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"The difference in our professions": (in)forming collecting attitudes and archaeological practice through state efforts to thwart antiquities trafficking in Greece, 1860s-1880s

In recent years, efforts have been made to reassess 19th-century Greek archaeology through archival research, offering a more nuanced understanding of the individuals and dynamics that shaped the field.[1] Focusing on the period between the 1860s and 1880s, this paper examines the legal, institutional, and personal tensions surrounding the discovery, preservation, and collection of antiquities. Drawing on micro-histories from the personal office diary (*Ημερολόγιον Υπηρεσίας*) of Panagiotis Eustratiadis (1814/15-1888)[2]—General Ephor (Superintendent) of Antiquities from 1863 to 1884—it highlights how state responses to antiquities trafficking (in)formed emerging collecting ethics and archaeological practices. It argues that during this formative period, both the regulatory framework and the ethical principles guiding archaeological work were under active negotiation and co-constitution.[3]

1. "Of the monuments of ancient glory and pride, I found neither a catalogue nor a museum…"

These words belong to Epaminondas Deligeorgis (1829-1879) at the time a young and aspiring politician who would become Prime Minister of Greece six times.[4] Following the abdication of Otto–the first King of Greece–officially declared by Deligeorgis himself on 10 October 1862, he was appointed Minister of Public Education & Religious Affairs in the temporary government that took control of the country (11 October 1862-8 February 1863). The care of antiquities also fell in the remit of the said Minister. It was on 21 January 1863 that he delivered a scathing report to the National Assembly on the neglect of education and the care of antiquities under previous administrations.[5] He criticized the ineffective enforcement of antiquities legislation and initiated a reform effort by establishing a committee[6] to review legislation and propose measures for the protection, documentation, and eventual housing of antiquities in a national museum. Though resources were limited and progress slow, this moment marked a shift in official attitudes toward cultural heritage.

Deligeorgis wanted the Committee's assistance. He urged them to study the existing legislation with the aim of submitting specific and reasoned proposals regarding the total or partial retention, repeal, amendment or replacement of existing laws with regards to the discovery, proper collection and safe preservation of all the ancient monuments of the country.[7] He asked the Committee to consider further how the financial resources for excavations and other archaeological works could be expanded and how to deal with the storage of ancient objects until these could be transferred to the "great Museum of Antiquities" (already conceived as an idea in 1858 but only completed in 1889).[8]

The extent of the problem was known to all. Minister Andreas Londos issued a circular on 4 February 1865 to all Prefects and Eparchs of the Greek state on the basis that in the countryside "many private owners over several years now have supported the opening and looting of ancient tombs without [state] permission…those who sell antiquities bring shame to the nation and to themselves because they engage in the trade of the relics of their ancestors".[9] While the patriotic, national, rhetoric was not new, but rather an extension of the 1834 antiquities legislation,[10] the tone, approach and determination for things to change departed from past practice in the country.

Admittedly real change was not to be introduced but many decades afterwards. Nevertheless, early in the 1860s we can observe a shift in how the safeguarding of antiquities was to be

approached by the Greek authorities. Following Deligeorgis's initiative, key appointments were made: Zisis Sotiriou (c. 1800-1880), a veteran of the Greek war of independence (1821-1829), became the first Chief Guard of Antiquities,[11] and Panagiotis Eustratiadis, member of the Committee set up by Deligeorgis, succeeded Kyriakos Pittakis as General Ephor.[12] Eustratiadis, who was born on the island of Lesbos (then still part of the Ottoman Empire) and had studied in Greece and Germany, would become one of the key actors behind the professionalisation of archaeology in the country.[13] In his role as General Ephor and his efforts to monitor the trafficking of antiquities, he was supported by a growing network, ranging from the Athens Archaeological Society (most prominently Stephanos Koumanoudis, 1818-1899) to regional officers, schoolteachers and guards, and Panagiotis Stamatakis (ca. 1835-1885), who from August 1863 was working as an aide to the General Ephor among his other clerical duties.[14] On 12 January 1866, Eustratiadis asked for Stamatakis to become his assistant with the remit of helping him catalogue the antiquities in private houses, a role to which he was duly appointed on 15 July 1866.[15] This act constitutes the first major step, along the spirit of Deligeorgis's 1863 speech, towards a different, more systematic, recording and care for antiquities in this country and more broadly across Europe.

The next big step comes in the summer of 1871, when at the request of the Athens Archaeological Society (*hereafter* Society) and with the Ministry's approval, Stamatakis became a 'temporary inspector of antiquities' (a travelling Ephor) outside of Athens and Attica in an effort to record ancient objects in the provinces of the kingdom–a role that even the Society could not have predicted its development, with Stamatakis proving exceptionally suited to the role, meticulous, a born excavator and with an eye for detail–skills and actions that ultimately brought both Eustratiadis/the State and the Society before new situations and challenges, which while they partly encouraged, were further shaped by the dynamics of the people involved.[16]

Through a series of archival case studies, this paper examines how local officials navigated the legal and logistical challenges of protecting antiquities. Their actions reveal the evolving ethics and practices of archaeology, shaped by the pressures of the illicit trade, institutional reform, and the ambitions of individuals. These developments laid the groundwork for archaeology's transformation from antiquarian pursuit to regulated discipline.[17]

2. Thwarting the trafficking of antiquities

From the 1860s, the ethics of antiquities trading—especially among scholars—became a subject of growing concern in Greece. Central to this shift was the case of the Aineta aryballos,[18] a rare—for that time—early 6th-century BC Corinthian vessel, which implicated Athanasios Rhousopoulos (1823-1898), a professor at the University of Athens and a prominent figure in the Athens Archaeological Society, the oldest archaeological learned society in Greece.[19] Rhousopoulos, who had previously edited the *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* in 1862-63 (the *Archaeological Gazette*) and made significant discoveries at the Kerameikos,[20] was also a prolific collector and dealer from the 1860s to his death.

The legal context of the time was defined by the 1834 law on antiquities, which prohibited the unauthorized export of ancient objects (notably under Articles 76, 78, and 80).[21] By the mid-1860s, enforcement of this law had become a priority for the newly appointed General Ephor of Antiquities. When the aryballos was featured in the new acquisitions of the British Museum, as these appeared in the *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (no. 210, June 1866),

Eustratiadis—alerted by Koumanoudis and Petros Pervanoglous[22]—traced its provenance to Rhousopoulos, who had first published the object and was known to have possessed it.[23]

The Aineta aryballos (**Figure 2**) was said by Rhousopoulos to have been found in Corinth in the early 1850s and may have been, originally at least, loaned to him for study.[24] In 1860, we find it listed among the Professor's antiquities in Athens, where Adolf Michaelis (1835-1910) was able to examine and record it as a rare piece, "the oldest example of art",[25] comparable at the time only to Dodwell's 1805 inscribed Corinthian pyxis.[26] Additionally, Koumanoudis, a University colleague of Rhousoupoulos and the Society's Secretary from 1859 to 1894, had seen and copied its inscription at Rhousopoulos's home.[27] Given the object's rarity and epigraphic value, Eustratiadis concluded that no export permit would have been granted and initiated legal proceedings. In his diary, he noted that Rhousopoulos had been "trafficking antiquities for years" ("καπηλεύεται τα αρχαία"),[28] and formally reported the case to the Ministry.[29] Next to his entry of 22 December 1866 about the inquest that followed, Eustratiadis added a side note about Rhousopoulos describing him a "University Professor–Antiquities Looter".[30] A fine was issued in January 1867, though Rhousopoulos refused to pay, accusing Eustratiadis of professional envy and ignorance of international collecting norms.[31] By that time, and by Rhousopoulos's own admission, the Greek Professor had already amassed in his house on Lycabettus Street a collection of 4,000 ancient pieces, that is more than the number of entries in the Society's archaeological museum catalogue.[32]

This case unfolded amid broader scrutiny of private collections. In January 1866, Spyridon Logiotatidis (1832-1876),[33] an archaeologist for the Ministry who had a rivalry with Eustratiadis, accused the Ephor of inaction and noted that several university professors and officials had failed to submit inventories of their collections. In a letter dating 15 January 1866, Logiotatidis informed the Ministry that "amongst those [with antiquities] are some University Professors and other high officials".[34] (**Figure 1**) One such prominent figure that caught the attention of the authorities around the same time as Rhousopoulos was Spyridon Komnos, then Professor of Philosophy in the Cadet School, whose involvement in the trade was first exposed in the summer of 1866.[35] There are numerous fascinating aspects in the Komnos case–but they require a study of their own. It suffices to say here that these revelations sparked a heated public debate, with critics labelling dealers as smugglers and looters ('αρχαιοκάπηλοι' was the term used), while defenders like Rhousopoulos and Komnos portrayed themselves as protectors of heritage, "the true saviours of antiquities".[36] The cases of Rhousopoulos and Komnos reflect a pivotal moment in the redefinition of archaeological ethics in Greece with the position and standing of these men being portrayed from Eustratiadis and Koumanoudis, amongst others, as entirely incongruous.[37]

In the weeks following his fine and public defence, Rhousopoulos submitted a list of antiquities for sale to Eustratiadis via Koumanoudis—an act that blended defiance and resoluteness with a possible attempt at reconciliation. The Ministry, however, unanimously rejected the request, with Minister Charalambos Christopoulos asserting that "a member of the Archaeological Society cannot sell antiquities like dealers do".[38]

Rhousopoulos ultimately avoided payment of the fine and the case against him, despite Eustratiades' efforts to pursue civil action, seem to have dropped in 1870 due to statutory limitations.[39] As a result, and while widely known and condemned at the time,[40] Rhousopoulos's dealings became less easy to monitor for the authorities with his business taking from the late 1860s/early 1870s onwards, and more concretely than ever before, a covert form. One example is another inscribed Corinthian vase, long known in Athens and

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once owned by publisher Andreas Koromilas (1818-1858). This piece only attracted Eustratiadis's attention in 1868 following Rhousopoulos's publication and when it was in the possession of Dimitrios, the eldest son of Andreas Koromilas. Despite the interest shown by the Ephor as to the object's whereabouts, it is unclear if a purchase offer was ever made for it, with the vase in question ending up in the Rhousopoulos collection.[41] Around 1886 it was bought by Lucien De Hirsch[42] and it is today in the Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels. (**Figure 3**)

A key figure, but publicly unacknowledged until the author's own research, in the Aineta aryballos affair was Charles Merlin (1821-1896), British Vice-Consul in Athens, manager of the Ionian Bank's branch in Athens and a subscribing member of the Athens Archaeological Society.[43] In 1864, Merlin donated an archaic kylix[44] that he had purchased to the Society's museum as it became known that this object—first found in a tomb near Tenea in the Peloponnese in 1834—had been stolen from the archaeological collection on the Acropolis where it was stored. Merlin's act was possibly a gesture of goodwill but also, almost certainly, of strategic positioning.[45] (**Figure 4**)

By 1865, Merlin had purchased the aryballos from Rhousopoulos for the British Museum.[46] Charles Newton (1816-1894), Keeper of the Greek and Roman antiquities of the London institution, in his recommendation letter to the Trustees for the purchase of this object praised its rarity and its academic credentials. Being "of the highest interest as a specimen of palaeography", Newton felt that "so interesting specimen of early Corinthian fictile art should certainly be received for the National Collection".[47] With Merlin's name mentioned in Newton's official reports,[48] and again in the Museum's 'Accounts' of 1867 in relation to "a collection of antiquities from Greece",[49] the Vice-Consul became anxious and asked Newton "that in future transactions it must be distinctly & clearly understood that my name is not to appear publicly".[50] Edward Erskine (1817-1883), the British Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Greece, intervened: "[Newton] in enumerating the purchases made recently, he speaks of some valuable acquisitions made from you–which appears to me a somewhat imprudent statement to have made & one which may give you some annoyance at Athens in case it should attract the attention of anyone in Greece. I pointed this out to Mr. Newton & he expressed much regret at the imprudence he had committed & promised it should not occur again."[51] (**Figure 5**) Greek authorities, on grounds of political and economic favouritism, also tried to avoid accusing, openly at least, members of the foreign legations (such accusations only happening infrequently and in a counter-opposite degree to the actual scale of the latter's involvement in the antiquities trafficking). Merlin's transactions with the British Museum followed a similar, undercover, route to that of Rhousopoulos which–as far I have been able to deduce–went unnoticed by the Greek authorities, despite knowledge of his local collecting.[52]

Even after the exposure of their activities, however, Rhousopoulos and others like Komnos retained their academic and institutional positions. In 1868, Rhousopoulos succeeded Alexandros Rizos-Rangabes as Professor of Archaeology at the University of Athens. Similarly, Komnos who had also been named in the Press as a despoiler of antiquities, was appointed in 1870 Director of the National Library. Yet these seemingly early 'gains' were short-lived. Their monitoring and implication in cases of illegal exports of antiquities never seized for the authorities and all those on the opposite camp of the debate.[53] For example, in 1872 the judge–in a court case brought against Komnos by Konstantinos Polychronopoulos, the Athenian art dealer, for a dispute they had dating back to 1867–remarked the incongruousness with Komnos' profession of buying and selling antiquities for profit like a

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common dealer.[54] Komnos's efforts to present himself a "collector", not an "antiquities dealer", and to align himself with respected names of "those locally collecting antiquities such as [G.] Finlay, P. Kalligas and Merlin" failed as did his attempt to internationalise the case by publishing letters of Bloudov (former Russian Minister to Greece) and of Photiades Bey (the Ottoman Minister)—all known collectors but also exporters of antiquities. Scrutiny persisted and the judge asked him to pay what was owed to Polychronopoulos.[55]

It was not until the 1880s that formal consequences followed. Both Rhousopoulos and Komnos were expelled from the Athens Archaeological Society in 1882,[56] and Rhousopoulos was dismissed from his university post in September 1884 due to his extensive antiquities dealings.[57] These cases underscore the slow but growing institutional resolve to confront the blurred boundaries between scholarship, collecting, and commerce in 19th-century Greek archaeology–and the very transformation of what the discipline and its performers should be engaging with.

3. Of tensions and conflicts

By late 1866, Rhousopoulos and Komnos were certainly not the only figures under scrutiny for involvement in the illicit antiquities trade. Eustratiadis was also monitoring other prominent individuals, including Count André Bloudov (1817-1886), the Russian Minister Plenipotentiary at the Greek court (1861-1865), and François Lenormant (1837-1883), a rising French archaeologist. Both were implicated in unauthorized excavations and exports.

While in Greece, Bloudov had conducted excavations to which Rhousopoulos had access and collected antiquities, a number of which eventually ended up in the Hermitage in St Petersburg in 1888.[58] His most visible misstep came in 1865, almost two weeks prior to his departure from the country, when two crates containing sculpted fragments of a Roman sarcophagus were intercepted at the port of Piraeus. Rather than consulting the Ephorate, the customs officer sought advice from the Prime Minister himself, Alexandros Koumoundouros (who would serve in this role multiple times also throughout the 1870s and in the early 1880s).[59] It was Koumoundouros that forwarded the matter to the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education, through whom it eventually reached Eustratiadis.[60] The fragments in question ended up in the national collections and are now in the Archaeological Museum in Athens where, following Eustratiadis' persistent quest to find the original source of the sale to the Russian Minister, were later united with a third joining fragment.[61] No charges were brought against Bloudov, who was most likely protected by diplomatic immunity.

Although these fragments stayed in Greece, other antiquities Bloudov had collected while in the country were later sold by his widow to the Hermitage. The Director of the Hermitage Museum, Alexander Alexeevich Vasilchikov (1832-1890) noted at the time of the Bloudov purchase that "he lacked the skill of his more fortunate successor P.A. Saburov" and that he "had to loan[62] [sic] to the Athens museum the greater part of the collection of Greek antiquities which he had collected with great difficulty and expense at a time when Greek laws strictly prohibited the export of even the smallest valuable antiquities from Greece. The late Count Bloudov did not hide his acquisitions in Athens, but he did not know how to secretly send them abroad on Russian and foreign ships. What he managed to take with him, however, turned out to be very remarkable",[63] including a marble head of Dionysus/Bacchus (today identified as a marble head of a late 5th century BC Hermes).[64]

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Meanwhile, François Lenormant[65] was known for removing antiquities from Thera without authorization,[66] a story that drew press attention.[67] The island's seismic activity in 1866 had attracted both scientific and antiquarian interest,[68] fuelling a local market in Theran antiquities. There was an established bourgeois antiquarian community on the island and explorations of locals and foreigners, who soon after visited the island, provided the market with antiquities with a Theran provenance.[69]

Merlin criticized both Lenormant and Bloudov for drawing unwanted attention to the trade, thereby endangering its continuation. In a letter to Newton dated 5 October 1866 he noted: "By-the-by, Mr. LeNorman & Mr. Bloudoff have nearly rendered the exportation of antiquities impossible from this. The former by publishing an account of what he carried off in the French papers[70] & the latter by his blunder about the marble bas-reliefs."[71]

In response to these incidents, Eustratiadis, assisted by Panagiotis Stamatakis and a growing network of informants, intensified efforts to monitor and prevent illegal exports. A notable case occurred in 1870 during the French School's excavation at Akrotiri on Thera, led by Claude-Henri Gorceix and Henri Mamet.[72] This was the first prehistoric dig for the French School at Athens and their third major project at the time (following their work on Delos and the Acropolis). Yet this excavation, as Eustratiadis noted, was only quasi-legal ("ημιεπίσημος"), with the Prime Minister himself granting the permit ("άδεια παρά του Πρωθυπουργού") not the General Ephorate of Antiquities, the official body responsible for issuing it revealing tensions in the line of command and the decision-making process.[73]

When six crates of antiquities arrived at Piraeus from Thera,[74] Eustratiadis ordered their confiscation, citing the government's lack of awareness ("με άγνοια της κυβερνήσεως") and in fear that they might get smuggled.[75] Although Eustratiadis wanted the crates to be inspected in the Piraeus, the undignified for him ("αναξιοπρεπής") request of the French side to transfer them to the French School prevailed.[76] The episode sparked public debate. While most press reports condemned the French actions,[77] Spyridon Logiotatidis—an outspoken critic of Eustratiadis—used the incident to renew accusations of negligence.[78] These tensions reveal the fragile balance between national sovereignty, foreign influence, and the evolving—but clearly not yet uniformly agreed—authority of the Greek state in regulating archaeological activity.

In response to accusations of arbitrariness by Émile-Louis Burnouf (1821-1907), Director of the French School at Athens,[79] French Ambassador Baron Georges-Napoléon Baude (1830-1887) intervened at the end of June 1870 to resolve the dispute over the Theran crates. A compromise was reached: the antiquities would remain in Greece but be housed in the French School's collection.[80] In 1876, some of these Theran objects—deemed 'duplicates' (doublons)[81]—were offered to Emperor Pedro II of Brazil, who was visiting Greece informally and had a known interest in archaeology.[82]

The Gorceix affair, unfolding during a politically volatile period for both Greece and France,[83] highlights internal divisions within the Greek government regarding the regulation of excavations and the export of antiquities. While some officials permitted such activities under diplomatic or scholarly pretexts, growing public scrutiny—especially through publications in the Greek press—began to shift the discourse.[84] Increasingly, antiquities collecting was framed not as an elite or educational pursuit, but as a lucrative and problematic trade, prompting calls for stricter oversight and reform.[85]

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4. Collecting for profit, for glory, for knowledge

The intensifying competition over antiquities in the 19th century had three major consequences: first, the Greek state—supported by the Athens Archaeological Society—entered the antiquities market, purchasing objects for national collections. While aligned with the 1834 law, this development heightened financial competition among collectors. Second, it contributed to the normalization and only partial regulation of the antiquities trade. Third, it fostered a gradual shift in archaeological ethics, emphasizing excavation, documentation, and scholarly interpretation over private collecting and profit.[86]

The case of Heinrich Schliemann (1822-1890) illustrates this transformation.[87] His repeated attempts to secure excavation rights at Mycenae from 1870 onward reveal the growing tension between private initiative and state control. Initially seeking to retain a share of the finds, Schliemann was informed by Eustratiadis that Mycenae, as public land, did not permit such arrangements. The Ephor's position led Schliemann to record in his diary on 24 April 1870 "j'ai en fin consenti à faire les fouilles seulement pour le gloire et à me contenter du plaisir que j'éprouve à les faire" ("I finally agreed to do the excavations only for the glory and to be content with the pleasure I feel in doing them").[88] Despite these claims, however, Schliemann continued to press for ownership rights.[89]

With his Trojan explorations in full flow, he was unable to commit to a project in Greece. In January 1873, he returned with a new request, this time asking to excavate at Mycenae and Olympia and to keep the discovered antiquities as his property until his death, when they–along with the Trojan finds (at a time when the 'treasure of Priam' had not yet been discovered)–would be bequeathed to the Greek state and housed in a museum bearing his name.[90] The rejection infuriated Schliemann who, upon the discovery of the Trojan treasures, decided to deploy them ('weaponise' is the term he uses)[91] as a bargaining chip with the Greek government for a permit for both Mycenae and Olympia (the latter eventually conceded to Germany and the German Archaeological Institute).

On 9 February 1874, Koumanoudis stressed to Schliemann that the government would be inclined to give him permission to excavate at Mycenae provided he abided by the law, repeating that Mycenae is public land and sending him a copy of the archaeological legislation.[92] Schliemann seems to have ignored this advice, asking Eustratiadis on 11 February about an excavation permit with the term of keeping half of the discovered finds for all the expenses he would be charged with for a project of this scale. Without waiting for the Ephor's reply, he went to Mycenae and conducted unauthorised excavations aided by Emile Burnouf and his daughter who acted as an illustrator.[93] The local authorities informed Eustratiadis who requested an end to Schliemann's activities.

By March 1874, Schliemann was ready to request a permit anew "in the name of science and in the name of the glory of Greece", a permit that would be in accordance with the stipulations of the 1834 law.[94] "Whatever antiquity I find I am obliged to give to the representative of the government whoever might be appointed to accompany me. I only reserve the privilege of publishing them. In case I discover a treasure, I leave it to the government to act according to the law".[95] The much-desired permit was finally issued on 29 March 1874 under strict conditions: state ownership of all finds, limited excavation scope, and oversight by Panagiotis Stamatakis who would be responsible for dictating the detailed terms of conduct.[96] The main concession made was to accept Schliemann's term of primacy in publication of any discovered finds. Schliemann did not accept the terms which included

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the employment of a limited amount of workers, the restriction of activity within the citadel, specifications regarding where to deposit the excavated soil (so that they can inspected and shifted), the payment of the workers employed, and that any work could not begin without the presence of Stamatakis who had been appointed as the Greek representative in the Mycenae project.[97] At the end, the lawsuit that the Ottoman Empire brought forward against Schliemann for the exportation of the Trojan treasures, resulted in the Greek government annulling the 1874 Mycenae permit.[98]

The settlement of the Trojan issue on 15 April 1875 (by paying 46,000 francs to the Ottoman Empire as compensation for half of the Trojan antiquities that were originally state-owned), his financing (13,000 drachmas) of the controversial demolition of the Frankish tower on the Acropolis, and changes in the political scene of Greece created favourable conditions for Schliemann who on 4 July 1876 submitted a new application for excavations at Mycenae, Tiryns, the Boeotian Orchomenos and "other ancient cities of Greece".[99] The terms were similar to his 1874 request: to cover all expenses personally and to conduct the excavations in conjunction with the Archaeological Society, to have no right on the finds other than to publish and illustrate them first, and that all antiquities will be possessions of Greece and they should be deposited where the Society deems appropriate "accompanied by an inscription that they were discovered thanks to my expenses".[100] The permit was granted, and along with the detailed Olympia 1874/5 convention between the Greek and German governments, the Mycenae excavations mark a turning point in the professionalization of archaeology in Greece—where state oversight, legal compliance, and publication primacy began to define the discipline. [101]

Contradictory as it may seem for the Greek state to abandon its right to knowledge-production in the publication of the results of specific excavations, it was a concession (if it can be described as such) that not only followed the pressures of the time but was probably also considered a potential antidote to the trafficking of antiquities. An early step in this direction, pioneering really for the standards of the time, was article 13 in the 1862 organisation of the Athens Archaeological Society, the main sponsoring body of excavations in the Greek state, which declared that antiquities should be accessible to all scholars "who can freely copy and illustrate and publish them…the Society retains no priority right" at a time when major discoveries were taking place of great artistic and scientific value.[102] Fitting is also here the comment made by Koumanoudis in 1877 that "we [referring to the Greek scholars of the time] have decided to be diggers of science. Others may be its builders and architects."[103] As Secretary of the Society for several decades, Koumanoudis shaped, along with Eustratiadis, the direction of travel of Greek archaeology in the period under study. Through his actions, he systematically tried to create and (in)form public opinion in favour of preserving antiquities for the Greek national collections.[104]

Therefore, the shift from physical collecting to scholarly publication as a form of archaeological prestige gained traction in the 1870s, marking a gradual transformation in the ethos of the discipline. While ownership of antiquities remained contentious, the right to publish and receive recognition for discoveries increasingly became a preferred alternative among emerging professionals. Yet, this transition was slow and uneven, with traditional and modern practices often coexisting.[105]

A case in point is the relief of Hygeia and Asclepius, discovered in 1875 by Christos Plagakis, a villager of Chrysapha (the capital of Therapne) in Laconia while cultivating his land at Pikramygdalia. On 8 October 1875, Eustratiadis recorded in his *Ημερολόγιον* a relief

slab as being in private possession and representing 'Hygeia and Asclepius':[106] "a slab plate bearing two complete bodies of a man and of a woman sitting side by side on an armchair and looking at the same direction (forward), the woman holds in her hand a kind of krater (bowl?) behind them a snake can be seen, from the feet of the chair to the top, where it turns its head backwards. At their feet, towards the front, are two small complete bodies one holding a bird and the other a flower in their hands" (original text in Greek). (**Figure 6**)

Despite the interest from Eustratiadis and local officials (i.e., the Mayor of Therapne and the Prefect of Laconia),[107] the state failed to secure the object for the Museum that was being formed in Sparta.[108] In the meantime, Eustratiadis received a report from the high school headteacher of Sparta, on 24 October 1875, who confirmed that the relief was "undamaged and identical to no. 3 that exists in the Museum" (original in Greek).[109] Yet bureaucratic delays, limited resources, and political caution[110] hindered acquisition efforts. On 25 October 1877, the Prefect of Laconia was instructed to enquire Christos Plagakis again what he was asking for the relief to be purchased by the government as they were "told that he is willing to sell it".[111]

By late February/early March 1878, a final inconclusive effort was made to purchase it: Eustratiadis recorded that Napoleone Felice Martinelli, cast maker and working as a formatore (conservator) for the Archaeological Ephorate,[112] on his return from Olympia accused the Mayor (of Therapne?) of now being in possession of the relief, an information that prompted Eustratiadis to order the school headteacher "to take care of the purchase and to move [this sculpture] to the museum" (original in Greek).[113]

Such episodes were common. Although the 1834 law required landowners to report finds and allowed the state first right of purchase, enforcement was weak.[114] Many antiquities remained in private hands, with local officials often acting as intermediaries. The state relied heavily on donations and goodwill, while private owners retained the right to sell domestically if state offers were unsatisfactory—though export remained illegal (1834 law on antiquities, section Γ, chapter 3, articles 76 and 80).[115]

The Chrysapha relief was eventually published in 1877 by Heinrich Dressel (1845-1920) and Arthur Milchhöfer (1852-1903). For their drawing (**Figure 6**), produced by L. Otto and F. Hübner, they used a cast made by Martinelli, the only cast maker in Greece at the time who was regularly employed by the Ministry to help with conservation.[116] It was upon the instigation of Dressel and Milchhöfer that Martinelli produced the copy.[117] While his presence was the luckiest thing ("glücklichste Umfang"), the two scholars noted that they saw several important things too late and when Martinelli had run out of plaster ("als Martinelli der Gips bereits ausgegangen war"). As a result, these could no longer be copied.[118] Martinelli's dual role—serving both state and foreign scholars—illustrates the blurred lines between official and unofficial channels. Could this shortage of plaster explain why casts were made for some sculptures, but not for other pieces? While it remains a possibility, it also presented an opportunity since it made detection for certain pieces almost impossible for the authorities, at a time when photography had a very limited use in archaeological documentation.

The stele of Thiokles (**Figure 7**), also published by Dressel and Milchhöfer in the same *Mitteilung* volume as the Chrysapha relief, exemplifies this dynamic. Discovered in an area north-east of the village of Magoula close to Sparta,[119] in 1877 it was in the possession of a private collector ("Privatbesitz").[120] The two scholars came across it in June 1877,[121] while

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researching material for their study.[122] Some of this material, in private possession, was unregistered and had not yet fallen in Stamatakis's attention who was tirelessly trying to record as much as possible. The stele of Thiokles was one such sculpture that had gone unnoticed by the authorities. Its small size made it also highly transportable and easy to avoid detection (26.2 x 30cm, 5.2cm thick). By the time of publication in November 1877, it had already been exported—without a permit[123]—to Rome via Dressel, who in 1878 sold it to the Berlin Museum.[124] Milchhöfer later confirmed the acquisition in correspondence with his former teacher and mentor Heinrich Brunn,[125] noting the relief that was acquired by them at Magoula ("von uns erworbene"), they had evidenced ("nachgewiesen") to Martinelli in a garden.[126] There is no evidence that Martinelli ever reported this relief to Eustratiades or Stamatakis. In this respect, Martinelli was doing something very common for the time (like the Mayor of the Therapne as remarked above): playing all sides and trying to gain favour, in legal, semi-legal and occasionally illegal ways.[127]

These cases reveal how publication primacy and free exportation of casts, while contributing to scholarly knowledge, did not necessarily prevent the illicit trade. Instead, they often coexisted with it. Figures like Martinelli navigated multiple allegiances, reflecting the complex and often contradictory realities of archaeological practice in 19th-century Greece—where evolving ideals of preservation and scholarship in the minds of the few were still entangled with older habits of collecting and commerce that still formed the dominant collective thinking on this topic.

To return to Dressel and Milchhöfer: they noted in their publication that the Chrysapha relief (at the time of writing at least) was still in the possession of Christos Plagakis.[128] Very soon after, however, it was acquired by Peter Alexandrovich Sabourov (1835-1918), the Russian ambassador in Greece, i.e., around the time that Eustratiadis made the final effort to secure it for the Sparta Museum.[129] The last we hear of the Chrysapha relief from the side of the Greek officials is in an entry by Stamatakis in the register book of the Sparta Museum and in relation to a similar relief discovered in March 1881 by Diamantis Theodoropoulos at Goniais about three quarter of the hour from Chrysapha to the south. Stamatakis added the information that Goniais was to the south of the findspot where "the relief smuggled to Russia" had been found, on the west slope of a hill known as Pikramygdalia.[130]

Sabourov's collecting activities were well known to many,[131] including the Press[132] and Eustratiadis, who as early as 1875 remarked the need to have them closely monitored so that the antiquities acquired "are not exported illegally" ("ίνα μη εξαχθώσι λάθρα").[133] Despite this, Sabourov successfully exported a substantial collection upon his departure from Greece in 1879, including Tanagra figurines, vases, bronzes, sculpture and gems. The collection was packed by none other than Martinelli himself,[134] who had in 1875 informed Eustratiadis that the Russian Minister was placing his antiquities in crates for export! I have not been able to locate an export licence, nor is there a relevant entry in Eustratiadis's diary.

In the summer of 1880, and upon arrival in Berlin, he tasked the 27yo Adolf Furtwängler (1853-1907)–who was to become on the leading German archaeologists of the late 19th and early 20th centuries–with the study and publication of his collection. Furtwängler accepted with no hesitation praising the Russian ambassador for his achievement: "Favorisé par des circonstances, en particulier par les fouilles si activement poursuivies à Tanagre, ce collectionneur, grâce à son zèle, à son amour de l'art et à son goût éprouvé a réussi à réunir, en nombre plus considérable que cela n'est généralement possible à un simple particulier, de fort belles œuvres…proviennent toutes de la Grèce proprement dite."[135] And following the

norms of the time, Furtwängler himself engaged in unauthorized acquisitions. In 1882, he found a Laconian relief (37 x 27cm, 10cm thick) on the coast of Maïna (the Medieval name of the Mani Peninsula) near Areopolis, which he smuggled ("herausgeschmuggelt", his own words) out of Greece hidden in a shawl in the spring of 1882.[136] (**Figure 8**) He published it a year later in the *Mitteilung*, and sold it to Count Tyszkiewicz in Rome, who sold it in turn to Carl Jacobsen for the Glyptotek in Copenhagen (inv. no. 423).[137] The original asking price for it from Count Tyszkiewicz was 10,000 francs.[138]

In March 1884, Sabourov sold the entirety of his collection[139] for financial reasons:[140] the bulk (including sculpture and vases) was sold to Berlin, while some 170 terracottas–valued originally by Sabourov at 260,000 Marks–were soon after sold to the Hermitage for 200,000 Marks[141] so that he could "see the unique collection, which no other museum possesses, often again".[142] The Berlin acquisition, valued at 340,000 Marks,[143] included the Chrysapha relief (Antikensammlung Berlin, Sk 731). Furtwängler, familiar with the collection, advised on the selection.[144]

By the 1880s, such practices—commonplace in earlier decades—were increasingly scrutinized.[145] While figures like Sabourov were still celebrated abroad, in Greece they came to symbolize the tensions between national heritage protection and the privileges of foreign elites. As a result, this high-profile sale[146] drew sharp criticism in the Greek press,[147] which condemned Sabourov for exploiting his position, privileges and immunity to smuggle antiquities out of the country "deceiving Greek laws, [which] he first should have respected"; and that ultimately his collecting was about personal profiteering as opposed to advancing knowledge that "the basis of collections should be about".[148] His collecting was portrayed not as scholarly but as self-serving—"fond of antiquity to exaggeration" ("φιλάρχαιος δὲ εἰς ὑπερβολήν")[149]—and as undermining the legal and ethical standards the country was striving to enforce.

5. (In)forming collecting attitudes & archaeological practice through the pressures of the antiquities trade

> "Mr. Rousopoulos's ill will against me…undoubtedly stems from the difference in our professions, because he is an antiquities dealer and all the antiquities that he buys and sells are exported from Greece. Instead, I conduct large-scale excavations out of love and sheer enthusiasm for science, and I collect only those antiquities that I excavate and import them to Athens from abroad."[150]

In March 1874, Heinrich Schliemann published a letter in two Athenian newspapers—one in Greek and the other in German—defending his archaeological work and attacking Athanasios Rhousopoulos.[151] Their disagreement was purportedly academic over the meaning and use of certain Homeric words and their association with some of the Trojan antiquities as well as with their dating, which the Greek Professor considered "barbaric…hundreds of years later than [the treasure] of Croesus".[152] Yet Schliemann framed their conflict as ultimately a matter of professional distinction on what archaeology is or should be, somewhat ironically of course given his own legal infractions.[153] After all, the letter was written and published a few weeks after his first, unauthorised, digging at Mycenae and days before he was granted the first, much-desired, permit which, however, was annulled because of his row with the Ottoman Empire over their share of the Trojan antiquities.[154]

For Schliemann, Rhousopoulos was not an archaeologist, but an antiquities dealer profiting from exports, while he himself was a scientific excavator, an altruistic and benevolent promoter of science and knowledge–a view shared by some of his supporters, though not espoused by

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Eustratiadis who considered him "a cunning man, through trickery lulls and seeks to deceive the authorities".[155] Therefore, Schliemann's defence reflects well the shifting discourse around archaeology, ethics, and legitimacy and helps illustrate the emerging divide between collecting for knowledge and collecting for profit.[156] The difference in their professions ("της διαφοράς των ημετέρων επαγγελμάτων/in der Verschiedenheit unserer Beschäftigung") was increasingly echoed by state officials and reports in the Greek press.[157] It was around the same time that it began to shape the boundaries of acceptable archaeological practice. [158] Yet, as the archival records show, these boundaries, between 'collectors', 'dealers' and 'archaeologists', remained fluid.[159]

The establishment of foreign archaeological schools in Greece further complicated the landscape.[160] While these institutions publicly condemned illicit digging, their members often engaged with private diggers and dealers to gain access to newly unearthed material. Olivier Rayet (1848-1887), a member of the French School, criticized Greek legislation for obstructing research–a rather misinformed position at best.[161] Even to transport antiquities from one place to another within the kingdom, Rayet noted, "is not done without a host of vexations, under the pretext of surveillance", perhaps also indirectly referring here to the Thera case of 1870.[162] While he lamented the clandestine nature of most excavations, Rayet himself was deeply involved in the antiquities trade, particularly of Tanagra figurines, and acted as a source for antiquities for the Louvre.[163] His writings reveal a tension between scholarly ideals and the practical realities of sourcing material for study: "the Greeks who carry out the excavations, peasants or speculators, care little about sharing the profit after having borne alone the risks and all the expenses…their compatriots [are] people …with generally rather poorly stocked purses and not very generous appraisers of objects of art. It follows that all excavations are clandestine…so it is impossible for archaeologists to see ancient pieces in situ…the Archaeological Society of Athens thus ignores the origin of half of the objects preserved in its museum".[164]

Rayet's drive, as it appears in his publication on Tanagra figurines, is about protecting and advancing academic knowledge–attributing the depletion of any contextual knowledge behind the Tanagra figurines that flooded European markets in the 1870s to the strictness of Greek legislation. While, therefore, those involved in unearthing the past may have given the impression that they worked for what looked like a similar cause–in the name of archaeology (a nascent discipline in its own right in modern professional terms) and the advancement of knowledge–clearly their attitudes, approaches, and ideas were often very different, conflicting and contradictory.[165] Therefore, through the efforts to control antiquities, the very framework and meaning of 'archaeology' came under negotiation.[166]

Figures like Eustratiadis, Koumanoudis and Stamatakis played central roles in shaping the discipline's institutional framework in Greece. While Eustratiadis sought to balance legal enforcement with pragmatic accommodation of private digging, Koumanoudis and Stamatakis advocated for stricter state control and professional standards. Stamatakis's meticulous documentation, in particular, his collecting efforts, and overall commitment to recording all discovered finds positioned him as a pioneer of modern archaeological practice in Greece.[167]

Yet, and despite his contributions, Stamatakis's work remained underrecognized for decades, overshadowed by institutional neglect and the dominance of foreign scholars. His disagreements with Eustratiadis over excavation permits led to temporary resignations, but he consistently returned to his post, driven by a sense of duty.[168] Ultimately, it was Stamatakis's

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vision—of archaeology as a state-regulated, methodologically rigorous discipline—that would prevail through his successors in the country.

"Il est plus facile de changer la loi que de changer la nature humaine" ("it is easier to change the law than to change human nature") remarked an anonymous French author in 1875 in relation to the 1834 law and the antiquities trade in Greece.[169] Although the inadequacies of the law were apparent to those enforced with its implementation as early as the 1860s,[170] no such change occurred until significantly later. When it did occur, with the passing of the second antiquities law of Greece of 1899, that change was not accompanied with a more liberal trade in antiquities, as some people in Greece and the majority of foreign scholars was hoping for, but with the introduction of stricter penalties and a total bar on shared ownership and the conduct of private digs outside the remit of the Ministry and of scholarly institutions.[171]

This paper has sought to bring the struggles over antiquities in 19th-century Greece down to the level of individual actors and everyday practices, primarily through the lens of the notes of the state official in charge with archaeology at the time, Panagiotis Eustratiadis, in a period of increased demands and pressures that the country's archaeological establishment was barely able to sustain.[172] By treating 'framework' and 'practice' as interdependent, and through a series of micro-historical case studies, it has shown how the trafficking of antiquities—and the efforts to curb it—shaped both collecting attitudes and the emerging discipline of archaeology.

Attitudes toward the trade were far from uniform. Competing views on ownership, excavation rights, and publication reflected broader tensions over the meaning and purpose of archaeology itself. The rise of modern archaeology in Greece coincided not only with an expansion of knowledge, particularly of pre-Classical periods, but also with growing debates over who had the right to excavate, publish, and possess antiquities.[173]

The trade in antiquities was not the domain of a few shadowy figures but a widespread, socially embedded practice involving diplomats, scholars, collectors, local officials and a good amount of the country's population.[174] Archival sources now allow us to reconstruct these networks and their actions—and the asymmetrical power relations that framed them. Over time, public opinion—shaped by press coverage and state discourse—began to shift, increasingly condemning profiteering and valorising scientific excavation. Yet, the boundaries between "archaeologist", "collector", and "dealer" remained blurred.[175] Foreign archaeological schools, while publicly opposing illicit trade, often relied on it for access to material. Figures like Rhousopoulos, Dressel and Milchhöfer, Furtwängler, Rayet and Schliemann illustrate the contradictions of the period: professing scientific ideals while engaging in or benefiting from the very practices they criticized.

Ultimately, this paper argues that the emergence of archaeology in Greece cannot be understood through binaries—legal/illegal, professional/amateur, national/foreign—but through the social, political, and economic entanglements that defined the period.[176] Only then we can start grasping more what collections of antiquities meant for all those involved in the study of Greek art and archaeology.[177] These stories, once familiar but later forgotten, challenge the triumphalist narratives of disciplinary progress[178] and call for a more nuanced, multivocal history of archaeology[179]—one attentive to conflict, negotiation, and the everyday realities from which the field ultimately emerged.

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Abbreviations

BM Accounts 1866 = Accounts of the income and expenditure of the British Museum for the Financial Year ended the 31st day of March 1866.
BM Accounts 1867 = Accounts of the income and expenditure of the British Museum for the Financial Year ended the 31st day of March 1867.
CVA = Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum.
DDEAM = Directorate of National Archive of Monuments, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports.
Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον* = Personal office diary of Panagiotis Eustratiadis, the General Ephor (Superintendent) of Antiquities of Greece, 1864–84 (Archives, Archaeological Society of Athens).
Eustratiadis, *Παράρτημα* = Supplementary documents of Panagiotis Eustratiadis (Archives, Archaeological Society of Athens).
G&R Archives, BM = Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum.
Praktika = Proceedings of the Athens Archaeological Society.
Prot. no. = Protocol number.

Articles in Greek Newspapers

Newspapers are referred to in the text with their Greek name. They are available online via the Hellenic Parliament website: https://library.parliament.gr/Ψηφιακή-Βιβλιοθήκη/Εφημερίδες-και-Περιοδικά (accessed 10 June 2025).

Notes and references

[1] 'Archaeology' has its own historicity and means different things to different people. Here, I take it to represent a variegated engagement with the material vestiges of the past to include all groups involved and discussed in this paper.

[2] The author wishes to extend his thanks to Dr Vassileios Petrakos and to the Athens Archaeological Society for granting permission to study Eustratiadis's office diary for publication. On the structure of the Eustratiadis Archive in the Society: V. C. Petrakos, 'Στοιχεία για τη γνώση του έργου του παλιού Γενικού Εφόρου των Αρχαιοτήτων Παναγιώτη Ευστρατιάδη', *Mentor* 134 (2024), pp. 1–263; and S. Masouridi, S. 'Ο Παναγιώτης Ευστρατιάδης και το έργο της Γενικής Εφορείας Αρχαιοτήτων κατά τα έτη 1863-1884: Συνοπτική παρουσίαση του αρχειακού υλικού στο Ιστορικό Αρχείο Αρχαιοτήτων και Αναστηλώσεων', in A. Matthaiou and A. Chatzidimitriou (eds) 2021. *Πρακτικά Συμποσίου εις Μνήμην Παναγιώτου Ευστρατιάδου (1815–1888)* (Athens, 2021), pp. 17–50.

[3] Following C. Witmore and M. Shanks, 'Archaeology: An Ecology of Practices', in W. L. Rathje, M. Shanks and C. Witmore (eds), *Archaeology in the Making: Conversations through a Discipline* (London, 2012), pp. 380–98.

[4] Despite Deligeorgis' claim, Pittakis had compiled several catalogues, some of which appeared following his death in 1864, though admittedly there was no centralised register: A. Gazi, 'Το Θησείο ως «Κεντρικόν Αρχαιολογικόν Μουσείον» (1834-1874)', in E. Kountouri, S. Masouridi, K. Xanthopoulou and A. Chatzidimitriou (eds), *Περί των Αρχαιοτήτων Ιδίως. Η Αρχαιολογία στην Ελλάδα του 19ου αιώνα μέσα από τις πηγές του Αρχείου των Υπηρεσιών των Αρχαιοτήτων* (Athens, 2021), pp. 307–19.

[5] E. Deligeorgis, 'Έκθεσις του Υπουργού της Δημοσ. Εκπαιδεύσεως προς την Εθνοσυνέλευσιν', *Η Εφημερίς των Φιλομαθών* 476-477 (year 11), January (1863a), pp. 1–5; E. Deligeorgis, 'Έκθεσις του Υπουργού των Εκκλησιαστικών προς την Εθνικήν συνέλευσιν'', *Η Ελπίς* no. 1188 (15/2/1863) (1863b), pp. 3–4.

[6] The Committee comprised of K. Pittakis, S. Koumanoudis, A. R. Rangavis, E. Kastorchis, P. Eustratiadis, S. Phintiklis, G. G. Papadopoulos and T. Kaftantzoglou: E. Deligeorgis, 'Αριθ. Πρωτ. 2374. Βασίλειον της Ελλάδος', *Η Εφημερίς των Φιλομαθών* 476-477 (January) (1863), p. 12.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid. Rhousopoulos noted the state of antiquities in Athens: "we have no need of new antiquities, Sirs, but of a place to guard and dispose them, as they are [now] scattered in every corner of the city": A. Rhousopoulos, 'Αρχαιολογικά', *Η Ελπίς* no. 1132 (12/12/1861), p. 4.

[9] S. Koumanoudis, *Ο περί αρχαιοτήτων νόμος και αι σχετικαί προς αυτόν εγκύκλιοι υπουργικαί και άλλα τινά εκδιδόμενα υπό της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας προς χρήσιν των κατά το βασίλειον αρχών και αυτών των πολιτών* (Athens, 1874), pp. 29–30, prot. no. 874; similar is also the address of Minister Dimitrios Drosos to the same group of officials on 20 June 1866 (Koumanoudis ibid. 31–33, prot. no. 4241).

[10] Y. Galanakis, 'How (not) to protect the past? Heritage protection efforts and power struggles in early modern Greece', in Mannoni, C. (ed.), *Art - Law - Restoration. Europe and the early practices for heritage protection (Arte-Legge-Restauro. L'Europa e le prime prassi per la protezione dal patrimonio)* (Sapere l'Europa, sapere d'Europa 7) (Venice, 2022), pp. 160–84.

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[11] Appointed on 27/11/1863: A. Kokkou, *Μέριμνα για τις αρχαιότητες στην Ελλάδα και τα πρώτα μουσεία* (Athens 2009, first ed. 1977), pp. 119–20 and 233, n.1.
[12] Appointed on 14/2/1864 (Royal Decree of 2/2/1864) though serving already from August 1863 as Ephor of Antiquities: Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 7.
[13] On Eustratiadis' life and training prior to becoming General Ephor of Antiquities: A. Matthaiou, 'Παναγιώτης Ευστρατίου Μυτιληναίος. Εύτακτος, επιμελής, επιδίδει', in Matthaiou, A. and Chatzidimitriou, A. (eds) *Πρακτικά Συμποσίου εις Μνήμην Παναγιώτου Ευστρατιάδου (1815-1888)* (Athens, 2021), pp. 311–9.
[14] V.C. Petrakos, *Παναγιώτης Α. Σταματάκης. Βίος και Έργο*, Library of the Archaeological Society of Athens, 343 (Athens, 2022), pp. 31–50.
[15] Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 40 no. 269 and p. 52 no. 363.
[16] On 3/3/1875, he was appointed Ephor of Antiquities for Central Greece and following the removal of Eustratiadis, Stamatakis succeed him on 7/9/1884, a role he held only until his untimely death on 19/3/1885. Petrakos, op. cit. (note 14), pp. 52–53; also, Kokkou, op. cit. (note 11), pp. 118–9.
[17] Studies on the history of archaeology: Kokkou, op. cit. (note 11); for parallel developments in England: P. Levine, *The amateur and the professional. Antiquarians, historians and archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886* (Cambridge, 1986); A. Schnapp. *The Discovery of the Past: The Origins of Archaeology* (London, 1996); A. Schnapp, 'The Antiquarian, the Collector, and the Cultural History of the Material World', in P. N. Miller (ed.), *Cultural Histories of the Material World* (New York, 2019), pp. 144–64; M. Díaz-Andreu and L. Coltofean (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Archaeology* (Oxford, 2024).
[18] Galanakis, Y. '"University Professor–Antiquities Looter": A 19th-century Athens art dealer and the trafficking of antiquities in Greece under the first archaeological law. Parts I-II', *The Anglo-Hellenic Review* nos. 45-46 (Spring and Autumn, 2012), pp. 7–10 and pp. 3–5. On the pot and its inscription: R. Wachter, *Non-Attic Greek Vase Inscriptions* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 47–8.
[19] On Eustratiadis's growing suspicions of Rhousopoulos's ever-expanding archaeological collection see *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 29 no. 172 (19/4/1865), p. 53 no. 366 (19-20/7/1866). He even tasked Stamatakis on 25/7/1866 to record Rhousopoulos's collection–an action, however, which does not seem to have materialised for reasons unknown: Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 54 no. 370 (25/7/1866). On Rhousopoulos: Y. Galanakis, '*Doing Business*: two unpublished letters from Athanasios Rhousopoulos to Arthur Evans in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford', in Kurtz, D. with Meyer, C., Saunders, D. Tsingarida, A. and Harris, N. (eds.), *Essays in Classical Archaeology for Eleni Hatzivassiliou 1977-2007*, The Beazley Archives Series vol. 4 (Oxford, 2008), pp. 297–309; Galanakis, op. cit. (note 18); A. Hudler, *Biographies of archaeological artifacts: the professor and collector Athanasios Rousopoulos (1823–1898)*, Unpublished PhD thesis, Byzantine and Modern Greek studies (University of Vienna, 2024), https://utheses.univie.ac.at/detail/71885/ (accessed 10 June 2025).
[20] A. Rhousopoulos, "Ανασκαφή εν τη αγία Τριάδι", *Archaiologike Ephemeris* 17 (1863), pp. 279–84.
[21] E.g., C. Merkouri, 'Εξαγωγές αρχαιοτήτων κατά τον 19ο αιώνα και τις αρχές του 20ου αιώνα. Το πρώτο νομοθετικό πλαίσιο για τη προστασία τους', in A. Matthaiou and A. Chatzidimitriou (eds), *«Ξενιτεμένες Αρχαιότητες». Αφετηρίες και Διαδρομές* (Athens, 2012), pp. 141–55; E. Solomou, 'Νομοθετικά και διοικητικά μέτρα για την προστασία των αρχαιοτήτων επί Π. Ευστρατιάδη', in Matthaiou and Chatzidimitriou, op. cit., pp. 51–75.
[22] Old Calendar, so 10/10/1866 in the New Calendar.
[23] A. Rhousopoulos, 'Sopra un vasetto Corinzio con iscrizioni d'un carattere antichissimo', *Annuario* 34 (1862), pp. 46–56.
[24] This information, that Rhousopoulos himself had not purchased this object, comes from Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 84 (January 1868), where it is recorded that he had received it for study from the wife of Spyridon Valtinos (née Maggina) "some 15 years ago" a vase with an archaic inscription "identical to the one sold by him to the British Museum" (Greek in the original). When she enquired about its whereabouts, Rhousopoulos asserted that it had been gifted to him.
[25] A. Michaelis, 'III. Museographisches. Athenische Vasen', *Archaologischer Anzeiger* 149-150 (May and June 1861), pp. 202, no. 26. Michaelis probably saw it in the spring of 1860 when he became acquainted with Rhousopoulos and his family who he visited several times; he did not visit Athens in 1861, i.e. the year his article appeared: L. Errington, *Otto Jahn und Adolf Michaelis. Briefwechsel 1848 bis 1869. Kommentierte Textausgabe* (Berlin and Boston, 2017), letters nos. 277, 278, 283 (March-April 1860). Upon Michaelis's recommendation, around the time of his visit, Rhousopoulos became a Corresponding Member of the Institute in Rome: Hudler, op. cit. (note 19), p. 136.
[26] M. A. Horta, 'The Dodwell Vase: Agamemnon and Thersander in between epic cycles', *Euphrosyne. Journal for Classical Philology* 49 (2021), pp. 7–46.
[27] Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 58 no. 394 (28/9/1866) and in the following page with drawings and transcription of the text.
[28] Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 58 side note to no. 394 (28/9/1866).
[29] Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 59 (25/10/1866).
[30] Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 61 no. 418 (22/12/1866).
[31] A. Rhousopoulos, 'Κύριε συντάκτα της Ελπίδος', *Ελπίς* 1393, 21/2/1867, p. 3. The fine is mentioned by Merlin to Newton "these are the thanks he gets for having published it!" (letter of 11/2/1867, G&R Archives, BM).
[32] This information, signed by Rhousopoulos himself, appeared in the newspaper *Αυγή* (no. 1888, 11/3/1867, p. 4) along with a sketch of the Aineta aryballos. The catalogue of the Society's museum had 3,903 entries on 30/8/1867, though this number excludes the almost 8,500 coins and 5,000 stamped amphora handles the collection had at the time (*Praktika* 1867, p. 19 and note).
[33] On Logiotatidis, who came from a prominent family from Aegina with political connections: V. C. Petrakos, *Πρόχειρον Αρχαιολογικόν Ι-ΙΙ*, Library of the Archaeological Society of Athens (Athens, 2013), vol. I, pp. 283–4; vol. II, pp. 17–8; E. Stambogli, 'Αρχαιολογία και αρχαιοκαπηλία στο δεύτερο μισό του 19ου αιώνα: μία σχέση σε εξέλιξη', unpublished manuscript (2020), available online: https://www.academia.edu/43986006 (accessed 10 June 2025); Masouridi, op. cit. (note

2), p. 19 with note 17; Hudler, op. cit. (note 19), pp. 34, 41, 46; Petrakos, op. cit. (note 2), p. 138. Further accusations by Logiotatidis brought his dismissal on 28/2/1866.

[34] General State Archives (ΓΑΚ) of Greece; Central Service – Archive of the Ministry of Religious Affairs & Public Education, Third period (1855-1886), φ. 507 (antiquities-correspondence) / S. Logiotatidis, letter to the Ministry of Religious Affairs & Public Education, 15/1/1866, prot. no. 369 (received 17/1/1866).

[35] *Παλιγγενεσία* no. 996, 10/9/1866, 4 (accusation, author unknown, and where Komnos is not mentioned by name); *Αιών* no. 2164 29/7/1866, 4 (response by Komnos). Komnos was from Corfu and had studied in Naples and Paris. Little information exists about his life. He was born early in the 19th century and died probably around the turn of the century: D. Vasilikou, *Το Χρονικό της Ανασκαφής των Μυκηνών*, Library of the Archaeological Society of Athens 274 (Athens, 2011), pp. 67–8 (on his spat with Schliemann).

[36] *Αιών* no. 2164 29/7/1866, 4.

[37] Rhousopoulos was first appointed extraordinary Professor of Greek in the University of Athens in 1855. From 1860, he was full-time Professor of Greek becoming Professor of Archaeology in 1868, a position he held until 1884. In a letter from Rhousopoulos to Pastor Hansen, former Chaplain to Queen Amalia (5/10/1869, Royal Library of Denmark, Copenhagen), we learn that "as it is not appropriate for a family member to invest so much money in antiquities, what the National Museum of my fatherland needs from mine [i.e., my collection] will stay here and the rest will be sold as cheaply as possible, I just want my money plus interest" (original in German).

[38] Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 70 no. 473 (10/3/1867).

[39] DDEAM, box 429, Folder 'Διάφορα (1870–1884)', Ministry prot. no. 8785.5973 (February 1870, draft letter).

[40] E.g., in 1876, the Archaeological Society asked its President, Philippos Ioannou, who was one of Rhousopoulos's close acquaintances, to talk sense to him that it was inappropriate for a University Professor to be selling antiquities. Rhousopoulos denied that he was doing such a thing claiming instead that he was waiting to buy antiquities so that "they can stay in the land": V. C. Petrakos, *Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία. Οι πρώτες δεκαετίες 1837-1909*, Library of the Archaeological Society of Athens, 321 (Athens, 2019), p. 121.

[41] A. Schneider, *Der Troische Sagenkreis in der altesten griechischen Kunst* (Leipzig, 1886), p. 49, n. 3.

[42] D. Feytmans, *Les Vases Grecs de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique* (Bruxelles, 1948), p. 20, n. 2; on Lucien De Hirsch: F. De Callataÿ, 'Lucien de Hirsch numismate, et le fonds séquestre Edouard Balser (Archives Générales du Royaume)', *Monte Artium – Journal of the Royal Library of Belgium* 6 (2013), pp. 7–40.

[43] Galanakis, op. cit. (note 18). Merlin was a subscribing member throughout the 1860s and 1870s, like Rhousopoulos and numerous other dealers in antiquities. His last subscription was in 1880, i.e. seven years before he left Greece in order to relocate to London.

[44] The donation is recorded in a Greek Newspaper (*Αθηνά*, issue no. 3216, 14/02/1864, p.3) and in the Society's Proceedings (*Praktika* 1865, p. 16).

[45] Published by L. Ross, *Hercule et Nessus. Peinture d'un vase de Ténée* (Athens, 1835). This object is now in the Archaeological Museum in Athens (no. 529/CC640): https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/82DE917C-24E0-4BC8-9336-5F5C15A995A3 (accessed 10 June 2025). Merlin did not donate any other objects to the Society's Museum.

[46] Most likely, Newton was alerted by Merlin to the existence of this object in 1864 when he sent him numerous antiquities, one of which was accompanied with the note "vase in the possession of Mr. Roussopoulos of Athens with an inscription in archaïc characters of the earliest period" (the list of the 1864 antiquities is today kept with his letter to Newton of 21/7/1865). On Merlin see Y. Galanakis, 'On Her Majesty's Service: C. L. W. Merlin and the Sourcing of Greek Antiquities for the British Museum', *CHS Research Bulletin*, 1:1 (2012): http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hlnc.essay:GalanakisY.On_Her_Majestys_Service.2012 (accessed 10 June 2025).

[47] C. Newton, recommendation for purchase (C. Merlin, Corinthian Vase), 7/12/1865 (G&R Archives, BM).

[48] *BM Accounts* 1866, 19. Rhousopoulos did write down in the personal book he was keeping for his finances (κατάστιχον) that the small inscribed Corinthian pot was "agreed" ("συμφωνήθη") for the British Museum for 1000 francs on "26 April 1865" (Greek in the original and with the date, most likely, referring to the old Julian calendar in use in Greece at the time): Hudler, op. cit. (note 19), p. 124. When was this information added to his κατάστιχον? Merlin confirmed to Newton that he had made the purchase in his letter of 31/8/1865 (new, Gregorian, calendar). If Rhousopoulos' note is accurate, it would suggest that Merlin pro-actively, and rather pre-emptively perhaps, made the purchase *before* Newton's permission to do so and with the expectation that it will be sold to the British Museum. Equally, the object might have been reserved for Merlin in April 1865 ("agreed") but was only sold in August that year. By autumn, the aryballos was in London (C. Newton to C. Merlin, 3/11/1865, G&R Archives, BM).

[49] *BM Accounts* 1867, 18.

[50] C. Merlin to C. Newton, 28/7/1867 (G&R Archives, BM).

[51] Eustratiadis, occasionally, refers to the need for the Greek Embassy in London to notify him on certain sales and to provide intel on the whereabouts of objects (Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 145 no. 1069 [1/3/1871], p. 147 [3/4/1871], prot. no. 2365) so that the Greek authorities are kept abreast with the collections antiquities from the country ended up in.

[52] E.g., as reported by Komnos to his defence and alongside other prominent local collectors of the time such as George Finlay and Pavlos Kalligas (*Εφημερίς των Συζητήσεων* no. 161, 8/3/1872, 4).

[53] E.g., see the implication of Komnos in the trafficking of antiquities in the article of an Athenian newspaper: *Λαός* no. 18(=104), 29/1/1871, 4. In relation to the sale of Komnos' numismatic collection abroad without notification to or permission by the authorities see E. Pipelia, 'Κατασχέσεις αρχαιοτήτων κατά τον 19ο αιώνα: απαρχές της έννομης προστασίας', in Kountouri, E., Masouridi, S., Xanthopoulou, K. and Chatzidimitriou, A. (eds), 2021. *Περί των Αρχαιοτήτων Ιδίως. Η Αρχαιολογία στην Ελλάδα του 19ου αιώνα μέσα από τις πηγές του Αρχείου των Υπηρεσιών των Αρχαιοτήτων* (Athens, 2021), pp. 81–90, esp. 86–7.

[54] *Εφημερίς των Συζητήσεων* no. 161, 8/3/1872, 3-4; his involvement in legal cases regarding the trafficking of antiquities can be monitored to the 1890s (e.g., *Εφημερίς* no. 12, 12/1/1890, 2). On Polychronopoulos: C. Avronidaki, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Greece – Athens, National Archaeological Museum: Boeotian Red-Figured Vases* (Greece Fasc. 16) (Athens, 2023), pp. 25–6.

[55] *Εφημερίς των Συζητήσεων* no. 161, 8/3/1872, 4.

[56] The Society had in the 1870s already dismissed Rhousopoulos "honourably" (εὐφήμως): V.C. Petrakos, 'Το αρχείο της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας', *Mnemon* 13 (1991), 352–3; op. cit. (note 40), pp. 174–5. Ironically, and clearly inconveniently for Eustratiadis, Rhousopoulos's position as Professor of Archaeology in the University continued in the 1870s to entitle him to serve in the Ministry's committee of specialists (along with the General Ephor and Koumanoudis among others) who evaluated antiquities for purchase and/or export.

[57] Hudler, op. cit. (note 19); A. Hudler, 'Βιογραφικές αφηγήσεις μέσα από τις αρχαιότητες του Αθανάσιου Ρουσόπουλου (1823-1898)', in A. M. Martín Vico, R. Rodríguez Parejo and S. Esteban Cabrera (eds.), *Νέες προσεγγίσεις σε θέματα νεοελληνικών σπουδών. Πρακτικά του Α΄ Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Νέων Ερευνητών Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών*, 9-10 September 2022 (Granada, 2024), pp. 145–6. In 1882-1884, and when many of his allies in key places left their post, Rhousopoulos' illicit actions in the exportation of antiquities were officially condemned (letter from the Athens Archaeological Society to the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education, DDEAM, box. 455, folder 'Η. Κλοπή αρχαιοτήτων Ρουσοπούλου', 20/4/1883, prot. no. 133). On his 1884 dismissal: Historical Archive of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Proceedings of meetings of the School of Philosophy, 1881–1885, 6 (81): Proceedings of the Faculty meeting, 10/10/1884).

[58] M. Piotrovsky (ed.), *The Hermitage Museum of St. Petersburg. The Greek Treasures* (St. Petersburg, 2004), p. 87; E. N. Khodza, E.N., 'Терракоты, изображающие танцовщиц и «кукол», из коллекции А. Д. Блудова', *Сообщения Государственного Эрмитажа/Reports of the State Hermitage Museum* 78 (2020), pp. 5–23.

[59] Dating 11 November 1865: letter in DDEAM, box 6004, folder 8, 'Έγγραφα αφορώντα εις την εισαγωγήν αρχαίων εις τας εν αθήναις συλλογάς μετά τον θάνατον του εφόρου Πιττάκη'. It is interesting that within the police force/custom officials, a year later there was memory of the event with officers not wanting "to suffer the same fate as the policeman who once confiscated the antiquities of the Russian": Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 51 (June 1866).

[60] Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 35 (November 1865), where he identifies the sale source as Panagiotis Theophilopoulos, elsewhere known as Kalavrezos, from Patras; *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 38 (April 1866), where Kalavrezos is asking money for the third fragment (10,000 drachmas) that he originally had promised to give to the national collections for free; the third fragment was finally given to the national collections for free by Polybios Kalavrezos on 11/6/1868 (Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 92).

[61] Athens Archaeological Museum (not on display), Γ1150–1152. Published by R. Kekulé von Stradonitz, *Die antiken Bildwerke im Theseion zu Athen* (Leipzig, 1869), pp. 58–60 nos. 144–5; L. Sybel, *Katalog der Sculpturen zu Athen: Kentrikon Mouseion, Barbakeion Lykeion, Hagia Trias, Theseion, Stoa d. Hadrian, Ephoria. Suedabh. d. Akropolis, Akropolis* (Marburg, 1881), pp. 106–7 no. 579; a cast was made by Martinelli: N. F. Martinelli, *Catalogo dei getti in gesso di diversi oggetti di scultura greca antica* (Athens, 1875), p. 24 no. 89. The casts were made upon the request of Johann Emil von Wagner, the Prussian Minister to the Greek court in 1867: Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 72 (14/6/1867).

[62] 'Ссужа́ть' is the verb used in the original.

[63] The letter is published in Khodza, op. cit. (note 58). Vasilchikov is addressing it to Count Illarion Ivanovich Vorontsov-Dashkov, the Minister for Imperial Properties, responsible for funding the purchase.

[64] State Hermitage Museum, ГР-5874. Eustratiadis was aware of the sale: it eventually transpired that it was in the possession of rear admiral Ioannis Soteriadis who sold it to Komnos. Komnos, in turn, sold it to the Russian Minister: Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 23 (February 1865), p. 29 no. 180, p. 69 (25/4/1867), p. 75 (26/7/1867 side note), p. 136 (6/10/1870).

[65] He was the son of Charles Lenormant (1802-1859), a specialist in antiquities, member of the Morea scientific expedition, favourably remembered in Greece to this day.

[66] Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 47 (April 1866): "from Thera many antiquities are removed by Lenormant"; on the source: A. Christomanos, see Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 49 no. 343 (20/5/1866); also, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 58 (October-November 1866).

[67] E.g., *Η Ελπίς* no. 1553 (19/5/1866), p. 3 which used de Witte's 1866 publication for its attack on Lenormant: Baron J.J.A.M. de Witte, 'De quelques antiquités rapportées de Grèce par M. François Lenormant', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 2 (août, 1866), pp. 105–22. The anonymous author in the Greek newspaper recorded that "we are saddened to see that Mr. François Lenormant, each time he visited Greece he smuggled with him antiquities, when he knows well that the exportation of antiquities from Greece is prohibited by law…the behaviour of Mr. Lenormant is…akin to a theft" (original in Greek).

[68] I. Tzachili, 'Excavations on Thera and Therasia in the 19th century: a chronicle', *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 18:2 (2005), pp. 231–57; I. Tzachili, *Οι αρχές της Αιγαιακής Προϊστορίας. Οι ανασκαφές στη Θήρα και τη Θηρασία τον 19ο αιώνα* (Athens, 2006).

[69] E.g., Schliemann writing to his son on 9/21 March 1870 that he transferred to Athens a lot of antiquities that he bought on Thera, "which are older than 4000 years" (German in the original): E. Meyer, E., *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel, aus dem Nachlass in Auswahl, Band 1: 1842–1875* (Berlin, 1873), pp. 162–3 no. 130, p. 164 no. 131, p. 325 no. 220; G. S. Korres, 'Η Συλλογή Νομισμάτων του Ερρίκου Σλήμαν και ο Κατάλογος αυτών ο συνταχθείς υπό του Αχιλλέως Ποστολάκκα', *ADelt* 29, Vol. A (Meletes) (1977), pp. 245–53, esp. p. 248; D. Douskos and I. Tzachili, 'Heinrich Schliemann's Epistemic Premonitions at Therasia and Beyond', in R. Laffineur and M. Perna (eds), *IXNH: Walking in the footsteps of the pioneer of Aegean archaeology in celebration of the 200th anniversary of the birth of Heinrich Schliemann. Proceedings of the 19th International Aegean Conference/19e Rencontre égéenne internationale*, *Aegaeum* 49 (Leuven–Liège, 2024), pp. 53–61.

[70] F. Lenormant, 'Report on a mission on the island of Santorin', *CRAI*, 2 (1866), pp. 269–83.

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[71] Letter from C. Merlin to C. Newton, 5/10/1866 (G&R Archives, BM).
[72] Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, pp. 125–7. In May 1873, when Gorceix's boxes were inspected by the Ephorate in the Piraeus, no antiquities were found: Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 195 no. 1155 (16/5/1873).
[73] H. Gorceix and H. Mamet, 'Recherches et fouilles faites à Théra (Santorin)', *Bulletin de l'école française d'Athènes* (mai, no. 9) (1870), pp. 183–91. Gorceix presented the Eparch of Thera with "a quasi-legal order of the Prime Minister", Thrasyvoulos Zaïmis, which granted him permission to excavate according to Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 127 prot. no. 4064 (30/6/1870).
[74] Eustratiadis first noticed this work through the announcement of the discoveries in the press: *Το Μέλλον* 655, 5/6/1870; Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 125 no. 874.
[75] Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, pp. 126–7, numerous entries.
[76] Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 126 no. 880 (18/6/1870). The six crates were finally opened, and the objects inspected, on 19/6/1870: Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 126 nos. 884-885. The contents were inspected by Burnouf, Eustratiadis and Stamatakis. Two copies of the contents' list exist today in DDEAM, box 429, Folder 'Διάφορα (1870–1884).
[77] M. Sophronidou, *Η αρχαιολογική είδηση στις εφημερίδες*, PhD thesis, Department of History and Archaeology (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2002); also, Masouridi, op. cit. (note 2).
[78] *Λαός* no. 14, 9/6/1870, 3-4; no. 21, 23/6/1870, 2-3; no. 23, 27/6/1870, 3–4.
[79] Letter of 30/6/1870 as quoted in Tzachili, op. cit. (note 68, 2006), p. 79.
[80] For the political background, see Tzachili, op. cit. (note 68, 2006), pp. 73-81, esp. pp. 79–80; for the objects in question: A. Karnava, 'Les objets des fouilles de Gorceix et Mamet conserves a l'École française d'Athènes', in A. Boucher (ed.), *La Grèce des Origines. Entre rêve et archéologie* (Paris, 2014), pp. 42–7. Along with the ambassador's efforts, the Director of the French School sent two letters to the Minister of Public Education and Religious Affairs asking for the release of the antiquities, stressing that the French School was not going to "éviter ou éluder les loys du Pays": Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 126 (23/6/1870).
[81] The term 'duplicates' was probably used to justify the action since it is mentioned in the Greek 1834 law and in the Olympia convention that the Greek government had agreed with Germany (officially ratified in 1875). Yet, any export of ancient objects, duplicates included, still required the permission of the General Ephorate.
[82] On the offer, a letter of recommendation for this action, dated 18/7/1876, is preserved in the archives of the French School at Athens (5 ADM 86). It involves the reply of W.-H. Waddington, Minister of Public Education and Fine Arts to Albert Dumont, the Director of the French School, for the letter he had received from him on the matter of offering the 'doublons' from the Santorini vases in the School's collection to the Emperor of Brazil in exchange of a "beautiful series of stone weapons and prehistoric objects". The Minister approved of this exchange. Also, Karnava op. cit. (note 80), p. 42, n. 8 who remarked the connection between Gorceix and the Emperor with the former founding that same year a School of Mines at Outro Preto in Brazil. Eustratiadis records the Emperor's visit: *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 126 side note next to no. 1994.
[83] It occurred shortly after the Dilessi murders in April 1870 and on the eve of the Franco-Prussian war of July 1870.
[84] See also A. Matthaiou, 'Ο Στέφανος Α. Κουμανούδης (1818-1899) και οι αρχαιολογικές δραστηριότητες των Ευρωπαίων στην Ελλάδα', in A. Matthaiou and A. Chatzidimitriou (eds), *«Ξενιτεμένες Αρχαιότητες». Αφετηρίες και Διαδρομές*, (Athens, 2012), pp. 125–39.
[85] Also, P. Bougia, 'Από τα αριστουργήματα της ελληνικής τέχνης στα τεκμήρια ελληνικότητος. Η συλλογή αρχαιοτήτων από αρχαιοθήρες, αρχαιολάτρες και Έλληνες στην Ελλάδα του 19ου αιώνα', in P. Kalogerakou, A. Chasiakou, M. Cosmopoulos, Y. Lolos, C. Marabea, E. Peppa-Papaioannou, and L. Platon (eds), *ΚΥΔΑΛΙΜΟΣ. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον Καθηγητή Γεώργιο Στυλ. Κορρέ*, vol. 4 (Athens, 2020), pp. 165–79.
[86] On collecting and archaeology in Greece at the time: Kokkou, op. cit. (note 11); Petrakos, op. cit. (note 40); E. Kountouri and S. Masouridi, K. Xanthopoulou, and A. Chatzidimitriou (eds), *Περί των Αρχαιοτήτων Ιδίως. Η Αρχαιολογία στην Ελλάδα του 19ου αιώνα μέσα από τις πηγές του Αρχείου των Υπηρεσιών των Αρχαιοτήτων* (Athens, 2021); Matthaiou and Chatzidimitriou, op. cit. (note 2).
[87] For Schliemann's efforts: D. Traill, *Treasure and Deceit. Schliemann of Troy* (London, 1995); Vasilikou, op. cit. (note 35).
[88] Schliemann Archive, A13, p.60 (ASCSA); Vasilikou, op. cit. (note 35), p. 21.
[89] Vasilikou, op. cit. (note 35), pp. 20–1 and 24–5.
[90] *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 185 side note (12/1/1873); Vasilikou, op. cit. (note 35), pp. 26–7.
[91] Vasilikou, op. cit. (note 35), pp. 34–5; on Schliemann's reaction see also T. N. Bohotis, *Ελέγχοντας τον τόπο του παρελθόντος. Η γερμανοελληνική σχέση εξουσίας στις ανασκαφές της Ολυμπίας, 1869-1882* (Athens, 2015), pp. 287–8.
[92] Vasilikou, op. cit. (note 35), p. 38.
[93] Vasilikou 2011, 39-43, where additional references. A report and drawings are today included in the Fonds E. Burnouf, Université de Lorraine: https://sama.univ-lorraine.fr/fr/fonds-emile-burnouf (accessed 10 June 2025).
[94] Vasilikou, op. cit. (note 35), pp. 43–4.
[95] Ibid. p. 44.
[96] Ibid. p. 50.
[97] Ibid. pp. 50–60.
[98] Ibid. pp. 60–1.
[99] Ibid. pp. 62–4, 69, 72–4.
[100] Ibid. pp. 77–8.
[101] The Olympia convention was between two states (Greece and Germany) rather than between an individual and the State as in Schliemann's case. While the convention was problematic in many respects, e.g., in allowing the exportation of 'duplicates' and granting Germany the right to make casts; Bohotis, op. cit. (note 91), in the long run it equipped the Greek

government with additional negotiating powers and paved the way for a framework of archaeological operations that–to some extent and with modifications–still exists.

[102] V. C. Petrakos, 'Ιδεογραφία της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας', *Archaiologike Ephemeris* 1987 (1989), pp. 25–197, esp. p. 57; Matthaiou, op. cit. (note 84) also explores the tensions between Koumanoudis' efforts and of foreign scholars working in Greece, including at the level of first-publication rights.

[103] S. Koumanoudis, 'Επιγραφαί εκ του Ασκληπιείου και των πέριξ τόπων', *Athenaion* 6 (1877), pp. 474–91, esp. p. 476; Matthaiou, op. cit. (note 84), pp. 126–8 for a discussion of the context.

[104] Matthaiou, op. cit. (note 84), pp. 127–8. Koumanoudis, and by extension the Society, was against the Olympia convention, the poor enforcement of the 1834 law, lending objects to international exhibitions, etc.

[105] See e.g., R. Mazza, *Stolen Fragments. Black Market, Bad Faith, and the Illicit Trade in Ancient Artefacts* (Stanford, 2024), p. 216 on 'scholarship', its uses and misuses, to this day.

[106] Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 248 prot. no. 7981, 480/18.

[107] Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 249 prot. no. 8710, 480/18 (27/10/1875).

[108] Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 249 (28/10/1875).

[109] Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 249 1858, prot. no. 8609, 480/18 (24/9/1875) with side notes.

[110] On the *Realpolitik* of the time see also Matthaiou, op. cit. (note 84), 139 (on Koumanoudis).

[111] This instruction seems to repeat a request that Eustratiadis sent to the Prefect in July that year and for which he had apparently received no response: Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 280 (2/7/1877).

[112] W. M. Whitehill, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: A Centennial History* (Boston, 1970), pp. 210–17. *Παλιγγενεσία* 2634, 3/3/1873: 3, where Martinelli is described as an artist and cast maker ("καλλιτέχνης ἐκμαγευτής"). Also, E. Pipelia, '«... τὸ ἀποκλειστικὸν δικαίωμα τοῦ λαμβάνειν ἐκμαγεῖα καὶ ἀποτυπώματα ...» Πολιτικές και επιστημονικές όψεις του άρθρου 7 της ελληνογερμανικής σύμβασης περί των ανασκαφών στην Ολυμπία', in K. Sporn and A. Kankeleit (eds), *Die Abteilung Athen des DAI und die Aktivitäten deutscher Archäologen in Griechenland 1874-1933* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Archäologie und der Altertumswissenschaften 2), Wiesbaden (2020), pp. 119–33, esp. pp. 128–9. On the catalogues of his casts: Martinelli, op. cit. (note 61); N. F. Martinelli, *Catalogue of casts in gypsum taken direct from the masterpieces of Greek sculpture existing in Athens and other places in Greece* (Athens, 1881). For more than 20 years, Martinelli's workshop was the exclusive supplier of the collections of casts in Europe and America. Schliemann's paid 4000 drachmas to Martinelli, as instructed by the authorities, for the demolition of the Frankish tower on the Acropolis (Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 220 no. 1619 (19/6/1874).

[113] Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 290 (1/3/1878).

[114] As Vana Buse notes many laws were ratified during the reign of King Otto–some were introduced (with varied results), others were only partially implemented (like the 1834 antiquities law), while others still were annulled or were impossible to implement or were rejected by the people altogether. V. Buse, *Η Καθημερινή Ζωή στην Ελλάδα του Όθωνα* (Athens, 2020).

[115] The law of 1834 further provided that those breaching article 76 (i.e., the ban on authorised exportation of antiquities) will be fined "between 50 and 500 drachmas" according to article 702 of the penal code. If the object(s) in question had already been exported, then the person accused had to also pay the object(s) estimated sale price.

[116] "Martinelli brought to Athens a gypsum copy": Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 248 entry for no. 7891 (8/10/1877). One copy was bought by Cambridge on 9 October 1880: https://museum.classics.cam.ac.uk/collections/casts/sabouroff-grave-stele (accessed 10 June 2025). That Dressel and Milchhöfer used the cast and not the original sculpture is noticeable as certain details are shared only between the drawing and the cast (i.e., not with the original piece). Also, A. Furtwängler, *La collection Sabouroff, monuments de l'art grec* (Berlin, 1883-1887), p. 56 n. 1, who notes the differences between the original and the casts that were made and sold soon after. It appears in Martinelli's catalogue (1881) under no. 295.

[117] H. Dressel and A. Milchhöfer, 'Die antiken Kunstwerke aus Sparta und Umgebung' *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 2 (1877), pp. 293–474, esp. pp. 294–5, where they mention that Martinelli on his return from Olympia by chance happened to be in Sparta and was able to make several casts, amongst which the Chrysapha relief described here.

[118] A. Milchhöfer to H. Brunn, 1/9/1877, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, p. 7.

[119] A well-known location near Sparta that yielded numerous sculptures at the time: Dressel and Milchhöfer op. cit. (note 117), pp. 297, 298–9, 301, 318, 322, 344, 361, 373, 433–6. Also, in Eustratiadis's *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 280 (P. Thaniotes) and Stamatakis, in his Sparta Museum registers: DDEAM, https://haas.culture.gov.gr/el/global-search available by searching 'Σταματάκης' (accessed 10 June 2025).

[120] Dressel and Milchhöfer, op. cit. (note 117), pp. 314–5, pl. XXVb. It is noteworthy that this is the only reference in their work, of some 300 sculptures, to a "Privatbesitz" without any further details provided.

[121] Dressel and Milchhöfer, op. cit. (note 117), p. 294, where they also mention Stamatakis's efforts to record antiquities in private hands in the region. On Dressel's collecting: C. Weiss, *Die antiken Gemmen der Sammlung Heinrich Dressel in der Antikensammlung Berlin* (Würzburg, 2007).

[122] This practice, of young German scholars exploring Greek collections across the kingdom, was initiated with Conze and Michaelis from 1859-1860 onwards as part of the Reisestipendium programme: A. Michaelis and A. Conze, 'Rapporto d'un viaggio fatto nella Grecia nel 1860', *Annali dell'Istituto* 33 (1861), pp. 5–90; L. Errington, 'Die Berichte der ersten Reisestipendiaten des DAI–zwei Funde im Preußischen Staatsarchiv', *JdI* 130 (2015), 241–58.

[123] Rare as they were, such permits were issued for objects that were "useless for us" ("άχρηστα ημίν") according to Eustratiadis: e.g., the legal exportation of 'useless' antiquities by Albert Lebègue (1845-1894): Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 199 no. 1493 (19/7/1873). Lebègue was a member of EfA and first Director of the Delos dig (1873).

[124] https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1121002 (accessed 10 June 2025), Sk 732 Antikensammlung Berlin; A. Conze, *Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen mit Ausschluss der pergamenischen Fundstücke. Königliche Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1891), 274, no. 732; "aus Sparta; von Dressel in Rom". In a letter kept in the Archives of the DAI in Athens from A.

Milchhöfer to U. Köhler (28/7/1877), this sculpture is described as "ours" ("unseres Φιοκλής"). On the broader context of these archaeological investigations, and of those that followed in the region: S. Vlizos, 'Deutsche Archäologen und das frühe Interesse an Sparta: Furtwängler, Fiechter, Buschor, ihre Vorgänger und die Ausgrabungen im Amyklaion', in K. Sporn and A. Kankeleit (eds), *Die Abteilung Athen des DAI und die Aktivitäten deutscher Archäologen in Griechenland 1874-1933* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Archäologie und der Altertumswissenschaften 2) (Wiesbaden, 2020), pp. 205–18.

[125] Milchhöffer to Brunn (p. 8, postscript, 1/7/1877, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek). On this piece also N. Lanérès, 'L'ephebe au serpent de Magoula: propositions pour la reflecture d'une inscription archaïque laconienne', *Revue des Études Grecques* 121:1 (2008), pp. 1–15.

[126] Milchhöffer to Brunn (p. 15, 1/7/1877, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek). Brunn had ordered (via Köhler) some casts for Munich in the spring of 1876: Pipelia, op. cit. (note 112), p. 129. Casts were freely exported and were not limited by the 1834 law.

[127] Martinelli was well known to scholars having sold casts to Berlin, among numerous other places: Martinelli, op. cit. (note 118, 1881), pp. iii, v–vi, includes a long list of all the institutions and distinguished academics (56 in total), who had purchased casts from his shop. From the start of the Olympia dig, he was tasked with the making of casts: Anonymous, *Die Abgüsse der in Olympia ausgegrabenen Bildwerke: ein Leitfaden für die Ausstellung in der Dombaustätte* (Berlin, 1880); Pipelia, op. cit. (note 112); E. Pipelia, 'Η αθέατη όψη της αρχαιολογίας. Κλοπές και κιβδηλεία αρχαιοτήτων κατά τη θητεία του Παναγιώτη Ευστρατιάδη', in A. Matthaiou and A. Chatzidimitriou (eds) 2021. *Πρακτικά Συμποσίου εις Μνήμην Παναγιώτου Ευστρατιάδου (1815–1888)* (Athens, 2021), pp. 77–97; J. Driessen and T. Kalantzopoulou, *Taking home Agamemnon. The Casts of the Lion Gate at Mycenae* (Aegis 28) (Louvain-La-Neuve, 2024), throughout.

[128] Dressel and Milchhöfer, op. cit. (note 121), p. 303.

[129] Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 308 (1879), where he mentions that the relief "said to have been bought by Sabourov" was in the possession of Leonidas Mavromichalis at Lykovouno, friend of the Minister Avgerinos through which the General Ephor tried to get more information (Avgerinos also had antiquities and was accused at one point of being involve in the illicit sale and export of a mirror: *Εφημερίς* no. 145, 24/5/1888, p.1). Next to this entry, there is the additional note "a plaster copy [of the Chrysapha relief] Martinelli delivered at the [Ephor's] office". A draft letter that Eustratiadis penned is preserved (Eustratiadis, *Παράρτημα*, 19/11/1879) urging the owner to sell it "for a just payment so that it becomes a valuable possession of the Sparta Museum" (Greek in the original). As Sabourov had by 22/12/1879 (new calendar) been transferred to Germany, should we assume that the Chrysapha relief was one of his latest purchases in Greece? Or that Eustratiadis was misinformed?

[130] P. Stamatakis, *Γ΄ Εισαχθέντα αρχαία εις το Μουσείο Σπάρτης από του έτους 1875-1881 (α/α 420-468)* (1881), Directorate of the National Archive of Monuments (online), https://haas.culture.gov.gr/el/global-search/?localId=72115 (accessed 10 June 2025), pp. 36–8, no. 468–the Theodoropoulos piece was bought by the Archaeological Society for 150 drachmas. Stamatakis's catalogue was first completed on 10/11/1881 with additions to 31/12/1881. Dressel and Milchhöfer also visited this location (A. Milchhöfer to H. Brunn, 1/9/1877, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, pp. 9-10).

[131] E.g., as attested in several of Merlin's letters to Newton.

[132] M. Sophronidou, 'Les premières fouilles préhistoriques dans le monde égéen d'après la presse grecque de l'époque', in P. Darcque, M. Fotiadis and O. Polychronopoulou (eds), *Mythos: La préhistoire égéenne de XIXe au XXIe siècle après J.-C. Actes de la table ronde internationale d'Athènes (21-23 novembre 2002),* BCH Suppl. 46 (Athens, 2006), 209–21, esp. pp. 111–2 n. 122, 403, 444, 565, 569 n. 366, 571–3 (as viewed through the Greek press of the time).

[133] E.g., Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 233 no. 1721 (16/1/1875).

[134] E.N. Khodza, *Античные терракоты из собрания П.А. Сабурова /Antique terracottas from the Pyotr Sabouroff's Collection* (St Petersburg, 2018), pp. 30–2.

[135] Furtwängler, op. cit. (note 116), p. i (preface, written on 1/10/1886). Similar comments continued to be made later for other collections of Greek antiquities: e.g. R. Lullis, *Eine Sammlung Griechiescher Kleinkunst* (Munich, 1955), p. 5: "happy external circumstances, love of things…humanistic education and a pronounced sense of artistic quality came together to make the collection" (German in the original). On Sabourov's collection: F. Wieseler, *Archäologischer Bericht über seine Reisen nach Griechenland* (Göttingen, 1874), pp. 95–7. On the ambassador's archaeological activities in Greece as seen through press reports: Sophronidou, op. cit. (note 77), pp. 111–2 n. 122, 403, 444, 565, 569 n. 366, 571–3.

[136] A. Greifenhagen, *Adolf Furtwängler. Briefe aus dem Bonner Privatdozentenjahr 1879/80 und der Zeit seiner Tätigkeit an den Berliner Museen 1880-1894* (Stuttgart, 1965), letter 57, A. Furtwängler to his mother, mid-May 1882: "Ein schweres Marmorrelief habe ich vom Peloponnes über Athen bis *hieher* (!) im Shawl verbogen herausgeschmuggelt–es war eine hübsche Noth! Aber er ist auch etwas Gutes." On Furtwängler's transformation, from 'antiquarian' to 'archaeologist': S. Marchand, 'From Antiquarian to Archaeologist? Adolf Furtwängler and the Problem of 'Modern' Classical Archaeology', in P. N. Miller (ed.), *Momigliano and Antiquarianism: Foundations of the Modern Cultural Sciences* (Toronto, 2007), pp. 248–85.

[137] Furtwängler, op. cit. (note 116), pp. 364–71, no. 1, pl. 16; F. Poulsen, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculptures in the Ny Carslsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen, 1951), pp. 41–2, no. 23.

[138] Letters from Count Tyszkiewicz to Wolfgang Helbig who was acting as agent for Carl Jacobsen, 2/6/1888 and to Carl Jacobsen, 7/6/1888, giving the relief 'for free' as it were as it formed part of a larger sale of sculpture totalling 140,000 francs "to pay you homage as Founder of a Museum that will be able to rival the principle Museums of Europe" (original in French): https://brevarkivet.ny-carlsbergfondet.dk/ (accessed 10 June 2025).

[139] The sale in 1884 might have been associated with providing funds to cover the heavy expenses incurred by Sabourov in maintaining his ambassadorial establishment: J. Y. Simpson, *The Saburov Memoirs or Bismarck and Russia* (Cambridge, 1929), p. 19; J. Lepsius, A. Mendelssohn Bartholdy and F. Thimme (eds), *Die grosse Politik der europäischen Kabinette, 1871-1914. 3. Band: Das Bismarck'sche Bundnissystem* (Berlin, 1926), p. 327. The ever-gossipy Merlin writing to Newton (20/4/1875, G&R Archives, BM) also had an interest in Sabourov's purchases not least as the high prices he was paying

affected the antiquities market ("Savouroff, the Russian Minister, has left. He bought 9000fcs of statuettes [4 pieces] from Xacoustis before leaving"). By memory, Sabourov he later recalled for the Hermitage authorities that the highest amount he paid was 40,000 francs, an impressive amount (some 1560 GBP) for a terracotta figurine was for a Hellenistic 'Hermes' (naked youth), 68cm in height: Khodza, op. cit. (note 134), pp. 29, 69, 215–8, Hermitage Museum, ГР-5389, allegedly from Corinth.

[140] Greifenhagen, op. cit. (note 136), letter 84, Furtwängler to his mother, 24 February 1884.

[141] Khodza op. cit. (note 134), p. 23. This amount, according to www.historicalstatistics.org (accessed 10 June 2025) is equivalent to ca. 100,000 rubles or ca. 250,000 francs or ca. 9800 GBP or 260,000 drachmas.

[142] E.N. Khodza, 'История покупки коллекции П.А. Сабурова', *Сообщения Государственного Эрмитажа/Reports of the State Hermitage Museum* 62 (2004), pp. 166–73; Khodza op. cit. (note 134).

[143] Greifenhagen, op. cit. (note 136), letter 85, A. Furtwängler to his mother, 5/3/1884.

[144] On the vases: A. Furtwängler, *Description de la collection de Vases de l'Antiquarium* (Berlin, 1885).

[145] An article in a Greek newspaper scolded Rhousopoulos's listing in Murray's 1884 handbook for travellers under 'Antiquities Dealers' with the anonymous author adding a note that "it goes beyond saying that he does not sell the good pieces to travellers. These are for other buyers, such as e.g., Sabourov etc, or the Director and representatives of Museums, from whom he of course achieves higher prices": *Ακρόπολις* 824, 17/7/1884, p. 3; also, *Ακρόπολις* 2072, 17/2/1888, p. 1 and *Ακρόπολις* 2166, 22/5/1888, p. 1.

[146] Greifenhagen, op. cit. (note 136), 1965, letter 85, Furtwängler to his mother, 5 March 1884; L. Pallat, *Richard Schöne* (Berlin, 1959), p. 178f; also, W. von Bode, *Mein Leben* (Berlin, 1930), p. 16 ("zirka 300000 Marks). Cf. O. Rayet, 'Les Antiques du musée de Berlin', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, II (1882), pp. 224–50; O. Rayet, 'Sur la richesse et l'organisation comparées du Louvre, du cabinet des Médailles, du musée de Berlin, du British Museum et de l'Hermitage', *Journal officiel, parliamentary reports (Chambres des Députés)*, Mars-Avril (1887), pp. 641–7, where Rayet noted that Berlin was spending 325,000 Marks or 406,250 francs for the acquisition of objects, as much as the total budgets of the Louvre and the British Museum combined.

[147] *Στοά* 70, 15/3/1884, p. 1: "4 million francs"; *Αιών* 4427, 20/3/1884, p. 3: "1.2 million francs"; *Παλιγγενεσία* 9/8/1884, p. 4; "according to the official statement of the Petersburg Museum, his collection of terracotta figurines was sold for 644,000 mark. For 94 vases and 60 sculptures, he received 300,000 Marks from Berlin, another 805,000 Marks from the British Museum for the bronzes…in total 1.8 million Marks or 2.22 mill. francs".

[148] *Αιών* 4427, 20/3/1884, p. 3: "We don't blame the man, because he made an archaeological collection, but because, benefiting from his ambassadorial position and the privileges and immunity provided to him, he smuggled antiquities out of Greece, defrauding the Greek laws which he should be the first to respect…all out of financial greed ("φιλοκερδείας")."

[149] *Εφημερίς* 115, 24/4/1896, p. 2. Contrary to Sabourov's tarnished reputation, Furtwängler is remembered to this day as one of the founding fathers of modern classical archaeology.

[150] H. Schliemann, 'Ίλιον και ο καθηγητής Ρουσόπουλος', *Μέλλον* 11(1039), 9/3/1874, p. 2 (written on 20 March, new calendar).

[151] H. Schliemann, 'Ilium und Professor Rhusopulos', *Νέα Ελλάς* 2, 9/3/1874, p. 4 (written on 18 March, new calendar); Schliemann, op. cit. (note 150).

[152] A. Rhousopoulos, 'Troja und Dr. Schliemann', *Νέα Ελλάς* 1, 4/3/1874, p. 4 (written in February but published in March).

[153] Rhousopoulos' *anticomanie* had long been known, e.g., Koumanoudis's comment in 1846 that Rhousopoulos was "antiquities-mad" ("αρχαιομανής"): A. Matthaiou, *Στέφανος Α. Κουμανούδης. Ανέκδοτα Κείμενα, 1837-1845* (National Research Foundation 117) (Athens, 2010), pp. 234–5 no. 184.

[154] Schliemann not only deceived the Ottoman authorities by exporting the entirety of the 'Treasure of Priam' but ended up settling the issue in the spring of 1875 by buying the Ottoman share (50,000 francs which the Ottoman government used for the construction of the new building of the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul: J. L. Fitton, *Heinrich Schliemann and the British Museum* (Volume 83, *Occasional* Paper Series) (London, 1991), p. 14 (where in 1873 Schliemann estimated the value of his Trojan collections to Newton to be 50,000 GBP or 2,000,000 francs), p. 28 (on the feud with Rhousopoulos), and pp. 31–2 (where Schliemann pleaded Newton to undervalue the Trojan share (50%) of his collection to just 1300 GBP, ca. 52,000 francs, i.e. closer to the settlement's final agreed price); also, G. Uslu, 'Ottoman Appreciation of Trojan Heritage, 1870-1875', *Tijdschrift voor Mediterrane Archeologie* 41 (2009), pp. 4–9.

[155] Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, p. 215, no. 1569 (25/2/1874); Vasilikou, op. cit. (note 35), p. 41.

[156] On the wider currents of debate around the nature of the development of 'professionalism' in archaeology: O. Moro Abadía and E. Lewis-Sing, '"Genius," "Precursors," and "Great (White) Men"', in Díaz-Andreu and Coltofean, op. cit. (note 17), pp. 121–40; F. de Tomasi, 'A History of the Legal Battle Against Illicit Trade in Antiquities', in Díaz-Andreu and Coltofean, op. cit. (note 17), pp. 636–60; A. Stevenson, 'Artifact Distribution: Networks in the History of Archaeology', in Díaz-Andreu and Coltofean, op. cit. (note 17), pp. 325–45.

[157] On the importance of the Press: Sophronidou, op. cit. (note 77).

[158] R. R. Farrer, *A Tour of Greece* (London, 1882), p. 72 for one such anecdote: an Oxford traveller to Athens in 1880 was caught by considerable surprise when the Professor of Archaeology (i.e., Rhousopoulos) mentioned that several things in his private collection were for sale: '"we sighed and thought of Athens…as 'a place where all things are for sale: the city itself, if it could find a purchaser'".

[159] E.g., Dan Potter's (National Museums Scotland) project on 'Buying Power: British Archaeology and the Antiquities Market in Egypt and Sudan 1880 – 1939'; also, J. Smalcerz, *Smuggling the Renaissance: The Illicit Export of Artworks Out of Italy, 1861-1909* (Leiden, 2020).

[160] For the Schools in their Mediterranean historical context: P. Galiatsatou, 'Ξένες Αρχαιολογικές Σχολές στην Ελλάδα. Η Διπλωματία της Πολιτιστικής Κλήρονομιάς', in D. Kizlari and M. Siechate (eds), *Ελληνική Πολιτιστική Διπλωματία.*

Σύγχρονες προσεγγίσεις–μελλοντικές προκλήσεις (Athens, 2021), pp. 199–214; F. Whitling, 'Foreign Schools in the Mediterranean in Historical Perspective', in Díaz-Andreu and Coltofean, op. cit. (note 17), pp. 531–57.

[161] O. Rayet, 'Les figurines de Tanagra au Musee du Louvre', *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 11 (1875), pp. 551–8, esp. p. 552.

[162] Rayet, op. cit. (note 161), p. 552 (French in the original).

[163] An article is in preparation by the author on Rayet and his dealings with the Greek antiquities dealers and the Louvre from the early 1870s to the mid-1880s. He sold some 550 objects to the Parisian institution for a total amount of 67,215 francs.

[164] Rayet, op. cit. (note 161), p. 552 (French in the original).

[165] Matthaiou, op. cit. (note 83).

[166] Some of the private diggers had they lived a few decades later, they would have most likely served as foremen in organised, state-authorised, archaeological digs. See e.g., Kiely's work on Cyrpus: T. Kiely, 'Poachers turned gamekeepers? The British Museum's archaeological agents in Cyprus in the 1890s', in D. Pilides (ed.), *The Tombs of Egkomi. British Museum Excavations* (Nicosia, 2019), 9–52.

[167] Characteristic is his assistance to Albert Lebègue, excavator of Delos: he noted in a letter to Koumanoudis that while the French scholar was polite, he was "entirely inexperienced in excavations and very weak in archaeological matters" being entirely a "man of books" (29/4/1873) cited in D. Vasilikou, *Οι ανασκαφές της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας στις Κυκλάδες 1872-1910*, Library of the Archaeological Society of Athens, 242 (Athens, 2006), p. 116 no. 1.

[168] Petrakos, op. cit. (note 14), pp. 138–41.

[169] Anonymous, 'Nouvelles Archéologiques et Correspondance', *Revue Archéologique* 29 (1875), pp. 117–31, esp. p. 129.

[170] Eustratiadis, *Ημερολόγιον*, 29 (29/4/1865), where remarks by the Society's President are recorded ("the law is not enforced fully"); in March 1867, the Society asked the government that changes in the law were necessary, but the advice was ignored; *Παλιγγενεσία* no. 1483 (12/8/1868) referring to the law as "useless".

[171] The Society repeatedly pointed to the Ministry the issues of the 1834 law and asked for its update, or replacement with a new law, as suggested by the available correspondence between 1874 and 1879 (DDEAM, box 517, Folder '1834-1885. B – Laws and Draft Bills'). Already from 1878, the Society was asking for tougher penalties to those committing archaeological crimes. The text of a draft bill was available in 1879. When it was finally sent to the Parliament for discussion in 1885, a vote for its ratification was not held due to "lack of time": P. Kavvadias (ed.), *Δελτίον Αρχαιολογικόν. Έτος 1885* (Athens, 1888, p. 9. On the political dimensions of archaeological legislation see D. Voudouri, 'Law and the Politics of the Past: Legal Protection of Cultural Heritage in Greece', *International Journal of Cultural Property* 17 (2010), pp. 547–68; J. Carman, '"Governed by Legislation": What Laws Do to Archaeology'', in Díaz-Andreu and Coltofean, op. cit. (note 17), pp. 617–36.

[172] Matthaiou, op. cit. (note 84), pp. 136–7 discusses the pressures and practical issues that emerged from constantly employing Greek ephors in foreign-led projects in the 1870s.

[173] Galanakis, op. cit. (note 10).

[174] It must be said that, apart from political intrigues, which the Greek capital offered plenty, socialising and antiquities collecting were two of the most exciting pastimes for many residents and foreign visitors to Athens, especially those affluent enough to engage in both. Anyone visiting this town–associated with a great long history and a literary tradition deeply rooted in western European thought–would be eager to engage in antiquities collecting. On the city's social make up: E. Bournova and M. Dimitropoulou, 'The capital's social and professional stratification, 1860-1940', in T. Maloutas and S. Spyrellis (eds), *Athens Social Atlas. Digital compendium of texts and visual material* (Athens, 2015): https://www.athenssocialatlas.gr/en/article/social-stratification-1860-1940/ (accessed 10 June 2025).

[175] The author has, elsewhere, described Rhousopoulos's practices in the trade of Greek antiquities as framed by 'cultural internationalism' or 'cosmopolitanism', while the efforts of, some members of, the Archaeological Ephorate (e.g. Koumanoudis) as representing 'cultural nationalism': Y. Galanakis, ""University Professor–Antiquities Looter"?", *CHS Research Bulletin.* https://research-bulletin.chs.harvard.edu/2012/10/31/university-professor-antiquities-looter/ (Washington DC, 2012) (accessed 10 June 2025).

[176] C. Mannoni, *Artistic Canons and Legal Protection. Developing Policies to Preserve, Administer and Trade Artworks in 19th-century Rome and Athens* (Frankfurt am Main, 2023).

[177] As attitudes were changing within Greece (e.g., E. Capps, 'A New Archaeological Law for Greece', *The Nation* 69:1779 (1899), pp. 88–90) not everybody was agreeable with these developments (Reinach who considered the 1834 law "absurde", favouring the Ottoman antiquities law that permitted more generously the exportation of antiquities at the time: S. Reinach, 'Le vandalisme moderne en orient', *Revue des deux mondes* 56 [1883], pp. 132–66). Reinach was also against the law of 1899: S. Reinach, 'Nouvelle Loi des antiquités', *Revue Archéologique* 35 (1899), pp. 339–40; Petrakos, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 203–12 on Reinach's accusations on Eustratiadis' and the State's operation at the time); nor did the practice of trained professionals change with regards to the unauthorised exportation of antiquities even after the introduction of the second antiquities law of 1899: S. Sherratt, *Catalogue of Cycladic Antiquities in the Ashmolean Museum. The Captive Spirit*, (Oxford, 2000), p. 3 n. 6, on Duncan Mackenzie's activities in the Cyclades in 1900, most likely sponsored by Arthur Evans.

[178] On the normalisation of archaeology's many epistemic episodes see the critique by T. Murray, *From Antiquarian to Archaeologist. The History and Philosophy of Archaeology* (Barnsley, 2014).

[179] E.g., M. Fotiadis, 'Are histories of archaeology good to think with?', in S. Voutsaki and P. Cartledge (eds), *Ancient Monuments and Modern Identities: A Critical History of Archaeology in 19th and 20th Century Greece* (London and New York, 2017), pp. 186–98.

For Peer Review

Figure Captions

Figure 1: Letter of Spyridon Logiotatidis to the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education, 15/1/1866. © General State Archives of Greece – Central Service, Archive of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education Γ΄, φ. 507.

Figure 2: Drawings of the Aineta Aryballos, an object now stored in the British Museum (1865,1213.1), ca. 600-575 BC. Drawing after Rhousopoulos 1862, pl. A.

Figure 3: The Koromilas kylix said to be from Corinth, ca. 600-575 BC. © KBR, Coins & Medals, Collection de Hirsch, de Hirsch 1/2. Photography by Piet Janssens.

Figure 4: Two drawings of the Heracles and Nessos kylix from Tenea, an object now stored in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens no. 529 (CC640), ca. 575-525 BC. After Ross 1835, frontispiece and endplate.

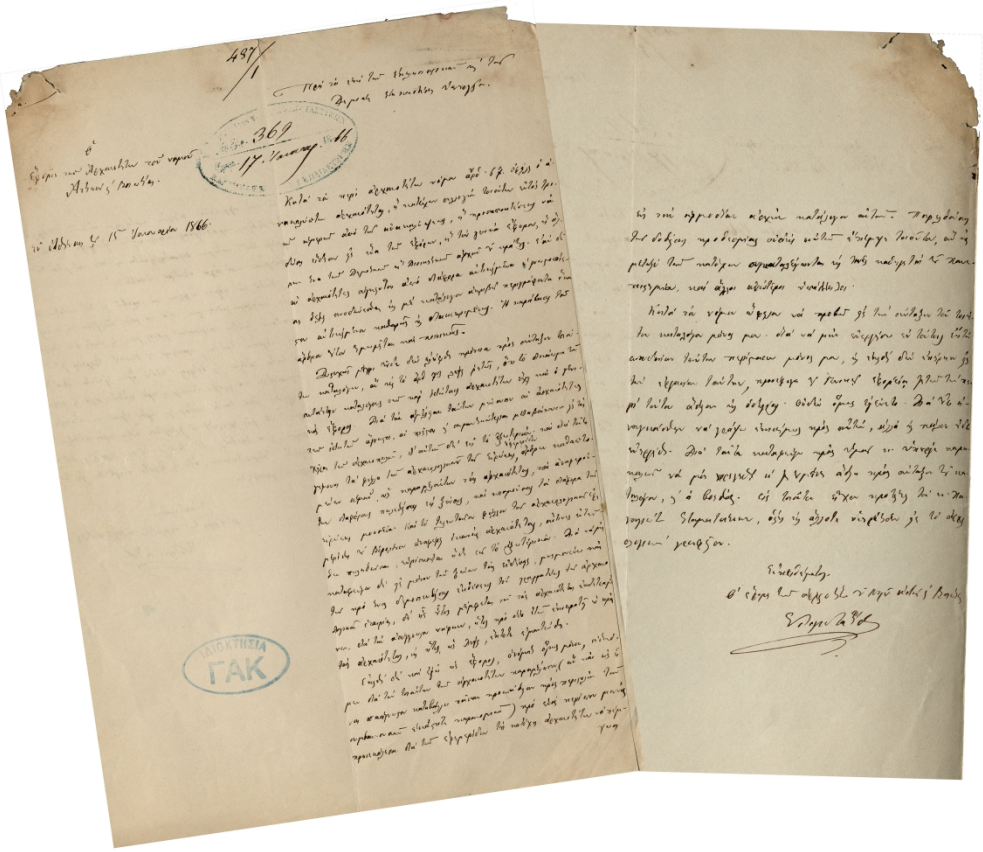
Figure 5: Letter from Charles Merlin to Charles Newton, 28/7/1867. © The Trustees of the British Museum (Archive of the Department of Greece and Rome).

Figure 6: The Chrysapha relief, ca. 540 BC. Sk 731 Antikensammlung, Berlin. *Right*: drawing by L. Otto and F. Hübner (after Dressel and Milchhöfer 1877, pl. XX); *Left*: modern photograph. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung/CC BY-SA 4.0.

Figure 7: Drawing of the Thiokles Stele by L. Otto and F. Hübner (after Dressel and Milchhöfer 1877, pl. XXVb), ca. 500 BC. Sk 732 Antikensammlung, Berlin.

Figure 8: Fragment of a funerary relief from Laconia, ca. 480 BC. © Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (inv. no. 423), Copenhagen/Ole Haupt.

For Peer Review



303x261mm (300 x 300 DPI)



139x84mm (300 x 300 DPI)



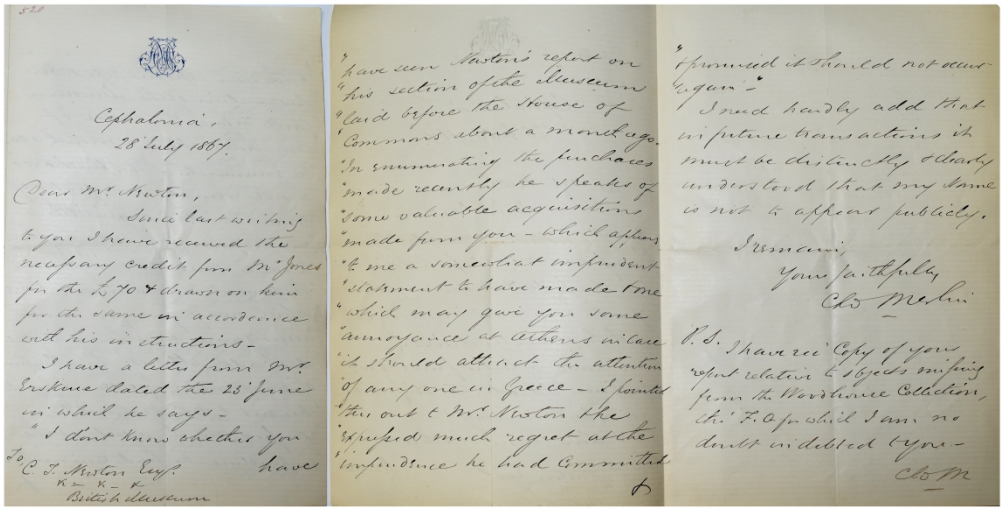
322x397mm (300 x 300 DPI)



229x132mm (300 x 300 DPI)



119x159mm (300 x 300 DPI)



Cephalonia,
28 July 1864.

Dear Mr Newton,

Since last writing to you I have received the necessary credit from Mr Jones for the £70 I drawn on him for the same in accordance with his instructions -

I have a letter from Mr Erskine dated the 23 June in which he says -

"I dont know whether you have

To C. T. Newton Esq.
K- K- K-
British Museum

"seen Newton's report on
"his section of the Museum
"laid before the House of
"Commons about a month ago.
"In enumerating the purchases
"made recently he speaks of
"some valuable acquisitions
"made from you - which affords
"to me a sorrowful impudent
"statement to have made to me
"which may give you some
"annoyance at Athens in case
"it should attract the attention
"of any one in Greece - I pointed
"this out to Mr Newton the
"impropriety much regret at the
"impudence he had committed

"I promised it should not occur
"again -

I need hardly add that in future transactions it must be distinctly & clearly understood that my name is not to appear publicly.

I remain,
Yours faithfully
Chs Merlin

P.S. I have a Copy of your report relative to objects shipped from the Northwick Collection, Chr. 7. & I shall I am no doubt indebted to you -
Chs M

399x202mm (300 x 300 DPI)



119x116mm (300 x 300 DPI)



235x306mm (300 x 300 DPI)