εἰς τὸν κυριακὸν φίσκον or ἀποτ(ε)ίσει/δώσει τῷ κυριακῷ φίσκῳ ('to deposit in the lord's treasury'); and an indication of the amount due. Tomb inscriptions recording threats of fines payable to the imperial treasury have been connected indirectly to the imperial cult (S.R.F. Price 1984, 119), for which there is epigraphic evidence at Knossos (Sanders 1982, 38; Paton 2004, 453; Baldwin Bowsky 2006, 400; Lagogianni-Georgakarakos 2004).

## KNOSSIAN ANTIQUITIES IN PRIVATE HANDS

Kalokairinos notes:

> Ioannis Fotiades was the ruler of Crete at the time of my excavation. Being an antiquarian and the owner of a collection, he came to Herakleio when he heard of my success. He bought a relief in white stone or a silver coin showing Europa on a tree from one of the workers of my dig, who had hidden the find from the supervisor, teacher Christos Papaoulakis … In accordance with the Turkish archaeological law (Ottoman codes), the owner of the land can have one third of the finds. The owner Zekiris Beji Ibrahim Efedakis kept a statuette of white stone, 32.5 cm in height, showing a seated female holding grapes and grains. The statue in question is kept in the Museum of Herakleio and is numbered 15. I intend to publish the illustration of this find from my excavation. Unfortunately, the relief or coin taken by Mr I. Fotiades was exported from Crete and I do not know its fate, but I am sorry I cannot provide a photograph to the subscribers of the newspaper. (M. Kalokairinos 1906–7, 13; *cf.* Kopaka 1989–90, 36–7)

[55] Strubbe 1997, 362; McLean 2005, 275; Lempidaki 2015, 210–13. On the *fiscus* see *RE* 12, 2385–2406; *OCD*$^4$, 579. I am thankful to Martha Bowsky, Kallia Lempidaki and Niki Oikonomaki for sharing advice and unpublished information on inscriptions of this type.

[56] Lempidaki 2015, 30.

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Fig. 6. Relief of a goddess from Knossos in the Archaeological Museum of Herakleio (inv. no. 15). Photograph by the author. © Archaeological Museum of Herakleio – Ministry of Culture and Sports – Archaeological Receipts Fund.

In this passage, Kalokairinos singles out two (or three?) ancient objects from his excavations in the area of the Minoan palace. The first object is called a coin or a relief and the second object, which is called a statuette, has proved to be a relief. This confusion was probably caused by the three decades that elapsed between Kalokairinos's excavation and the composition of this passage. The silver coin that shows Europa on a tree belongs to a Gortynian numismatic type of the Classical and Hellenistic periods (Svoronos 1890, 167–9, pl. XII; *ICr* IV, p. 37–8). Such a precious find is unlikely to have reached the Kefala accidentally and may have been dedicated to the temple of Rhea, which was built on top of the South Propylaeum of the Minoan palace and yielded more silver coins of the Early Classical period (Evans 1928, 5–7, 346, 349; Coldstream 2000, 285–8, 296; Prent 2004, 416–18). Kalokairinos is assumed to have dug up votive offerings from the Rhea sanctuary, perhaps including a bird vase of the Middle Geometric period that was recorded by Fabricius (1886, 142, pl. 3: top left; *cf.* Hood and Smyth 1981, 32 n. 73; Coldstream 2000, 288–9 no. K1) but disappeared in the destruction of the Kalokairinos mansion.

The second object described by Kalokairinos as 'a statuette of a seated female' has been identified by Kopaka with a Roman relief of the first or second century AD (Fig. 6) on the basis of the acquisition no. 15 in the Archaeological Museum of Herakleio.[57] The relief is usually taken to show Demeter seated on the *agelastos petra* or mirthless stone, but the figure is also holding a cornucopia. There are a few more stone reliefs showing Demeter seated, but these are much earlier (fourth century BC), come from her sanctuary at Eleusis and show considerable differences in iconography.[58] None of these works and no other illustration of a seated Demeter/

[57] Platon 1955, 152 no. 15; Kopaka 1995, 510 fig. 513; *LIMC* IV.1, 1988, 858, no. 126, *s.v.* 'Demeter' [L. Beschi]. The piece is on display in room XXVII of the museum and is 32.5 cm tall, 24.5 cm broad and 8 cm thick.

[58] *LIMC* IV.1, 1988, 858, nos 125–8, *s.v.* 'Demeter' [L. Beschi].

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Ceres has the goddess holding a cornucopia.[59] This attribute is more fitting to Tyche, who is shown seated on a rock on a relief of the second or first century BC.[60] Kopaka is sceptical about the provenance of the Knossian relief from the excavation of Kalokairinos, given the paucity of Roman finds from the Minoan palace.[61] Nonetheless, Chatzidakis (1881, 15) reports the discovery of 'parts of marble columns and pieces of statues' in the excavation of Kalokairinos, and more recent fieldwork has traced Hellenistic and Roman finds, including a sanctuary deposit, on the north-west periphery of the palace.[62]

Beside the two finds, the passage above mentions three contemporaries of Kalokairinos. One of them is his field director, the schoolmaster Christos Papaoulakis, who was immortalised in the award-winning novel of Rhea Galanaki, *Ο Αιώνας των Λαβυρίνθων* (*The Century of the Labyrinths*, 2002). The second person is the owner of the land, Zekiris Beji Ibrahim Efedakis, who is also known from Ottoman property contracts (Panagiotaki 2004, 516–17). The last person is Ioannis Fotiades, governor of Crete in 1878–85, who intervened and stopped Kalokairinos's fieldwork in Knossos in 1879.[63] Although this intervention was in accordance with a decision by the Cretan Assembly, it makes particularly interesting the contrast that the Cretan scholar draws between his own archaeological interests and those of Fotiades. Both men exported antiquities from the Ottoman province of Crete to Greece. However, Kalokairinos donated these pieces to the National Archaeological Museum of Athens through the aid of Philippos Ioannou, Professor of Philology at the University at Athens, whereas Ioannis Fotiades sold Cretan antiquities to another Professor of the University of Athens, Athanasios Rhousopoulos, who was a well-known dealer.[64] Rhousopoulos had a reputation as a collector of coins (Galanakis 2011, 172, 192), so the silver piece that Fotiades acquired from Kalokairinos's dig may have reached his collection, which included numerous examples of this coin type (Hirsch 1905, 176–7, nos 2970–83).

## THE KNOSSIAN PERIPHERY: HERAKLEIO, ARCHANES AND JUKTAS

According to Kalokairinos:

> Ancient Herakleio was undoubtedly lying towards the north wall of the Venetian fort, by the Venetian harbour. This is confirmed by the discovery of Greek tombs by the north wall, at a distance of 50 m from the sea. These tombs yielded finds of Greek date and a terracotta lekythos, which were donated to the Museum of Herakleio by the man who found them, A. Ittar. (M. Kalokairinos 1906–7, 13; *cf.* Kopaka 1989–90, 36)
>
> To the north of the town of Archanes lies a wall of 500 m in length and 1.20 m in width, made of large blocks without any mortar. The top of the mountain [*i.e.* Juktas] is surrounded by Cyclopean walls. (M. Kalokairinos 1906–7, 17 [also page 52]; *cf.* Kopaka 1989–90, 28)

Although very brief, the testimonies of Kalokairinos on Herakleio and Archanes are particularly interesting. The finds from Herakleio were reported in the local press in 1886 as the first

[59] *LIMC* IV.1, 1988, 858–60, nos 121–57, *s.v.* 'Demeter' [L. Beschi]. *LIMC* IV.1, 1988, 899–900, nos 84–110, *s.v.* 'Demeter/Ceres' [S. de Angeli].
[60] *LIMC* VIII.1, 1992, 118, no. 9, *s.v.* 'Tyche' [L. Villard].
[61] Kopaka 1995, 510 fig. 513.
[62] Pendlebury 1933, 31, deposit 1930.T.P.6; Hood and Smyth 1981, 51 nos 212 and 217. The Hellenistic deposit is dated to the 1st century BC according to the label on the relevant box in the Stratigraphical Museum (Whitelaw, pers. comm.).
[63] On Fotiades see Psilakis 1909, 1254–6; Sakellarakis 1998, 190–1; Brown and Bennett 2001, 392; Dyson 2014, 187. On his intervention see M. Kalokairinos 1906–7, 13; O.M. Kalokairinos 1939, 18–19; Aposkitou 1979, 87; Hood 1987, 88; Kopaka 1989–90, 61 n. 6; 1995, 507–8; 1996, 160; Brown and Bennett 2001, xxv–xxvi, 389; Kopaka 2015, 144. The Cretan Assembly feared that the finds would be taken to Constantinople.
[64] Psilakis 1909, 1255. On Rhousopoulos see Galanakis 2011. I thank Yannis Galanakis for his advice.

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archaeological evidence for the existence of an ancient city on the spot.[65] The coastal location of these tombs is important, since all other Greek and Roman burials known from Herakleio are located in the city centre (Karetsou 2008, 57–63; *cf.* Kotsonas 2002, 64). Stephanos Xanthoudides[66] confirmed the coastal location of these tombs at Bedenaki, but dated their finds to the Roman period. Amabile Ittar (1830?–1904), the man who donated the finds from these tombs to the local museum, was a doctor and vice-consul of Italy, France and Austria. He was personally acquainted with Kalokairinos and occasionally appears in the correspondence of archaeologists active in Crete at the time (Detorakis 1994; also Spanakis 1960, 298; Christofi 1996, 365; Brown and Bennett 2001, 249; Panagiotaki 2004, 513, 519; Vakirtzian 2006, 406–8). The mansion of the Ittar family survives at modern Herakleio in Epimenidou Street (number 18).

The Juktas wall was well known by the nineteenth century and dates from the second millennium BC, but its precise chronology is uncertain.[67] To my knowledge, the second, long stretch of wall located north of Archanes is otherwise undocumented.[68] However, Kalokairinos also commented on it (and on the Juktas wall) in the lecture he delivered at the palace of Knossos in 1903:

> During my campaign tour as a deputy in March 1903 I found a very ancient wall extending for 150 m and built by boulders of *c.*2 m without any mortar at what I assume to be the location of the temple of Apollo Delphinios and the inner shrine of the temple, possibly in the present day Agios Mamas or the site of Chosto Nero, on the foot of the mountain. (O.M. Kalokairinos 1939, 31)

The two texts disagree on the length of the wall and the location. The *Journal* suggests a location to the north of Archanes, whereas the lecture mentions toponyms to the west and south of the site. The syntax in the second text is, however, problematic and it is most likely that Kalokairinos cited the two toponyms with reference to the assumed temple, rather than the wall. Chosto Nero, a small cave on the west slope and by the south peak of Juktas, has produced Middle Minoan figurines and Hellenistic and Roman material (Faure 1964, 175–6; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 43, 68–9, 323, 512, 514). Agios Mamas is a chapel located on the steep slope of a low hill on the south end of Epano Archanes and is unknown in archaeological literature. To my knowledge, neither of the two locations preserves evidence of a fortification wall, and it is hard to envisage such a monument at either of the two.

## CONCLUSIONS

The pioneering role of Minos Kalokairinos in the discovery of the palace of Knossos and the study of Cretan prehistory was acknowledged by scholarship only after a century of oblivion. However, the chronological breadth of the work of the Cretan scholar and his contribution to the study of the topography and monuments of Greek and Roman Knossos remained unappreciated for four more decades.

I have here highlighted the contribution of Kalokairinos by drawing especially from his *Cretan Archaeological Journal*. Although Kalokairinos's testimonies occasionally lack accuracy, they are invaluable in enabling the identification of several unknown or lost monuments. These monuments include a long stretch of wall on the south-west part of the Acropolis Hill, which may be part of the wall circuit of Classical and Hellenistic Knossos. A different structure

[65] Detorakis 1994, 211 n. 26 (newspaper *Ἑβδομάς*, 7 December 1886, where the only vase mentioned is an amphora).

[66] Xanthoudides 1980, 42; on Xanthoudides see Brown and Bennett 2001, 396.

[67] For references to the wall of Juktas by early travellers and scholars see Stillman 1881, 42; Evans 1921, 156–7; Moore 2010, 22, 29, 45. I thank Alexandra Karetsou for information on the problems of dating the Juktas wall. For the different dates proposed see Alusik 2007, 70–1.

[68] Karetsou kindly informs me that she is unaware of any other reference to the Archanes wall.

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crowning the Lower Gypsadhes Hill, which was poorly known before, can now be associated with Theseus, on the basis of Kalokairinos's reference to the discovery of an inscribed statue of the hero on the spot. The monument relates to a new pattern of commemoration of the Cretan past, which emerged in Roman times. The epigraphic contribution of Kalokairinos includes two more Roman monuments: an inscribed statue of a boy with a duck coming from the north slope of the Lower Gypsadhes Hill and a funerary inscription from Spilia. The last inscription is particularly important in conforming to an epigraphic type that remains nearly unique for Crete (but is well known elsewhere).

The *Journal* further offers invaluable glimpses into the collection of Knossian antiquities and their export beyond the island, to Athens, western Europe and even Egypt.

Additionally, the *Journal* preserves several gems for those interested in the historiography of Classical Crete. Suffice it to say that the current discourse over the archaeology of the Cretan *andreion* can be traced back to the writings of Minos Kalokairinos (1906–7, *passim; cf.* Kotsonas forthcoming c), who considered that the monumental complex he unearthed was a Bronze Age palace as much as a Classical *andreion* (*cf.* Halbherr 1893, 111). The published and unpublished, and perhaps the hitherto unknown, texts of Kalokairinos offer invaluable insights for the study of the island's Minoan *and* Classical past.

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## ADDENDUM

A search in the series of fieldwork notebooks that Halbherr kept, which are entitled 'Iscrizioni Cretesi' and are preserved (for the most part) in the archive of the Italian School of Archaeology at Athens, did not reveal any information on his abovementioned meetings with Kalokairinos in 1892 and 1900. I thank the Italian School and the archivist Ilaria Symiakaki for permission to consult Halbherr's notebooks.

The Cretan terracottas in Bonn, which are mentioned in n. 29, include two complete and five fragmentary pieces from Knossos, which conform to two types that are amply represented at the sanctuary of Demeter (enthroned woman and hydriaphor), and probably arrived in Germany in the late nineteenth century (acquisition nos D 307, D307a-3, D 344). I am grateful to Dr Nele Schröder, Custodian at the Akademischen Kunstmuseums, for this information.

For Fig. 6 see also Sporn 2006, where the goddess is taken to represent the iconographic syncretism of Demeter and Tyche.

The identification of the Knossian discovery context of the statue of Hadrian at the Archaeological Museum of Herakleio (Fig. 3) renders problematic the analysis in Cavalieri and Jusseret 2009.

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**Ελληνική και Ρωμαϊκή Κνωσός: Οι πρωτοπόρες έρευνες του Μίνωα Καλοκαιρινού**

*Ο Μίνως Καλοκαιρινός είναι γνωστός για την ανακάλυψη του μινωικού ανακτόρου της Κνωσού. Μάλλον άγνωστη παραμένει όμως η πρωτοπόρα συμβολή του στη μελέτη της μνημειακής τοπογραφίας της ελληνορωμαϊκής Κνωσού, όπως αποτυπώνεται κυρίως στο έργο του* Κρητικὴ Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς. *Στην* Ἐφημερίδα, *ο Καλοκαιρινός προσφέρει πολύτιμες πληροφορίες για τις μεταβολές του αρχαιολογικού τοπίου της Κνωσού στο δεύτερο ήμισυ του δέκατου ένατου αιώνα. Αυτές οι πληροφορίες επιτρέπουν την αναγνώριση άγνωστων ή χαμένων μνημείων, συμπεριλαμβανομένων αρχιτεκτονημάτων, επιγραφών και γλυπτών, και βοηθούν στον προσδιορισμό της προέλευσής τους από συγκεκριμένα σημεία της αρχαίας πόλης. Επιπλέον, η* Ἐφημερίς *καταγράφει μαρτυρίες για τους συλλέκτες και τη συλλογή κνωσιακών αρχαιοτήτων, καθώς και για την εξαγωγή ευρημάτων εκτός του νησιού. Αρχαιότητες που εξήχθησαν στην Αθήνα, και από την Αίγυπτο ως τη δυτική Ευρώπη, και καταγράφονται στη βιβλιογραφία ως άγνωστης προέλευσης, αναγνωρίζονται εδώ ως κνωσιακές και επιστρέφουν νοητά στο συγκεκριμένο σημείο όπου ανακαλύφθηκαν, προσφέροντας σημαντικές μαρτυρίες για τη μελέτη της τοπογραφίας, των μνημείων και των επιγραφών της Κνωσού.*

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