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TOMB ROBBERS, ART DEALERS, AND A DIKAST'S PINAKION FROM AN ATHENIAN GRAVE

ABSTRACT

A letter sent by Athanasios Rhusopoulos, a professor and art dealer in Athens, to George Rolleston, professor of anatomy at Oxford, in August 1871 is the only witness to a 4th-century B.C. grave at Pangrati in Athens. Rhusopoulos's description allows for a critical examination of the tomb and its contents, including a dikast's pinakion. The tomb is a significant addition to the archaeology of Pangrati, and the pinakion may supply evidence for the location of the deme of Ptelea. The letter also illustrates the trafficking of antiquities in 19th-century Athens and the activities of tomb robbers and art dealers.

A series of letters in the Ashmolean Museum documents the purchase of ancient Greek skulls, bones, and a few archaeological objects by George Rolleston (1829–1881), the first Linacre Professor of Comparative Anatomy and Physiology at the University of Oxford and curator of the Anatomical Department in the University Museum, from Athanasios Rhusopoulos (1823–1898), a professor at the University of Athens and a famous collector and prolific art dealer.¹ One of these letters, the subject of the present article, provides information on a hitherto unpublished grave in Athens and its assemblage.

1. On George Rolleston, see Nowak-Kemp and Galanakis 2012. On Athanasios Rhusopoulos, see Galanakis 2008; Galanakis and Nowak-Kemp 2011.

We express our gratitude to John H. Kroll, who shared with us his expert knowledge on the subject of dikasts' pinakia. His comments and lively discussion saved us from errors. We would like to thank the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum for permission to publish Rhusopoulos's letter to Rolleston, which belongs to the George Rolleston Archive, and Alison Roberts

(Ashmolean Museum) and Małgosia Nowak-Kemp (Oxford University Museum of Natural History) for enabling us to study the letter. The full correspondence is published in detail in Galanakis and Nowak-Kemp 2011. Another article stemming from these letters deals with a Late Mycenaean grave in downtown Athens and the trafficking of antiquities (Galanakis 2011). We are indebted to the Archaeological Society at Athens, especially its secretary general, Vasileios Petrakos, and the head of archives, Ioanna Ninou, for granting permission to

access and study the Eustratiades Archive. Two anonymous *Hesperia* reviewers helped us with their comments to improve our article. We would also like to thank the editor of *Hesperia*, Tracey Cullen, for her patience and guidance, and Gene McGarry for his indefatigable assistance at the editing stage. We are grateful to Deborah Harlan for her useful comments on a draft of this article. Galanakis would also like to thank Worcester College and the Ashmolean Museum for facilitating his research.

On August 18, 1871, according to the Julian calendar in use in Greece at the time, Rhusopoulos started writing a letter to Rolleston.² He was interrupted by the visit of a tomb robber. On the following day, Rhusopoulos continued his letter with an account of this visit. While excavating graves at the site of Prophitis Ilias, to the south of the Ilissos River, the tomb robber uncovered a marble sarcophagus containing an elaborately ornamented wooden coffin. A number of objects were found in this grave, including a bronze dikast's pinakion or allotment plate, used in the selection of jurors. Although the whereabouts of the finds are at present unknown, Rhusopoulos's detailed description of the funerary assemblage, accompanied by a drawing of the pinakion, allows for the publication of this tomb from a little-known area outside the city walls of ancient Athens.

We begin with a review of the archaeology of modern Pangrati, where the tomb was said to have been found, followed by a description of the grave and its contents. A detailed examination of the only object illustrated in Rhusopoulos's letter, the bronze dikast's pinakion, supplies evidence for the date of the Prophitis Ilias burial. Next, we consider the pinakion's mention of Ptelea as evidence for the location of the demes around Pangrati and the topography of this area in antiquity. Finally, we place Rhusopoulos's attempt to sell the Prophitis Ilias artifacts to Rolleston in its larger context, namely, the organization of private excavations and the sale of antiquities in 19th-century Greece within the framework of the first archaeological law, in force from 1834 to 1899.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF PANGRATI

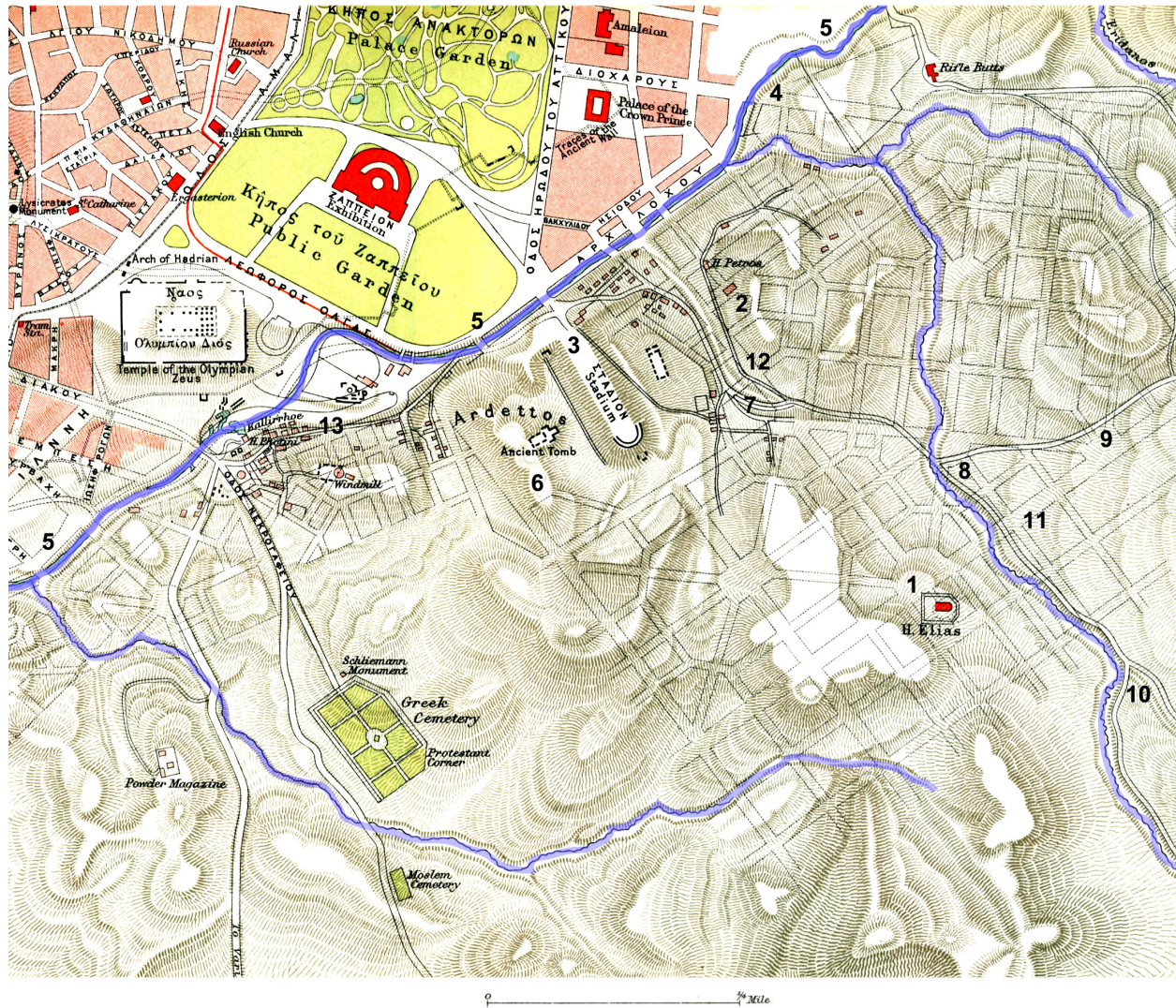
Rhusopoulos began writing his letter of August 18–19/30–31, 1871, to Rolleston in order to inform him about some skulls in his collection for sale. The two men had recently met in Athens while Rolleston was traveling in the East, and Rhusopoulos would have been pleased to learn that Rolleston, an expert in the study of human crania, was building a research collection of skulls at Oxford.³ Among the available specimens was a skull Rhusopoulos procured a few days after Rolleston's departure from Athens, perhaps in June or July 1871. From his letter we learn the following: "It was excavated to the south of Athens, beyond the Ilissos, in a place called Prophitis Ilias after the church that stands there. The tomb yielded fine vases, that is, polychrome lekythoi, which are usually called Attic-made because they were manufactured only in Attica" (pp. 4–5). On the basis of the lekythoi, Rhusopoulos dated this grave to the

2. According to the current calendar, Rhusopoulos began the letter on August 30, 1871. Subsequent references to Julian dates include the current equivalent after a slash, e.g., August 18/30, 1871. A full translation of Rhusopoulos's letter is given in the

appendix; parenthetical citations of the letter in this article refer to the pagination of the Greek original, which is indicated in the translation. The letter is part of the George Rolleston Archive, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

Figure 1 (*opposite*). Map of Athens showing the area around Prophitis Ilias (top of the page is due north): (1) Prophitis Ilias; (2) Ayios Petros Estavromenos (now Ayios Spyridon); (3) Panathenaic stadium; (4) sanctuary of Herakles Pankrates; (5) Ilissos River; (6) the Ardettos hill; (7) Pylarou Street; (8) location of the sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera according to Curtius and Kaupert 1878; (9) undated "graves," according to Curtius and Kaupert 1878; (10) possible findspot of the stele of Phanagora (*IG II² 7272*); (11) Hymettou and Ekfantidou Streets; (12) Aristoxenou and Eratosthenous Streets; (13) sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera. The water-course shown in the upper right corner is not the Eridanos River but a local stream. After Murray 1896, plate following p. 258

3. On the circumstances of their meeting sometime in May, June, or July 1871, see Galanakis and Nowak-Kemp 2011, p. 2. For Rolleston's development of the skull collection at Oxford, see Nowak-Kemp and Galanakis 2012, pp. 94–96.



5th century B.C., “or to be more accurate, between the years 350–450 before Christ” (p. 5).⁴ Rhusopoulos’s narrative was unexpectedly interrupted “by the visit of a tomb robber, who while excavating tombs beyond the Ilissos in the location of Prophitis Ilias discovered a large marble sarcophagus” (p. 5). It is this second tomb at Prophitis Ilias that is described in more detail in Rhusopoulos’s letter to Rolleston and constitutes the focus of the present article.

The church mentioned in Rhusopoulos’s letter can safely be identified with Prophitis Ilias at Pangrati on top of the homonymous hill (about 120 masl), shown in several maps produced around the time of the discovery of the grave (Fig. 1:1). The church is situated about 650 m east–southeast of the Ardetto hill (Fig. 1:6) and 700 m from the south bank of the Ilissos River (Fig. 1:5). The hill of Prophitis Ilias would have been clearly visible from the banks of the Ilissos and from Ardetto (Fig. 2). Already in late Ottoman times, Prophitis Ilias served as the main religious site for shepherds in the vicinity, constituting at the same time the most

4. By “polychrome” we assume that Rhusopoulos is referring here to the class of white-ground lekythoi (470–400 B.C.); see Kurtz 1975, pp. 133–136; Oakley 2004, pp. 7–9, 13–18. Rhusopoulos’s collection is said to have contained some fine examples (Dumont and Chaplain 1888, p. 33, n. 1).



important landmark for this undeveloped area of Athens, once green with thyme and *athanati* (tansy).⁵ Until the 1920s and 1930s, when this area of Athens became progressively more heavily populated, Prophitis Ilias was known for this small church (*exoklissi*) of the double basilica type,⁶ demolished in 1930 and replaced by a larger church that still dominates the skyline of Pangrati; the new church of Prophitis Ilias was founded on April 22, 1928.

The small church was the Prophitis Ilias that Stephanos Koumanoudis, the erudite classical scholar, visited on February 11/23, 1847, while walking toward the foothills of Mount Hymettos.⁷ He saw there two Ionic capitals built into the church, and noted other ancient architectural remains reused in the construction of an abandoned church nearby. However, the

Figure 2. Athens in 1887. Detail of a 19th-century panoramic view of the area to the southeast of the Acropolis, as seen from the Belvedere Terrace. In the foreground are the Arch of Hadrian and the Temple of Olympian Zeus. In the center is the hill of Ardettos, flanked on the left by the Panathenaic stadium (prior to its modern reconstruction). An arrow indicates the location of the old church of Prophitis Ilias. Photo courtesy British School at Athens

5. <http://profilias.blog.com/tag/evopia/> (last accessed April 26, 2011).

6. The old church was built during the Ottoman period with the support of the Petraki Monastery.

7. There is no other Prophitis Ilias

in the vicinity. The only other Prophitis Ilias marked on contemporary maps is in the area of Koropi, on the other (east) side of Mount Hymettos. But Koumanoudis walked for only an hour from the Ilissos River toward the foot-

hills of Hymettos, and the Prophitis Ilias he visited was situated along this route, so undoubtedly we are dealing with the Prophitis Ilias at Pangrati. See Matthaïou 1990, p. 74.

church at Pangrati most frequently visited by travelers and antiquarians at the time was not Prophitis Ilias but Ayios Petros of Estavromenos (now Ayios Spyridon; Fig. 1:2), where some 19th-century scholars located the temple of Artemis Agrotera, not least because of the site's proximity to the Ilissos.⁸

Pangrati, and especially the area within a kilometer radius around Prophitis Ilias, is little represented in the archaeological literature to date, with the exception of Ardettos, where the Panathenaic stadium was later situated, and the shrine of Herakles Pankrates on the south bank of the Ilissos, active from the 5th century B.C. probably until the 2nd century A.D. (Fig. 1:3, 4, 6).⁹ By the 1870s, however, this area had attracted the interest of classical scholars, archaeologists, art dealers, and tomb robbers alike.

In January 1866, art dealers Grigorios Bournias and Ioannis Palaiologos¹⁰ asked permission from Panagiotis Eustratiades (1815–1888), the general ephor of antiquities at the time (1863–1884), to excavate at “Pangrati or Mankrati” in the area of Prophitis Ilias.¹¹ Eustratiades recorded in his daybook that he was obliged to grant permission according to article 103 of the first archaeological law of Greece (of May 10/22, 1834).¹² This implies that the excavation was to be conducted on private land, and it seems that the art dealers had already secured the proprietor's permission to proceed with the excavation. Eustratiades told Bournias and Palaiologos that they should arrange for their excavations to take place under strict supervision, most likely to indicate his awareness that they could not be fully trusted.¹³ This is, to our knowledge, the first record of an excavation taking place at Pangrati. Unfortunately, there is no mention in the Eustratiades Archive of the results of the Bournias and Palaiologos excavation.¹⁴

The documentation of early archaeological activity in Pangrati, scarce as it is, suggests that by the late 1860s the area had yielded a number of inscriptions. On July 26/August 7, 1868, Eustratiades recorded in his daybook an inscription built into a well situated next to the church of Prophitis

8. Pittakis (1835, p. 195) reports that he saw there part of a mosaic floor (undated); Mommsen (1868, p. 56) mentions Ayios Petros but does not include Prophitis Ilias in his book on the churches of Athens. See also Stuart and Revett 1827, pl. I. In 1878, when Kaupert's maps of Athens were published, the location of the temple of Artemis Agrotera had been moved further inland, but remained within the area of Pangrati (this area is today a densely built zone bounded by Phrynis, Aspasias, Eutyichidou, and Hymettou Streets); see Curtius and Kaupert 1878, pl. II, and Fig. 1:8 here. The small Ionic temple by the Ilissos, close to the Panathenaic stadium and almost untouched until 1778, is now attributed to Artemis Agrotera (Fig. 1:13); this temple stands about 1 km to the west of the location

given by most 19th-century travelers and antiquarians (Skias 1897; Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 289–291).

9. Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 278–280; Vikela 1994.

10. On Palaiologos, see also Galanakis 2011, pp. 176–182.

11. Eustratiades Archive, Archaeological Society at Athens, January 20, 1866, p. 40, no. 271; p. 41, no. 514. For a stele discovered by Palaiologos in the area of Ilissos, see Conze 1900, p. 187, no. 878.

12. The Greek texts of the archaeological laws cited in this article are mostly available in Petrakos 1982, in this case on pp. 123–151. They may also be found online at <http://bit.ly/TurPKo> (last accessed October 15, 2012).

13. Eustratiades Archive, Archaeological Society at Athens, January 25,

1866, p. 41, no. 275.

14. The Eustratiades Archive is an immensely valuable source of information for archaeology between 1863 and 1884, the period during which Eustratiades acted as general ephor of antiquities. For most of that period, Eustratiades was the only archaeologist in the Greek Archaeological Service; the number of superintendents increased from two in 1875 to three in 1878 and five in 1882 (Kokkou 1977, p. 118). Despite the obvious shortcomings resulting from the lack of personnel, Eustratiades' notebooks record all the excavations of which he was aware, occasionally with brief records of the excavated finds and often with more detailed records of objects in some private collections or in the Athens museums.

Ilias.¹⁵ A few more inscriptions were reported by Koumanoudis in the vicinity of Ayios Petros and the broader area of Pangrati closer to the Ilissos.¹⁶ These inscriptions, all funerary in content and dating from Classical to Roman times, bear witness to the graves that were once present in this area. A number of possible gravesites in the broader area of Prophitis Ilias, unfortunately undated, were marked by Ernst Curtius on the detailed archaeological and topographical maps of Athens made by Johann Kaupert between 1875 and 1877. They placed one group of graves about 500 m to the east of Prophitis Ilias, in the vicinity of modern Hymettou Street and the church of Ayios Nikolaos, founded in 1924 (Fig. 1:9), and the second about 600 m to the south (not shown in Fig. 1), in the area of the modern church of Apostolon Petrou and Pavlou at Vyronas (built in 1930), where several *Grabhügels* were observed.¹⁷

These early finds, along with the 1869–1870 excavations by Ernst Ziller in the Panathenaic stadium, might have encouraged tomb robbers to look more systematically for graves beyond this area and especially in the hills to the southwest, where Prophitis Ilias is located. In the daybooks of Eustratiades, there is no mention of any excavation at Pangrati or Prophitis Ilias in the summer of 1871, suggesting that either Rhousopoulos made up this story of the discovery of the tomb, or the excavation took place without authorization. Both scenarios are possible and are discussed in more detail below.

In the 20th century, two funerary inscriptions came to light during excavations at 3 Pylarou Street (Fig. 1:7), about 400 m northwest of Prophitis Ilias, on the eastern edge of the Ardettos hill.¹⁸ The most notable find, however, probably discovered southeast of Prophitis Ilias, was the grave stele of Phanagora, ca. 330 B.C. (see Fig. 1:10).¹⁹ All these finds suggest the presence of a few funerary plots scattered around this area, ranging in date from the 5th century B.C. down to the 3rd century A.D. In this respect, the two graves mentioned in Rhousopoulos's letter do not appear to have been isolated. Yet it is somewhat surprising and perplexing, given the dense habitation in this area of modern Athens, that so little is known about the archaeology of Pangrati.

15. *IG II² 5792*. Koumanoudis (1871, p. 48, no. 320) indicates that this inscription was found either next to a church of the Monastery of Kaisariani or in a well to the east of the Panathenaic stadium. Curtius and Kaupert (1883, p. 25) probably refer to this well when they mention a “Cisterne” as the most notable ruin next to the church of Prophitis Ilias at “Mankrati oder Pankrati.”

16. Koumanoudis 1871, p. 104, no. 801 (*IG II² 6760*); p. 107, no. 826 (*IG II² 6797*); p. 112, no. 864 (*IG II² 6865*), possibly also found in the area of Pangrati; p. 131, no. 1028 (*IG II² 7210*); p. 360, no. 3103 (*IG II² 11992*).

17. Curtius and Kaupert 1878, pl. II.

18. Petrakos 1963, now published in Bardani, Papadopoulos, and Petrakos 2006, p. 16, no. 81, and p. 77, no. 426. Rescue excavations in the 1960s revealed only part of a water channel at Aristoxenou and Eratosthenous Streets (Fig. 1:12; see Stavropoulos 1965) and a female Roman portrait on a shield (*imago clipeata*) at the junction of Hymettou and Ekfantidou Streets (Fig. 1:11; see Alexandri 1967).

19. *IG II² 7272*; Kyparissis 1926, pp. 63–65, fig. 7; Theopaneidis 1927–1928, pp. 5–6; Clairmont 1993, pp. 515–516, no. 3.932. See also n. 98, below.

THE PROPHITIS ILIAS GRAVE AND ITS ASSEMBLAGE

Of the two tombs at Propheetis Ilias mentioned by Rhousopoulos in his letter to Rolleston, only the second is described in any detail. That tomb, a large marble sarcophagus, was covered with a monolithic slab made of the same material.²⁰ When the tomb robber lifted the cover of the sarcophagus he saw inside “the entire wooden coffin of the deceased . . . preserved in place,” its construction being “a very beautiful sight because of the extravagance of its ornaments and the finesse and grace of its craftsmanship” (p. 5). As soon as the lid of the sarcophagus was lifted, the wooden coffin disintegrated, despite the tomb robber’s eager attempts to collect the wooden planks of the coffin, which “already rotten . . . crumbled” into pieces (p. 6). “However,” Rhousopoulos continued, “he collected whatever [pieces] he could and brought them immediately to me after noon, in the heat of the third hour, along with the skull of the deceased, which was luckily intact, and all the vessels found in the tomb” (p. 6). According to Rhousopoulos, the objects retrieved by the tomb robber from the interior of the grave included three large alabastra, a squat black-glazed palmette lekythos, a spheroid iron vessel, and a bronze dikast’s pinakion.

The tomb also yielded the skull and its mandible, with most of the teeth in place, that Rhousopoulos offered to Rolleston. Other bones were present as well, probably from an inhumation; there is nothing in Rhousopoulos’s letter to suggest that we may be dealing here with a cremation burial. The skull had a hole on the right temple and a scar on the upper forehead “from sling or arrow wounds,” in the opinion of Rhousopoulos (p. 7). At a time when archaeologists in Greece paid relatively little attention to skeletal remains, Rhousopoulos described the condition of the skull in detail. He probably did this to whet the appetite of his potential client.²¹

The coffin described by Rhousopoulos was one of the few ornate examples from Athens that were still intact at the time of discovery, and thus a fair description of its ornamentation is possible.²² Based on the tomb robber’s description and the few wooden remains, Rhousopoulos

20. Although Rhousopoulos may have inspected the tomb himself, one should not exclude the possibility that this is indeed the description of the tomb robber, who in his attempt to supply details identified the material of the sarcophagus as “marble” instead of the poros that was more commonly attested in 4th-century B.C. graves. For example, out of 30 sarcophagi found in excavations near Syntagma Square in 1957, 25 were made of clay, four of poros, and only one of marble (Charitonides 1958, p. 147, table D). In the Kerameikos, four marble sarcophagi date to the 5th century B.C. (*Kerameikos* VII.2, pp. 73–74, 108–109,

nos. 261–263, 431), while only one dates to the 4th century B.C. (*Kerameikos* XIV, p. 41, no. 30). On Archaic and Classical sarcophagi generally, see Hitzl 1991.

21. For Rhousopoulos’s “academic salesman” approach, see Galanakis and Nowak-Kemp 2011, p. 3.

22. Very few examples of ornamented wooden coffins from Athens and its immediate vicinity are mentioned in the archaeological literature. In the 19th century, the French diplomat and collector Louis-François-Sébastien Fauvel discovered along the road to Eleusis “une caisse . . . en bois, ornée du meilleur goût, en ivoire massif,

avec des oves, des feuilles d’eau et des palmettes, tous ornements semblables à ceux du temple d’Erechthée, mais encore plus recherchés, et de la même saillie, proportion gardée” (du Bocage 1807, p. 363). Curiously, this description is similar to that of Rhousopoulos in his letter to Rolleston. See also Brückner and Pernice 1893, p. 186. Brückner thought that a wooden astragal from this coffin was rediscovered during work in Piraeus Street in 1884 (Brückner and Pernice 1893, p. 186, n. 3). For more examples from Attica, see Watzinger 1905, p. 40, n. 1, no. 19:a; p. 41, no. 20.

was able to establish that this was an extravagantly ornamented coffin with nailheads made of “elephant bone” (p. 6) and decorated with “just as many ornaments as we see on the marbles of the Erechtheion” (p. 7). The astragals mentioned by Rhusopoulos when comparing the Prophitis Ilias wooden coffin to the decoration of the Erechtheion find very good parallels on examples in Egypt (Abū Qīr and Saqqara) and near the Black Sea,²³ where the climate favored the preservation of these fragile objects. Wooden coffins, often intricately ornamented with both painted and carved designs, apparently became popular in the 4th century B.C. Although traces of wood inside tombs are occasionally reported, it is no longer easy to distinguish whether they belonged to a coffin or bier or some other piece of furniture. In addition, it is often impossible to establish, unless a good part of the object is preserved, whether these traces were once ornamented by carving or paint; decorative inlays of metal, glass, ivory, or bone are more likely to survive. Nails are often interpreted as the last remnants of a (usually) entirely disintegrated wooden object.

Rhusopoulos most likely had in his collection fragments of ornamented wooden coffins, as suggested by the presence in the Altes Museum in Berlin of remains of a wooden sarcophagus with “griffins tearing deer apart” from Athens (now lost and most likely dated to 350–300 B.C.). These fragments came from the collection of Emil Hamburger of Ternitz (near Vienna), a rich industrialist working in the paper-manufacturing industry.²⁴ Hamburger possessed a collection of Greek antiquities largely formed from objects obtained through Rhusopoulos. Hamburger’s collection appears to have been relatively short-lived, since a large part was given soon after its formation to the museum in Berlin.²⁵

In addition to the marble sarcophagus and the wooden coffin, Rhusopoulos mentioned a number of finds in association with the Prophitis Ilias grave, including three large alabaster recovered within the tomb. We assume that these alabaster were indeed made of alabaster since Rhusopoulos’s

23. Watzinger (1905), in the first major study of wooden sarcophagi, published about 60 examples, the vast majority from Kertsch, followed by examples from Egypt (now mostly kept in German collections). In a later study, Sokolskii (1970) was able to list about 200 examples as coming from the Black Sea region.

24. Berlin, Altes Museum Misc. 8474. For the description of the imagery on the sarcophagus, see Furtwängler 1895, p. 134, no. 7. These fragments were bought from Hamburger in 1894 and seem to have been lost in the confusion and destruction caused by World War II. It is known that Hamburger had good relations with Rhusopoulos, who was promoting the former’s collection in several European museums. For example, on April 20, 1880,

Hamburger wrote to the British Museum and tried to sell the collection of (mostly Attic) vases, figurines, bronzes, tools, and gems for 135,000 gold francs (or £5,400). He explained that most objects in the collection had come from Rhusopoulos. From the same letter, now in the Archive of the Greek and Roman Antiquities Department of the British Museum, we also learn that Hamburger brought the collection to Vienna at great expense and considerable risk (we assume from being caught by the Greek authorities), repeatedly asking for the matter to be kept secret. We would like to thank Lesley Fitton and Andrew Shapland for facilitating access to the Archive of the Greek and Roman Antiquities Department, and Agnes Schwarzmaier of the Altes Museum in Berlin for her

invaluable information (pers. comm., August 20, 2010).

25. For a large shipment of items from Hamburger’s collection to Berlin, recorded in 1880, see Greifenhagen 1965, pp. 176–178, 194, 236–237, n. 29, 251, n. 133. On Hamburger, see also Tsingarida 2002, p. 257. One of Rhusopoulos’s daughters, Agnes, was married to a Hamburger named Franz. Franz was the son of Theodor Hamburger, who for many years directed the commercial company Fels and Co. in Patras (founded in 1846). This company was primarily focused on the production of wine and was later engaged in the raisin trade. In 1890 it was renamed Hamburger and Co. We would venture a guess that Emil Hamburger was a relative of the Hamburger family living in Patras.

description, which is usually detailed, does not mention any decoration on the vessels, as would be expected if they were made of clay. On the other hand, if the vessels were made of faience, glass, or metal, Rhusopoulos probably would have recorded this, as these materials might have affected the price of the objects in question. Production of decorated clay alabastra in the Athenian potters' workshops ceases sometime in the middle of the 5th century B.C.²⁶ However, stone alabastra, already in use from the 6th century B.C., are often attested in 4th-century B.C. graves in Athens.²⁷

Another object associated with this grave is a small one-handled black-glazed squat lekythos, described by Rhusopoulos as "apple-shaped" and decorated with an anthemion (palmette) on the front (p. 6). This type of vessel and variations on it appeared in the late 5th century B.C., and they are frequently found in burials in Athens in the first half of the 4th century B.C.²⁸

The spheroid iron vessel mentioned as part of this assemblage was described by Rhusopoulos as "seen for the first time" (πρωτοφανές, p. 6). Although we cannot exclude the possibility that this was a unique find, Rhusopoulos may have simply exaggerated his description in an attempt to lure his potential client, Rolleston, into buying the object.²⁹ In a letter to Rolleston dated June 7, 1873, Rhusopoulos mentions that this vessel is κεκλεισμένον, which may refer to the shape of the neck and mouth, most likely suggesting a closed vessel.³⁰ Rhusopoulos, who generally tried to identify clay and metal vessels by shape, refrained in this instance. In our view, however, the only shape that could fit his description is a metal aryballos (usually 5–7 cm in height). Bronze aryballoi are well attested already from the 6th century B.C.³¹ Unlike clay aryballoi, which were often

26. Mertens 1977, p. 136; Wehgartner 1983, p. 113; Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, pp. 372–373, nos. 415, 416 (G. Kavvadias).

27. The dating of stone alabastra is based on the evolution of their shape in comparison to the shape of clay alabastra (Zaphiropoulou 1973, pp. 633–634).

28. Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, p. 371, no. 412 (G. Kavvadias). For example, palmette lekythoi are deposited as burial offerings in 4th-century B.C. graves in the Kerameikos. Most of these graves date to the second quarter of the 4th century (*Kerameikos* XIV, p. 17, no. 16.2; p. 19, no. 20.1; p. 57, no. 53.1; p. 58, no. 55.1; p. 114, no. 110.2), except for two examples that date to the third quarter of the 4th century (*Kerameikos* XIV, p. 18, no. 19.2; p. 44, no. 37.17). Five palmette lekythoi were found in three graves in the excavations near Syntagma Square (Charitonides 1958, p. 14, nos. 21, 22; p. 18, no. 1; p. 20,

no. 1; p. 36, no. 2). Palmette lekythoi are also widely attested at Olynthos, providing a securely dated terminus ante quem for their use (348 B.C.). Most of the Olynthos examples date to 375–348 B.C. (*Olynthus* XIII, pp. 146–167, esp. p. 150).

29. Indeed, the object was included in a modestly priced lot; if the vessel had been unique, Rhusopoulos would have probably requested a much higher sum for the group (for the price of these objects, see below).

30. Galanakis and Nowak-Kemp 2011, appendix 2, p. 13.

31. On metal aryballoi of the so-called Corinthian type (6th century B.C.), see Beazley 1927–1928, pp. 195–196. Most of the known examples are now kept in collections outside Greece. Little is known of their provenance. See, e.g., Cassel, no acquisition number available (Bieber 1915, p. 90, no. 397: from Madytos in Hellespont, no date); Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum 4950 (Möbius 1962, pp. 21–22,

no. 13: no provenance, no date); Paris, Musée du Louvre Br 2918 (de Ridder 1915, p. 127, no. 2918: from Sparta, Archaic); New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.194.193 (Alexander 1925, p. 6, fig. 2: no provenance, no date), C.B. 330 (Richter 1915, pp. 192–193, no. 506: from Cyprus, no date), and 00.13.1 (Richter 1915, p. 196, no. 516: from Hauran in Syria, Roman); Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 12.794 (Comstock and Vermeule 1971, p. 342, no. 480: from Melos[?], Graeco-Roman), 01.7520 (Comstock and Vermeule 1971, p. 320, no. 448: said to come from Athens, 6th century B.C., and acquired by E. P. Warren through Rhusopoulos), and 99.480 (Comstock and Vermeule 1971, p. 321, no. 449: said to come from Boiotia, Hellenistic, also acquired by Warren through Rhusopoulos). We would like to thank Christine Kondoleon and Mary Comstock for their help with the E. P. Warren material at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.

deposited in burials, metal examples are rarely attested in graves;³² metal aryballoi with a known and documented context come primarily from sanctuaries.³³

Before we proceed to the final object associated with the Propheetis Ilias grave, the dikast's pinakion, it is worth remarking that the funerary assemblage described here, although known only through Rhousopoulos's letter, is remarkably consistent with assemblages from secure archaeological contexts. The marble sarcophagus and the wooden chest—the containers for the placement of the deceased's body—and the perfume vessels, such as the squat lekythos, the alabastra, and the presumed metal aryballos, appear, with diverse frequency, in Attic burials dating to ca. 400–350 B.C. Even if one cannot exclude entirely the possibility that Rhousopoulos may have created or enhanced this assemblage, the collection of objects described here would not be out of place in an Attic tomb of this period, as discussed below.

THE BRONZE PINAKION

The single most important find associated with the Propheetis Ilias burial is the bronze dikast's pinakion (Fig. 3). It is the only object from this group that Rhousopoulos illustrated in his letter to Rolleston. He made the sketch “straightaway on the spot” so that Rolleston could “see it better” (p. 7). It “was found broken into two pieces and had traces of silver on the back, evidence that it was welded” in antiquity (p. 9).³⁴ The drawing appears to be full size, providing us with the following dimensions for the pinakion: L. 11.3–11.4 × W. 2–2.1 cm. The dimensions of this object based on the drawing are consistent with the average size of extant pinakia, measuring ca. 11 × 2 cm.³⁵

The text is inscribed in two lines:

Θεόδωρος
Πτελε(άσιος)

The personal name is not followed by a patronymic, and the demotic is abbreviated, although there is sufficient room for a full spelling. The abbreviated form ΠΤΕΑΕ (for Πτελεάσιος, i.e., from the deme of Ptelea) is also attested on another pinakion,³⁶ unfortunately without a secure archaeological context. Theodoros, a theophoric name, was very common

32. Two bronze aryballoi come from Roman graves at Ayios Nikolaos in East Crete (Davaras 1979, p. 216, fig. 13; 1985, pp. 173–174, no. 8/8, fig. 21:a, pl. 43:c).

33. The only iron aryballos known to us comes from the sanctuary of Apollo at Bassai in Phigaleia (6th century B.C.): Kourouniotis 1910, pp. 320–322, fig. 42:γ. Bronze aryballoi have been found on the Acropolis of Athens (Vokotopoulou 1997, p. 59, no. 120,

and p. 250; an aryballos in the shape of a helmeted warrior's head); at Delphi (*FdD* V, pp. 92–93, fig. 314); and at Bassai in Phigaleia (Kourouniotis 1910, pp. 320–321, fig. 42:A, B). They all appear to date to the 6th century B.C.

34. The “silver” mentioned by Rhousopoulos may in this case have been traces of lead, which was used in the repair of bronze objects; lead often leaves behind gray, silvery traces

(Mattusch 1996, p. 214). It could just as easily have been tin or a tin/lead compound.

35. *ABAP*, p. 22; *Agora XXVIII*, p. 59. Pinakia are also 1.5–2.5 mm thick on average.

36. *ABAP*, p. 109, no. 2, with the inscription Δημήτριος Πτελε(άσιος) (Class I). For the range of the abbreviated forms of this demotic, see Whitehead 1990, p. 147.

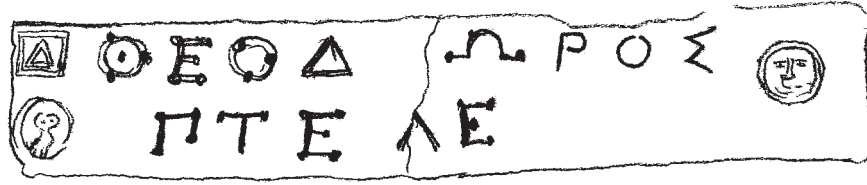


Figure 3. Rhusopoulos's drawing of the bronze dikast's pinakion from Prophitis Ilias. Scale: 1:1. Courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

in 4th-century B.C. Athens,³⁷ although this is the first time a Theodoros from Ptelea is attested.

The pinakion was presented to Rhusopoulos broken or crushed (τεθλασμένον) into two pieces; the breakage would explain the distance now observed between the letters Δ and Ω³⁸ in the personal name (1.2 cm) and between Ε and Λ in the demotic name (0.7 cm). If this is the case, then we can assume that Rhusopoulos restored in his drawing the broken (left) part of the pinakion a little too generously.³⁹ The spacing between all the other letters is consistent (3.5–4 mm). A restoration that placed the right part of the pinakion several millimeters closer to the left part, so that the distance between Ε and Λ would also be 3.5–4 mm,⁴⁰ would reduce the original length of the pinakion only slightly, to 10.8–10.9 cm—still close to the average length of extant pinakia. Although it is impossible to say with any certainty today that the traces of “silver” observed by Rhusopoulos at the back of the pinakion did indeed attest to some kind of “welding” in antiquity—an ancient repair using lead, for example—this scenario appears to us quite plausible.⁴¹

This pinakion had presumably belonged to one of the 6,000 annual dikasts of the Heliaia, the main court in Athens, who were chosen by lot. Any eligible man who wanted to serve among the dikasts (jurors) enrolled himself in the annual allotment, and if selected he received a pinakion. If the allotment of an incumbent dikast was rejected, his pinakion was seized and erased and probably reissued to a new dikast. Only after a dikast had been selected by the allotment procedure was he assigned to the court on which he would sit (i.e., in a particular tribunal). This system of empaneling dikasts, which included the use of a mechanical device that employed allotment plates and kleroteria, was probably introduced around 378/7 B.C. (a process best described in *Ath. Pol.* 63–65) and lasted until about 348 B.C., when bronze pinakia were superseded by wooden ones.⁴² Of the thousands of pinakia issued over the years, only a tiny fraction survives.⁴³

37. The name Theodoros is attested 309 times in ancient Athens (*LGN 2*, pp. 215–217), though no Theodoros from Ptelea is listed. To the 85 Theodoroi documented in 4th-century B.C. Athens (*PAA 9*) one should now add Theodoros from Ptelea.

38. The letter Ω has two clear dots, one in the termination of each of the straight strokes; a smudge on the left curved side may represent another dot, but this is not clear. In addition, it does

not appear to be in the same position as the examples shown in Kroll's table of Class V lettering (*ABAP*, pp. 28–29, table 1).

39. The gap might have increased if the pinakion had been bent; the curved side would have prevented Rhusopoulos from accurately restoring its length and, more importantly, the distance between the letters where the breakage occurred.

40. The distance between the letters

Δ and Ω would be reduced to 0.7 cm.

41. Cf., e.g., *ABAP*, pp. 159–160, no. 62.

42. *ABAP*, pp. 62–68, 87–90; *Agora XXVIII*, p. 59. At the time of Aristotle's *Athenian Constitution*, probably completed sometime in 329/8–325/4 B.C., the bronze pinakia had already been replaced by wooden ones.

43. For a full discussion, see *ABAP*, pp. 99–104.

Rhousopoulos was certainly familiar with dikasts' pinakia.⁴⁴ By the time of the Prophitis Ilias discovery in 1871, he had already published two bronze examples: one in 1862, from "Athens," and the other in 1864, from Pykrodaphni near Palaio Phaleron.⁴⁵ These two pinakia, along with similar examples, were put on display in the Varvakeion (at that time the Museum of the Archaeological Society of Athens), where they immediately became one of the main attractions.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, the specific contexts of the pinakia from Rhousopoulos's collection are unknown. In 1862 Rhousopoulos inspected pinakia in the collection of the British antiquarian George Finlay (1799–1875), who resided in Athens and is mentioned in Rhousopoulos's letter to Rolleston (p. 7).⁴⁷ Rhousopoulos was probably also acquainted with several other pinakia, as suggested by the examples possessed by his son-in-law, the German archaeologist Ernst Pfuhl.⁴⁸

In fact, Rhousopoulos may have played a central role in the pinakia trade. Many pinakia now in museums across Europe and purchased prior to Rhousopoulos's death in 1898 may have been bought through him or Jean P. Lambros, the other main art dealer in Athens at the time.⁴⁹ Many pinakia now in European collections were found or bought in 1873, 1874, and 1878, suggesting a demand by collectors and museums.⁵⁰ Indeed, the demand for pinakia abroad prompted the production of a few late-19th-century forgeries, first identified by Dow and published in more detail by Kroll.⁵¹

Thus, Rhousopoulos's ability to identify and accurately describe this pinakion should not surprise us. He observed that "the band bears two

44. The Swedish antiquarian J. D. Akerblad was the first to identify correctly the two inscribed bronze nameplates known at the time, in a paper he read at a conference in Rome in 1811 and published in 1821, as the pinakia used by Athenian dikasts for admission to the courts. In 1868 about 27 examples were known (Dumont 1868; see also Vidal-Lablanche 1868), and by 1878 their number had increased to 47 (Girard 1878). Rhousopoulos probably first came across dikasts' pinakia when translating Ernst Frederik Bojesen's (1803–1864) *Handbuch der griechischen Antiquitäten* (Giessen 1843) into Greek (Rhousopoulos 1855, pp. 203–205, esp. p. 205).

45. Rhousopoulos 1862, p. 304, no. 380, pl. 46.I; 1864, p. 227 (also Dumont 1868, p. 142, pl. V:3). Both pinakia are now in the collection of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens: inv. bronze 8062, 8125; *ABAP*, pp. 132–133, no. 28; pp. 174–175, no. 73.

46. These "juridical antiquities" are described in Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Greece* (1884, p. 238),

where one learns the following: "Certificates of the Heliastae. These are bronze tickets bearing the name, patronymic, and demus of the judge, to whom it was granted, with the letter (A, B, Γ, Δ, etc.) corresponding to that one of the Ten Courts to which the owner was attached. Each ticket is stamped with the official Seal of the Republic. During life this was the voucher by which the owner drew his salary for service in the courts, and after death it was frequently interred with the body, as a distinction."

47. Rhousopoulos 1862, p. 304. See *ABAP*, pp. 151–152, no. 54; pp. 212–213, no. 114, which is now in the British School at Athens.

48. Seven bronze pinakia in Basel (Antikenmuseum 1941.126.1–7) are "ex coll. Rhousopoulos-Pfuhl." The eminent classical archaeologist Ernst Pfuhl (1876–1940) married Sophia, one of Rhousopoulos's daughters, in 1904, six years after her father's death. For the Basel pinakia, see *ABAP*, p. 112, no. 5 (1941.126.7); p. 150, no. 51 (1941.126.6); p. 170, no. 69 (1941.126.4); pp. 177–178, no. 77 (1941.126.5); p. 195, no. 95

(1941.126.1); pp. 206–207, no. 107 (1941.126.3); pp. 219–220, no. 123 (1941.126.2); all are only partially preserved, apart from nos. 95 and 123. They were given to Basel by Sophia Rhousopoulos-Pfuhl after her husband's death in 1941.

49. These pinakia, which may also have been purchased through other art dealers, include *ABAP*, p. 116, no. 8; pp. 178–179, no. 78; p. 190, no. 90; pp. 201–202, no. 102; p. 206, no. 106; pp. 207–208, no. 108; p. 216, no. 120; pp. 217–218, no. 121; pp. 222–223, no. 127; pp. 238–239, no. 148; pp. 240–241, no. 151; and pp. 245–246, no. 159.

50. Some pinakia, for example, were purchased by the Berlin Museum in 1873 from J. P. Lambros (or perhaps from his father, Pavlos Lambros): inv. nos. 6313 (*ABAP*, pp. 220–221, no. 124), 6314 (*ABAP*, pp. 221–222, no. 125), and 6315 (*ABAP*, pp. 133–134, no. 29). A fourth pinakion originating from the collection of J. P. Lambros was sold in 1913 to the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (inv. no. 625; *ABAP*, pp. 218–219, no. 122).

51. Dow 1963; Kroll 1967.

state seals and a third with the letter Δ, which denotes the fourth tribunal of Heliaia, that is, the law court of which this Theodoros was a member” (p. 6). From the drawing it seems that the section letter Δ was not inscribed but stamped on the upper left corner in relief in an incuse square. The other two state seals mentioned by Rhousopoulos are the triobol seal stamped on the lower left corner and a gorgoneion seal at the middle of the right end. The owl of the triobol seal and the gorgoneion are roughly rendered in the drawing, but they are clear enough to be identified with certainty. On the other hand, the three-letter ethnic contained in the triobol seal is not visible in the drawing, but given the circumstances under which the drawing was made, it would probably have been extremely difficult for Rhousopoulos to discern the ethnic within the seal.

Nevertheless, Rhousopoulos's drawing contains sufficient detail to classify the pinakion according to Kroll's taxonomy of bronze pinakia. The combination of features—the inscription of the owner's name and ethnic on two lines, the section letter at the upper left, and the placement of the triobol seal on the left and the gorgoneion seal on the right—suggests that the pinakion belongs to Class IV or Class V.⁵² The features used to distinguish between these classes are the spelling of the ethnic in the triobol seal (AΘE or AΘH),⁵³ and the lettering of the name and demotic. The ethnic is not reproduced in Rhousopoulos's sketch, but his depiction of the lettering shows the pierced holes characteristic of Class V pinakia.⁵⁴ Most letters appear to have been pierced or even punched. That some letters do not appear to bear holes, in particular the three last letters of the personal name (-POC), may be variously explained: corrosion may have obscured this particular area, or perhaps the person inscribing this pinakion decided not to have all the holes pierced through or even punched. Perhaps the personal name was incomplete, and the three last letters were added later (possibly by the owner).⁵⁵

While most of the extant pinakia show clear signs of reuse,⁵⁶ that does not seem to be the case with the Prophitis Ilias example. Rhousopoulos's drawing of the pinakion shows no signs of erasure; for example, there is no bulging on the sides that might indicate it had been hammered flat for reuse.⁵⁷ Furthermore, the “double-bodied owl” seal is not attested on this pinakion. Unlike the triobol and gorgoneion seals, which Kroll labels primary seals because they were applied when the pinakion was manufactured, the double-bodied owl seal was a secondary seal that was “added after the name of the first owner was inscribed and often was not stamped until the

52. *ABAP*, pp. 14, 17–22.

53. On all Class V pinakia the spelling of the ethnic is AΘH, whereas on Class IV pinakia both spellings are attested (*ABAP*, p. 20).

54. Pierced holes were added to the termination of straight strokes and crossbars and on the curved sides of rounded letters in Class V pinakia (*ABAP*, pp. 28–29, table 1). Most dots in the drawing appear to be filled up (perhaps blocked by corrosion or not

entirely pierced), while those of the letter E in the personal name appear to be left blank in the drawing, most likely because they were fully pierced. This pattern is attested in the Ashmolean Museum pinakion (1968.81), where letters with pierced holes alternate with letters with punched dots: Catling 1969; *ABAP*, p. 30, no. 91 (one use).

55. To be sure, the last of the three suggestions put forward here is not attested on any of the extant pinakia.

56. *ABAP*, p. 71.

57. The recess just above the last three letters of the personal name and the unevenness of the pinakion's edges could be explained as part of the clay mold used for casting the bronze plate (*ABAP*, p. 22, n. 13). It does not appear to be a notch like those that occur at the edges of reused pinakia and reflect the nails used to hold the bronze plate in place during erasure and reinscribing (*ABAP*, p. 23).

second or even a later use.⁵⁸ The absence of the double-bodied owl seal strengthens the case against the reuse of the Prophitis Ilias pinakion.⁵⁹

Finally, the inscription of the three last letters of the personal name (-*πος*) in the conventional, unpierced lettering characteristic of Class IV pinakia should not be interpreted as a sign of reuse. According to Kroll's study, Class V pinakia constituted a new issue, appearing sometime between 367/6 and 360 B.C.⁶⁰ Some of the preserved examples of Class V pinakia show signs of a second use, when conventional lettering was applied, but none of the Class V pinakia bear traces of a first use prior to the adoption of the pierced lettering. In addition, we consider it highly unlikely that someone preparing the pinakion for reuse would have inscribed the new name and demotic in Class V lettering without replacing the ending -*πος*, inscribed in the lettering of an earlier class (i.e., Class IV).

On the basis of the drawing (Fig. 3), then, it is possible to conclude that the Prophitis Ilias pinakion was never reused. To be sure, it is generally very difficult to observe any earlier text inscribed on a pinakion in conventional lettering without proper cleaning of the bronze plate. In the case of the Prophitis Ilias pinakion, we are informed by Rhusopoulos that the object was cleaned by the tomb robber in front of him, which suggests that the cleaning was not thorough enough to permit Rhusopoulos to detect any signs of reuse.⁶¹

The identification of the Prophitis Ilias pinakion as a Class V example establishes a terminus post quem for the grave; as noted above, Kroll determined that Class V pinakia were a new issue appearing between 367/6 and 360 B.C.⁶² If the dikast Theodoros was buried with the pinakion while in office, then his burial may have taken place sometime within the period 367–350 B.C.⁶³ If, however, Theodoros (who was over the age of 30 when selected by lot as a dikast) kept the pinakion after his term of service had come to an end, then the object may have been placed in the grave somewhat later than its date of issue, perhaps around the 340s or 330s B.C. There is nothing in the archaeological assemblage from the tomb at Pangrati that rules out a date between 367 and 330 B.C. However, given the popularity of palmette lekythoi in Athens during the first half of the 4th century B.C.⁶⁴ and the date when Class V pinakia such as this example were issued, it is reasonable to place this burial in the second quarter of the 4th century (ca. 367–350 B.C.).

58. *ABAP*, p. 46. For the distinction between primary and secondary seals, see *ABAP*, p. 41.

59. The lack of a secondary seal (*ABAP*, p. 74) could also suggest that Theodoros retained possession of the pinakion for more than a single year in office.

60. *ABAP*, pp. 67–68, 87–90.

61. We thank Professor Kroll for sharing this information with us.

62. See n. 60, above.

63. Rhusopoulos stated in his letter to Rolleston that the skull of Theodoros had a hole above the area of the

right temple and a scar above the forehead, which he interpreted as evidence of sling or arrow wounds (p. 7). On the basis of Rhusopoulos's statement, one can assume that if Theodoros died while in office, he died violently. Yet caution is needed, not least because Rhusopoulos may have associated this particular pinakion with a damaged skull in order to convince his client, the medical doctor George Rolleston, of the importance of this particular find.

In this respect, Rhusopoulos's statements should not be taken at face value.

64. See n. 28, above.

CONTEXTS OF PINAKIA

Out of the corpus of extant pinakia (numbering 204, including the one published here),⁶⁵ about a tenth come from the Athenian Agora (23 in total),⁶⁶ while three examples come from the Kerameikos.⁶⁷ Most of the remaining pinakia, a good number of which are held in private collections and museums outside Greece, probably originate from graves, not least because tombs formed the main source of antiquities for Athenian art dealers in the 19th century, when these objects first started to appear on the market.⁶⁸ Yet, despite the possible funerary provenance of these pinakia, very little is known about the furnishing(s) of the graves with which they were once associated.⁶⁹ Even the pinakia that have come to light in recent years do not help us gain a better understanding of the associated funerary assemblage, since they come from surface or disturbed layers, or from graves that remain unpublished.⁷⁰

Only three pinakia (1.5% of the known corpus) are associated with an undisturbed funerary context, that is, a context that along with a pinakion also yielded a good record of undisturbed ceramic finds.⁷¹ The rarity of well-documented funerary assemblages with pinakia makes the present report all the more interesting. Of the three pinakia found in well-documented funerary contexts, one comes from a cremation burial near the Daphni monastery,⁷² another from grave Δ₂ of the necropolis excavated under Panepistimiou Street (between Korai and Voukourestiou Streets),⁷³ and the third from a tomb (no. 148) discovered in 1994 under Leoforos Amalias, where the avenue passes Syntagma Square.⁷⁴ The pinakia from the first two tombs were associated, like the pinakion published here, with small black-glazed lekythoi (of different varieties), roughly dated to 370–350 B.C.⁷⁵ The pinakion from the Leoforos Amalias tomb was associated with a juglet (προχοίσκη) and a teardrop-shaped unguentarium (δακρυδόχος) dated to 360–330 B.C. by the excavator.⁷⁶ This relatively late date for the deposition of

65. *ABAP* (183 pinakia); Kroll 1984 (seven pinakia published and two more mentioned from Salamis and Aphaia); *Agora* XXVIII (two new: P 19, P 23); *SEG* XLVIII 85; L 275 (= Kritzas 2000); LI 319 (= Pologiorgi 2000–2003); LIV 402–403; LV 326–327; LVI 319 (= Pitt 2009–2010, p. 15); LVI 320. A new supplement to *ABAP* is currently in preparation by Professor Kroll. It includes some 20 additional pinakia and fragments, most of them already published, although incompletely.

66. *Agora* XXVIII, pp. 61–64 (P 24 comes from Daphni and not the Athenian Agora, but was registered among the material from the Agora). Of the 23 pinakia found in the Agora, two are fully preserved and two have been restored from fragments; the rest are only partially preserved.

67. A single stray find (Kroll 1984,

p. 170, no. 6) and two pinakia in fragmentary condition from Bau Z (*Kerameikos* XVII, p. 154, no. 335; p. 238, no. 1042; *SEG* LV 326–327).

68. For example, in 1884, when more than a quarter of the extant pinakia were already known, Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Greece* (1884, p. 238) informed its readers that after the death of the owner, pinakia were "frequently interred with the body," providing a hint of their possible funerary provenance. See also discussion in *ABAP*, pp. 9–11; *Agora* XXVIII, p. 60; Pébarthe 2006, pp. 314–315.

69. For example, the tomb discovered by Fauvel yielded a marble sarcophagus with a gabled roof, inside which the bones of the deceased were placed (*ABAP*, p. 192, no. 93, n. 24), while a pinakion from Kypseli (Athens) was found in a grave associated with a

funerary stele (*ABAP*, p. 167, no. 68). Mylonas (1883, p. 30) mentions that the pinakion was found in a tomb.

70. *SEG* XLVIII 85 (cf. XLVII 238) (from the military base of the Helleniko airport); LI 319 (from Salamis); LIV 402 (from Helleniko); LIV 403 (from Menidi); LVI 319 (from Glyphada); LVI 320 (from the Air Force base of the Helleniko airport).

71. *ABAP*, p. 10.

72. *ABAP*, pp. 210–212, no. 113. The personal name and the demotic are illegible.

73. *ABAP*, pp. 215–216, no. 119. The last owner of this pinakion was a demesman of Perithoidai (Περίθοίδης).

74. Kritzas 2000; Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, p. 166, no. 137 (C. Kritzas); *SEG* L 275.

75. *ABAP*, pp. 212, 215–216.

76. Reported in Kritzas 2000, p. 102.

a bronze pinakion suggested to Kritzas that a pinakion might have remained with its owner long after his term as a dikast had come to an end.⁷⁷ Yet, the date range for this burial is too broad to render this inference convincing, and one should not exclude the possibility that the individual associated with the Leoforos Amalias pinakion died while in office.

Kroll is of the opinion that the burial of a pinakion with its deceased owner was probably not strictly legal, given the institutionalized reuse of this class of objects.⁷⁸ Pinakia, however, unlike other dikastic equipment, moved around and beyond the boundaries of the Athenian Agora.⁷⁹ If a large number of pinakia did indeed originate from funerary contexts, it could suggest that they were fondly kept by their owners, perhaps in recognition of their service to the state. In other words, pinakia might have been considered personal belongings, despite the fact that they were issued by state authorities for state purposes, namely, the empaneling of courts of law. Furthermore, based on the absence of pinakia from the Kerameikos graves,⁸⁰ Kroll suggests that they had a special meaning for people in the demes on the periphery of Athens, whom he characterizes as “ardent democrats,” as opposed to the individuals who belonged to the Athenian “upper crust.”⁸¹ Whether the “upper crust” was indeed buried exclusively in the Kerameikos appears to us to be a highly contested issue.⁸²

Other explanations for the presence of pinakia in graves are possible. A pinakion might have been buried with its owner because it was broken and thus unfit for reuse,⁸³ or because the dikast died while in office. That Theodoros’s pinakion was found broken into two pieces suggests a third scenario: he died in office and his pinakion was “ritually killed” (i.e., removed from circulation). As always, one should not exclude the possibility that the pinakion was broken accidentally.⁸⁴

THE DEME OF PTELEA

Of the 36 pinakia from a secure archaeological context, 14 (39%) come from the deme to which they make reference,⁸⁵ while 22 (61%) do not.⁸⁶ Yet most of the latter were found within or close to the ancient city of Athens and the Piraeus, two areas with large concentrations of demesmen from across Attica, and thus in those areas there is a higher probability that the demotic on a pinakion will not correspond to its findspot. Despite the

77. Kritzas 2000, p. 106.

78. *ABAP*, p. 9.

79. *Agora XVIII*, p. 60.

80. Only three pinakia come from the Kerameikos, none from a funerary context; see n. 67, above.

81. *ABAP*, p. 9, n. 2; pp. 262–263.

82. Morris (1992, p. 116) correctly presents a more nuanced picture: “the uses of cremation, inhumation and grave goods seem to vary from place to place around Athens, and no single, direct, interpretation will cover them.” In 4th-century B.C. Athens, the predominant burial types appear to be tile

and pit graves, followed by sarcophagi, cremation, and cists (Morris 1992, pp. 140–141, fig. 32).

83. Of the seven pinakia found in graves in the last two decades, four were intact, two were found broken into pieces (*SEG XLVIII* 85; *L* 275), and one was broken at the right end (*SEG LIV* 402).

84. On the breakage of pinakia, see also the discussion in *ABAP*, pp. 71–72.

85. *ABAP*, pp. 120–122, no. 14; pp. 124–126, no. 18; pp. 140–141, no. 37; pp. 173–174, no. 72; pp. 174–175, no. 73; pp. 202–203, no. 103;

p. 213, no. 116; pp. 240–241, nos. 152, 153; pp. 241–242, no. 154; also *SEG XLVIII* 85; *LIV* 403; *LVI* 319; *LVI* 320.

86. *ABAP*, pp. 138–139, no. 34; pp. 139–140, no. 35; pp. 157–158, no. 61; pp. 159–160, no. 62; pp. 163–164, no. 65; p. 167, no. 67; pp. 176–177, no. 75; pp. 179–180, no. 79; pp. 188–189, no. 88; pp. 191–192, no. 92; pp. 203–205, no. 104; pp. 205–206, no. 105; pp. 214–215, no. 118; pp. 215–216, no. 119; pp. 223–224, no. 129; p. 226, no. 132; pp. 226–227, no. 133; pp. 234–237, no. 146; pp. 242–243, no. 155; *SEG L* 275; *LI* 319; *LIV* 402.

very small size of the available sample, it appears to us that the demotics on pinakia found buried in the demes outside Athens and Piraeus tend to fit their geographical context.

Although one should be extremely careful in fixing the location of a deme solely on the basis of a pinakion found in a grave known only from Rhusopoulos's correspondence with Rolleston,⁸⁷ we would like to review the evidence regarding the location of Theodoros's deme. Ptelea was probably a small deme (in population, not necessarily in area) with one bouleutes,⁸⁸ and formed part of the Oineis phyle. This deme is considered part of the inner city (asty).⁸⁹ Although the opening scene of Menander's comedy *Heros* (lines 21–22) implies a pastoral setting for Ptelea, that would not distinguish it from most of the demes of the inner city, located within a 7–8 km radius from the city center.⁹⁰ The most notable individual originating from this deme was the sculptor Demetrios son of Philon, active during the 2nd century B.C.⁹¹ Otherwise, Ptelea is little known.

The geographical identification of this deme in the landscape of ancient Athens is conjectural.⁹² Pteleos, the eponymous hero of the deme, was involved in the myth of Kephalos, whose sanctuary is thought to be situated near the Daphni Monastery in Aigaleon.⁹³ From the area of modern Aigaleon comes a Hellenistic grave marker mentioning Mnesikles from Ptelea.⁹⁴ In light of this mythical connection and the findspot of the grave marker, Ptelea is tentatively placed in the Kephissos valley near modern Aigaleon.⁹⁵ Most of the demes that make up the phyle of Oineis are allocated to the west side of the Kephissos valley, some with more certainty than others (such as Acharnai). Traill was the first to notice the compact arrangement of the asty demes from Oineis in this particular area to the west of Athens,⁹⁶ which would have contravened the Kleisthenic policy of mixing demes from different geographical locations within Attica into one phyle. The findspot of the pinakion assigned to Theodoros of Ptelea makes us wonder whether this deme, and perhaps others from the phyle of Oineis, should actually be located in an area other than the west side of Attica on the basis that such a distribution would better reflect the mentality behind the Kleisthenic reforms.

The area to the north of Prophitis Ilias is possibly to be identified with Upper and Lower Argyle (around and to the southwest of the Ardettos hill) and with Upper and Lower Ankyle (northeast of Ardettos and to the

87. Rhusopoulos mentioned the pinakion not only in the letter studied here, but also in a letter dated June 7, 1873; see below, p. 637.

88. *RE* XXIII.2, cols. 1478–1479, s.v. Ptelea 2 (E. Meyer); Whitehead 1986, p. 341.

89. Jones 1999, p. 113.

90. Generally speaking, demes that appear to have been located more than 7–8 km from the city center are classified as coastal or inland. The remaining demes are considered to be part of the asty.

91. Haake 2005.

92. In Classical times, after the

Kleisthenic reforms there were 139 demes in Attica (Traill 1975, pp. 76–77). Corresponding to these 139 demes, 129 demotics are attested; the difference between the numbers of demes and demotic names is explained by the fact that some demes shared the same name, while others were split into two or three parts (Whitehead 1990).

93. Löper 1892, pp. 405–406; cf. *RE* XXIII.2, col. 1479, s.v. Ptelea 2 (E. Meyer). Apollodorus (3.15.1) associates the eponymous hero of Ptelea, Pteleos, with the myth of Kephalos.

94. Vanderpool 1966, p. 280, no. 7; *SEG* XXIII 140. This marker, a small

columella mentioning Mnesikles from Ptelea (3rd–2nd century B.C.), was found on September 7, 1964, outside the house at 32 Zakyntou Street in Aigaleon, at the western edge of the plain of Athens at the foot of Mount Aigaleo. The findspot is about 500 m to the north of the Sacred Way to Eleusis, 1.8 km northwest of the Kephissos River, and about 5 km from the city walls (in this case the Sacred Gate at the Kerameikos).

95. Traill 1975, pp. 49, 70, 112, no. 124, table 6; 1986, p. 133.

96. Traill 1975, p. 49, n. 22.

north of the Ilissos River).⁹⁷ The territory to the east, where the grave stele of Phanagora (ca. 360 B.C.)⁹⁸ daughter of Nikomenes from the deme of Potamos was found (Fig. 1:10), probably to the southeast and not far from Prophitis Ilias, is generally identified with Upper and Lower Potamos,⁹⁹ a deme that may have extended eastward to the area of Kaisariani and Panepistimioupolis.¹⁰⁰ The southwestern boundary of the deme of Potamos is largely defined by the findspot of the grave stele (columella) of Glykera. Kirchner, in the 1940 publication of the funerary inscriptions from Athens, mentions that this stele was found at 48 Anamnesios Street in Gouva, in the house of I. Moraites.¹⁰¹ However, the stele was already known to Koumanoudis, sometime after 1871. He included this stele in his unpublished catalogue of Attic funerary inscriptions, where he stated that at the time he recorded it, the stele was located in the house of T. Totomes in the area of Plaka (i.e., north of the Acropolis).¹⁰² Thus the stele of Glykera should perhaps be dissociated from Gouva; as a result, the location of the southernmost boundary of Potamos should not be determined by this particular piece of evidence.¹⁰³

The geographical distribution of demes around Prophitis Ilias leaves a gap that corresponds exactly to the vicinity in which the church is located. This small area (about 0.40 km² or 40 ha), with a stream on either side and several low hills, would make an ideal pastoral landscape bordering the asty (Fig. 1).¹⁰⁴ As mentioned above, extreme caution is needed, not least because the evidence for the identification of the deme of Ptelea in the area of modern Pangrati is highly conjectural and no more secure than the evidence placing this deme in the area of modern Aigaleon. In addition, the demotic was “hereditary in the male line, irrespective of any changes of residence, and served as guarantee of membership of the polis itself”,¹⁰⁵ thus Theodoros’s demotic does not provide incontrovertible evidence for relocating the deme of Ptelea. Nevertheless, we hope that future research on the location of this deme will take into consideration the pinakion associated with the Prophitis Ilias grave, even though it came from a looted context known only through the letter published here.

97. Traill 1986, pp. 125, 127.

98. *IG II² 7272*; for more references, see n. 19, above. The stele was found during the construction of the house of Dimitra Zorkou in the area of the Klazomenian refugees, in the settlement of Vyronas in Athens. This neighborhood is placed by Travlos (*Attika*, p. 192) near the church of Prophitis Ilias in Pangrati. The findspot might have been close to the area of Plateia Martaki in Vyronas, about 400 m from Prophitis Ilias.

99. Traill 1986, pp. 117, 130. For earlier interpretations see Traill 1975, pp. 44–46, n. 18; for the problems involved in the identification of this deme, see Traill 1978, pp. 108–109.

100. A *kioniskos* of Amyntas son of Amyntas from Potamos (first half of the

2nd century B.C.) was found in Panepistimioupolis (between Kaisariani and Ano Ilissia) along with a cist grave (Papachristodoulou 1970; this area is situated about 1 km from Prophitis Ilias). E. Meyer (*RE XXII.1*, 1958, col. 1034, s.v. Potamos) first proposed that Potamos should not be located on the coast but in the asty in the area between Tourkovounia and Hymettos. The grave stelai appear to corroborate his assumption. See also Traill 1986, p. 130.

101. *IG II² 7259*; Traill repeats this information (1986, p. 130), describing Gouva as “behind the first cemetery.” Traill refers to Anamnestos Street instead of Kirchner’s Anamnesios Street, but neither name can be correlated with an existing street.

102. Koumanoudis and Matthaiou

1993, p. 91, no. 313.

103. Many funerary inscriptions recording the deme of Potamos were found scattered in the city center, which was certainly occupied by other demes, thus providing no information about the location of this particular deme (e.g., *IG II² 7259, 7260–7263, 7265–7268, 7270–7272*).

104. The area around Prophitis Ilias is marked by several natural boundaries: hills to the south, a stream to the west, the Ardetos hill and the Ilissos River to the north, and another relatively long stream to the east. Both streams were over 1.5 km long and drained into the Ilissos. Prophitis Ilias is also about 1.2 km from the city walls.

105. *OCD³*, p. 447, s.v. demes, demoi (D. Whitehead).

SELLING THE PROPHITIS ILIAS OBJECTS

Here we have a unique circumstance, namely, that we know the name of the deceased; secondly [we have] the noteworthy remains of a wooden coffin, an unprecedented and very instructive example of the finesse and grace of the ancients in carpentry. (p. 7)

Despite Rhusopoulos's academic description of the tomb's discovery and assemblage, we should not forget that his main aim was to sell the objects in question. The contents of his letter to Rolleston—including his dramatic description of the discovery of the grave, as well as his citation of a witness, George Finlay, a compatriot of Rolleston who stated that during 40 years in Athens he had never seen such a wondrous assortment of finds—reveal a skilled salesman who was trying to capture the interest of a potential customer by giving him information (or perhaps misinformation) that would encourage him to proceed with the purchase.¹⁰⁶ Another example of Rhusopoulos's salesmanship involved a skull discovered in 1872, which Rolleston eventually ordered from Rhusopoulos in 1873. Rhusopoulos repeatedly assured his customer that the skull belonged to the pre-Classical period.¹⁰⁷

Rhusopoulos's strategic marketing of his wares opens the door to the possibility that he was inventing contexts in order to sell objects and make a profit. After all, he probably had several pinakia in his collection, as well as fragments from wooden sarcophagi (as the pre-World War II examples in Berlin appear to suggest), a fine vase collection, and stone and metal vessels. His collection of antiquities was described by contemporary antiquarians and travelers as the richest and most beautiful in Athens.¹⁰⁸ While an Oxford scholar was astounded to discover that "every object [in the Rhusopoulos collection] had its price,"¹⁰⁹ a travel guide informed visitors that "although the more important specimens" were seldom for sale, Rhusopoulos had "a number of miscellaneous antiquities to dispose of."¹¹⁰

In another letter to Rolleston, two years after the discovery of the tomb (June 7, 1873), Rhusopoulos was still offering at least some of its contents for sale: "A skull with a closed iron vessel and a clay pot (aryballos) and a dikast's pinakion bearing the name Θεόδωρος Πτελε(άσιος). About this [assemblage] I have written to you before in detail. fr. 200 = £8."¹¹¹ It should not pass unnoticed that while the iron vessel, the pot, and the dikast's pinakion were still presented as part of the same assemblage, the three alabaster and the wooden planks were no longer mentioned two years after their discovery.

Despite Rhusopoulos's efforts to sell the artifacts, there is nothing to suggest that Rolleston ever bought the skull, bones, or any of the objects from the Propheetis Ilias grave. The price asked for the skull and the other items in the letter of June 7, 1873, is identical with that asked in the same letter for a fine intact skeleton and two white-ground lekythoi of the 5th century B.C. from a tomb at the Kerameikos. The price can be considered relatively moderate by the standards of the art market,¹¹² at a time when Rhusopoulos earned 350 francs per month as a university professor.¹¹³

106. See n. 21, above.

107. Nowak-Kemp and Galanakis 2012, p. 99.

108. Wieseler 1874, pp. 38–41; von Gerold 1885, p. 151; von Warsberg 1892, pp. 123–129.

109. Farrer 1882, pp. 71–72.

110. Murray 1884, p. 161, n. 1.

111. Rhusopoulos's "clay pot (aryballos)" here almost certainly refers to the lekythos. A common terminology for describing archaeological objects had not yet been established at that time; in addition, the squat lekythos is also described as an aryballoid lekythos in the archaeological literature. For the full text of this letter, see Galanakis and Nowak-Kemp 2011, appendix 2, pp. 12–13.

112. For a full transcription and translation of all of Rhusopoulos's letters to Rolleston with commentary, including art market prices of the time, see Galanakis and Nowak-Kemp 2011.

113. The general ephor of antiquities was paid 400 drachmas (= 400 francs) a month in 1859; salaries remained more or less the same until the end of the century (Petraikos 1982, p. 64).

PRIVATE EXCAVATIONS AND THE SALE OF ANTIQUITIES

The grave at Prophitis Ilias was excavated in August 1871—most likely, as already mentioned, without proper authorization from the general ephor of antiquities. Rhousopoulos, in his letter to Rolleston, describes the man who conducted the excavation as a tomb robber (τυμβωρύχος, literally “one who digs up graves”). In the same letter, Rhousopoulos explains that he has already given orders to “all the tomb robbers of Athens, who dig up old tombs all over Attica for the vases found in them, that whenever they find an intact skull or indeed any bones they should bring them to me in exchange for a good price, and they do so” (p. 3). Although Rhousopoulos may have intended to use the word τυμβωρύχος in its literal sense (“tomb digger”), in Greece of the 1870s, and indeed already in antiquity, this term had a negative connotation and clearly referred to people who dig up tombs in order to despoil them.¹¹⁴

In Greek press reports of the time, one also finds along with the tomb robbers the word αρχαιοκάπηλος, literally meaning “a man who trades in antiquities,” that is, an art dealer.¹¹⁵ The term, however, which was most likely coined in the 1860s if not earlier, was used right from the start to describe an art dealer involved in the illegal trafficking of antiquities: an “antiquities looter.”¹¹⁶ On the basis of his account of the Prophitis Ilias excavation, Rhousopoulos himself, who was a collector and at the same time a commercial art dealer,¹¹⁷ appears to have been in contact with a network of tomb robbers who provided him with antiquities that he then offered for sale abroad, most likely without authorization from the general ephor of antiquities.¹¹⁸ How, then, can one assess Rhousopoulos’s activities within the framework of the laws governing the excavation and sale of antiquities in Greece?

According to the first archaeological law of Greece (May 10/22, 1834), still in force in 1871, private excavations were legal as long as the state authorities were notified in advance and were provided with a list of finds.¹¹⁹ Unfortunately, lack of personnel, financial means, and political will—as

114. A similar term used in the Greek press of the time is the word ταφογδύτης, “grave-despoiler”; see, e.g., “Ἡ Τυμβωρυχία,” *Αλήθεια* 2703 (August 26, 1876), p. 3; online at <http://invenio.lib.auth.gr/record/99832/files/a30472.pdf> (last accessed September 3, 2012).

115. Details about Greek press reports in this article come from *Archaeological Events in Greek Press (1832–1932)*, a digitization project of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki: <http://invenio.lib.auth.gr/collection> (last accessed April 26, 2011). The project is based largely on M. Sofronidou’s

doctoral dissertation (2002).

116. See also Kokkou 1977, pp. 124–128, esp. p. 124.

117. Sherratt 2000, pp. 5–6, n. 14.

118. This topic is the subject of ongoing research by one of us (Galanakis) on Greek art dealers between 1834 and 1899, focusing on their operation, methods, and practices. In the present article we review only briefly the trafficking of antiquities within the framework of the first archaeological law in order to elucidate the circumstances surrounding the excavation and sale of the Prophitis Ilias material. The broader issue of antiquities trafficking

and its political implications in 19th-century Greece will be dealt with in greater detail elsewhere. See also Galanakis 2011, pp. 186–191.

119. Archaeological law of May 10/22, 1834, section Γ, chapter A, articles 61–64, esp. 63 (Petraikos 1982, pp. 132–133); chapter B, articles 65–75; chapter Δ, articles 100–109, esp. 103 (Petraikos 1982, pp. 133–135). For a discussion and interpretation of the law in 1876 by the notable lawyer and statesman Theodoros Deligiannis (1820–1905), many times prime minister of Greece, see Deligiannis 1876, pp. 268–310.

often stressed in the Greek press reports of the time—meant that it was not easy to follow or enforce these measures.¹²⁰

The first archaeological law permitted the free circulation and sale of antiquities discovered on private land within the kingdom of Greece because it provided for shared ownership of antiquities between state and private owners.¹²¹ The law stated that “all objects of antiquity within Greece, being works of the ancestors of the Greek peoples, are considered national property belonging to all Greeks in general.”¹²² Those objects discovered on public land as well as on the seabed, and in rivers, public streams, lakes, and marshes were property of the state,¹²³ while those antiquities already discovered on private land or already in private collections, prior to the enforcement of the law, belonged to the individual owners.¹²⁴ The ownership of antiquities discovered on private land after the ratification of the law was shared between the private owner and the state.¹²⁵

The loose interpretation of the 1834 law led to many uncontrolled private excavations. Despite several circulars issued by the state between 1834 and 1899, clearly condemning and prohibiting unauthorized excavations and the illegal exportation of antiquities, a private landowner maintained his right to conduct excavations with the help of a “private archaeologist” or a “tomb digger” (often sponsored by art dealers), as long as the authorities were notified and gave permission for such activities. People who were lawfully or quasi-lawfully “tomb diggers” one day, by permission of the general ephor, could the next day (or, with increasing frequency, simultaneously) act unlawfully as tomb robbers.¹²⁶ In addition, private owners had the right to sell antiquities found on their land and negotiate prices with potential buyers. Although the state was supposedly granted by law the right of first purchase from these private excavations,¹²⁷ landowners also had the right by the same law to offer the objects found to the highest bidder, most often a collector or an art dealer.¹²⁸

Between the 1860s and the 1880s, a crucially formative period for the Greek state and for European politics as a whole, the illegal trafficking of antiquities intensified. Demand from the great European museums increased, and Greek art dealers showed their eagerness to satisfy customers by mobilizing their network of tomb robbers. Despite repeated calls for the passage of a new law, no radical changes were implemented prior to the 1890s. Perhaps the single most important change was the introduction

120. On the various archaeological laws and circulars issued in Greece between 1834 and 1899, see Kokkou 1977, pp. 69–135; Petrakos 1982.

121. Archaeological law of May 10/22, 1834, section Γ, chapter A, articles 61–64, and chapter Γ, articles 76–99; Petrakos 1982, pp. 133–139.

122. Archaeological law of May 10/22, 1834, section Γ, chapter A, article 61; Petrakos 1982, p. 132.

123. Archaeological law of May

10/22, 1834, section Γ, chapter A, article 62; Petrakos 1982, p. 132.

124. Archaeological law of May 10/22, 1834, section Γ, chapter A, article 63; Petrakos 1982, p. 133.

125. Archaeological law of May 10/22, 1834, section Γ, chapter A, article 64, and chapter Γ, article 80; Petrakos 1982, pp. 133, 136.

126. On this point in particular, see Galanakis 2011, e.g., p. 177.

127. Archaeological law of

May 10/22, 1834, section Γ, chapter A, article 64 (Petrakos 1982, p. 133), and chapter Γ, article 80 (Petrakos 1982, p. 136); this explains why the Archaeological Society of Athens had to buy antiquities excavated on private land. See also Galanakis and Nowak-Kemp 2011 and, in more detail, Galanakis 2011, p. 187.

128. On the complexity of this issue, see also Kalpaxis 1990, 1993.

of the expropriation law of 1893, which for the first time gave the Greek state the right to expropriate private land on advantageous terms for the conservation of or search for antiquities.¹²⁹ However, this new law entailed a lengthy bureaucratic process, not least because the land could be expropriated only for purposes of “public exigency,” and the term “public exigency” was often open to interpretation and debate.¹³⁰ As a result, private owners often experienced prolonged difficulty in obtaining compensation and thus either destroyed the antiquities found on their land or smuggled them out illegally.¹³¹

It is worth mentioning here two reports that help to provide a better understanding of the situation: the first is from 1888 and constitutes a reaction to the lack of political determination in the face of successive looting activities and especially the robbery of the Numismatic Museum in 1887; the second was written by Edward Capps (1866–1950) on the eve of the passage in 1899 of the second archaeological law, which was intended to amend the flaws of the first law and improve immensely the enforcement and regulation of archaeological legislation in Greece.

The first report, entitled “Tomb Robbers and Antiquities Looters,” appeared in the Greek newspaper *Akropolis*; the author is unfortunately unknown (the report is signed only with the letter X).¹³² The author starts by detailing the inadequacies of the first archaeological law and the difficulties in prosecuting someone for the unauthorized export of antiquities. The article explains that the objects leaving the country are often small portable antiquities rather than bulky objects, and are thus easier to smuggle out. The author recommends first stopping the tomb robbers, before dealing with the antiquities looters (a clear reference to art dealers acting illegally), by taking action with regard to excavations conducted on private land. In addition, the report continues, the penalties provided for by the first archaeological law need to be more strict to deter tomb robbers from repeating their crimes. The author explains that robbers often offer a small part of their finds for sale to the state, while the lion’s share goes to art dealers or private collectors, or is smuggled abroad. Despite the tireless efforts of the Archaeological Service and of the Archaeological Society of Athens in buying objects from art dealers and conducting excavations on private land, private owners often asked exorbitant prices for their land out of fear—real or pretended—of being cheated when the finds were shared. Without the permission of the private owner, the state was not able to intervene and excavate, while the private owner could still, by law, arrange for a private excavation to take place on his land. The report concludes with a number of measures and actions that the state must take in order to prevent, control, regulate, and even minimize the looting of antiquities: introducing

129. For the expropriation law of 1893 (no. 2167, February 16, 1893), see <http://bit.ly/TbFM5z> (last accessed October 16, 2012). Law 2367 of March 2, 1896, included an additional article that allowed the Athens Archaeological Society to contribute to the compensation (see <http://bit.ly/U48J39>;

last accessed October 16, 2012), not just the state as indicated in article 5 of law 2167. Yet again, if the necessary amount was not raised within six months, the expropriation law was no longer valid.

130. Law 2167 of February 16, 1893, article 1 (Pantos 2001, p. 47);

see Kalpaxis 1993, p. 43.

131. Sherratt 2000, pp. 5–6, n. 14.

132. “Τυμβωρύχοι και αρχαιοκάπηλοι,” *Ακρόπολις* 2072 (February 17/29, 1888), p. 1, <http://invenio.lib.auth.gr/record/83977/files/a36026.pdf> (last accessed September 3, 2012).

more severe penalties, finding a way to expropriate land, and increasing the number of trained archaeologists, who should be better paid and protected by law in their archaeological activities.

Capps, a noted champion of Greek-American friendship and a professor of Classics at Princeton University (1907–1935), took part in excavations at Corinth and Eretria with the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. His article in *The Nation* in August 1899, “A New Archaeological Law for Greece,” provides a vivid account of the trafficking of antiquities during this period:

The demand for Greek antiquities has become so strong, and the prices in consequence so remunerative, that the business of smuggling such goods out of the country has reached enormous proportions. The Athenian dealers in antiquities have representatives in the principal capitals of Europe. They do business directly with the management of museums on both sides of the Atlantic, and openly claim to be able to fill orders for almost every variety of Greek antiques. This has long been known to the authorities at Athens, but they profess to be unable, under the present law, to check the traffic. I have heard responsible persons in Athens even express the belief that persons high in authority connive at it. However this may be, the business of collecting and exporting antiquities has become so extensive, and is so openly conducted, that ignorance or indifference on the part of the Government is no longer possible.¹³³

After the passage of the second archaeological law of Greece (July 27/August 8, 1899, law 2646), excavations did indeed become better regulated, since only state authorities were now allowed to conduct them.¹³⁴ Stricter penalties, such as imprisonment and loss of political rights, were also imposed on offenders. The policy of shared ownership that created so many problems was finally abolished, and the state became the sole possessor of all antiquities within Greece.¹³⁵ Antiquities that were deemed “unworthy” of Greek museums, on the grounds that better examples already existed in their collections, or that had been discovered prior to the enforcement of the new law, could still be sold freely within the kingdom of Greece.¹³⁶ In addition, the new law gave more control and power to the state, introducing at the same time more trained personnel into the archaeological service.

Rhousopoulos’s activities, however, were limited to the period of the first archaeological law. Apart from his own controlled or uncontrolled excavations, Rhousopoulos regularly bought objects from private owners or from the tomb robbers in Athens with whom, as mentioned above, he was

133. Capps 1899; though, as Capps himself admitted (p. 89), the new law differed from the old “only as regards the technical matter of ownership, and it must be acknowledged, does not seem to be very consistent with itself. It is believed that it will prove more effective by reason of the heavy penalties fixed for failure to announce promptly

the discovery of ancient remains, coupled with the reward offered to informers, as well as by the prohibition of unauthorized digging.” On the situation regarding the trafficking of antiquities in the 1880s, see also Reinach 1883, who takes the side of the dealers by remarking that antiquities laws with their strict regulations

nurtured acts of vandalism.

134. Archaeological law 2646 of July 24, 1899, chapter A, articles 1, 13–18 (Petraikos 1982, p. 141).

135. See also Kokkou 1977, pp. 132, 134, n. 1.

136. Archaeological law 2646 of July 24, 1899, chapter ΣΤ, article 25 (Petraikos 1982, p. 148).

apparently on excellent terms.¹³⁷ It is precisely from “private excavations” that Rhusopoulos, like other collectors and art dealers in Greece at the time, was able to build up a significant collection, from which numerous objects made their way onto the art market. It was because of his dealings in the sale of antiquities that he was stricken from the membership of the Archaeological Society of Athens.¹³⁸

The 300 tombs that Rhusopoulos excavated while building his house in downtown Athens in 1857, as well as his dealings with the tomb robbers operating in the area of modern Pangrati, as explicitly recorded in his letter to Rolleston, would have significantly enriched his collection. As early as 1874, Friedrich Wieseler (1811–1892), whom Rhusopoulos knew very well from his time in Göttingen,¹³⁹ would write in praise of the Greek professor’s collection, describing it as the best of the antiquities collections—both qualitatively and quantitatively—that he was able to inspect while he was in Athens. Rhusopoulos’s exquisite collection of gems, vases, statues, terracottas, and over 6,000 coins attracted the attention of an increasing number of tourists who visited his house (largely encouraged by him) to admire the antiquities on display. Soon after, the various guidebooks for travelers would list Rhusopoulos’s collection among those worth seeing while in Athens.¹⁴⁰

Indeed, according to Alexander Freiherr von Warsberg (1836–1899), Austrian consul in Corfu, in 1885 the richest private collection in Athens was that of Professor Rhusopoulos:

Even the yard, the lobby, and the staircase of the house are given over to [the storage of] antiquities. The most valuable are kept on the upper floors. It is not possible to say what I saw there in five narrow, low rooms crowded with art objects in such abundance that the owner himself can hardly move in there anymore; and [they are] much more worth seeing than many of those possessed by our museums, because there is not a single fragment among them whose Greek origin would be doubtful. Here in this one house it is indeed possible to survey and assess the entire range and value of the Greek arts and crafts.¹⁴¹

The inadequacies of the first archaeological law, not least with regard to the regulation and control of private collections (only partially remedied with the second archaeological law),¹⁴² along with the lack of trained personnel and funding, led to a precarious coexistence of private and state-controlled

137. A report in the newspaper *Καίροι* (January 20/February 1, 1873, p. 3, reproduced in Sofronidou 2002, p. 567, fig. 220) makes it clear that bringing antiquities to the house of Rhusopoulos for sale was a well-known practice, but in this case the report explains how an intermediary (a porter) was arrested on his way to hand over to Rhusopoulos a sculpture that had previously been purchased

from an antiquities looter for 300 dr. This would have been a legitimate transaction for Rhusopoulos, had the object been legally obtained in the first place; for this reason, only the antiquities looter and the handler were prosecuted. This minor incident shows the complexity of bringing to justice the people involved in the network of antiquities trafficking.

138. Petrakos 1995, p. 197, n. 2;

Tsaravopoulos 2004–2009, p. 332, n. 22.

139. On Rhusopoulos, his studies, and his family, see Galanakis 2008; Galanakis and Nowak-Kemp 2011.

140. Wieseler 1874, pp. 38–41.

141. Müller 1984, pp. 24–25; quotation from von Warsberg 1892, pp. 123–124.

142. Archaeological law 2646 of July 24, 1899, chapter ΣΤ, articles 24–28 (Petrakos 1982, pp. 148–149).

diggers. By lawful, quasi-lawful, or even unlawful methods, tomb diggers and tomb robbers provided the art market of Athens and private collectors and art dealers, such as Rhousopoulos, with a constant flow of objects. The Prophitis Ilias excavation is only one of thousands of episodes in this crucially formative period of archaeological exploration in Greece. The development of a more systematic ethos in the 1870s and 1880s led to a demand for a more solid framework for the protection and preservation of cultural heritage—an idea that took shape in response to the continuous and extensive looting of antiquities not just in Athens but across the kingdom of Greece.

CONCLUSIONS

Rhousopoulos's account of the excavation at Prophitis Ilias appears to contain an authentic and reliable description of the tomb and its contents. If the dealer had wanted to invent or spice up an archaeological assemblage, he could have easily done so: in addition to his academic knowledge of the subject, he had in his collection vases, metal and stone vessels, pinakia, and even fragments of wooden coffins. The assemblage described by Rhousopoulos, however, is consistent with finds from Attic graves of the late 5th to mid-4th century B.C., while the area of Prophitis Ilias had already attracted the attention of classical scholars such as Koumanoudis and art dealers such as Palaiologos and Bournias. There seems to be no reason why Rhousopoulos's story of the tomb's discovery at Prophitis Ilias cannot be accurate.

Rhousopoulos may have attempted to make his narrative dramatic in order to excite the interest of a potential client, while at the same time taking Rolleston into his confidence by sharing fresh information about excavations known to no one else. Yet there is nothing in his account, or in similar accounts, to suggest that this excavation did not take place or that the area around Prophitis Ilias did not yield ancient graves. Rhousopoulos generally comes across in his letters to clients as a trustworthy and reliable source of information—an ardent private collector and at the same time an academic art dealer. For this reason, we are inclined to accept his report of the Prophitis Ilias grave. What is more difficult to ascertain is the composition of the assemblage. There is always the possibility that Rhousopoulos decided to reveal to Rolleston only part of the assemblage, perhaps in an attempt to maximize his profit.

Without excluding the possibility that Rhousopoulos may have fabricated the "context" of the Prophitis Ilias burial, this letter, detailed even by Rhousopoulos's standards, is best interpreted as referring to archaeological activity in an area that by 1871 had already attracted the attention of tomb robbers and art dealers. Rhousopoulos's letter to Rolleston is an extraordinary source documenting the existence of 5th- and 4th-century B.C. tombs at Pangrati. If one trusts Rhousopoulos's description, then the 4th-century B.C. tomb at Prophitis Ilias is at present the most elaborately furnished of all the known graves that have yielded a pinakion (a regrettably

small sample). The presence in this grave of an allotment plate bearing the name of Theodoros from Ptelea does not in itself establish the location of this particular deme in the Attic landscape. Nevertheless, until more evidence comes to light, the area of Prophitis Ilias should be viewed as a candidate for the site of this ancient deme, albeit on the basis of a single find from a grave known solely through Rhousopoulos's account.

The archival documentation of this tomb and the classification of the lettering on the pinakion strongly suggest a date for the burial of Theodoros from Ptelea sometime between 367 and 350 B.C. We hope that the present article makes a small contribution toward the archaeology of an area of Athens hitherto little known, and leads to a better understanding of the operation of tomb robbers and art dealers in this crucially formative period of archaeological research in Greece.

APPENDIX

RHOUSOPOULOS'S LETTER TO ROLLESTON

The text of the following letter, written by Athanasios Rhusopoulos to George Rolleston in August 1871, is a translation from the Greek original (see Figs. 4–6). Parentheses are reproduced from the original text, and brackets indicate editorial interpolations.¹⁴³

(page 1) From Athens on 18 (30) August 1871.
to Professor Mr. George Rolleston
in Oxford.

Dear Colleague!

(page 2) I received your letter of the 16th of this month via post and the nineteen pounds via Mr. Watson and Stamatios Tzitzinias, and I thank you. Your Greek letter reminded me of the old Hyperboreans, whose country the ancient Greeks imagined as a true paradise and the bright abode of Apollo, who sent his priests and priestesses on arrows and swans from that place to the island of Delos; back then, all this was legend, but now you have indeed succeeded in turning your country into a paradise, self-sufficient for prosperity, because you have all the riches of science and art to ensure a good life. And so a great desire to see your country has seized me and next summer I may visit you, since the virtuous and venerable man Dr. Ridding (Rev. Dr. Ridding), whom I met here a few days ago, has spontaneously offered me his house for my stay. “My house,” he said, “has many beds, and you may come and stay for as long as you like.” If you see him please give him my greetings and [tell him] that I will send him the *Archaiologike Ephemeric* and write to him concerning whatever he wishes to learn from me. We also talked with him about you and he said that he knew you well. But we can discuss such matters more in the future.

The catalogue you request in your letter would be superfluous for the skulls I have sent you, since, as I wrote to you in my first letter, each skull has upon it a note regarding the place and time of its discovery written in my own hand, and in addition I repeated this information in more detail on the cover of each of the wooden boxes in which the skulls were sent. My notes on the skulls are trustworthy, except in the case of the fragmentary skull. I wrote the note on the cover of its box from memory, and for

143. Galanakis is responsible for the translation presented here. An earlier translation (with minor differences) and a full Greek transcription of the letter appear in Galanakis and Nowak-Kemp 2011, appendix 2, no. 2. The letter was written over two days, August 18/30–19/31, 1871.

Ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν τῆς 18(30) Αυγούστου 1871.

τῷ καθηγητῇ κυρίῳ Γεωργίῳ Ρολλεστον
ἐν Ἑλλάδι.

ἀγαπητέ συνάδελφε!

Ἔλαβα τὴν ἀπὸ 16 τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου μηνὸς ἐπι-
στολὴν σας διὰ τοῦ ταχυδρομίου καὶ τὰς δεκα-
εννία λίρας διὰ τοῦ κυρίου Οὐάτσωνος καὶ
Σταματίου Τζιτζίλια καὶ ὅας εὐχαριστῶ. ἡ
ἑλληνικὴ ἐπιστολή σας με ἐπαινῶμι καὶ τοὺς πα-
λαιούς Ἑκπαιδευτικούς τῶν ἐστίων τὴν χώραν
οἱ παλαιοὶ Ἕλληνας ὡς ἀληθινὸν παράδεισον
ἐφαντάζοντο καὶ ὡς φανταστικὴν κατοικίαν τοῦ
Ἀπόλλωνος, ὅς ἐπὶ βιβλίων καὶ κίβλων ἔγειρεν
ἐκίβηεν εἰς τὴν νῆσον Δῆλον τοὺς ἑρμῆς του
καὶ τὰς ἑρμῆς του. καὶ τότε μὲν ἦσαν
μῦθος ταῦτα, νῦν δὲ πράγματι κατεστῆσαν
ἡμῶς τὴν πατρίδα σας παράδεισον, ἀντάρχη
πρὸς ἐνδοξοσύνην. Δύο ἔργα πάντα τὰ ἀσπὶ
τῆς ἐπιστήμης καὶ τέχνης ἀγαθὰ πρὸς εὐτυ-
χίαν. καὶ ἐγὼ δὲ κατέλαβον ἐπιθυμία νὰ
ἴδω τὴν πατρίδα σας καὶ τὸ προσχερὲς τίρος
ἵσως ὅας ἐπισκεφθῶ, ἀφοῦ μάστιγα ὁ ἀγαθὸς
καὶ σεβάσμιος ἀνὴρ δόκτωρ Ρίττιγγος

Figure 4. The first page of Rhusopoulos's letter to Rolleston, dated August 18/30, 1871. Courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

- (page 3) this reason it should not be regarded as accurate, nor used for scientific purposes. If, however, the fragmentary skull itself also has a note on it, then that note should be considered reliable.¹⁴⁴ In my haste I did not examine the fragmentary skull at that time, if it already had a note on it since I considered it to be of secondary value. For future skulls, I will keep an accurate catalogue and write to you according to your wish, and [I will do] likewise with regard to tools of stone, bronze, and iron. I have already given orders to all the tomb robbers of Athens, who dig up old tombs all over Attica for the vases found in them, that whenever they find an intact skull or indeed any bones they should bring them to me in exchange for a good price, and they do so. However, skulls from the ancient times before Christ are rarely discovered intact. One might say that out of 500 tombs only one intact skull is removed, and that one is often damaged while it is being transported from the grave to the city, due to the carelessness of those who carry the skulls along with other objects and vases; for when the skulls collide with them they are destroyed. In my hurry or because of the brevity of our conversation I forgot to show you two skulls that I with my own hands removed from a grave in the street opposite my house, when in the year 1857 I was building my house and repaired the road. The entire area under my house, and all around it, is an ancient necropolis. I dug up about 300 graves under and around the house¹⁴⁵ but saved only three skulls, two of which I still have.¹⁴⁶ One of them is preserved in excellent condition. In the mandible there are 15 teeth in place; one of the two central incisors fell out and was lost. Both [skulls] were [found] in a single tomb, built and well coated [i.e., with plaster] all around, well covered on top with slabs, so that neither soil nor water entered; for this reason the skeletons were found complete in situ and presented me with a splendid sight. I regret that I did not collect the other bones as well, but I removed the skulls and filled up the tomb with soil, and it still lies there intact under the road, containing the remaining bones of the skeletons. A third intact skull I procured a few days after your departure. It was excavated to the south of Athens, beyond the Ilissos, in a place called Prophitis Ilias after the church that stands there. The tomb yielded fine vases, that is, polychrome lekythoi, [deletion] which are usually called Attic-made because they were manufactured only in Attica. On the basis of those vases we should date the skull to the 5th century
- (page 4)
- (page 5)

144. Rhusopoulos is referring to the possibility that the fragmentary skull might bear a previous note, written by the art dealer who sold it to him, which Rhusopoulos had failed to inspect.

145. This is the only information we possess concerning the existence of such a large necropolis in the area of Lykabettos. Curtius and Kaupert (1878, pl. II) note the existence of "Gräber" near the so-called Frog's Mouth hill. Rhusopoulos's house was on Lykabettos Street, though the exact address is uncertain. Some of Rhouso-

poulos's letters (in the Arthur Evans Archive, Ashmolean Museum) indicate that his house was located at 29 Lykabettos Street; Koumanoudis, however, places Rhusopoulos's house at 3 Lykabettos Street, where his son, Othon, later lived for a period of time; see Koumanoudis 1871, e.g., p. 220, no. 1817, p. 378, no. 3301. Lykabettos Street originally extended down to Stadiou Street, where the Parliament was located at that time; only later was it truncated at a point slightly to the northeast, where it intersects with Akadimias Street. A house owned by

the Rhusopoulos family, with 27 rooms, did indeed exist near the corner of Akadimias and Lykabettos Streets (now demolished). It is not clear whether this was once no. 3 or no. 29 (or indeed one and the same, given that the street was later shortened). The south side of Stadiou Street runs parallel, to a certain extent, to the ancient wall of Athens.

146. Perhaps these graves provided Rhusopoulos with a large number of objects that constituted the original core of his collection.

γινῆν ἐν Ἀσσυρίῃ παροικεῖσθαι. ἐν τούτων
 δὲ περίεσσι καὶ ἐλάττωσιν τοὺς χρόνους τοῦ κρα-
 νίου ἐν τῷ εἰσαίῳ πρὸ Χριστοῦ ἢ διὰ τὰ
 ἤμεθα ἐνὸς τῆς ἀσσυρίας μετὰ τὴν ἐ-
 τῶν 350-450 πρὸ Χριστοῦ. τοῦ κρανίου
 τούτου οὐδένα ὄσσηστος ἢ κἀνω σαγῶν
 καὶ ἔχει ἀπαιτίας τοὺς ὄσσηστος ἔχεις καὶ κα-
 τὰ χώραν. εἶχε δὲ μόνον 14 ὄσσηστος.
 ἢ ἀνω σαγῶν εἶχε 16, ὡς ἐπέμεινε μόνον
 εἰς κρανίου ἀριστῶς.

τῇ 19(31) Αὐγούστου 1871.

παράδοξος συγκυρία. καὶ παίγμα τῆς τύ-
 χης εἶναι ὡς ἀσσυρίων. ἐπίστω δαυμάσια.
 γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπισημῶν
 διενόστην ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλείας τῆς βασιλείας
 αὐτοῦ, ὅς ἀνασκαστῶν τὰς πύργων τοῦ Ἰλίου-
 σοῦ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ προφῆτου Ἰησοῦ εἶπε
 ἀπράκα μαρμαρίνην μεγάλην. μετὰ με-
 γάλῃ δὲ δουλοδία ἀφ' ἀνεσῆκωσθαι τὸ
 σκέπασμα τῆς ἀπράκας, μαρμαρίνον ὅν
 καὶ ἀπὸ μονοκόμματον, εἶδε δαῦμα μέγα
 ἐνὸς τοῦ τάρου. εἰσῆλθε δὴ δαδὴ Ἰαν ἢ ἐξυθί-
 νη δὴνη τοῦ κερῶν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τῆς καὶ ἦν
 ὑπαιθέτων δίαμα ἢ παροικεῖσθαι τῆς διὰ τὴν
 ἀσσυρίων τῶν κοσμημάτων τῆς καὶ τὴν
 ἀσσυρίων καὶ γὰρ τῆς ἐργασίας. κατα-
 βῆς εἰς τὸν τάρου ἢ δίαμα καὶ οὐδένα καὶ ἐξυθί-

Figure 5. Page 5 of Rhousopoulos's
 letter to Rolleston, showing the
 beginning of the second section,
 dated August 19/31, 1871. Courtesy of
 the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum,
 University of Oxford

before Christ, or to be more accurate, between the years 350–450 before Christ. From this skull, the lower jaw is preserved intact, having all the teeth healthy and in place. It had only 14 teeth. The upper jaw had 16 [teeth originally], of which only one left molar remained in place.

19 (31) August 1871.

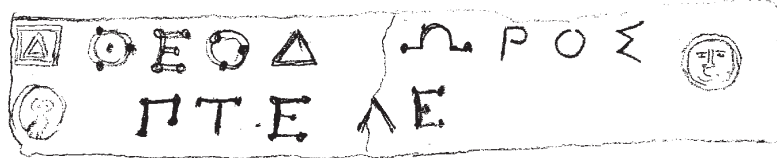
(page 6) An odd coincidence. The games of fortune are indeed sometimes wonderful. Yesterday, as I was writing my letter to you, I was interrupted by the visit of a tomb robber, who while excavating tombs beyond the Ilissos in the location of Prophitis Ilias discovered a large marble sarcophagus. After lifting,¹⁴⁷ with great effort, the cover of the sarcophagus, also of marble and in one piece, he saw a great marvel inside the tomb: the entire wooden coffin of the deceased was preserved in place, and its construction was a very beautiful sight because of the extravagance of its ornaments and the finesse and grace of its craftsmanship. Descending into the grave he wanted to collect the wooden planks of the coffin, but as they were already rotten they crumbled. However, he collected whatever [pieces] he could and brought them immediately to me after noon, in the heat of the third hour, along with the skull of the deceased, which was luckily intact, and all the vessels found in the tomb, namely three large alabstra; a spheroid iron vessel, seen for the first time; and a small one-handed black-glazed lekythos of the apple-shaped [type] with an architectural anthemion [i.e., a palmette] on the front. While I was marveling at the extravagance and grace and accuracy of the craftsmanship of the wood[en planks], whose nails have heads made of elephant bone, and whose cornices are decorated with many rounded-off architectural astragals of various sizes, the man [i.e., the tomb robber] also took out of his bosom an inscribed bronze band broken in two parts that was found inside this tomb, and it is a dikast's token, which, after it was cleaned by the man in my presence, was seen to bear the following inscription: ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΠΤΕΛΕΪΣΤΙΟΣ. The band bears two state seals and a third with the letter Δ, which denotes the fourth tribunal of Heliaia, that is, the law court of which this Theodoros was a member. I enclose here a sketch of the band that I made straightaway on the spot so that you can see it better. Here we have a unique circumstance, namely, that we know the name of the deceased; secondly [we have] the noteworthy remains of a wooden coffin, an unprecedented and very instructive example of the finesse and grace of the ancients in carpentry. A common carpenter did not deem it unworthy to carve and sculpt on an everyday piece of work just as many ornaments as we see on the marbles of the Erechtheion. The spread of the sense of beauty throughout all the classes of society of the Greeks during their prime and in all their works is indeed worthy of admiration. Now this skull, which not only preserves its mandible intact but also has most of the teeth in place, has an unusual feature. Above the area of the

(page 7)

147. The term used in the letter at this point is ἀνασήκωσε (i.e., the tomb robber lifted the lid of the sarcophagus). Originally Rhousopoulos had written ἀνασήκωσα, meaning

“I removed” (unless he was trying to write ἀνασήκωσαν, “they removed”), and then he corrected it to third-person singular.

τὸ δεξιὸν ὄμμα συνέβηεν ἀρὰ δὲ τὰ δεξιά μέρη ἐν
 τῷ κεφαλίῳ ἔδειξεν ὁσίων ἰχνη τέρφου, ταυρῶν καὶ ὄσων
 καὶ ἄλλων ἐν τῷ κεφαλίῳ ἔδειξεν ὁσίων ἰχνη τέρφου, ταυρῶν καὶ ὄσων.



Ἀρὰ δὲ 18 Αὐγ. 1871 ἐν Ἀττικῇ ἀποκταῖ
 ἐν τῷ μεσοβυζίῳ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐν δόμῳ προφήτου
 Ἡλίου • ὁσίων ἰχνη τέρφου καὶ ὄσων ὄσων
 καὶ ἄλλων ἐν τῷ κεφαλίῳ ἔδειξεν ὁσίων ἰχνη τέρφου, ταυρῶν καὶ ὄσων.

Figure 6. Page 9 of Rhousopoulos's letter to Rolleston. Courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

right temple there is a hole, and above the forehead [there is] a scar, from sling or arrow wounds, as I suppose.

Just now as I was writing this your compatriot and my friend came to visit me, George Finlay (G. Finlay), to whom I showed the coffin and the skull, and he was astounded by the spectacle, the likes of which he has never seen in Athens. And he has been living here for about 40 years.

(page 8)

But I see that my letter has grown to an unusual length. For this reason I will write to you about the tools some other time.¹⁴⁸ Next Sunday I will leave with Mr. Watson, as a favor to him, for Boiotia, where we will visit the notable historical sites. We will spend 3–4 days there.

He greets you as befits a brother,

Athan. S. Rhousopoulos.

This dikast's token was found broken into two pieces and had traces of silver on the back, evidence that it was welded when it was in the possession of the dikast Theodoros.

(page 9)

[drawing of the dikast's pinakion]

Found on 18 Aug. 1871 in an Attic tomb to the south of Athens at the site of Prophitis Ilias. The skull of this Theodoros was also preserved along with many elegant fragments of the wooden coffin.

148. Rhousopoulos had an extensive collection of stone tools (about 3,000 pieces) that he had collected or purchased throughout Greece. The other main collections of stone tools at the

time were those of George Finlay and Grigorios Bournias. On the stone tools that Rhousopoulos was offering for sale, see Galanakis and Nowak-Kemp 2011.

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