

Aimee M. Genova

Archaeology as a scientific discipline: late 19th and early 20th century Cretan excavators in a period of social transition

ABSTRACT

Although Cretan excavators during the late nineteenth century received academic degrees in literature, medicine or law, their systematic excavations aimed towards professionalizing the field. Excavators were at the intersection of Cretan politics, education, and archaeology, as well as stewards of the past. They legitimized an archaeological institution through their theory, practices, and leading roles within the local community. Instead of referring to the developing practices of these intellectuals with the pejorative term “antiquarianism,” this paper assesses their merit as leaders within the Cretan archaeological terrain. The methodology of Cretan excavators from 1878-1919 – like that of Minos Kalokairinos [1843-1907], Stephanos Xanthoudides [1864-1928], and Iosif Hatzidakis [1848-1936] – is taken into consideration using archival documents from the American School of Classical Studies at Athens – Gennadius Library and the Archaeological Museum of Herakleion.

Despite their lack of formal training, how can we reconcile the dynamic and constructive roles of Cretan intellectuals as archaeologists, historians, politicians, and educators? The responsibility of Cretan archaeologists extended beyond the mere role of an excavator, and there is a need to evaluate how Cretans engaged in the intellectual conversations of their island’s past throughout a period of transition with foreign collaborators in order to professionalize archaeology. Cretans were pioneers at the forefront of Minoan excavations when no set standard existed for the foundations of this archaeological genre. Arguably, the Treaty of Halepa [1878] transformed Cretan policy socially and politically by legalizing groups like the *Filekpaideftikos Syllogos*. As a result of these institutional changes (Article XV), literary societies, newspapers, printing presses, and archaeological excavations became a standard part of the social and political Cretan environment. Cretan excavators, under partial Ottoman control, were now afforded the legal opportunities to integrate the island’s ancient past into a broader cultural context that was absent during previous periods of intense occupation.

KEYWORDS: Crete, archaeology, excavation, 19th century, 20th century, history, politics, disciplinary studies, methodology, science, museum, transnational

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INTRODUCTION

Archaeology connects the past and present through physical means – the land itself. And the tangible material uncovered through excavations can be touched, seen, and experienced in the way that written words from the past, mediated through a manuscript tradition, cannot. The archaeological record, however, only started to emerge as an essential contributor to Cretan cultural heritage during the late nineteenth century and thereafter.¹ Prior to Crete's Treaty of Halepa in 1878,² archaeological exploration was considered limited and unsystematic. This physical manifestation of the ancient past became part of the island's character that was visible during the late nineteenth century, and archaeology thus emerged as part of the Cretan intellectual and political landscape amid this period of social transition (See Table 1).

Occupying Force/ Status	Relative Dates	Major Periods of Internal Resistance or Social Transition
Venetian Rule	1205/1212-1669	Ottoman Conquest of Crete: 1645-1669
Ottoman Rule	1669-1898	Orloff Insurrection: 1770
		Greek War of Independence and Cretan Involvement: 1821
		Cretan Revolt: 1841
		Cretan Revolt: 1858
		Cretan Revolt: 1866-1869
		Cretan Revolt: 1878
		Halepa Pact Revoked: 1889 ³
		Cretan Rebellion: 1895
		Greco-Turkish War: 1897-1898
Cretan State	1898-1908	
Cretan Question	1908-1913	Proclamation of Cretan Union with Greece: 1908
		Recognition of this Proclamation: 1908-1912
		First Balkan War: 1912-1913

Table 1: Occupying Forces of Crete and Periods of Resistance

nevertheless, deserve my acknowledgement for their assistance which, no matter how small, was instrumental in developing my research objectives. Additionally, I must extend my gratitude to the Archaeological Museum of Herakleion Archives, Historical Archive of Crete, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, the Society of Cretan Historical Studies (SCHS) and the Historical Museum of Crete.

¹ After the Greek War of Independence, Greece was officially recognized as an independent state on 7 May 1832 through the Treaty of Constantinople. The Greek Archaeological Service was founded in 1833 followed by an antiquities law prohibiting artifact exportation one year later (Gunning 2009, 46). On 6 January 1837, the Archaeological Society at Athens was formed which aimed to locate, restore, and display the antiquities of Greece. Hence, archaeology as a practice began to emerge throughout Greece and supported by these types of societies (Petraikos 2007, 1-8). Although Greece gained its independence in the 1830s, Crete was still under Ottoman Occupation. The island only unified with Greece officially on 1 December 1913.

² Under the Ottoman Empire, privileges were afforded to the Cretans through the Treaty of Halepa – an agreement under the control of Sultan Abdul Hamid II [1876-1909] and the Cretan Revolutionary Assembly. This pact allowed for the creation of the *Filekpaideftikos Syllogos*, which consisted of, according to Nikolaos Platon (1962, 11), "... a group of progressive 'Herakliots', whose further aim was to aid and advance Greek education and so indirectly help the fight for union with the Grecian Motherland." The ability to protect and collect antiquities without the local Turkish authorities' interference was the result of the Imperial Order's (Irade) assurance.

³ As a consequence of the 1899 Revolution, reforms under the Treaty of Halepa were revoked on 17 November 1889 (Kallivretakis 2006, 28-29; See also Perakis 2013, 119-129).

The limited nature of Crete's sovereignty must be taken into consideration as to why archaeological studies developed more gradually throughout Crete when compared to areas of independent Greece like Mycenae or Santorini. Crete underwent numerous periods of occupation that either prohibited or limited the Christian inhabitants from engaging directly with island politics, publishing newspapers, excavating, or creating educational policies. Once Crete became semi-autonomous in 1878, the social, legal, and political climate of the island changed, which allowed for an active preservation of the past. Prior to this change, under the complete occupation of Venetians and Ottomans, ancient monuments were viewed mainly as building materials and less as relics of the past, e.g. Bembo Fountain from 1588 or St. Mark's Church from 1239 (Betancourt 1997, C.1).

Since Crete's substantial history of occupation and resistance delayed excavations in comparison to other parts of the Mediterranean, the question remains as to how archaeology – as a developing discipline – can be approached once excavations began on the island. Although many Cretan excavators lacked professional training in classical studies or philology from European institutions,⁴ their personal devotion to ancient authors and contribution to the field of Cretan archaeology exceeded that of an antiquarian's interest. Educational backgrounds in literature, medicine, and law led these excavators to objective inquiry, which was then applied to their archaeological approach. These multidisciplinary backgrounds were not a limitation to the Cretans' ability but, rather, helped them to develop a distinct genre of inquiry where excavators were at the intersection of Cretan politics, education, and archaeology.

The methodology of Cretan excavators from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, like that of Minos Kalokairinos [1843-1907],⁵ Stephanos Xanthoudides [1864-1928],⁶ and Iosif Hatzidakis [1848-1936], are significant for understanding archaeology as an emerging field on Crete prior to and directly after the island's unification with Greece in 1913. This paper uses Iosif Hatzidakis as the main case study to explain archaeology as a developing profession during this period of social transition. Such will be accomplished by limiting discussion to Hatzidakis's personal background, Cretan archaeology in the context of foreign institutes, and Hatzidakis's role as a practicing archaeologist at Tylissos from 1909-1913.

BACKGROUND

Although Hatzidakis was born on the island of Melos, both of his parents were native Cretans. In addition to being a self-taught archaeologist, he was a doctor of medicine who studied in

⁴ See Peponakis (2008) for a catalog of educational credentials for Cretans studying in Athens between 1837-1866.

⁵ Minos A. Kalokairinos [1843-1907] is credited as the first person to excavate Knossos with his minor excavation during winter 1878-spring 1879 in the Palace's west wing (MacGillivray 2000, 93; McEnroe 2010, 50; and Kopaka 1989-1990, 19). His excavation came to an unexpected halt by order of the Governor General of Crete and a decision made by the Cretan Assembly (Kopaka 1989-1990, 20).

⁶ Stephanos Xanthoudides [1864-1928] was born in Avdou, a village in northern Crete, and studied Literature at the University of Athens. From 1897-1899, he served as the Secretary of the Educational Association of Herakleion. In 1899, he was appointed by the Cretan State as Ephor of Cretan Antiquities, which lasted until 1915. From 1915-1923, he was appointed the Curator of the 10th Archaeological Region and then Superintendent of the 9th Archaeological District over the Museum in Herakleion (Andrikakis 2011, 17).

Paris, Berlin, Munich, and Athens before moving from Syros to Herakleion, Crete in 1882.⁷ In 1884 Hatzidakis was unanimously elected president of the *Filekpaideftikos Syllogos*, which was an educational society established in 1875 on Crete.⁸ Hatzidakis, as the elected sixth president, stipulated that all historical relics of the island were to remain in the custody of Crete and deposited in a local museum within the confines of Herakleion.⁹ During this time, officials of the island began to support and recognize excavations, and Hatzidakis was at the forefront of that movement by directing the short-term and long-term trajectory of Cretan antiquities with archaeological projects. Additionally, the *Syllogos* began to develop an antiquities collection while temporarily storing finds in the Herakleion Barracks and Agios Minas Cathedral.¹⁰

After the Cretan State was recognized in 1898, Hatzidakis was appointed the First Superintendent of the First Archaeological District for Herakleion and Lasithi (Sakellarakis 1998, 195). Hatzidakis may not have been a Cretan native by birth, but he was a Cretan in every intellectual sense. He dedicated his professional life to the preservation of Cretan antiquities and invested in the educational system of the island on an archaeological level. Among his most noted archaeological experiences, Hatzidakis was involved with the Palace of Malia, Tylissos, Arkalochori, Idaion Andron, and the cave of Eileithyia (Sakellarakis 1998, 195). Although he entered archaeology later in life due to his career as a medical physician, his genuine investment in Cretan archaeology led him to serve as an advocate for the island in many respects.

FOREIGN COOPERATION

As a result of increased archaeological projects and the curation of Cretan antiquities, interest in material culture extended beyond the island's borders.¹¹ Hatzidakis hoped that, through the continued attention of the Archaeological Association at Athens, foreign scientific institutes, and individual Cretans, the island would be able to secure the funds necessary to build one of the first museums in the east "Ανατολή". According to Hatzidakis (1888, 6):

In fact, the antiquities in Crete have a particular scientific and national importance; because as it becomes clearer every day, Crete has been the first cradle of the Greek civilization, and from this place the most was transferred to the rest of Greece. The discovered antiquities in Crete are useful as the *foundation* for the researches of those wise men who study the

⁷ Carabott 2006, 46; Hatzidakis graduated from the Athens School of Medicine in 1871 and continued his studies in Berlin and Munich, Germany, until 1876. The following year he attended the Medical School of Paris (Sakellarakis 1998, 194-195).

⁸ See also Hirst 1887, 231.

⁹ Letter from I. Hatzidakis to S. Dragoumis, 19.1.1913, p. 1-2 (Αμερικανική Σχολή Κλασικών Σπουδών στην Αθήνα (ΑΣΚΣΑ), Γεννάδειος Βιβλιοθήκη, Αρχείο Στέφανου Ν. Δραγούμη: 93.3.70).

¹⁰ Prior to the Herakleion Archaeological Museum east wing construction, antiquities were housed within the Cathedral of Agios Minas and several rooms of the Herakleion Barracks. The barracks were only a temporary solution to a long-term problem of how to properly store, conserve, and display the collection of Cretan antiquities that was growing at an expeditious rate under the Cretan State.

¹¹ Crete has a limited, but rich tradition of foreign travelers during its years under foreign occupation. Explorers, geographers, and writers began to actively pursue their interest in the Kingdom of Candia [1205-1669]. As the Venetokratia began to dissolve, a new genre of travel emerged throughout Europe known as the Grand Tour [ca. 1660-1840]. Once excavations formally began on the island, interest in Cretan antiquities started to spark international attention (regarding foreign travelers on Crete, see Platon 1962, 15).

origins of Greek art or of art, in general. But, up until now, few of them were becoming known to the scientific world and, also, those were scattered in the Museums and in the private collections of the entire civilized world and, therefore, the research of those was becoming difficult. But, from now on, our Museum will provide ample means to those who have the strength and the willingness to study the history of Cretan art, and except this, also its ancient political history.¹²

Excavations were in their infancy because “[t]he financial means of the Association and other circumstances [didn’t] allow [them], for the time being, to conduct braver archaeological surveys,” according to Hatzidakis’s (1888, 7) financial report to the *Sylogos*.¹³ When archaeological operations were undertaken, they were by means of trial excavations or highly limited surveys, and oftentimes by foreign excavators (See Table 2). Because the *Sylogos* and Cretans alone could not afford to fund the excavations needed to properly study these precious antiquities, the *Sylogos* had to extend its influence to those who had the means and opportunity to contribute to the island’s intellectual discoveries.

Start Year	Excavation/ Survey Location	Information
1878-1879	Kephala Hill	M. Kalokairinos was the first to excavate Kephala Hill in 1878-1879, also known as Knossos. He aspired to continue these excavations once full government permissions were granted and funding available, but the bid eventually went to Arthur Evans in 1900. Kalokairinos continued to publish about his excavation at Knossos and related topics throughout his lifetime. ¹⁴
1884	Gortyn	Original excavations were conducted by Federico Halbherr of the Italian School of Archaeology and yielded one of the most important archaeological finds: Law Code of Gortyn. Although fragments were discovered during the 1850s, the majority was found under Halbherr in 1884.
1884	Idaion Cave	The Idaion Cave was first discovered by a local shepherd from Anogia in 1884 and excavations began during the summer of 1885 by Federico Halbherr.
1886	Psychros	These cave excavations were published in <i>Estia</i> “Ἑστία” no. 558 and a summary was included in a report submitted by Hatzidakis (1888). The cave originally was excavated by Hatzidakis and Halbherr in 1886.
1887	Eileithya at Amnisos	A trial excavation was conducted in the in the Cave of Eileithya, as mentioned by Homer in the <i>Odyssey</i> 19.186, which was conducted here beyond Karteros (Hatzidakis 1888, 7 & 13-15).

Table 2: Selected Chronology of the Earliest Excavations on Crete

It was not until 1899 that an archaeological law for the island was ratified, which organized a public archaeological service where Hatzidakis would serve as the Ephor of Antiquities in Herakleion, in addition to being the Director of the Museum, while Stephanos Xanthoudides would serve as the Ephor of Antiquities in Chania.¹⁵ As part of the island’s continuing scientific

¹² Translated from the Original Greek.

¹³ Translated from the Original Greek.

¹⁴ The exact excavation date for Knossos under Kalokairinos is unknown (refer to Kopaka 1989-1900, 61 & fn 6; Kalliataki-Mertikopoulou 1981, 69-196).

¹⁵ Αρχαία Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Ηρακλείου (ΑΜΗ), Ίωσηφ Χατζιδάκης-Υπόμνημα Περί τών Κρητικών Αρχαιοτήτων

objective, antiquities from a large chronological span were protected under this law. In particular, “Non-Minoan” antiquities were regarded as important, as demonstrated by Minos Kalokairinos’s appeal to the Superior Administration of Public Education and Religion concerning the ancient theatre of Kydonia (Modern day Chania). Kalokairinos, most notable for his first excavations at Kephala Hill (Knossos) in 1878-1879, continued his commitment to antiquities even after his short-term excavation ended.¹⁶ In a letter submitted on 11-24 October 1900, Kalokairinos expressed concern for the ancient theatre of Kydonia, which was eventually received by the Ephor of Antiquities at Chania, Stephanos Xanthoudides. Kalokairinos asked for the consideration of this theatre to be excavated in order to benefit the residents of Chania; though, not necessarily under his guidance or direct involvement (See Figure 1):¹⁷

I have the honor to submit to you this letter in order to ask from you, since you are a friend of antiquities, not to let the ancient theatre of the city of Kydonia be banked up, which theatre until yesterday I could notice on the right of the street going up to the municipal garden and which they already have started to bank up in order to build a construction over it. This ancient Greek theatre, as Mr. Fr. Halbherr told me,¹⁸ if it is excavated, it will become a jewel for the city of Chania and it is proper for the banking up that has already started to be preempted / forestalled.

Kalokairinos’s letter expresses consideration for Cretan antiquities dating centuries after the collapse of the “Minoan” civilization, and he recognized their importance for contemporary Cretans and future generations – even if that meant foreign archaeologists excavating. It furthermore demonstrates Kalokairinos’s conviction. Visible relics of the island’s ancient past were considered more beneficial to its modern citizens than new construction – emphasizing the high regard in which the island’s past was held. A response from the Office of the Superior Administration of Public Education and Religion could not be retrieved, but the attitudes found within Kalokairinos’s letter are representative of other Cretans. As Ephors of Antiquities, Xanthoudides and Hatzidakis received numerous letters regarding the historical value of objects recovered from properties, in addition to petitions to excavate a site. Aside from the bureaucratic and administrative duties of their positions, they were also responsible for excavating and producing scholarship about archaeological sites. One such site is Tyliossos, which Hatzidakis originally excavated from 1909-1913.

TYLISSOS AND HATZIDAKIS

Tyliossos is a village located at the foot of Mount Ida in the province of Malevizi and is equidistant from Mt. Ida and Knossos at about 12 kilometers (Hatzidakis 1921, 7). This settlement was known by the local villagers for many years since they used stones from this site to construct

(28.4.1914): βιβλίο 3, σ. 2; See also Στο Κεφάλαιο Η' του Νόμου 430 «Περί Αρχαιοτήτων» της Κρητικής Πολιτείας.

¹⁶ Regarding Kalokairinos’s excavation, see Aposkitou 1979, 81-94.

¹⁷ Letter translated from the original Greek from M. Kalokairinos to the Senior Directorate, Public Education and Religious Affairs, 11/24.10.1900, p. 1 (ΑΜΗ: Αρχείο 1900-1910 κ' 1911, Εισερχόμενα 1901).

¹⁸ Federico Halbherr [1857-1930] was an Italian archaeologist best known for his involvement with Cretan excavations at Phaistos, Gortyn, and Haghia Triada. Additionally, he helped to found the first Italian archaeological mission on Crete.

their houses. They believed erroneously, however, that this site was an ancient monastery until a local Cretan found four large cauldrons and informed the authorities. Hatzidakis (1921, 7) subsequently began his excavations during June 1909 where these four cauldrons were found and included them as part of his later publication that helped to identify the site as “Minoan.”

Hatzidakis's (1921) publication on Tyliisos divides topics chronologically (late Minoan, middle Minoan, and Bronze Age) and thematically (engraved stones, bronzes, lead, etc.). He identified the type and function of certain artifact finds through a comparative analysis using incendiary vessels found at Tyliisos with those found at Haghia Triada – located at the Candia museum as no. 3014 and 3015, but unpublished at the time (Hatzidakis 1921, 37-38). Additionally, he compared imprints that were found in terracotta objects in large quantities since 1901 near the village of Zakros by David George Hogarth, at Knossos by Sir Arthur Evans, at Haghia Triada by Federico Halbherr, and at Gournia by Harriet Boyd (Hatzidakis 1921, 45-46). Hatzidakis was systematic in his documentation and one such example is his report on the stratigraphic levels of the west building. These layers were problematic to distinguish because of previous looters who cut stone materials for many years in addition to the fact that a level of pavement did not exist (Hatzidakis 1921, 12). Despite these difficulties, Hatzidakis was able to identify the differentiating levels, with confidence, through fragments of pottery and intact vessels associated with the pavements of other existing rooms.

Louis Théophile Franchet [b. 1869-1940] wrote the introduction to Hatzidakis's *Tyliisos* report, which was later published with the manuscript, on 17 May 1913. We will come to Franchet's evaluation of Hatzidakis's excavation techniques in a minute but I would first like to explain why, in fact, Franchet was qualified to write this introduction. We can reasonably assume Franchet's competency for assessing Hatzidakis's archaeological contributions at Tyliisos because Franchet was a specialist in ceramic technology, a chemist, and an anthropologist (Arthur 2010, 143). In 1911, he served as an instructor for l'École d'anthropologie de Paris and published that year a monograph on ceramic technologies, which contributed to the fields of anthropology and archaeology: *Céramique Primitive: Introduction à l'Étude de la Technologie* (Arthur 2010, 146). Although his work on technology was highly acclaimed, his technical research in Crete and Egypt was disesteemed by specialists in the field who saw this work as underwhelming.¹⁹ Despite disagreements regarding the novelty of his research, Franchet was part of an undeniable movement in Crete to further advance archaeology.

When Franchet visited Herakleion, he helped to gather artifacts from the Neolithic settlement at the seaside location of Trypiti, as indicated in a letter from Hatzidakis to the General Administrator Stephanos Dragoumis on 28 May 1913.²⁰ Franchet donated his finds to the Archaeological Museum of Herakleion from his collection in Crete (Neolithic obsidian tools) as

¹⁹ Arthur 2010, 146; Such an example would be John D. S. Pendlebury's (1939, xxiv, FN. 1) assessment of Franchet in a footnote of his publication *The Archaeology of Crete*: “Certainly there would be nothing to be gained by adopting the suggestions of M. Franchet in his introduction to Hazzidakis' Tyliisos Minoenne. He, with insufficient knowledge, acquired on a flying visit to Crete, based an inferior system of chronology for the island apparently on that of prehistoric provincial France [...]”

²⁰ Stephanos Dragoumis [1842-1923]: Prime Minister of Greece from January to October 1910. During the Balkan Wars [1912-1913], Dragoumis served as the Governor-General of Crete.

well as from his studies in Thebes and the Faiyum (Paleolithic and Neolithic flint). In this same letter, Hatzidakis referred to Franchet as a “σοφός” which translates as either a “wise man” or a “savant”.²¹ Franchet may not have been as well known in the international circles of academia for his archaeology,²² but Hatzidakis recognized him as someone who contributed to the knowledge of early Cretan archaeology.

The question that needs to be asked is whether the general obscurity of Franchet and his lack of recognition for Cretan prehistory negate his praise for Hatzidakis’s achievements at Tylissos? Because Franchet was well versed in the methodology needed for analyzing ceramic material, he can be considered a credible source for an assessment on what qualifies as scientific. A testament to Franchet’s own scientific aptitude dates as far back as 1894 with his publication on anhydrous copper carbonate. Therefore, his introduction to Hatzidakis’s methodology should be taken seriously when he wrote that:

Dr. Hazzidakis’s excavations are, in my opinion, the most important that have been made so far on Crete, not in view of the intrinsic value of the objects found, but that of their documentary value and rigorous method which allowed the author to establish chronological divisions conclusively based on facts, apart from any hypothesis.²³

Franchet’s praises represent an outside perspective of Hatzidakis’s archaeological method and ability to successfully document the site of Tylissos meticulously and judiciously. Although Franchet applauded Hatzidakis’s archaeological accomplishments, not all shared in this testimony, as demonstrated by Eustathios Petroulakis, curator at the Museum of Rethymno. In Petroulakis’s confidential letter to Stephanos Dragoumis on 10 February 1913, he discussed the current problems of Crete’s archaeological service.²⁴ He claimed that Crete was without properly trained excavators who wished to contribute to the island’s archaeology and, as a consequence, he personally left to study archaeology at European universities so he could return and be part of the solution to this problem. From this information, we can gather that Petroulakis equated a successful archaeologist of Crete with a formal education from European institutions. Hatzidakis was trained in the European system for medicine, so one cannot help but question whether Petroulakis directed his statement of inadequacy towards Hatzidakis. Petroulakis expressed disappointment in the current system because, despite his own qualifications, he never secured one of the limited curatorial positions available.²⁵ Petroulakis’s letter never attacked the

²¹ ΑΣΚΣΑ, Γεννάδειος Βιβλιοθήκη, Αρχείο Στέφανου Ν. Δραγούμη, 93.3.76 (28.5.1913, 2).

²² For a biographical profile on Franchet and his publications, see Arthur 2010, 143-147.

²³ Hatzidakis 1921, 4; Translated from the Original French.

²⁴ ΑΣΚΣΑ, Γεννάδειος Βιβλιοθήκη, Αρχείο Στέφανου Ν. Δραγούμη, 93.3.81 (10.2.1913, 1-4). An additional reading of this letter can be found through Varouhakis 2015, 139.

²⁵ According to Petroulakis’s letter to S. Dragoumis (See Figure 2): “The current archaeological law no. 430 [...] assigned only two positions for curators. But, since then, the plethora of the excavations increased the work so much that the curator of Herakleion is not sufficient and also created the need for the curator of Chania to stay there permanently. So, this way, the rest of Crete has no real archaeological service, given the fact that the curators of Chania, Rethymnon and Herakleion being professors in High Schools don’t have any time for more service. // What is the result of the lack of employees occupied exclusively in the archaeological service? The remarkable increase of the illicit dealers in antiquities. This way, our ancestral treasures [are] taken to the foreigner [την προς των ξένων] [...] I myself already have brought some of them to trial, but where can I find the time to watch the rest of them? In many archaeological sites,

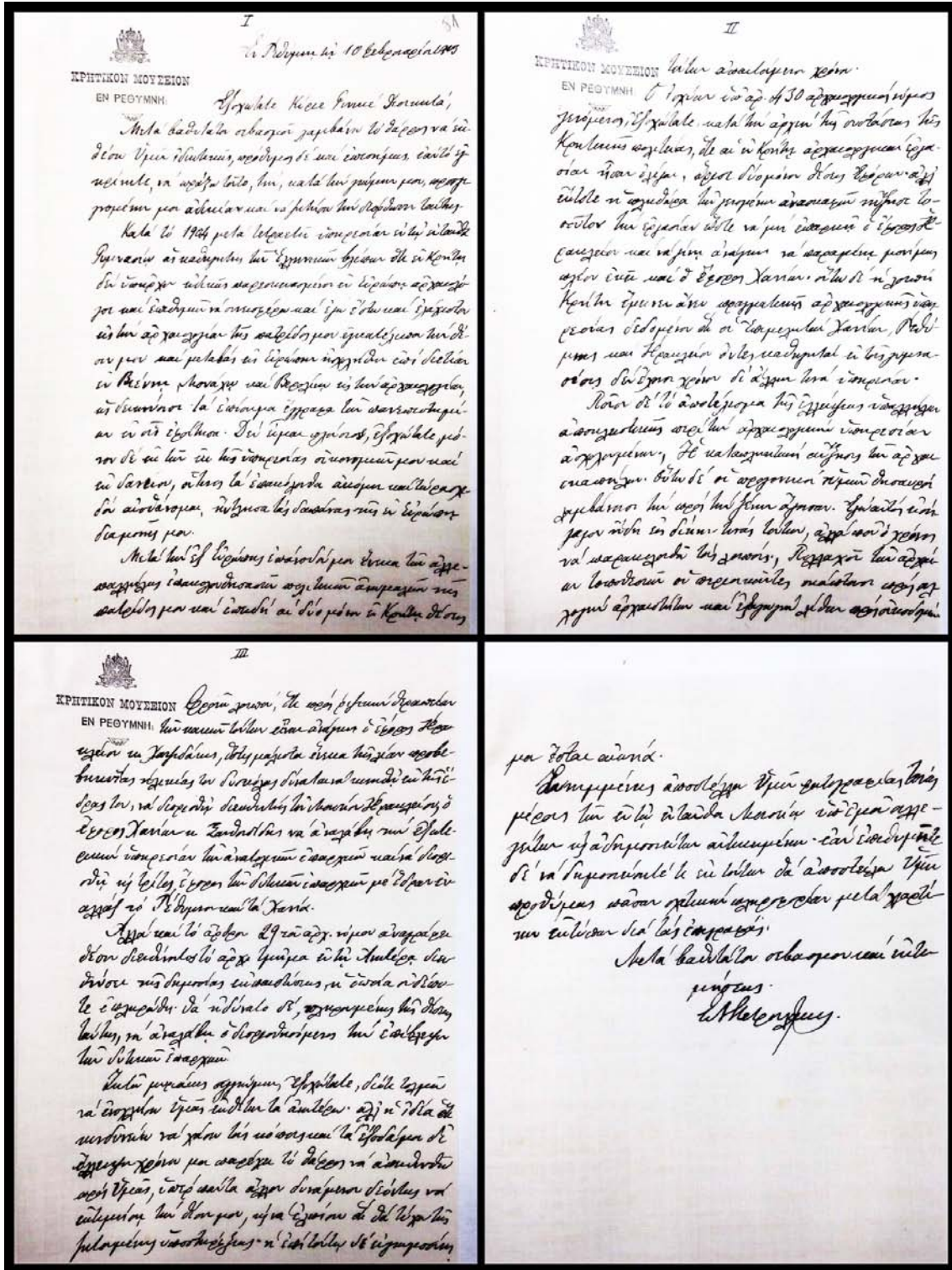


Fig. 2. Letter from Petroulakis to Dragoumis [Select Pages] – American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Gennadius Library Archives, Stephanos N. Dragoumis Papers, 93.3.81 (10.2.1913, 1-4).

the neighbors dig in order to collect antiquities and to extract stones for construction” [Translated from the Original Greek: ΑΣΚΣΑ, Γεννάδειος Βιβλιοθήκη, Αρχείο Στέφανου Ν. Δραγούμη, 93.3.81 (10.2.1913, 2)].

integrity of Hatzidakis's ability to serve as a leader in the archaeological service of Crete, but he strongly indicated his disapproval. So what can we take from this? Were community leaders like Hatzidakis deserving of academic praise for promoting the professionalization of archaeology on the island, or were they merely unqualified individuals overextending their influence?

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS²⁶

Upon Hatzidakis's death in 1936, his successor at the Herakleion Archaeological Museum, Spyridon Marinatos, referred to him as the "Nestor of Cretan Archaeology" and said that Hatzidakis would be remembered with similar expressions of this type throughout his homeland of Crete "διὰ Σὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν πατρίδα Σου".²⁷ Being the President of the *Syllogos*, director of an archaeological museum, or the Ephor of Antiquities does not qualify someone inevitably as a practicing archaeologist with scientific aptitude. What these positions do indicate, however, is that a person with such authority had the ability to influence how archaeology operated on the island. As Ephor, Hatzidakis represented Cretan interests through his political involvement and dictated laws that would protect the island's cultural heritage. Hatzidakis is an exceptional case study, but he was not alone in serving the Cretan intellectual community through scholarship and archaeological inquiry.

While Crete was breaking away from Ottoman control with the potential to unify with Greece, archaeology began to emerge as a serious field of inquiry on the island. Groups like the *Filekpaideftikos Syllogos* encouraged professionalization regarding the island's antiquities while having to navigate through a system of bureaucracy under the constant threat of the Ottomans regaining a stronghold on the island. As a product of their time, local Cretans excavated using the best practices known to them, through the education they may have received abroad, or the self-taught knowledge they gained through rigorous studies. Although the reality was that foreign archaeologists could provide the necessary funding and resources to conduct systematic excavations, the Cretans themselves deserve credit for their achievements which helped to promote the professionalization of archaeology and scholarship regarding the island's archaeological heritage.

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²⁶ Part of this paper has been adapted from the dissertation provisionally entitled: *The Cretan Question: 19th and 20th Century Political and Intellectual Discourse of Archaeological Heritage and the Enosis*. Upon its completion and successful defense, this dissertation will be submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the Department of History (Ancient Mediterranean World) for the University of Chicago.

²⁷ *Μήλος*: "Όργανον τῶν Ἀπανταχοῦ Μηλίων (Αθήναι), Έτος 13ο, Αριθ. Φύλλου 240, 10.4.1926, σ. 4.

²⁸ Source citations have been retained in their original language for this publication.

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