

# FEDERICO HALBHERR AND ARTHUR EVANS: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL CORRESPONDENCE (1894-1917) \*

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## INTRODUCTION

This article presents the surviving correspondence between Federico Halbherr (1857-1930) and Arthur John Evans (1851-1941), two towering figures in the history of Cretan archaeology<sup>1</sup>. Halbherr's extensive

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<sup>1</sup> On Federico Halbherr see Pernier 1930; Della Seta 1931; De Sanctis 1970 esp. 78-88; Accame 1984 and 1986; Rizzo 1984, with a useful summary of Halbherr's excavations and other explorations before 1900, and further bibliography; Petricioli 1986, 14; ead. 1990 *passim*; ead. 2000; La Rosa 1986b, 1987, and 2000b; Salmeri 1986, 218-220. The proceedings of the conference *La figura e l'opera di Federico Halbherr* held in Rovereto (Italy) on 26-27 May 2000 are now published in the first volume of the periodical *Creta Antica* (2000): I should like to thank Pietro Militello for allowing me to see in advance a draft of his excellent paper "L'antichistica straniera nell'epistolario di Federico Halbherr". On A.J. Evans see J. Evans 1943; Brown 1983, 1993 and 2001; Harden 1983; Horwitz 1981; McEnroe 1995; MacGillivray 2000; McNeal 1973; Myres 1941a and 1941b; see also Momigliano 1999a and 1999b.

explorations in the 1880s revealed the richness of the island's archaeological and epigraphical heritage to the scholarly world, while Evans has been hailed as the main discoverer or even the inventor of Minoan civilization<sup>2</sup>.

The two scholars first met in Rome on the 3rd of February 1892<sup>3</sup>. Halbherr had already acquired fame largely through his discovery of the 'Queen of Greek inscriptions' in 1884 (the fifth c. BC inscription of the laws of ancient Gortyna), and had subsequently been appointed to a chair in Greek Epigraphy at the University of Rome (1888). Evans, after a brief career as the Balkan correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian* (1877-1882), had been appointed Keeper (i.e. Director) of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford in 1884. Meanwhile, he had developed an interest in the evolution of writing, which eventually led to his first visit to Crete in 1894, and to his famous excavations at Knossos, which started in March 1900 and continued, with some interruptions, until 1931.

The 1892 Roman meeting was the beginning of a friendship, which flourished for almost four decades, that is until Halbherr's death in 1930. Evans "gratefully and affectionately" dedicated the fourth and last volume of his *Palace of Minos* (1921-1935) "to the memory of Federico Halbherr, the first archaeological explorer of ancient Crete and discoverer of the great inscription of Gortyna, true friend and helper in the very beginnings of my own researches in the land of Minos", and in the preface referred to the Italian archaeologist as "the Patriarch of Cretan excavation".

The correspondence published here, a further testimony to this friendship, not only constitutes a valuable source for the lives of these two pioneers of Cretan archaeology, but is also interesting for the history of Aegean Bronze Age studies from other perspectives.

To begin with, these letters relate, with the unique immediacy of the discoverers' own words, the exciting finds unearthed during the excavations of key Cretan sites such as Phaestos, Hagia Triada, and Knossos. Evans's report of the discovery of the 'Fetish-shrine' in the Little Palace of Knossos or his reaction to Halbherr's letter discussing the famous Phaestos Disk will suffice as examples<sup>4</sup>.

These letters also provide intriguing evidence for the intellectual relationship between the two scholars, and for their views on various

<sup>2</sup> On Evans as the 'inventor' of Minoan civilization, see, e.g., Farnoux 1993, 66.

<sup>3</sup> Joan Evans 1943, 300 and 308: "Halbherr was an Italian of Alpine stock, slight and wiry, austere and devout; his simple and friendly manner, his disinterested love of his work and his enthusiasm for travel, made him at once a congenial friend." Cf. Arthur Evans's own words on Halbherr in the Preface of the fourth volume in *Palace of Minos*, Evans 1921-35.

<sup>4</sup> See Evans's letters 2 and 6.

matters, ranging from archaeology to politics. There are, for example, Halbherr's amusing and revealing comments on their French colleagues, especially on their 'lack of tact' and their way of conducting research ("I do not think the French will do great work at Goulas. They will make tests here and there, and then they'll give up")<sup>5</sup>. Also interesting, in a different way, are Halbherr's rebuttal of Evans's early date (Middle Minoan III) for the Hagia Triada frescoes<sup>6</sup>, and his opinion of the new Cretan archaeological law ("its severity is almost ridiculous, and the clauses concerning ownership of the finds seem to me even against justice")<sup>7</sup>. Evans's letters, amongst other things, offer glimpses of his (and Halbherr's) ideas concerning the reconstructions at Knossos<sup>8</sup>, of Evans's attitude to the Great War, and political events in Crete and Greece<sup>9</sup>. One of Evans's letters also throws light on his attitude to scholarly methodology, which goes some way towards explaining why he produced so many controversial (some might say far-fetched) interpretations: "You will see that I put forward many theories in a tentative way – but theories are useful in order to marshal facts and even when not wholly accurate they still may help towards the true solution"<sup>10</sup>. This approach contrasts with the positivistic and more restrained stance of his Italian colleagues, especially Halbherr's 'pupil' L. Pernier, and finds a clear illustration in the respective publications of Evans's *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* (1921-1935) and Pernier's *Il Palazzo Minoico di Festòs* (1935)<sup>11</sup> – the former a work of historical synthesis as well as a sort of 'encyclopaedia' of Minoan civilization, the latter a proper site publication.

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<sup>5</sup> Halbherr's letters 3-5.

<sup>6</sup> Halbherr's letter 16.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Halbherr's letters 5, 8, and 9.

<sup>8</sup> Evans's letter 3.

<sup>9</sup> For example Evans's letters 10 and 11.

<sup>10</sup> Evans's letter 5.

<sup>11</sup> Because of this contrast, some scholars have found reasons to bestow praise on Italian scholarship and criticize Evans: see Zois 1994, esp. 28-9. The lack of a proper site publication of Knossos is undoubtedly very regrettable, but one of Evans's merits is arguably the fact that he was the first (if not the only one) among the pioneers of Cretan archaeology who produced a detailed historical synthesis, and tried to place the newly discovered civilization within the broader context of human evolution, adopting and adapting current theories developed in other disciplines, from physical anthropology to comparative religion. Naturally, many of Evans's theories are now out of date, but in the history of scholarship interpretations are as important as the discoveries themselves. On the deliberate 'understatement' and 'objectivity' of Italian scholarship see also La Rosa 2000c, 26-7. On L. Pernier see n. 92 below. On Evans's *Palace of Minos* see Momigliano 1999b.

This correspondence makes frequent mention of Halbherr's Italian collaborators, and this is a helpful reminder of his great qualities as a teacher, organizer, facilitator, and inspirer of work in others<sup>12</sup>. As rightly remarked by P. Militello, Halbherr's own publication record is rather meagre by any standards<sup>13</sup>, but in a fair assessment of his legacy to Cretan studies, one should, perhaps, take into account the works of scholars who greatly benefited from their association with him, archaeologists and epigraphists such as Luigi Pernier or Margherita Guarducci, and even Evans himself in his first exploratory steps on the island<sup>14</sup>. This contrasts sharply with Evans's considerable publication record and highly individualistic *modus operandi*: Evans left more than 150 published works to his name (of which one is the monumental *Palace of Minos*) but no pupils or collaborators (of equal status) to speak of – only employees such as Duncan Mackenzie or Christian Doll<sup>15</sup>.

Another interesting feature of these letters is that they occasionally illustrate more intimate aspects of the lives and characters of these two pioneers of Cretan archaeology. Some are more significant, such as Evans's understated feelings for the loss of his father, or the effects of the Great War on his own private life<sup>16</sup>. Others are more trivial, such as Halbherr's weakness for English razors<sup>17</sup>. All, however, can be useful in the reconstruction of a more rounded and humane picture of the two personalities, warts and all.

Naturally, other readers will find matters of interest in other aspects of this correspondence. In my view, one of the most intriguing is provided by the numerous references to the politics of Cretan archaeology, to what one might call the 'archaeological colonization' of the island by French, Italian, American and British scholars, in the aftermath of the 1896-7 Cretan insurrections against Ottoman rule.

These insurrections, and the fact that the British Vice Consul and other British subjects had been killed in the upheavals, had led to the intervention of the European Powers. In the words of one of the key protagonists of

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<sup>12</sup> On Halbherr's qualities as 'animatore' and 'maestro nel senso vero della parola' see Della Seta 1931, 5. See also La Rosa 1986b, 55. Most of his collaborators were 'products' of the Scuola d'Archeologia in Rome directed by Luigi Pigorini, the doyen of Italian prehistory, as pointed out by Salmeri 1986, 204-5; see also Cucuzza 2000, 148.

<sup>13</sup> Militello 2000, 129-30.

<sup>14</sup> On Pernier and Guarducci see notes 92 and 106. As far as Evans is concerned, see, for example, his early publication of the Hagios Onuphrios material, Evans 1895.

<sup>15</sup> On Mackenzie and Doll see notes 97 and 149.

<sup>16</sup> See, e.g., Evans's letters 5, 6, 10, and 11.

<sup>17</sup> See Halbherr's letter 5.

Cretan history of this period (Prince George): "The British bulldog now suddenly awoke, gave a tremendous roar, and jumped up on its four legs. A rat had bitten it in its tail"<sup>18</sup>. Thus, in 1898, Crete was granted autonomous status under Ottoman suzerainty, and the Powers appointed Prince George of Greece as High Commissioner of the island<sup>19</sup>. The island was also divided into four sectors under European 'supervision': Heraklion (Britain), Siteia (France), Sphakia and Apokorona as well as Hierapetra (Italy)<sup>20</sup>, and Rethymnon (Russia). All European powers also had headquarters and diplomatic representatives in the capital, Chania<sup>21</sup>. The political change favoured the start of excavations, which had hitherto been hampered by Ottoman laws on antiquities, and by the Cretans themselves, who feared that the Ottoman authorities would remove the best finds to Istanbul<sup>22</sup>.

Thus, after 1898, in the new and auspicious political climate, foreign archaeologists started vying with each other in the race to conquer the most promising sites in this 'Promised Land of Aegean research'<sup>23</sup>, a land that Halbherr, in particular, had rescued from relative obscurity and brought to scholarly attention with his work in the 1880s and early 1890s.

In this climate of 'archaeological colonization' and 'competition among different nations'<sup>24</sup>, archaeologists often appealed to patriotic sentiments

<sup>18</sup> Pallis 1959, 16.

<sup>19</sup> Symbolically, one Turkish flag was kept flying in Souda bay (Howard 1935-6, vol. 2, chapter 1).

<sup>20</sup> Sources show a slight discrepancy on this matter. Cf., e.g., Petricoli 1990, 11-12; Pallis 1959, 21; Howard 1935-6, 79.

<sup>21</sup> Clogg 1992, 71. See also Halbherr's letters 2, 5 and 11, and relevant notes, with further references.

<sup>22</sup> Brown 1986, esp. 37-8; Hood 1987, esp. 88; Farnoux 1993, 30; Sakellarakis 1998, 43; Militello 2000, 133. Cretan opposition to excavations had become especially powerful after the Pact of Khalepa (1878), which secured wider Christian participation in the government of the island (Woodhouse 1986, 180; Hood 1987, 85-88; Brown 1986, 38). This opposition is well attested in documents of the time, and is also captured in Nikos Kazantzakis's historical novel *O Kapetan Michalis. Elefteria i thanatos*, which is set precisely during a late 19<sup>th</sup> c. Cretan insurrection. In a passage from the novel, the character Hadjisavas exclaimed: "What treasures must be in the soil down there, what golden ornaments of the dead! But we are slaves. If we were to reveal the treasure now, Turkey will rob us of it. Let us be patient. As soon as Crete is freed, may some other Greek dig up the ancient city and win the renown" (English translation, entitled *Freedom and Death*, by J. Griffin, London: Faber and Faber, 1966, at p. 257). As is well known, the character Hadjisavas was based on the doctor, savant and self-taught archaeologist Iosif Hazzidakis (see below, notes 31, 33 and esp. 66).

<sup>23</sup> Hogarth and Bosanquet 1899.

<sup>24</sup> Savignoni and De Sanctis 1901, 285 "Creta ... Rigenerata dalla libertà ... è divenuta subito campo incontrastato di ricerche fruttuose, nel quale esploratori di nazioni diverse

(especially in their search for funding)<sup>25</sup> – for in that age of ardent nationalism “no European country wanted to fall behind the others in terms of scientific discoveries”<sup>26</sup>, and archaeology was one of the instruments through which scholars as well as politicians could assert their country’s superiority.

Competition was particularly fierce between French and British archaeologists, as exemplified by the well-known clashes over the sites of Knossos and Goulas<sup>27</sup>, also mentioned in these letters. Relations with the Italians remained generally more cordial, largely thanks to Halbherr’s personality, even if the Italian archaeologist fully shared the patriotic and colonial aspirations of his French or British colleagues<sup>28</sup>. In fact, it has been argued that the Italian archaeological expeditions in the Mediterranean before the Second World War (of which Halbherr’s Cretan Mission was the first) had an even more markedly political and nationalistic character than their foreign counterparts. This was largely because the Italians were obsessed with the fear that the recently proclaimed Italian kingdom might not be able to find its place among the civilized nations<sup>29</sup>. In other words, the

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gareggiano nell’utile lavoro della scienza. In questa gara non poteva, s’intende, non essere rappresentata l’Italia ...”.

<sup>25</sup> See, e.g., the article by the Athens correspondent, “Excavations of Prehistoric Knossos”, in *The Times*, 10 August 1900: “Research in Crete will occupy scholars of all nationalities in the immediate future, and it is to be hoped that England will maintain the lead which she has so happily secured”. See also Evans’s and Hogarth’s letter to *The Times* of 31 October 1900: “Meanwhile Italian and French Missions, supported by Government aid, had already been in the field for several months. Even to hold their own it was absolutely imperative that British representatives should make a beginning. We had no choice but to embark last spring on an enterprise which, once begun, for the honour of British science must be carried through”.

<sup>26</sup> McEnroe 2002, 62.

<sup>27</sup> On the ‘battle’ or indeed ‘war’ over Knossos see Farnoux 1993, 29-33; Brown 1986; Hood 1987; Driessen 1990, 14-31; Christofi 1996. See also La Rosa 2000b, esp. 31, who refers to this episode as the “guerra dei vent’anni”. On the clashes over Goulas and other sites see below Halbherr’s letter 3, and relevant notes.

<sup>28</sup> See, e.g., Petricioli 2000.

<sup>29</sup> See Sergio Romano’s preface to Petricioli 1990, xvi: “... [N]elle iniziative di Halbherr e di altri studiosi italiani dello stesso periodo vi è un particolare sentimento di frustrazione e di angoscia. Come in altri settori della vita civile e culturale, gli italiani appaiono ossessionati dal timore che la nuova Italia non riesca ad inserirsi nel novero delle nazioni civili ... Lungo la loro strada gli archeologi trovano ... due difficoltà particolarmente italiane: l’avarizia dell’amministrazione ... e le rivalità di un mondo accademico ... Paradossalmente sono questi ... i motivi che finiscono per conferire alle missioni archeologiche italiane un carattere ancora più marcatamente politico e nazionalista”. Note that the new Italian Kingdom was proclaimed in 1861 but the process of political unification of the Italian peninsula was completed only in the 1870s. On Halbherr’s strong

relative novelty of the emerging Italian nation state and the reverberating echoes of the Risorgimento left a mark in the work carried out by Italians abroad.

Besides rivalries between foreign scholars, the letters published here offer one or two glimpses of the relationship between 'foreign' and 'native' archaeologists, an equally fascinating aspect of this process of archaeological colonization of the island. Sakellarakis and La Rosa have already discussed the contrasting attitudes regarding foreign involvement in Cretan archaeology (especially in the period before 1898) represented, on the one hand, by the 'nationalistic' policy of Ioannis Perdikaris and, on the other, by the 'xenophile' stance of Iosif Hazzidakis, which eventually prevailed<sup>30</sup>. Apart from the close personal friendship between Halbherr and I. Hazzidakis<sup>31</sup>, one of the most influential members of the Cretan intelligentsia, other (and perhaps more important) reasons may help to explain why the exploration of Crete was eventually left open to Western scholars. First, one should consider the relative weakness and poverty of the new Cretan government in relation to the 'protecting' European powers: even if some Cretans may have opposed foreign involvement in Cretan excavations and favoured the intervention of the Athens Archaeological Society on the grounds of national pride, this attitude was rather impractical in view of the political situation. Second, the appropriation of the Cretan heritage by foreign scholars was largely intellectual: most of the finds remained on the island, and any removal to overseas lands was done, on the whole, legally<sup>32</sup>. Third, the Cretans could use the rediscovery of the island's past (no matter who was doing it, so long as it was done in the name of the Cretan Government) to their own cultural and political advantage<sup>33</sup>. In other

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patriotism, which found its roots in the Italian Risorgimento, see, e.g., La Rosa 1987, 81-82; Petricioli 2000, 104. Good examples of Halbherr's patriotic feelings, of his desire that Italian prestige and influence would not fall behind those of other nations, can be seen in his correspondence with De Sanctis (Accame 1984 and 1986) and in the letters he wrote to L. Pigorini, recently published by Bandini 2000.

<sup>30</sup> Sakellarakis 1998, esp. 43-4 (document no. 18), 139-141, 156-7; La Rosa 2000b, 37-41.

<sup>31</sup> On Hazzidakis see n. 66 below. On how the friendship between Halbherr and Hazzidakis may have affected the development of Cretan archaeology see Sakellarakis 1998, 138-139 and La Rosa 2000b, esp. 41. On the friendship between the two scholars generally see also Di Vita 2000, 117-118.

<sup>32</sup> Especially after the 1903 legislation, which allowed the export of some objects (Petrakos 1982, 75).

<sup>33</sup> In this context, it is interesting to note that the character Hadjisavas (who was, as already said, based on Iosif Hazzidakis: cf. n. 22 above and 66 below) in N. Kazantzakis's novel *O Kapetan Michalis. Elefteria i thanatos* (English translation entitled *Freedom and Death*, by J. Griffin, London: Faber and Faber, 1966, at p. 257) believed that liberation

words, Cretans too, in their fight against Ottoman rule, could exploit the idea that European archaeologists were *not* appropriating other people's past, but seeking to uncover and understand a *common* heritage<sup>34</sup>. As nicely put by Hamilakis and Yalouri, archaeological monuments could be manipulated as 'symbolic capital' for political purposes<sup>35</sup>.

In Evans's case, archaeology and politics were particularly entwined. Evans, as correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* in the Balkans, had already written extensively on the problem of the Ottoman presence in Europe (the 'Eastern Question') supporting the struggle of the native people: the Cretan situation must have felt to him like a *déjà vu*<sup>36</sup>.

Thus, at a time when there was still a strong Turkish and Muslim presence on Crete, it was no mere chance that Evans wrote to *The Times* that the exploration of Crete was "not one confined to the backwaters of antiquarian research ... [but] lies about the fountain-head of our own civilization"; that Minos's throne exhibited "a strange anticipation of thirteenth century Gothic"; and that the Knossos excavations had revealed "[a] beautiful life-size painting of a youth with a European and almost classically Greek profile"<sup>37</sup>. Similarly, in another article, which also appeared in *The Times*, Evans not only maintained that the newly discovered Minoan civilization was clearly 'European' in character, but proposed that the Phoenician alphabet had an Aegean origin<sup>38</sup>. *The Times*' Athens correspondent even suggested that thanks to archaeological

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from Turkish occupation would come from the rediscovery of the Cretan cultural heritage, as shown in one of his dialogues with the Metropolitan of Megalo Kastri (Herakleion): "Your reverence expects freedom from Moscow, the people expect it from guns, and I from this ring, which you, Mylord, despise". Incidentally, there can be little doubt that the inspiration for the ring described in the novel was the famous 'Ring of Minos' acquired by Evans in the early 1930s: Evans 1921-35, vol. 4, 947-62; cf. also *Illustrated London News*, 26 September 1931.

<sup>34</sup> These ideas are quite close to those expressed, more recently, by a British archaeologist to explain why (unlike his colleagues working in Third World countries) he had never felt guilty (nor had his local colleagues made him feel so) about his work in the Near East: see Parr 1987, 29-30. On Greece as the *fons et origo* of Europe see Herzfeld 1982, esp. chapter 1 and 97; and Herzfeld 1987, 1, 19, 25 and *passim*. On the appropriation of Greek cultural heritage and related issues see also the interesting remarks in Nixon 2001, 89-94.

<sup>35</sup> Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996. Cf. also McEnroe 2002.

<sup>36</sup> For Evans's work in the Balkans see Wilkes 1976; Joan Evans 1943.

<sup>37</sup> Evans's and Hogarth's letter to the editor of *The Times*, 31 October 1900. On Hogarth see below (n. 96).

<sup>38</sup> On the Aegean origins of the Phoenician alphabet see Evans's article "Writing in Prehistoric Greece and the origin of the alphabet" in *The Times*, 15 September 1900. Cf. also Hitchcock 1999. For more examples of the European character of Minoan civilization



researches in Crete “light will be thrown not only on the prehistoric and classical periods, but also on the progress of early Christianity in the island...”<sup>39</sup>.

Nevertheless, this process of archaeological colonization at times, inevitably, clashed with Cretan pride and patriotism. This is well illustrated in Halbherr’s letters to Evans of November and December 1901 on the Kalyvia affair<sup>40</sup>.

In the late summer of 1901, after Halbherr had returned to Italy, peasants had discovered by chance some Mycenaean tombs on the hill of Kalyvia near Phaestos. The Cretan archaeologist Stephanos Xanthoudidis inspected the site and, enthused by the discoveries, continued the excavations<sup>41</sup>. Halbherr was incensed, for Kalyvia was ‘Italian territory’. He vented some of his fury in his letters to Evans: “What should we do with these Greeks? ... [The foreign] missions in Crete should show solidarity in order to instil some respect in people who do not act according to the norms of civility”<sup>42</sup>. These are rather strong words that are in contrast with his more familiar image as an archaeologist serving his nation’s interests, but always very sensitive to local sentiments<sup>43</sup>. They may be seen as reflections of Halbherr’s strong patriotism, of the perceived weakness of the new Cretan government (which Halbherr himself referred to as “the little government of Prince George”), and possibly of the widespread idea that the modern Greeks were not the worthy successors of their Classical forebears, unlike the members of more civilized Western European nations...<sup>44</sup>. Moreover, Halbherr’s opinions on Italian proprietary rights in

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see the article on “Excavations of Prehistoric Knossos” by the Athens correspondent in *The Times*, 10 August 1900, describing the Knossos gypsum throne in the “Council Chamber of Minos” as the “oldest throne in Europe”; see also Evans’s article “Fresh discoveries in the Palace of Knossos” in *The Times* of 28 May 1901: “That the *fleur-de-lis* of our Edwards and Henrys should find a prototype in prehistoric Greece is a startling revelation; but it was perhaps fitting that, as last year’s excavations in Knossos brought to light ‘the oldest throne in Europe’, so the more recent researches should produce its most ancient crown”. Evans’s rejection of eastern influences in Minoan art, evident in some of his early writings, was also much influenced by the important work of the French scholar, Salomon Reinach, “*Le mirage Oriental*”, which advocated European cultural independence from the Near East: see Momigliano 1999a, 38; MacGillivray 2000, 142-3; see also Bernal 1987, esp. Chapter IX.

<sup>39</sup> “Excavations of Prehistoric Knossos”, *The Times*, 10 August 1900.

<sup>40</sup> Letters 10, 11, and 12.

<sup>41</sup> On Xanthoudidis see n. 79 below.

<sup>42</sup> Halbherr’s letter 10. Cf. also his letters on this matter to De Sanctis, published by Accame 1986, esp. at 95, and La Rosa 2000b, 44, 59-60.

<sup>43</sup> On Halbherr’s sensitivity to local feelings and on his strong patriotism see, e.g. La Rosa 1986b, esp. 72 and La Rosa 1987, 81-2.

<sup>44</sup> On the ‘little government of Prince George’ see Halbherr’s letter 14 (“Il piccolo

Crete could appear rather ironic, from a modern perspective, given that foreigners were not allowed to conduct excavations on Italian soil at that time<sup>45</sup>.

Even the Italian Foreign Office and Prince George became embroiled in the Kalyvia quarrel, which was solved after Xanthoudidis provided some justification for his actions and was forbidden to publish the cemetery. Xanthoudidis's dignified explanation reveals the frustration of the Cretan archaeologist at seeing the best discoveries being reaped by foreign archaeologists, while Greeks were unable to compete for lack of funds. It betrays feelings that probably were not uncommon and may well strike a chord even today<sup>46</sup>. Also, Xanthoudidis's alleged outburst at the outcome of the affair ("have we Cretans been enslaved!")<sup>47</sup> deserves more sympathy, if one bears in mind that all this took place at a particularly sensitive time in Cretan History. In 1998 Prince George had been appointed as High Commissioner initially for three years only. Thus, in 1901, at the end of his first mandate, Cretans had great expectations for 'Enosis' with Greece: there had been new elections in April 1901, and the first Cretan Chamber of Deputies had immediately voted a resolution in favour of union with Greece. Cretan aspirations, however, were frustrated by the European Powers, who wanted to maintain the 'status quo'<sup>48</sup>.

It must also be stressed that, in the end, the Kalyvia affair was amicably (and relatively quickly) resolved, and that Xanthoudidis himself, several

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governo del Principe Giorgio"). On European perceptions of modern Greeks as 'Ur-Europeans' and 'wretched orientals' at the same time see, e.g., Herzfeld (1982) 3, 6; Herzfeld 1987, 10, 19-21, 25, 27, 35-7, 49, 54-6, 87-8; McEnroe, 2002; Bosanquet, 1938, *passim*, and esp. 123-4.

<sup>45</sup> Only as late as 1946 Erik Sjöqvist and J. B. Ward-Perkins, Directors of the Swedish Institute and the British School at Rome, respectively, became the first foreign archaeologists allowed to excavate on Italian soil since the early-mid nineteenth century: see Wiseman 1990, 9 and 19. See also Dyson 1998, 74-5 (on American attempts to excavate in Croton in the 1880s, which were thwarted by the Italian government) and Hodges 2000, 42-44 (on T. Ashby's interest in prehistoric Malta in the early 1900s, partly dictated by the fact that it was "still impossible to excavate in Italy").

<sup>46</sup> See Halbherr's transcription of a letter from Xanthoudidis dated 21 October 1901, published by La Rosa 2000b, 89-90.

<sup>47</sup> See letter from Federico Halbherr to De Sanctis of 25 January 1902, published by Accame 1986, 94-95: "Xanthoudidis interpreta come violenza l'aver voluto la Scuola reintegrarsi nei suoi diritti. Per esso la concessione d'un territorio ad altri non implica la rinuncia ad esso da parte di chi l'ha concesso, e la sua esclamazione pel fatto che noi abbiamo voluto riaverlo è: "εσκληβωδύναμεν λοιπόν ημεῖς οἱ Κρήτες!"

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Pallis 1959; Howard 1935-6, chapters 1-3.

years later, described Halbherr as the most philhellene and most agreeable of all the foreign archaeologists who had worked in Crete<sup>49</sup>.

Given that the late 19<sup>th</sup>–early 20<sup>th</sup> century ‘archaeological colonization’ of Crete and ‘Europeanization’ of Minoan civilization have profoundly affected archaeological research on the island<sup>50</sup>; that patriotic and nationalistic feelings can still create moments of friction and *impasse*<sup>51</sup>; and that the ‘intellectual appropriation’ by ‘Westerners’ still influences not only the practice but also the teaching of archaeology in Greece<sup>52</sup>, I hope that the publication of these documents might help to stimulate further reflection and discussion on these matters.

The letters presented here, twenty-nine in all, are currently kept in three archives: the Archive of the Accademia Roveretana degli Agiati (Rovereto, Italy); the Evans Archive (Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford); and the Archive of the Scuola Archeologica Italiana in Athens. Eighteen letters sent by Halbherr to Evans, covering the period 1895–1914, are kept in the Evans Archive, which also holds a short letter of introduction for Evans, written by Halbherr to Alevisos Papalexakis, who became Evans’s guide and muleteer in his travels before 1900, and the first foreman of the excavations at Knossos<sup>53</sup>. There are eleven letters sent by Evans to Halbherr, covering the period 1894–1917, of which one is kept in Athens, and the rest in Rovereto. These twenty-nine letters (thirty, if one includes the letter of introduction) constitute a small fraction of the original correspondence, as clearly shown by internal

<sup>49</sup> As quoted in La Rosa 2000b, 9 n. 7.

<sup>50</sup> For example, Italian, British, French, and American ‘archaeological reserves’ still persist, to a certain extent.

<sup>51</sup> See, for example, the opposition by the Cretan public to the export of Minoan antiquities for an exhibition on ‘Aegean civilization’ to be held at the Louvre in Paris and at the Metropolitan Museum in New York in 1979 (Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996, 125–7). The official reason for this opposition was the risk of damage to the objects, but it is clear that other factors were operating, such as widespread anti-government and anti-American feelings current at the time. The curbing of British archaeological involvement within the area of the Knossos Palace in the last decade may also be seen from a similar perspective. Indeed, given the importance of Knossos (the second most visited site in Greece after the Acropolis of Athens), it is remarkable that this has occurred so late.

<sup>52</sup> Hamilakis 2000, 178–9.

<sup>53</sup> The letter is in Greek. It was written by Halbherr while he was in Herakleion, and is dated 10 March (probably 1894?). Its text can be translated as follows: “My friend Mr Alevisos, please find two good horses and act as guide for my friend Mr. Evans in his excursion. He will go from Rethymnon to Messara and Siteia, and I recommend him to you very much. Greetings, Your friend F. Halbherr”. The envelope (also in Greek) is addressed to “Mr Alevisos Pappalexakis, Atsipopoulon, Rethymno”. See also Halbherr’s letter 8, below, and note 91, with further references.

references<sup>54</sup>. While I hope that more letters preserved in other archives, or in private hands, may resurface, I am quite resigned to the fact that many must have been lost forever in the vicissitudes of travel, war, and various removals.

Although the letters published here largely overlap in the chronological span that they cover (1895-1914 for Halbherr's letters, and 1894-1917 for Evans's), they do not constitute a sequence of communications and replies. Of Halbherr's eighteen letters, two were written in 1895, seven in 1899, three in 1901, and one for each of the following years: 1902, 1903, 1909, 1912, 1913, and 1914. Of Evans's eleven letters, one was written in 1894, two in 1905, one in 1906, three in 1908 and one for each of the following years: 1910, 1914, 1915, 1917. Since no surviving letter is the answer to a previous one, it seemed unnecessary to follow the customary way of publishing the whole correspondence in a strict chronological order. Instead, it seemed more useful to present first the transcriptions of all the letters written by Halbherr, followed by those written by Evans (the letters in each group being arranged in chronological order). This, at least, will allow the reader to focus on developments in the lives of each character.

In the transcriptions I tried to remain as faithful as possible to the originals. Thus, the spellings of Greek and other names have not been standardized, and orthographic or similar mistakes have not been corrected. Evans's letters were all written on his own personal paper, which always had a black border as a sign of mourning, after his wife's death in 1893<sup>55</sup>.

To a modern reader the tone of this correspondence may appear rather formal and undemonstrative (especially the openings and greetings), but this is largely due to the style of the period, and only to a smaller extent to the reserve, which seems typical of both characters. Several passages clearly suggest a deep mutual respect, complete trust and co-operation, and genuine friendship, an impression also corroborated by other evidence<sup>56</sup>.

The two scholars wrote in their respective mother language. As fewer and fewer students and scholars master Italian, I provided English abstracts of Halbherr's letters.

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<sup>54</sup> There are many references to letters which are now lost or have not been found as yet: for example Halbherr's letter 4 refers to one by Evans which discussed the seizure of Praesos by French archaeologists, but this letter is not in Rovereto. Similarly, Evans's letter 6 refers to a letter by Halbherr written on 27 July 1908, which has not been located.

<sup>55</sup> J. Evans 1943, 304.

<sup>56</sup> See, for example, Evans's dedication of *Palace of Minos* vol. 4, 1935, to Halbherr, as well as the words in the Preface at ix-x. See also Halbherr's letter to De Sanctis, not dated but probably May 1910, published in Accame 1984, 48-50 at 49, in which Evans is counted among the most intimate friends and acquaintances.

HALBHERR'S LETTERS TO EVANS  
(EVANS ARCHIVE, ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD)

**F.H. 1.** *Letter concerning Halbherr's poor state of health and plans for the summer; Evans's off-prints (Evans 1894) which Halbherr distributed to various colleagues; Mariani's work; the Psychro cave and the cult of Zeus Dicteus; and Evans's forthcoming article on his travels in Crete (Evans and Myres 1895).*

Rovereto, 27 Maggio 1895.

Caro Signor Evans,

Ho dovuto venire un'altra volta in campagna a Rovereto, perché mi ha preso un po' di prostrazione nervosa, e il miglior modo di curarla è di lasciare il lavoro e riposare una quindicina di giorni. Tornerò a Roma il 5 Giugno, ed essendo quest'anno rimasto molto indietro coi miei studi cretesi, penso di restare nella capitale tutto Luglio e parte d'Agosto onde mandarli innanzi. Ciò forse m'impedirà di fare la gita a Candia, che avevo quasi progettata per i mesi delle vacanze.

Ho ricevuto qua la sua lettera del 20. Sono lieto dei suoi nuovi successi e mi duole che Ella non sia venuto a Roma nel Suo ritorno. Io La ho aspettato lungamente, ma poi avendo letto nei giornali di Canea<sup>57</sup> che Ella era partito da tempo, ho immaginato appunto che sia tornato direttamente in Inghilterra.

Il pacco contenente i Suoi estratti sulla scrittura preferenzia<sup>58</sup> in Creta è arrivato con molto ritardo, e credendo – secondo le istruzioni avute da Lei – che la Sua copia non lo avrebbe raggiunto più in Candia, ho trattenuto quella a Roma presso di me. Tutte le altre le ho spedite agli indirizzi da Lei lasciati. Ora, supponendo che Ella non abbia più bisogno della Sua in Inghilterra, dove ne avrà delle altre, la darò, appena ritornato a Roma, al Beloch<sup>59</sup> che è professore di Storia Antica nella nostra università e si occupa adesso del periodo myceneo [*sic*].

Il Suo lavoro ha prodotto da noi una grande impressione, ed io mi congratulo con Lei specialmente pel modo con cui è fatto. Ci sono dei particolari che rimangono

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<sup>57</sup> Modern Chania, at the time the capital of Crete.

<sup>58</sup> A reference to Evans's article "Primitive Pictographs and a Prae-Phoenician Script, from Crete and the Peloponnese" (Evans 1894). See also n. 67 below.

<sup>59</sup> Beloch, Karl Julius (Petschkendorf, Prussia 1854-Rome 1929), renowned ancient historian. For health reasons he moved to Italy early in his life, where he attended secondary school and university. In 1879 he became Professor of Ancient History at the University of Rome, where F. Halbherr, G. De Sanctis, R. Paribeni and L. Pernier were among his pupils. He visited Crete in 1909. See Momigliano 1966; De Sanctis 1970, *passim*, esp. 64-5, 122-7, and 139-141; Accame 1984 12-14; Salmeri 1986, 208-210, with further bibliographical references.

ancora discutibili, ma l'insieme costituisce un grande caposaldo nella storia della coltura mycenea [*sic*] e delle origini della scrittura nel bacino orientale mediterraneo. Il prof. Comparetti<sup>60</sup> ne è pure rimasto molto impressionato ed ha intenzione di farne un rapporto in una delle prossime adunanze dell'Accademia Reale dei Lincei<sup>61</sup>.

Sulla scoperta recente del Mariani<sup>62</sup> Le devo dire che ora egli stesso dubita del carattere dei segni che vedonsi su quella pietra. Si tratta di uno scarabeo, a quanto credo, e i segni che porta, quantunque siano simili ai segni lineari delle pietre mycenee [*sic*], mostrano piuttosto di essere di un carattere magico e quindi affine o identico a quelli degli *abraxas*<sup>63</sup>. Più importante è invece la scoperta che egli ha fatto in una collezione privata di Venezia di una statuetta di Britomartis proveniente certo da Creta, ma d'epoca non molto antica.

Anch'io aveva supposto un tempo che la Grotta di Psychrò fosse l'antro Dikteo<sup>64</sup>, ma poi, vedendo che il culto di Zeus Dikteo e il Dikte appartenevano alla penisola di Sitia, ho mutato idea. Ha Ella trovato degli argomenti nuovi a favore di quella ipotesi?

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<sup>60</sup> Comparetti, Domenico (Rome 1835-Florence 1927): influential Italian intellectual of wide historical-philological interests, ranging from Greek literature and epigraphy to Finnish epic poetry and Minoan archaeology. He taught Greek Literature at the University of Pisa from 1859, and at the University of Florence from 1872. He was also the founder of the periodical *Museo italiano di antichità classica*, and author of several essays and books, of which the most famous is probably *Virgilio nel Medioevo*. See Pugliese Carratelli 1982; La Rosa and Rizzo 1984, 265 fig. 511; Salmeri 1986, 215-218, with further bibliographical references.

<sup>61</sup> Accademia Reale dei Lincei (now called Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei): Italian academy of letters and sciences whose origins go back to the beginning of the 17th century (it was founded by prince Federico Cesi in 1603); see Schettini Piazza 1980; Bonfante 1996.

<sup>62</sup> Lucio Mariani (Rome 1865-1924) was the first archaeologist to illustrate vases from the Kamares cave on Mount Ida in a lecture given in Rome in 1894 (*Römische Mitteilungen* 9, 1894, 100). He taught at the Universities of Pavia, Pisa and Rome and became Director of the Musei Capitolini in Rome (Accame 1984, 123; idem, 1986, 7 and *passim*; see also Di Vita *et al.* 1984, *passim*). As to the "recent discovery by Mariani" mentioned in this letter, it is probably a reference to the supposed finding of an inscription in pre-Hellenic characters mentioned in a letter of 5/2/1895 from Halbherr to De Sanctis, which, however, turned out to be mistaken (Accame 1986, 7). For his work in Crete see, e.g., Mariani 1894, 1895a, 1985b, 1897, and 1901; see also Driessen 1990, 28-30.

<sup>63</sup> Abraxas (abraxa or abraxas): a word which appears in magical papyri and on gems or amulets from the second century A.D. and is usually associated with the Egyptian Gnostic Basilides; the addition of the numerical values of the Greek letters gives the total 365 (see *Der Neue Pauly*, s.v.; *Lexicon Iconographicarum Mythologiae Classicae*, s.v.; C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, s.v.).

<sup>64</sup> The famous cave of Psychro, sometimes identified with the birthplace of Zeus. Evans visited the site with Myres in 1895 and with D. G. Hogarth in 1899 (Brown 1993, 54-6, 83); the latter conducted excavations in the cave in 1900 (Hogarth 1900). See also Davaras 1976, s.v.

Attendo con impazienza l'articolo che Ella pubblicherà nell'Academy<sup>65</sup> sul suo recente viaggio, ed intanto la saluto cordialmente e sono

Suo aff.mo  
Federico Halbherr

P.S. A Candia, dei suoi estratti ne ho mandato uno solo al Dr. Hazzidaki<sup>66</sup>, secondo le Sue istruzioni.

**F.H. 2.** *Letter thanking Evans for his new book (Evans 1895), and also referring to: Halbherr's poor health; Mariani's report for Monumenti Antichi dei Lincei; and the improved relationship between the Syllogos of Candia and the Ottoman Imperial Museum.*

Roma, 30 novembre 1895.

Carissimo Signor Evans,

Il Suo nuovo libro su Creta<sup>67</sup> mi è giunto come la più gradita sorpresa e ho cominciato subito a divorare il nuovo articolo sui trovamenti di Hagh. Onuphrios. Prima di finirlo però è venuto il Mariani che me l'ha portato via per alcuni giorni, avido anch'egli di prendere cognizione delle Sue ultime ricerche. Dopo il Mariani lo vuole il Comparetti, che è da qualche giorno qua a Roma. Ciò le mostri con quanto interesse noi leggiamo la roba Sua su Creta.

Io disgraziatamente sono stato impedito dalle miserie di quest'anno dal mettere fuori il mio materiale. Ma ormai ricomincio a poter lavorare, e dopo le vacanze di

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<sup>65</sup> A reference to Evans's article on "A Mycenaean Military Road in Crete" (Evans and Myres 1895).

<sup>66</sup> Joseph Hazzidakis (or Hajidakis or Hatzidakis or Chatzidakis) 1848-1936, physician and archaeologist, one of the major figures in the development of Cretan archaeology in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. In 1883 he became President of the Syllogos Philekpaideftikos of Candia, a society founded in 1879 for the promotion of education. Its varied activities included the collection and preservation of Cretan antiquities. Hazzidakis also became the Director of the Syllogos' Museum, and the first Ephor or Director of antiquities of Crete. See Hazzidakis 1931; La Rosa 2000b, with further bibliographical references; Brown 1986; ead. 1993 36, 39; Hood 1987; Accame 1986 *passim*; Sakellarakis 1998, *passim* and esp. 194-5; McEnroe 2002, 64-6. De Sanctis 1970, 91 described Hazzidakis as wiser, older and more patient than his colleague Xanthoudidis (who is said to be "ardito e vivace"). A most intriguing literary transfiguration of Hazzidakis appears in Nikos Kazantzakis's novel *O Kapetan Michalis. Eleftheria i thanatos* (1953) as the character Hajisavas. Cf. also notes 22 and 33 above.

<sup>67</sup> A reference to Evans's book on *Cretan Pictographs and Prae-Phoenician Script*, Evans 1895. The volume consists of two essays: the first, on scripts, is a slightly revised version of the article published by Evans in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1894, mentioned in Halbherr's letter 1; the second, on the site of Hagios Onuphrios, was published here for the first time.

Natale, nelle quali mi prenderò un po' di riposo, spero di poter procedere innanzi con lena. Il Mariani ha già la sua relazione cretese sotto i torchi e sarà presto pubblicata nei "Monumenti" dei Lincei<sup>68</sup>.

Le buone notizie che ebbi tempo fa dal Sillogo di Candia si riferiscono a un certo modus vivendi che il Sillogo sembra aver ottenuto dal Museo Imperiale<sup>69</sup>. Secondo questo, pare che il Sillogo potrà intraprendere e far intraprendere da altri scavi e ricerche in Creta con una certa libertà d'iniziativa e d'azione. Non so però se i recenti avvenimenti avranno o no modificate le cose, come pure non so se quello che si spera dalle parole dei Turchi sia tutto attuabile quando si viene ai fatti. Pur tuttavia mi pare che un gran passo sia fatto e che la considerazione, in cui l'opera del Sillogo è tenuta dai dotti d'Europa, abbia indotto Hamdy Bey<sup>70</sup> a recedere dal combatterlo e a lasciarlo fare. Bisogna ora scrivere al Dr. Hazzidaki e sentire nuove ulteriori, il che farò prossimamente.

Il Mariani le manderà le circolari. Intanto La salutiamo ambidue e ci congratuliamo per la nuova e importante contribuzione data agli studi nostri.

Suo aff.mo F. Halbherr

**F.H. 3.** *Letter concerning French misbehaviour over the site of Goulas, considered to be 'English territory'. Halbherr urges Evans to complete negotiations for Knossos. He also suggests the sites of Kato Zakro and Galana Charakia, the former for its importance for the study of prehistoric international relations, the latter for the study of an Eteocretan shrine of Zeus Dictæus. Evans can dig at Praesos, for the Italians are primarily interested in Gortyna and in studying Venetian Crete.*

<sup>68</sup> A reference to Mariani's (1895a), article on 'Antichità Cretesi'.

<sup>69</sup> A reference to the "Philekpedeftikos Syllogos", directed since 1883 by J. Hazzidakis (see n. 66 above and especially Hazzidakis 1931, 7-14) and its relationship with the Imperial Ottoman Museum, at that time directed by Osman Hamdy Bey (see next note).

<sup>70</sup> Osman Hamdy (or Hamdi) Bey 1842-1910, Turkish archaeologist and painter. He lived in Paris between 1857 and 1869, where he was sent by his father to study Law, but became more interested in painting. In 1881 he was appointed Director of the Ottoman Imperial Museum. He greatly expanded the collections, partly thanks to his own excavations of the Royal Necropolis at Sidon of 1887, which yielded a famous group of sarcophagi. These findings made the construction of a new building necessary, and thanks to Hamdy's efforts a new Archaeological Museum was inaugurated in 1891. During his lifetime he was honoured by several European institutions: for example, he was a member of the Royal Institute of British Architects, of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, of the German Archaeological Institute and was awarded honorary doctorates by the Universities of Oxford and Aberdeen. He remained Director of the Imperial Museum until his death in 1910. See: Metzger 1990; Pasinli 1989, 3; Dolunay 1968, 5-6; Rona 1992 and 1993; Brown 2001, 385-6.



21 Via Arenula,  
Roma 4 Febbraio 1899

Caro Signor Evans,

Mi ha recato penosa sorpresa il fatto da Lei comunicatomi che i Francesi hanno sequestrato per loro la città di Gulas<sup>71</sup>. È una cosa che fa poco onore alla loro delicatezza e della quale Ella certo più che noi deve essere risentito. Giacché essendo noto a tutti che Gulas era scientificamente diventato terreno inglese, io e i miei colleghi italiani avevamo già da lungo deposto il pensiero di occuparcene ulteriormente.

Mi pare che ora Ella deve condurre a fondo le trattative per Cnossos, e che, a risarcire il danno della perdita di Gulas, dovrebbe mettere le mani su Kato-Zakro e sulla città che si trova a γαλανὰ χαράκια, nella medesima provincia<sup>72</sup>. Sono due posti, specialmente il primo, molto promettenti e fino ad ora non toccati da nessuno. Forse Kato-Zakro, colla sua posizione sul mare di fronte a Rodi e all'Asia Minore e sull'antica via marittima fra la Grecia e l'Egitto, contiene sotterra degli avanzi che serviranno ad illustrare le relazioni preistoriche fra Creta e il di fuori: io ho sempre avuto grandi speranze da quel luogo; mentre, d'altra parte, le ricerche a γαλανὰ χαράκια (o ἡ τὴν ὀρθὴν πέτραν, come anche si chiama il sito) possono mettere sulla traccia del santuario Praesiano di Zeus Dicteo. La grande iscrizione di Toplu Monastiri<sup>73</sup> che io ho ripubblicato nel Museo Italiano potrà dare luce sulla ubicazione di questo tempio di origine certo Eteocretese. Alla ricerca di esso non Le dispiacerà che, se andassi in Creta, contribuissi anch'io.

Quanto a Praesos<sup>74</sup> Le lascio carta bianca per scavare dove vuole. Io non so

<sup>71</sup> Gulas or Goulas, i.e. ancient Lato. Classical *polis* in Eastern Crete, near the modern village of Kritsa. Halbherr, Mariani, and Taramelli visited the site in the early 1890s and identified it with 'inland Lato'. Evans visited the site in 1894 and 1895, and became, wrongly, convinced that the site was essentially prehistoric: see Evans 1896 and Brown 1993, 60-63. The first excavations were conducted by J. Demargne in 1899-1900: see Demargne 1901 and 1903. See also Picard 1992. On J. Demargne see also n. 90 below.

<sup>72</sup> In the spring of 1901 D. G. Hogarth (see n. 96 below) missed the now well-known Minoan 'palace' of Kato Zakro only by a few metres (see Hogarth 1901). Excavations of this remarkable site were later continued by N. Platon (1971). Both Kato-Zakro and the site of Galana Kharakia (also known as Ταβέρναις or Ταβέρνες) are discussed by Halbherr 1892, 154-5. This appears to be the same site that Mariani 1895b referred to as Aspra Kharakia and as the possible site of the 'celebrated temple' of Zeus Dictaios. See also Pendlebury 1939, 296, map 15 opp. 285; 316, map 17 opp. 305. On this site see also Wroncka 1959, 531 and Tzedakis *et al.* 1990, 60-61: no. 25 (Ταβέρνες).

<sup>73</sup> The medieval monastery of Toplou, in Eastern Crete, near Itanos (Davaras 1976, 154, s.v. Itanos). The "great" inscription referred to in Halbherr's letter is the one first published by Pashley (1837), and later republished by the Italian scholar: see Halbherr 1890, 570-585.

<sup>74</sup> Praesos (or Praisos) was one of the most powerful East Cretan *poleis*. It was known to ancient authors as the city of the Eteocretans (eteo = true), who spoke a non-Greek language known from a number of inscriptions and probably related to the language(s) spoken in Minoan Crete. Halbherr had explored the ruins of Praesos with L. Mariani (see n. 62 above) in 1894 in search of inscriptions: see Halbherr 1894; Rizzo 1984, 59. In 1899 Evans explored the site with D. G. Hogarth, and earmarked it for British research (Brown,

ancora se si potrà in Italia organizzare tanto presto una missione archeologica per Creta. Del resto quello che più ci importa per ora è Gortyna<sup>75</sup> e là vorrei che mi fosse riserbata piena libertà d'azione. Praesos viene dopo, ed intanto io intendo che cominci Lei, salvo ad intendersi amichevolmente su qualche punto particolare di quella località più tardi. E la parte occidentale di Creta, così poco percorsa e affatto esplorata, non tenta nessuno della Scuola inglese?

Quello che attualmente si sta progettando in Italia è una spedizione per lo studio dei monumenti veneziani e della storia dell'isola sotto il dominio veneto<sup>76</sup>. Questo progetto credo che sarà tra breve attuato; ed io prego fin da ora gli amici e colleghi d'esplorazione cretese a comunicarmi le notizie di cose venete, iscrizioni, chiese, pitture, tradizioni ecc. raccolte durante i viaggi. Forse anche Lei avrà segnalato alcunché, e in questo caso gradirò averne un cenno.

Se Ella andando in Creta passerà per Roma, La prego di scrivermi in precedenza. Intanto salutandola cordialmente, resto

Suo aff.mo Federico Halbherr

P.S. Io non credo però che i Francesi facciano grandi lavori a Gulas. Probabilmente, come è qualche volta loro uso, faranno dei saggi qua e là e poi lasceranno stare.

**F.H. 4.** *Letter concerning misbehaviour of French archaeologists, who seem to be lording it over the whole of East Crete; nomination of Hazzidakis as Ephor general; difficulties in obtaining an honorary Doctorate for Hazzidakis in Italy.*

21, Via Arenula,  
Roma, 10 Febbraio '99

Caro Signor Evans,

Sono cose che non avrei immaginato quelle che Ella mi comunica riguardo a Praesos. Si vede che oramai i Francesi spadroneggiano in tutta la Creta orientale e non mi pare che ci sia modo di evitarlo. Bisogna piuttosto per il momento cercare altri luoghi promettenti in altre parti di Creta, ma io per mio conto non posso fare piani fin che non vedo se il mio governo prenderà una decisione per fare scavi quest'anno.

Vorrei però contribuire alla nomina di Hazzidaki a Ephoros generale. E perciò La prego di scrivermi subito se Ella fa dei passi in questo senso per via diplomatica, che in tal caso ne farò anch'io presso il Ministero degli Esteri immediatamente. Il

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1993, 83 and 2001, 355). The site was first excavated by the British School at Athens in 1901-2: see Whitley 1992.

<sup>75</sup> On the Italian work at Gortyna see Di Vita and Rizzo 1984.

<sup>76</sup> On the Venetian Monuments project see also below, n. 99.

tentativo di far nominare il nostro amico dottore onorario non mi pare che possa riuscire facilmente in Italia: io ho provato ma ho trovato contrarietà, non per la persona, ma per la cosa<sup>77</sup>.

Salutandola distintamente, resto

Suo aff.mo  
Federico Halbherr

**F.H. 5.** *Letter concerning sites 'occupied' by French archaeologists (Goulas and Itanos, but not Praesos). Halbherr urges Evans to get hold of Kato Zakro and Galana Charakia, while he hopes to excavate Gortyna, even if this site is in 'English territory'. Halbherr asks for two good English razors and urges Evans to write to the English consul at Chania in an attempt to persuade the Cretan Assembly to vote the new Cretan archaeological law.*

21 Via Arenula  
Roma, 21 Febbraio 1899

Caro Signor Evans,

Il Dr. Hazzidaki mi ha scritto che i posti occupati dai Francesi sono Gulas e Itanos<sup>78</sup>. Quindi suppongo che quando Ella mi ha annunziato Praesos sia stato un malinteso.

Ad ogni modo cerchi Lei di non lasciarsi scappare Kato-Zakro e Galaná Charakia, due luoghi di cui ogni giorno credo più grande l'importanza. Io ho scritto a Hazzidaki perché cerchi di conservarmi Gortyna. Spero che l'essere questa nella zona inglese, non porterà una certa difficoltà da parte loro che la scaviamo noi.

Se Ella andando in Creta passa per Roma, sarò lieto di discorrere con Lei di tutte queste cose. E in questo caso La vorrei pregare anche di un favore, cioè di comprare per me due buoni rasoi inglesi e di portarmeli se non le danno troppo incommodo.

Salutandola distintamente, sono

Suo aff.mo  
Federico Halbherr

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<sup>77</sup> At Halbherr's instigation, in 1887 Hazzidakis had been honoured with the title of 'Cavaliere dell'ordine della Corona d'Italia'. This, however, was not an academic title, something which, as suggested by La Rosa 2000b, 17 n. 49, would have been more gratifying to the recipient. In this letter we can see that Halbherr and Evans were attempting to fulfil Hazzidakis's intellectual ambitions with an honorary doctorate.

<sup>78</sup> Itanos, the easternmost Greek *polis*, near Cape Sideron (Davaras 1976, s.v.).

P.S. Xanthoudidi<sup>79</sup> mi scrive che il lavoro dell'Assemblea<sup>80</sup> è tale che forse non resterà il tempo per quest'anno di votare la legge archeologica. Mi pare che bisognerebbe che Ella scrivesse al console inglese alla Canea, che sarà il console più influente, sollecitandolo a far sì che questa legge sia votata, perchè se no non si potranno fare scavi o, se si faranno con permesso speciale del Principe<sup>81</sup>, si dovranno pagare troppo forti indennità ai contadini.

**F.H. 6.** *Letter concerning Italian and British interests in the sites of Gortyna, Praesos, and Lyttos, and referring to Halbherr's and Savignoni's forthcoming visit to Crete.*

Roma, 1 Aprile 1899

Caro Signor Evans,

Godo di sentire che le cose si mettono bene per Lei.

Il Ministero Italiano dell'Istruzione pubblica credo farà fare entro una quindicina di giorni la domanda al Principe perché ci siano riservati alcuni punti da scavare oltre Gortyna. Fra questi c'è anche Praesos, perché ormai si credeva che avendo Ella preso Lyttos<sup>82</sup> avesse lasciata libera quella città. Ma ora vedo dalla Sua lettera che la tiene impegnata. Non fa nulla e noi rinunzieremo. Del resto quando sarà venuto il tempo di porre la zappa in terra ci potremo forse fare qualche scambio amichevole e sempre ad ogni modo procedere di comune accordo.

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<sup>79</sup> Stephanos Xanthoudidis 1861 or 1864-1928, Cretan archaeologist. A graduate of the University of Athens, he became Ephor of antiquities in Crete in 1900. Among his works is the notable volume *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesarà. An Account of some Early Cemeteries of Southern Crete* (Liverpool and London 1924), translated by J. P. Droop, Professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Liverpool, and with a preface by Sir Arthur Evans. See Davaras 1996 and La Rosa 2000b, n. 217, with further bibliographical references.

<sup>80</sup> A reference to the Cretan Assembly, i.e. the island's 'parliament' or 'council' established by the Great Powers for the government of the island in 1898 (see also next note).

<sup>81</sup> After the 1896-7 Cretan insurrection against Ottoman rule, Prince George of Greece was appointed High Commissioner by the European Powers, a post he held from 1898 until 1906. Union between Crete and the Greek state was finally achieved in 1913: see Pallis 1959; Howard 1935-6; De Sanctis 1970, 79; Petricoli 1990, 11-12; Brown 1993, 76-79; Hopkins 1977, 132-3; Clogg 1992, 69-71; Woodhouse 1986, 182, 186; McEnroe 2002, 61.

<sup>82</sup> Lyttos or Lyktos: powerful Cretan *polis*, bitter enemy of Knossos, already mentioned in Homer (*Iliad* II, 647; XVII, 611), visited by Halbherr and his Italian collaborators in 1893 and 1899. Evans also visited the site (with Myres) in 1895. Halbherr intended to conduct excavations there, in connexion with his epigraphical work (see also Halbherr's letter 18) but no further work by the Italian Archaeological Mission took place until D. Levi conducted a brief excavation in 1928 (Rizzo 1984, 68). See also Halbherr's letter 18, Evans's letter 8, and La Rosa 2000b, 45 and 68-9. For Evans's 1895 visit to Lyttos see Brown 1993, 54 and 2001, 199.

Savignoni<sup>83</sup> od io o ambidue verremo probabilmente in Creta verso il Maggio.  
Intanto La salutiamo di cuore

Suo aff.mo Federico Halbherr

P.S. Tanti saluti a Hazzidaki e agli altri amici.

**F.H. 7.** *Letter concerning Italian, British and French interest in Praesos; also referring to the Italian successful application to excavate Gortyna, Phaestos, and Axos; and possible future applications to excavate another site in the Malevisi district as well as Eleutherna.*

Roma 18 Aprile 1899  
21 Via Arenula

Caro Signor Evans,

Ho ricevuto oggi la Sua lettera dell'8 corrente. Non si prenda nessun pensiero riguardo alla domanda per Praesos. Il mio proposito di farla dipendeva dal vedere che i Francesi non l'avevano chiesto e dall'essere incerta la domanda Sua. Così quando fu scritto al console d'Italia alla Canea gli fu detto di non insistere su Praesos se lo avevano domandato gli Inglesi. Ed è avvenuto precisamente in questo modo.

Noi abbiamo domandato solamente Gortyna Phaestos<sup>84</sup> ed Axos<sup>85</sup> e li abbiamo ottenuti. Forse chiederemo una località micenea nella provincia di Malevisi in più. Per Eleutherna<sup>86</sup> non è stato deciso niente finora, ma non mi dispiacerebbe averla.

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<sup>83</sup> Savignoni, Luigi (Montefiascone 1864-Firenze 1918) was one of the early members of the Italian Archaeological Mission started by Halbherr in 1899. Like the other early collaborators of Halbherr, he was a pupil of the Scuola Archeologica di Roma. He worked for the Archaeological service in the provinces of Rome and Naples (1895-1901) and taught at the Universities of Messina (1901-1914) and Florence (1914-1918). For his work in Crete see, e.g., his article on the explorations in western Crete (Savignoni and De Sanctis 1901) and his publication of Late Bronze Age burials near Phaestos excavated by Xanthoudidis (Savignoni 1904; cf. Halbherr's letters 10-12). See De Sanctis 1970, 80-81; Pernier 1918; Accame 1984, 7; idem 1986, 13 and *passim*; La Rosa 1984, 35; La Rosa 1986b, 59.

<sup>84</sup> On the Italian archaeological work at Phaestos see La Rosa and D'Agata 1984a; La Rosa 2000c.

<sup>85</sup> Axos or Oaxos, one of the major *poleis* in Western Crete. De Sanctis (1970, 88-9) states that he conducted excavations there in 1899 on his own, and that the material was given to Savignoni to publish, but because of the latter's untimely death this task was later accomplished by Doro Levi (1931). See also Rizza 1968, Davaras 1976 s.v.; Rizzo 1984, 65.

<sup>86</sup> Eleutherna, a Dorian *polis* located in Western Crete. Excavations on the site were first conducted by the British School at Athens in 1928. In more recent years the site has been investigated by the University of Crete. See: Davaras 1976 s.v.; Themelis 1992.

Tutte le nostre relazioni devono procedere nell'esplorazione cretese nel modo più corretto e cordiale.

Salutandola di cuore sono

Suo aff.mo  
Federico Halbherr

**F.H. 8.** *Letter concerning Halbherr's researches in West Crete with Savignoni e De Sanctis; the new Cretan archaeological law; Halbherr's imminent excavations at Gortyna; the Italian application to excavate Phaestos, Prinias, Axos, and Eleutherna; Hazzidakis's and Xanthoudidis's appointments as Ephors; Demargne's excavations at Goulas. Halbherr also asks to borrow Evans's tent.*

Candia, 16 Luglio 1899

Caro Signor Evans,

Sono in Creta da più di un mese, ma non Le ho scritto prima d'ora, perché mi sono messo subito in giro per le provincie occidentali insieme con due altri componenti [del]la missione, i Dottori Savignoni e De Sanctis<sup>87</sup>. Ora mi trovo da una settimana a Candia ospite dell'ottimo Dr. Hazzidaki e sto cercando casa. Spero di poter essere sistemato fra quattro o cinque giorni.

La legge archeologica fatta dai Cretesi colla suggestione, a quanto pare, del Signor Cavvadias è di una bontà molto discutibile<sup>88</sup>. La sua severità è quasi ridicola, gli articoli che riguardano la proprietà dei trovamenti mi sembrano addirittura contrari alla giustizia, l'insieme della legge è praticamente inapplicabile ed io comincio a vedere che essa ci metterà molte volte in gravi imbarazzi e solleverà difficoltà e proteste da parte dei proprietari dei terreni. Secondo questa legge tutte le

<sup>87</sup> De Sanctis, Gaetano (Rome 1870-1957), eminent ancient historian, and a graduate of the University of Rome, where he was a pupil of Beloch (see n. 59 above), Halbherr, Enea Piccolomini, and E. Loewy. His *Storia dei Romani* and *Storia dei Greci* are classics, which have gone through several reprints. He taught Ancient History at the University of Turin from 1900 until 1929, when he succeeded his mentor, Julius Beloch, at the University of Rome. He conducted archaeological work in Crete (see Savignoni and De Sanctis 1901; De Sanctis 1970, 78-94) and also in Libya. His interest in material culture, however, seems to have been fairly limited, and he did not even publish much of what he had excavated himself. See De Sanctis 1970; Treves 1991; Accame 1984 and 1986; Salmeri 1986, 222-225.

<sup>88</sup> Cavvadias, Panagiotis 1849-1928, Greek archaeologist. He won recognition with his excavations at Epidauros (*Fouilles d'Epidaure*, 1893) and in 1885 became General 'Ephor' or Director of Antiquities of Greece. In 1895 he also became secretary of the Athens Archaeological Society, and initiated the publication of the periodical *Archaiologikon Deltion*. From 1904-1922 he taught at the University of Athens. On Cavvadias see Petropoulou 1996. On the Cretan archaeological law (which was modelled on that current in Greece) see Hazzidakis 1931, 22; see also Petrakos's comments on the severity of the law in connexion with the export of antiquities, Petrakos 1982, 74 ff.

antichità appartengono per intero al governo. I proprietari dei terreni non hanno alcun diritto su di esse. Soltanto nel caso che un contadino coltivando il campo scopra fortuitamente un oggetto antico ha il diritto ad un terzo del valore. Se la scoperta è fatta in uno scavo, non ha diritto a niente il proprietario!

Io penso di cominciare a Gortyna appena si riuscirà a organizzare il funzionamento della legge. Per fare le prime trattative parte oggi il Dr. Hazzidaki per Canea.

Gli altri luoghi domandati dalla Scuola italiana sono Phaestos, Prinià<sup>89</sup> ed Axos. Ora domanderò anche Eleutherna.

Hazzidaki e Xanthoudidi sono stati nominati Efori. Il primo avrà sede a Candia, il secondo alla Canea, ma in questo momento funzioneranno ambedue nelle provincie orientali e centrali. Hazzidaki verrà con me a Gortyna, Xanthoudidi andrà a Goulas con Demargne<sup>90</sup>.

Debbo domandarle un gran favore. Ho bisogno subito di una tenda eguale alla Sua che Ella tiene qua per Lei e che ho veduto in casa Sua. La prego di ordinarne una allo stabilimento Silver & Co. e di farmela mandare a Candia col relativo conto. Anzi, per guadagnare tempo, se Ella non ha difficoltà, vorrei pregarla di poter tenere la Sua e di poter dare a Lei quella che mi manderà. Le sarò molto obbligato se Ella vorrà scrivermi in proposito a posta corrente.

Ho trovato la provincia di Kissamo e quella di Apocorona molto povera [*sic*] di antichità e specialmente di iscrizioni. Del periodo Myceneo [*sic*] non ho visto nulla. Ora De Sanctis esplora Selino e Sfakiá.

Spero di vedere presto anche Lei in Creta. Alevisio era l'altro giorno a Candia e sta bene<sup>91</sup>.

Salutandola cordialmente sono

Suo aff.mo F. Halbherr

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<sup>89</sup> The site of Prinià (Prinias), which has yielded some remarkable temples datable to the 7th century BC, was first explored by Halbherr in 1894. L. Pernier conducted excavations there in 1906-1908, and in 1969 archaeological investigations were resumed by G. Rizza of the University of Catania (Rizza and Rizzo 1984).

<sup>90</sup> Joseph Demargne: French archaeologist who excavated at Goulas (ancient Lato) in 1899-1900 (see n. 71 above) whose son, Pierre Demargne, was one of the excavators of the Minoan palace at Mallia in East Crete: see Christofi 1996, esp. 368-369 fig. 5; Treuil 1996, esp. 412, 417-8, 425. See also Van Effenterre 1963, 18, where he is referred to as "Jean" instead of Joseph Demargne.

<sup>91</sup> Alevisos Papalexakis was introduced by Halbherr to Evans (see introduction and n. 53 above). He became Evans's muleteer and was also the first foreman of the excavations at Knossos. Being, however, "singularly stupid in all that relates to excavations", and dishonest to boot, he was dismissed after a couple of seasons: see Momigliano 1999a, 65, 162; Joan Evans 1943, 314, 317, 340; Brown 1993, 40 and 2001, 391-2.

**F.H. 9.** *Letter thanking Evans for lending his tent and discussing excavations at Gortyna; the new archaeological law; Demargne's excavations at Goulas; De Sanctis's illness; Savignoni's work at the Syllogos in Candia; and the hot weather.*

Candia, 9 Agosto 1899

Caro Signor Evans,

Sono occupatissimo perché domani devo scendere a Gortyna a cominciare gli scavi, e però riscontro la Sua lettera e il Suo telegramma con poche parole.

La ringrazio della Sua gentilezza di cedermi la tenda. Ho preso la tenda grande. Quando Ella manda l'altra per sostituirla, la prego di far inviare a me il conto e della tenda e della spedizione.

Secondo la legge archeologica cretese gli scavi nell'isola possono essere fatti soltanto dal Governo Cretese καὶ πρὸς ὄφελος τῶν Κρητικῶν Μουσείων. Gli Istituti e le Missioni estere quando scavano diventano rappresentanti del Governo Cretese, scavano in suo nome e devono fare una domanda al Ministero dell'Istruzione pubblica in questo senso. La cosa è un po' urtante, ma è una pura questione di forma, visto che tutto ciò che si trova deve rimanere qua. Il peggio è che secondo la legge nessuno può tenere per sé, neanche lasciandole in Creta, le antichità siano pure trovate in un campo di sua proprietà, ma le deve dare subito al Governo che solo ha il diritto sui trovamenti. Ciò è tanto ingiusto che credo non potrà [fare] a meno di produrre frequenti contestazioni.

Il signor Demargne ha cominciato ieri gli scavi a Goulas.

Un membro della nostra missione, il Dr. De Sanctis è stato colpito dalle febbri a Selino, ma ora sta meglio e verrà meco a Gortyna. Savignoni lavora al Syllogos. Abbiamo un caldo terribile specialmente a Messarà. Questo non permetterà di procedere negli scavi con molta rapidità e credo che nel Settembre bisognerà fare una sosta.

Con distinti saluti

Suo aff.mo Federico Halbherr

**F.H. 10.** *Letter referring to Pernier's report on the excavations at Phaestos; to Halbherr's imminent departure for Crete; to Xanthoudidis's excavations of the Kalyvia cemetery near Phaestos, in 'Italian territory'. Halbherr urges all foreign missions in Crete to show solidarity against the uncivilized behaviour of the Greeks.*

21 Via Arenula,  
Roma, 12 Nov. 1901

Caro Signor Evans,

Il Dr. Pernier<sup>92</sup> Le manderà dopodomani la relazione sugli scavi di quest'anno a Phaestos accompagnata da un piccolo piano del Palazzo. Il "Rapporto Preliminare" più completo con vignette e tavole non potrà essere pubblicato prima del Febbraio 1902.

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<sup>92</sup> Pernier, Luigi (Rome 1874 – Rhodes 1937) was another pupil of the Scuola Archeologica di Roma who followed Halbherr to Crete. He was effectively in charge of the



Intanto io mi dispongo a tornare in Creta: partirò il 22 per la Canea.

Oggi Le debbo dar notizia di un brutto incidente, che prova la poca delicatezza dei nostri Cretesi e desidero sentire anche la Sua opinione sul modo di comportarsi in simili casi se si ripetessero.

Dopo la mia partenza da Creta per il mio congedo estivo, i contadini trovarono casualmente tracce d'antichità micenee e di tombe sotto il colle di Kalyvia<sup>93</sup>, accosto ad H. Onuphrios dirimpetto all'acropoli di Phaestos. Il Prof. Xanthoudidis, eforo del Governo Cretese, si recò sul luogo, chiese un credito di alcune centinaia di franchi dal suo governo e si mise a scavare quello che si scoprì poi essere la necropoli evidentemente di Festos. Egli trovò parecchie tombe micenee con ornamenti d'oro e galòpetres importantissime. Tutto ciò fece senza domandar nulla a me che fui informato privatamente della cosa da persone amiche. Allora io mandai un telegramma a Hazzidaki, dicendogli che la necropoli di Phaestos appartiene di diritto alla Missione Italiana che ne ha avuto la concessione dal Principe e dal Governo Cretese. Credevo che con ciò la questione dovesse esser finita e lo scavo sospeso, tanto più che Hazzidaki mi rispose d'aver trasmesso il mio telegramma al Symbolos dell'Istruzione alla Canea. Ma ieri appresi che gli scavi di Xanthoudidis nella riserva italiana continuano senza interruzione. Così oggi ho posto l'affare nelle mani del mio Ministero degli Esteri perchè sia trattato ufficialmente col Governo Cretese. Che cosa Le pare di quest'invasione nelle riserve altrui e che cosa si deve fare con questi Greci? Mi pare che davanti a questi fatti le missioni in Creta devono stringere vieppiù la loro solidarietà almeno onde incutere il rispetto a chi non tratta secondo le norme della civiltà. Spero che la Sua salute sia buona e Le stringo la mano di cuore

Suo aff.mo  
Federico Halbherr

**F.H. 11.** *Letter referring to Evans's dental operation; to Halbherr's deferral of his departure for Crete because of the Kalyvia ("Phaestos") affair; to this affair and the involvement of Italian diplomats. Halbherr asks Evans's opinion on the matter and urges him to intervene.*

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excavations at Phaestos from their start. In 1909 he became the first Director of the Italian Archaeological School in Athens, a post he held until 1916, when he obtained a chair in archaeology at the University of Florence. See Accame 1984, 10; Accame 1986, 40 and *passim*; Paribeni 1938; Bianchi Bandinelli 1941; La Rosa 1986c. Pernier was more critical of Evans's work than his mentor, in particular concerning Minoan chronology and restoration: see La Rosa 1984, 36-7, 40-1 and *id.* 2000c; Accame 1984, 129-131. See also Pernier 1932, and n. 125 below.

<sup>93</sup> Eventually this querelle was amicably solved, and the cemetery was published by L. Savignoni (1904). A 'sanitized' version of this affair was published by Hazzidakis (1931, 44). On this incident see also Accame 1986, 83-4, 86, 95; Petricoli 1990, 28-30. On Kalyvia (or Kalivia) see La Rosa and D'Agata 1984a, 136, with further bibliography.

Roma, 25 Novembre 1901

Preg.mo Signor Evans,

La ringrazio per la Sua lettera, ma sono stato molto dolente di sentire che Ella ha tanto sofferto per gli effetti di quella operazione dentaria. Spero e Le auguro che si rimetta completamente e presto.

Io ho ritardato la mia partenza per Creta per attendere i risultati delle prime rimostranze del console Medana pel noto affare di Phaestos<sup>94</sup>. Medana, che era in congedo a Roma, è partito, poco fa, per la Canea con istruzioni molto severe dal nostro governo. Le istruzioni sono le seguenti: 1° fare che il Governo Cretese chieda scusa al Governo Italiano per l'accaduto; 2° che il Governo Cretese metta tutto il materiale scoperto nella necropoli Festia a disposizione della Missione italiana; 3° che l'eforo Xanthoudidis sia allontanato dagli scavi italiani.

Le domande di soddisfazione, come vede, sono quali dovevano essere. Ma noi ora siamo in pensiero per la risposta. Se per caso il Governo Cretese si mettesse sul puntiglio di rifiutare, quale rappresaglia si potrebbe da noi prendere? Questa domanda è stata fatta anche dal ministro degli Esteri e si era quasi tentati di proporre, in caso negativo, il ritiro della Gendarmeria italiana<sup>95</sup>. Ciò però né al console né a me, pare cosa da farsi. Mi dica l'opinione sua per il caso. Ad ogni modo sarà bene che la missione inglese avvisi il Signor Graves [the British Consul] d'appoggiare anche a nome loro i reclami degli Italiani, se il caso lo rendesse necessario.

Voglia dare notizia anche al Signor Hogarth<sup>96</sup> dello stato attuale della questione.

Con distinti saluti  
Suo aff.mo Federico Halbherr

**F.H. 12.** *Letter referring to Evans's improved health and future visit to Crete; to the still unresolved Kalyvia affair; and to diplomatic involvement in the matter. Halbherr urges Evans to intervene. The letter also mentions a forthcoming preliminary report on the excavations at Phaestos.*

<sup>94</sup> The "Phaestos affair" is clearly a reference to Xanthoudidis's excavations at Kalyvia mentioned in the previous letter.

<sup>95</sup> As explained above, in 1898 the island was divided into four sectors, each under the 'supervision' of a European power. The Italian 'carabinieri' or 'gendarmeria', however, were responsible for the security throughout the island and also for training the local police. See De Sanctis 1970, 79; see also Halbherr's letter to De Sanctis of 23/02/1910 in Accame 1984, 28-30 and Pallis 1959, 56-7.

<sup>96</sup> D. G. Hogarth (1862-1927). This British archaeologist became Director of the British School at Athens (1897-1900) and later Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (from 1908 till his retirement). His work was not limited to the Aegean and Cyprus, but included Egypt, Anatolia, and Syria, where he directed excavations at Carchemish. See Hogarth 1910; Lock 1990. See also Said 1978, *passim*.

21 Via Arenula, Dicembre 28  
1901

Caro Signor Evans,

Ho udito oggi con molto piacere dal Dr. MacKenzie<sup>97</sup> che la Sua salute va rapidamente migliorando e che Ella conta di essere per Febbraio in Creta.

Io ho dovuto ritardare la mia partenza per quel malaugurato incidente di Festos che non è ancora risolto.

Il Principe si è inquietato col nostro governo e, male informato da chi ne ha avuto interesse, voleva sostenere che lo scavo di Xanthoudidis era distante quattro chilometri dagli scavi italiani per concludere che quel luogo non dovrebbe essere nella nostra concessione. Mentre in realtà la distanza è di circa 1 ½ Kilometri, e Xanthoudidis stesso ha detto nel suo rapporto che è la necropoli di Festos, quella nella quale probabilmente sono sepolti gli ἀνάκτες che abitavano il palazzo scavato dagli italiani. Dopo tale constatazione è evidente che il Governo Cretese non ha alcun diritto e che la ragione è nostra. Tuttavia essi tengono duro e il nostro Ministero degli Esteri ha dovuto fare nuove proteste e ulteriori pressioni.

Se ella avesse potuto far partecipe della cosa in via ufficiale o ufficiosamente l'ambasciatore d'Inghilterra in Roma io avrei fatto trattare la cosa nel consiglio degli ambasciatori delle potenze protettrici e sollecitarne la soluzione. Non sarebbe male, nell'interesse comune e per evitare un precedente, che Ella tentasse ciò, quantunque tardi, anche adesso.

Il Rapporto preliminare su Festos andrà in stamperia in Gennaio, ma difficilmente si potrà distribuire prima del Marzo a cagione delle molte vignette.

Con distinti saluti e gli auguri di un felice anno nuovo, sono

Suo dev.mo  
Federico Halbherr

**F.H. 13.** *Letter concerning Halbherr's plans for his 1903 campaign in Crete (Hagia Triada and Prinias) and referring to Pernier's and Gerola's appointments to jobs in Florence and Venice, respectively. Halbherr also asks Evans's opinion on numerals appearing in the Linear A tablets from Hagia Triada.*

Via Arenula,  
Roma, 26 Novembre 1902

Caro Signor Evans,

Ho veduto giorni sono il Signor Mackenzie, dal quale con piacere ho udito buone notizie della Sua salute e che anch'Ella si prepara a tornare per la fine dell'inverno in Creta.

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<sup>97</sup> Duncan Mackenzie (Aultgowrie, Ross-shire, Scotland 1861 – Pesaro, Italy, 1934), Sir Arthur Evans's assistant and field director at Knossos for almost thirty years. Between 1900 and 1912, Mackenzie used to spend approximately five-six months per year in Crete, working at Knossos, and the remaining time in Rome, where he had set up his home. See Momigliano 1999a.

Io credo sarò pronto a partire i primi di Gennaio e con me verrà per la nuova campagna il Dr. Paribeni<sup>98</sup>. Pernier è ora vice ispettore al museo Etrusco di Firenze e Gerola<sup>99</sup> incaricato di un lavoro a Venezia. Nessuno dei due tornerà per ora a Candia.

Il mio piano di questa nuova campagna è la fine dello scavo di Haghia Triada<sup>100</sup>, poi forse una serie di saggi a Prinià.

Sto riguardando le tavolette di H. Triada<sup>101</sup> e vorrei pregarla di dirmi se ho letto bene i numeri che sono i seguenti [see Fig. 1]

Salutandola distintamente resto  
Suo dev.mo Federico [sic] Halbherr

**F.H. 14.** *Letter thanking Evans for his letter enclosing photographs of his latest finds, and expressing great interest in Evans's preliminary conclusions on writing systems. The letter also discusses an attempt to set fire to the Museum in Herakleion, and encloses a cutting from Nea Eleftheria. Halbherr urges Evans to write to The Times on this matter. He concludes by mentioning that Paribeni has sent Evans a preliminary report, but his own publication of the Hagia Triada larnax is delayed.*

<sup>98</sup> Paribeni, Roberto (Roma, 1876-1956). A pupil of Julius Beloch, he became a student of the Archaeological School in Rome in 1898, and worked with Halbherr at Hagia Triada in the early years of the 20th century, publishing the famous larnax from this Minoan site (Paribeni 1908). From 1902 he worked in the Archaeological Service in Naples and Rome. In 1908 he became director of the Museo delle Terme di Diocleziano, where he remained for twenty years. He also worked in Albania, Montenegro, Eritrea, Asia Minor and Palestine and became Director of the Italian Missions in the Levant. From 1929 to 1933 he was Director general of the dept. of 'Antichità e Belle Arti' at the Ministry for Education. Later, he taught Archaeology and Ancient History at the Catholic University of Milan. See De Angelis d'Ossat 1956, lxiii-lxxxv; Romanelli 1956; Accame 1984, 32; Salmeri 1986, 210-12; La Rosa 1987.

<sup>99</sup> Gerola, Giuseppe (Arsiero, Vicenza, 1877 – Trento 1938). Studied at the Universities of Padova and Florence, and graduated from the latter in 1898. He also studied in Berlin under Paul Scheffer-Boichorst and in Freiburg under Heinrich Finke. In 1899 the Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti invited him to study the remains of Venetian domination in Crete. His work on the island in 1900-1902 culminated with the publication of his four volumes of *Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta*, 1905-1932. From 1902-1906 he was Director of the Museo di Bassano del Grappa and from 1907-1910 of the Museo Civico in Verona. From 1910 until 1920 he was Director of the Archaeological Service in Romagna. In 1912 he visited Rhodes and other islands of the Dodecanese (see Gerola 1914-1915). In 1920 he became Director of the Archaeological Service in Trento, where he worked until his death. See Varanini 1999; Accame 1984, 77; Accame 1986, 35 and *passim*. On the origins of this Venetian project see also above, Halbherr's letter 3, and Petricioli 1986, 14-15; eadem 1990, 24-26.

<sup>100</sup> On the Italian work at Hagia Triada see La Rosa and D'Agata 1984b.

<sup>101</sup> On the Linear A tablets from Hagia Triada see Pugliese Carratelli 1945 and 1963, and Godart and Olivier 1976-1985, vol. 1.

Il mio piano di questa nuova campagna è la fine dello scavo di Hagia Triada, poi forse una serie di saggi a Prinias.

Sto riguardando le tavolette di H. Triada e vorrei pregarla di dirmi se ho letto bene i numeri che sono i seguenti:

$$\bigcirc \equiv \equiv \equiv |||| = 197$$

$$|| = 3$$

$$\equiv \equiv - = 70$$

$$\equiv \equiv = 50$$

$$\equiv \equiv || = 52$$

$$\equiv \equiv |||| = 47$$

$$\bigcirc |||| = 109$$

$$\bigcirc |||| = 106$$

$$- |||| = 16$$

Fig. 1 - Part of Halbherr's letter to Evans of 26 November 1902 (F.H. 13).

Roma, 8 Dicembre 1903.

Gentilissimo Signor Evans,

Prima di partire per Candia Le scrivo un rigo in fretta per ringraziarla della Sua interessantissima lettera e delle belle fotografie dei Suoi ultimi incomparabili trovamenti. S'intende che queste non serviranno ad altro che a mio studio personale e

saranno tenute con tutta discrezione. Anche le Sue ricerche e le Sue prime conclusioni sulle tavolette e le varie scritture in esse esemplate mi hanno molto interessato.

Un'altra ragione per cui Le scrivo è quella di darle notizia – se Ella non la ha già avuta da altra fonte – di un incidente grave avvenuto a Candia, il quale poteva recare un danno enorme e irriparabile. Mani ignote hanno tentato di appiccare il fuoco all'edificio in cui trovansi il Museo con tutte le nostre collezioni di scavo. Fortunatamente il principio d'incendio è stato spento ed il criminoso tentativo è riuscito vano. Ma la possibilità di un simile disastro è ormai da discutere, e noi che siamo i più interessati dobbiamo vedere se si possa imporre qualche misura di efficacia definitiva. Le accludo un ritaglio del giornale *Néa Ἐλευθερία* dove leggerà il fatto per esteso.

Ora, siccome i Greci sono molto sensibili alla stampa e un buon articolo in un grande organo commoverebbe di certo il piccolo governo del Principe Giorgio, io opino che sarebbe assai opportuno che Ella pubblicasse o facesse pubblicare al *Times* qualche cosa sull'argomento.

Mi aspetto di vederla presto di ritorno in Creta, ed in attesa le offro i miei distinti e cordiali saluti.

Suo aff.mo Federico Halbherr

P.S. Paribeni sta meglio e Le ha mandato il piccolo rapporto provvisorio sugli scavi dell'ultima campagna. La mia pubblicazione del sarcofago di H. Triada tarderà, perché, all'infuori della tavola a colori, mancano i disegni di tutte le altre figure di oggetti che devono apparire in zinchi nel testo, e Stefani<sup>102</sup> le farà solo la primavera entrante. Ma s'intende che dopo la mia pubblicazione Ella potrà riprodurlo e elaborarlo per i Suoi studi sulla religione della Creta Minoica.

**F.H. 15.** *Letter thanking Evans for sending a copy of Scripta Minoa, and for taking into account the Italian contribution to Minoan research. Halbherr also expresses his hope to see Evans in Crete next spring, where he will be with his colleagues De Sanctis, Minto, Stefani and, perhaps, Pernier.*

Roma 31 Dicembre 1909

Caro Signor Evans,

Alla vigilia della mia partenza per Creta ricevo il Suo magnifico volume, *Scripta Minoa*<sup>103</sup>, che mi ha raggiunto ancora a Roma.

In queste poche ore che ho disponibili non posso che sfogliare il libro, il quale sarà oggetto del mio studio più accurato non appena sarò in Creta.

Intanto la prima impressione che provo è quella della più grande ammirazione per l'opera che mi pare maravigliosamente eseguita. E fin da ora debbo ringraziarla

<sup>102</sup> Enrico Stefani (1869-1955), draughtsman of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Crete. See La Rosa 1986a, *passim*; Di Vita *et al.* 1984, *passim*; Petricoli 1990, 35.

<sup>103</sup> Evans 1909.

anche del conto che Ella tiene delle contribuzioni italiane e del lavoro della nostra Missione nel comune intento scientifico.

Speriamo che le nuove ricerche agevolino la via di arrivare alla mèta. Io l'aspetto presto a Candia, dove questa primavera saranno anche i colleghi De Sanctis, Minto<sup>104</sup> e Stefani, e forse Pernier.

La saluto in grande fretta e coi miei ringraziamenti vivissimi, La prego di gradire i miei rinnovati auguri per il nuovo anno.

Suo aff.mo obblig.mo  
Federico Halbherr

**F.H. 16.** *Letter expressing Halbherr's regret for not being able to take advantage of Evans's permission for a study visit at Knossos, and discussing the main results of the excavations at Hagia Triada. The letter also mentions Pernier's excavations at Gortyna and thanks Evans for his hospitality at Knossos (Villa Ariadne) the previous month.*

Vori, 30 giugno 1912

Caro Dr. Evans,

Abbiamo troppo temporeggiato a Vori per lo scavo di H. Triada, ed ormai non potremo profittare del suo gentile permesso riguardo a Cnossos, perchè difficilmente faremo colà più che una breve revisione di una giornata.

Se Ella viene in Ottobre e mi ci trovo anch'io, rimetterò ad allora gli studi minuti che intendevo fare di comparazione.

Adesso lo scavo che intendevamo di compiere ad H. Triada è intieramente ultimato e nessun lavoro di ulteriore ampliamento sarà intrapreso l'anno venturo né poi. Soltanto dovremo tornare per studi architettonici ed anche stratigrafici, ché quest'ultima parte è particolarmente difficile ad H. Triada, soprattutto nel settore dell'antico villaggio.

Qui abbiamo un periodo di grande attività edilizia, il LM I, che deve aver durato tanto a lungo da permettere sovrapposizioni d'edifici. Ci sono infatti delle fabbriche sovrapposte le une alle altre, con vasi LM I tanto sui pavimenti di quelle più profonde, quanto su quelli delle più alte.

Sull'epoca MM III attribuita alle pitture della stanza degli affreschi, avrei dei grandi dubbi. Come si può ammettere che pitture MM III abbiano durato al posto per tutto il LM I e siano cadute sul pavimento soltanto nell'incendio della fine del LM I? Mentre in altre camere si trovano sulle pareti diversi strati di stucco dipinto sovrapposti, i quali mostrano che un intonaco murale dipinto non poteva avere molto lunga durata?

---

<sup>104</sup> Minto, Antonio (Valdagno, Vicenza 1880-Florence 1954), worked at Phaestos and Lebena with Pernier and Halbherr (see, e.g., Pernier and Minto 1910). Later, he became a well-known Etruscologist and, in 1924, Director of the Archaeological Museum in Florence (see, e.g., Minto 1922, 1943, 1950). See also Accame 1984, *passim*; Petricioli 1990, 45; and Di Vita *et al.* 1984, 132 fig. 155.

Il Dr. Pernier è a Gortina, occupato in scavi di strati greco-romani. Egli trova delle iscrizioni e dei frammenti di scultura, né preziosi né disprezzabili.

Ma fra una dozzina di giorni, tutti rientreremo a Candia, donde il Pernier passerà subito ad Atene ed io credo verso la fine di Luglio in Italia. Tutto il luglio starò probabilmente a Candia per compire studi al museo. Lo Stefani parte fra due settimane per Roma direttamente.

Spero che Ella sia felicemente arrivato in Inghilterra. Le mando i miei cordiali saluti e i miei ringraziamenti per le Sue gentilezze dell'accoglienza a Cnosso e a Villa Ariadne<sup>105</sup> il mese passato. In fretta

Suo dev.mo  
Federico Halbherr

**F.H. 17.** *Letter discussing Halbherr's plan for the next campaign in Crete (study season at Hagia Triada and epigraphic researches). The letter also refers to the unification of Crete and Greece, and possible repercussions on archaeological research; and to the publication of the first volume of the Annuario of the Italian School.*

Roma, 21 Via Arenula,  
lì 17 Dicemb. 1913

Caro Sir Arthur,

Io mi preparo a partire per Creta dove in febbraio sarò raggiunto anche dal cav. Stefani. Quest'anno intendiamo di mandare avanti e magari di finire lo studio dello scavo di H. Triada ed i relativi disegni e rilievi. Poi dovrei occuparmi della continuazione delle ricerche epigrafiche per la silloge delle iscrizioni greche dell'isola<sup>106</sup>.

Sarei molto lieto d'incontrarla e di discutere nuovamente alcune questioni con Lei a Candia ed a Cnosso. Verrà ella in Creta? E crede che si potrà di nuovo lavorare come prima, ora che l'unione colla Grecia è un fatto compiuto? Per noi italiani la posizione quest'anno è un po' critica, dato il momento politico<sup>107</sup>. Ma è certo che per il lavoro di quest'anno non avremo bisogno di concessioni speciali – la missione almeno. Non so se il Dr. Pernier intenderà invece di fare qualche lavoro di scavo a nome della Scuola d'Atene<sup>108</sup>.

<sup>105</sup> Villa Ariadne was Evans's Knossian home built in 1905-1906 by the architect Christian Doll (see below, n. 126 and n. 149).

<sup>106</sup> A reference to Halbherr's ongoing work on the collection of Cretan epigraphies. This monumental work was eventually published in four volumes by Margherita Guarducci (1935-50).

<sup>107</sup> A reference to the recent Italian occupation of the Dodecanese, which had put Italo-Greek relationships under some strain. See similar comments made by Halbherr on this matter in his letters to Comparetti of 12/12/1913, cited in La Rosa 1986b, 64. See also Petricioli 1986, 17; eadem 1990, 45-46, 149-150; Woodhouse 1986, 190; Clogg 1992, 81.

<sup>108</sup> The Italian Archaeological School in Athens, founded in 1909. See Beschi 1986; Petricioli 1990, 68-89.



A proposito di questa, Le dirò che in Gennaio pubblicheremo il 1° Volume dell'Annuario, il quale conterrà, tra il resto, l'illustrazione degli scavi di Prinià fatta dal Dr. Pernier<sup>109</sup>.

Gradirei Sue notizie prima di lasciare Roma: io non partirò se non alla fine del mese, vale a dire col vapore del 30 Dicembre o con quello del 3 Gennaio.

Le auguro le buone feste di Natale ed un felice anno nuovo, e spero che la sua salute sia ottima.

Suo aff.mo Federico Halbherr

**F.H. 18.** *Letter enclosing photographs of a stone rhyton from Hagia Triada, and expressing Halbherr's great interest in Evans's work on the periodization of Minoan ceramics. The letter also refers to Halbherr's work on inscriptions; to the next study season at Hagia Triada; to a possible small excavation at Lyttos; to Pernier's excavations at Gortyna; to Droop's work for Evans; to the unsatisfactory situation in the (Herakleion) Museum; and to delays in the publication of the Annuario of the Italian School.*

Candia, 9 febbraio 1914.

Caro Sir Arthur,

Ho tardato un poco a rispondere alla sua lettera, perchè ho voluto prima eseguire le fotografie del rhyton dei pugillatori [*sic*] da Lei desiderate<sup>110</sup>. Gliene mando quattro copie a nome della missione perchè ne usi come vuole: vi aggiungo anche una copia del gesso disteso [flat plaster cast] cavata da una mia antica negativa già nota.

Io sono stato molto interessato al suo lavoro sulle nove epoche o meglio periodi minoici della ceramica<sup>111</sup>. È un lavoro che desidererei veder pubblicato presto, perchè sarà utilissimo a noi per coordinare lo studio della ceramica di Festo e di Hagia Triada. Credo inoltre che dopo questa sua pubblicazione noi potremo essere molto più concisi colle nostre, il che è anche un vantaggio per chi scriverà e per chi leggerà. Io miro a dare alla pubblicazione dei risultati di H. Triada un volume molto ridotto<sup>112</sup>.

Ma in questo momento tanto io che lo Stefani siamo occupati in un altro ordine

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Evans's letter 10, acknowledging receipt of the volume containing Pernier's article.

<sup>110</sup> A reference to a well-known conical rhyton in steatite, first published by Halbherr 1905b, 240 p. II fig. 3. See also illustrations in Di Vita *et al.* 1984, 176-7, figs. 256-258.

<sup>111</sup> A reference to Evans's most famous Minoan publication, the multivolume *The Palace of Minos* (1921-1935), which originally was entitled *The Nine Minoan Periods: a Classification and Illustrative Sketch of the Successive Phases of Early Cretan Civilization from the Neolithic to the Beginning of the Iron Age*. See Momigliano (1999b).

<sup>112</sup> As in the case of Halbherr's *corpus* of Cretan inscriptions, the publication of his excavations at Hagia Triada appeared many years after his death (see Halbherr, Stefani and Banti 1977).

di studi. Lavoriamo, io per il controllo e per le nuove copie, lo Stefani per le riproduzioni in facsimile, delle iscrizioni greche di Creta per la Silloge che intende pubblicare la missione. A tale uopo ci reheremo la settimana ventura a Gortina per un mese: intanto abbiamo fatto il materiale di Canea e di Candia.

Dopo Gortina anderemo ad H. Triada a finire gli studi sulla topografia, la stratigrafia e l'architettura della Villa reale e del villaggio. Scavi, quest'anno, non ne facciamo, se non forse quel piccolo saggio, non mai potuto eseguire finora, nell'agorà di Lyttos<sup>113</sup>, in ordine sempre alla silloge delle iscrizioni greche, saggio del quale Ella è informata.

Continueremo, invece, probabilmente, gli scavi della Scuola d'Atene, cioè del Pernier e colleghi, a Gortina. Ma non so quando il Pernier verrà, forse in aprile.

Ho veduto il lavoro che fa per Lei il signor Droop<sup>114</sup>. Ella sarà contento quando verrà a Candia: vedrà le belle cose che ha trovato e messo insieme.

Al Museo non ci sono novità notevoli: la manutenzione degli oggetti lascia parecchio a desiderare.

Le ho salutato Hazzidaki e Xanthoudidi, ambedue La ringraziano e ricambiano i suoi saluti.

Io e lo Stefani Le mandiamo i nostri, cordiali, e speriamo di vederla, almeno per un po' di tempo, prima dell'estate.

Mi creda

Suo aff.mo Federico Halbherr

L'annuario della Scuola Italiana di Atene è sempre in ritardo: temo che non potrà vedere il 1° volume prima della fine d'aprile.

#### EVANS'S LETTERS TO HALBHERR

The first surviving letter, dated 9 November 1894 is kept in the Archives of the Scuola Archeologica Italiana in Atene, and was first published in Di Vita *et al.*

<sup>113</sup> On Lyttos see n. 82 above.

<sup>114</sup> J. P. Droop (1882-1963) British archaeologist, educated at Marlborough College and Trinity College, Cambridge. Student of the British School at Athens from 1905-1915, he worked at Sparta (1906-09), in Thessaly, Crete, and Melos. In 1920 he became Professor of Classical Archaeology at Liverpool, where he taught until his retirement in 1948. His publications include articles in varied learned journals, his translation of Xanthoudides's book on the Messara tombs (see n. 79) and the small volume *Archaeological Excavations* (1915), which is notable more for his opposition to the participation of women in excavations than for his insights into archaeological methodology. He gained, however, the unusual distinction of having a type of Greek pottery named after him. See Droop's obituaries in *The Times*, 7 October 1963, and in *The British School at Athens. Annual Report of the Managing Committee for the session 1962-63*, 16. The work done by Droop for Evans, referred to in this letter, is the reconstruction of frescoes from the Knossos Palace: see Evans 1921-35, vol. 1, 372 n. 1. See also *Annual of the British School at Athens* 20, 1913-1914, (Annual Meeting of Subscribers) 135.

(1984)<sup>115</sup>. The other letters are kept in the Archives of the Accademia degli Agiati, in the Biblioteca Civica G. Tartarotti, Rovereto, Italy.

**A.J.E. 1.**

Ashmolean Museum  
Oxford  
Nov. 9. 1894

My dear Dr. Halbherr,

I am still in great confusion & not very well – having had a little touch of fever. I hope in a few days to send you the photograph of the vases. Unfortunately everything in the Museum has been stowed in cases owing to the removal to a new building<sup>116</sup> & there has been some delay in getting at the Cretan relics of Mr. Stillman<sup>117</sup>. I shall therefore send the photographs to Rome – fearing to miss you at Candia. Please make what you of them you like [*sic*] & never mind me – as my work is a good deal delayed.

I am sorry to hear of the trouble in Dr. Hadjidakis<sup>118</sup> family. Please express to him my sympathy. With regards to Knōsos, I do not doubt that all will turn out well – though patience may be required<sup>119</sup>.

Many thanks for the photographs & also that of the Praesos stone. Do you mind my using it for an illustration?

I have been looking over the signs that you enclosed & find the following comparisons [list of signs and brief comments follows: see Fig. 2].

The comparisons seem to be rather with Palestine & Egypt than with the Cretan signs as far as I know them. But on the other hand it is certain that there exists a relation between the Cretan linear forms & the “Aegean” signs found by Petrie at

<sup>115</sup> At p. 268. The transcription published here presents a few variants.

<sup>116</sup> A reference to the move of the Ashmolean Museum from its old premises in Broad Street to the new building in Beaumont Street: see Joan Evans 1943 chapters 15 and 16, esp. 306-7; Brown 1993, 29-33.

<sup>117</sup> W. J. Stillman (1828-1901). American journalist, artist, photographer and diplomat: see Adkins 1936; Begg 1999; Sakellarakis 1998, 213-215. As reported by Brown 1986, 42, Stillman had met Evans in 1877, at a time when they were the Balkan correspondents for, respectively, *The Times* and *The Manchester Guardian*. Stillman visited Knossos in 1881, and in 1891 he helped Evans with the acquisition of objects for the Ashmolean Museum, said to be from Kissamo, West Crete, which must be the “relics” referred to in this letter. See also Hood 1987, 86 and Driessen 1990, 16 ff. Joan Evans 1943, 310 describes him as “a gentle neurotic American journalist who had once been Vice-Consul in Crete, who had lately begun a tentative dig on the legendary site of Knossos, which had promptly been stopped by the Turkish authorities”.

<sup>118</sup> Josif Hazzidakis (cf. n. 66 above).

<sup>119</sup> This is the earliest reference to Evans’s intention of working at Knossos in the surviving correspondence between the two scholars. On the ‘battle’ or ‘war’ for digging at Knossos see n. 27 above.

Kahun and Gurob<sup>120</sup>. Where will these discoveries lead us? I am inclined to make the Philistines-Caphtorim the Κρητες of the LXX – somewhat of a deus ex machina!

Yours very sincerely  
Arthur J. Evans

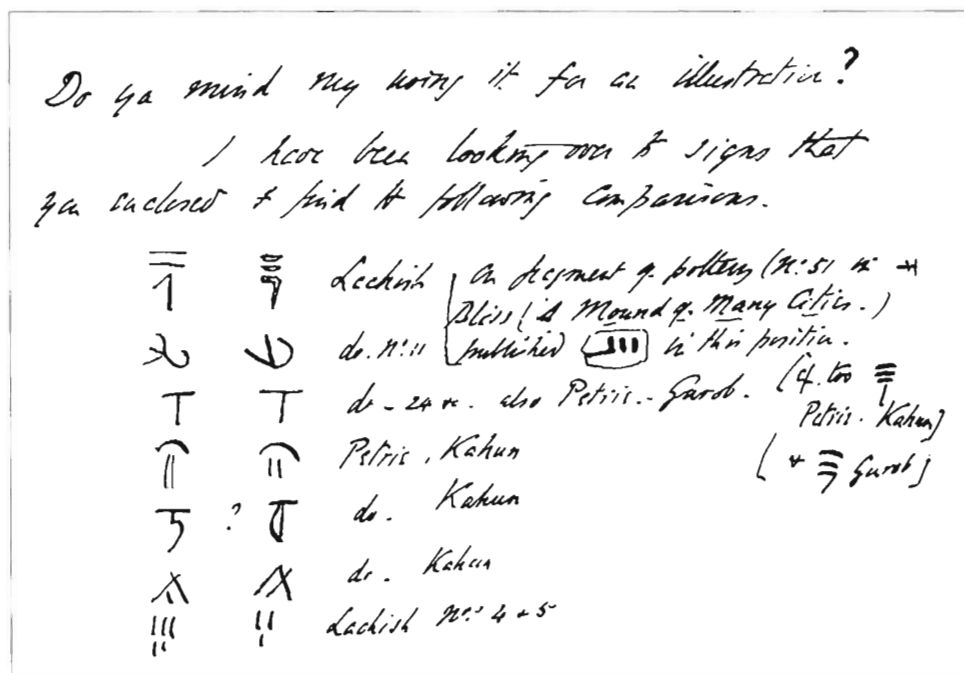


Fig. 2 – Part of Evans' letter to Halbherr of 9 November 1894 (A.J.E. 1).

## A.J.E. 2.

Candia, May 16, 1905

My dear Dr. Halbherr,

I have been postponing writing to you to thank you for your letter and the copy of Pernier's book<sup>121</sup>, as I hoped to have been able to arrange to visit you at Vori. But – alas! – it is impossible and I must leave Crete next week. I have now to thank you for

<sup>120</sup> On Petrie and his work in Egypt see Petrie 1931 and Drower 1985. Some of the pottery found by Petrie at Kahun and Gurob was kept in the Ashmolean Museum (J. Evans 1943, 308).

<sup>121</sup> Pernier's "book" is probably an off-print of his substantial article on the excavations conducted at Phaestos in 1902 and 1903 (Pernier 1904).

your letter announcing your new and welcome discoveries at H.T. [Haghia Triada]. Evidently they will involve another campaign. Your stratigraphic evidence is particularly satisfactory. Here we have almost finished lifting the great staircase to its original height – a step made necessary by the threatened ruin of the whole. Good has here come out of evil, as the balustrade of the lower series of columns, answering to those above, came out, owing to its fuller excavation, in an almost perfect state, together with further remains of the upper stair & balustrade. We found it necessary also to open the window of the Hall of the Colonnades and to restore the gallery there. To re-support the upper structure we have made columns of Minoan character. The excavations have been mostly confined to continue the Minoan Way West<sup>122</sup>, with the result that we have struck a large house or building on the hill opposite the Palace on that side<sup>123</sup>. It is of the same period as the later Palace but re-occupied in the third Late Minoan period of my classification & broken up into smaller rooms. The most curious find is a shrine with idols in the shape of natural stones of more or less human form – fetishes – or true ‘baetyli’.

What fine illustrations there are in Pernier’s book! Stephani’s [*sic*] drawings have come out very well.

There are many things which I should have liked to talk over with you about Phaestos, but I must wait for another opportunity.

With kindest remembrances  
Yours very sincerely

Arthur J. Evans

I leave on May 24th.

I fear that Mackenzie is also unable to come. He leaves Candia at end of May.

**A.J.E. 3.**

Youlbury,  
near Oxford.  
July 8. 1905.

Dear Dr. Halbherr,

I have already to thank you for the excellent photographs of your ‘Little Palace’<sup>124</sup>. I am very glad that you approve of my restoration of our staircase – there was nothing

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<sup>122</sup> A reference to the so-called Royal Road at Knossos, which links the Minoan Palace to the area of the settlement located on the hill to the West: see Cadogan 1992, with further bibliography.

<sup>123</sup> A reference to the so-called Little Palace, a fine Minoan mansion located on the hill to the West of the palace: see Cadogan 1992, with further bibliography.

<sup>124</sup> Probably a reference to the Minoan ‘Villa’ or ‘Little Palace’ of Hagia Triada: see Halbherr, Stefani and Banti 1977; see also La Rosa and D’Agata 1984b.

else to be done & the elements of the reconstitution are mostly certain<sup>125</sup>. I do not think of doing any more excavation at Knossos at least for some time to come, but there is much material to study on the spot. The work is too ruinous. I am between £ 700 & £ 800 out of pocket by this year's work and have had to sell part of my own collections to pay for it. I do not know whether I shall be able to complete the little villa on the hill this year<sup>126</sup>. The house below is too unhealthy owing to the streams near.

I was interested to see the inscriptions from the Pithoi of Haghia Triada<sup>127</sup>. They are all distinctively Class A. This is shown by the occurrence of the following forms [list of signs follows: see Fig. 3] besides other characteristics. The only new form seems to be [drawing of sign follows: see Fig. 3] which is perhaps a compound form = [drawing of sign follows: see Fig. 3] & something added. The Pithoi themselves are "Late Minoan I".

I am anxious when my work on the Knossos inscriptions comes out. I hope, next year, to include a little comparative material from Phaestos & Haghia Triada. Could you let me have a photograph of the tablet from Phaestos?<sup>128</sup>

When will you come this way?

Yours very sincerely  
Arthur J. Evans

<sup>125</sup> This suggests that Halbherr, in a letter now lost, had expressed his approval of Evans's reconstruction of the Grand Staircase at Knossos: cf. also Mackenzie's letter to Evans of 7/6/1905, in which he reports Halbherr's admiration for the reconstruction (Momigliano 1999a, 170). In later years, however, Halbherr's views on the matter became more cautious, as indicated in a letter to De Sanctis of 19/6/1929 (Accame 1984, 209-10): "L'Evans continua le sue ricostruzioni a Cnosso, molto istruttive per i profani, ma molto ardite". Halbherr, however, seemed generally more ready to accept Evans's views than his pupils and collaborators. Luigi Pernier (1932), for example, offered some very veiled criticism of Evans's restoration work (see also La Rosa 2000c, 37). See also A. Maiuri's recounting of Evans's visit to Pompei in 1912 (La Rosa 1984, 36): according to Maiuri, Evans, with his "mania for reconstructions", could not comprehend how the second floors at Pompeii could be conserved while being excavated stratigraphically, instead of being reconstructed afterwards.

<sup>126</sup> A reference to Evans's Knossian home, the 'Villa Ariadne', built on the hill to the West of the palace by his architect Christian Doll in 1906 (cf. n. 149 below): see Joan Evans 1943, 353; Momigliano 1999a, 75; Powell 1973; Cadogan 2000, 21-22.

<sup>127</sup> Godart and Olivier 1976-1985, vol. 4, 63-68. For another illustration of one of these pithoi see also Pugliese Carratelli 1984, 48.

<sup>128</sup> This is the Hieroglyphic tablet published in Evans 1909, 21, 148, 179 (P. 121). See also Olivier and Godart 1996, no. 122.

I was interested to see  
 the description from the Pithoi of  
 Haggis Triads. They are all dis-  
 tinctly Class A. This is shown  
 by the occurrence of the following



besides other characteristics.  
 The only new form seems to be  
 III - which is perhaps a con-  
 fused form of A or something  
 added. The Pithoi themselves are  
 'Late Minoan I'.

I am anxious when my  
 work on the known inscriptions  
 comes out. (I hope, next year) to  
 include a little comparative material  
 of the Phaistos & Haggis Triads.  
 Could you let me have a photograph of  
 the tablet from Phaistos?

When will you come this way?  
 Yours very sincerely  
 Arthur J. Evans

Fig. 3 - Part of Evans' letter to Halbherr of 8 July 1905 (A.J.E. 3).

#### A.J.E. 4.

Youlbury,  
 Berks,  
 near Oxford.  
 March 18,  
 1906.

My Dear Dr. Halbherr,

I was sorry to learn from your letter - for which very many thanks - that you had been so poorly. You really stay too late in Crete. I hope that you are quite restored to health. I do not think of doing any excavation in Crete this year, though I hope to pass a short time there to work over material. In that case I may pass through Rome in the later part of April - & shall hope to find you then. I shall be glad to see you & talk over Cretan matters. I am sending you shortly my account of the Tombs<sup>129</sup> & also an

<sup>129</sup> A reference to Evans's article on "The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos" (1905a), reprinted in 1906 (Evans 1906a).

amended Edition of my Essay on 'Minoan' Classification<sup>130</sup>. I shall be much interested to see your short Report<sup>131</sup>. By the way I very much want to know whether the bronze ingots have been published and what they weighed?<sup>132</sup> We found a piece of similar ingot in the Palace of Knossos. I shall be curious to know what results Dörpfeld & Noack have come to after their recent journey to Crete<sup>133</sup>.

Many thanks for the representation of the seal from Hagia Triada – it belongs as far as I can see to the transitional time between my "Early Minoan III" & "Middle Minoan I".

I am doing a very short Report on last year's excavations which will reach you later on. 'The shrine of the Fetishes' will be the principal feature<sup>134</sup>.

You will see from my account of the Tombs that I now place the date of the original construction of the Royal Tomb at Isopata as early as 'Middle Minoan III'. Mackenzie accepts my view.

With affectionate greetings  
Yours very sincerely  
Arthur J. Evans

<sup>130</sup> A reference to Evans's *Essai de Classification des Époques de la Civilisation Minoenne* (Evans 1906b), a corrected version of the paper presented by Evans to the First International Congress of Archaeology held in Athens from 7-13 April 1905. See also Momigliano 1999a, 59.

<sup>131</sup> Probably a reference to either Halbherr 1905a or 1905b.

<sup>132</sup> On the Hagia Triada ingots see Halbherr, Stefani and Banti 1977, 123-4, fig. 85 and Di Vita *et al.* 1984, 215, with further bibliographical references.

<sup>133</sup> W. Dörpfeld (1853-1940), German architect and archaeologist. He studied at the Berlin Bauakademie, and after graduation worked on the excavations at Olympia from 1877 till 1881, and then, most famously, with Heinrich Schliemann at Troy. He also worked at Epidauros, Eleusis, Athens, Tiryns, Orchomenos and Ithaka. Between 1887 and 1912 he was Director of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens. His great contribution to the understanding of the stratigraphy of Troy and his identification of Troy VI as the Homeric citadel earned him the title 'Schliemann's finest find'. His many publications (282 articles and books and 44 reviews) focus on Troy, Olympia, Athens and many other Aegean sites. See Traill 1996 and Goessler 1951. F. Noack (1865-1931), German archaeologist, and a specialist in ancient architecture. He taught at Jena, Kiel, Tübingen and Berlin. Among his publications are: *Homerische Paläste* (1903), *Ovalhaus und Palast in Kreta* (1908), *Die Baukunst des Altertums* (n.d. but 1910?) and *Eleusis: die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des Heiligtums* (1927). For his obituaries see Rodenwaldt 1931 and Matz 1931. Between 1905 and 1908 Duncan Mackenzie published a series of articles in the *Annual of the British School at Athens* in which he criticized some of Dörpfeld's and Noack's ideas, and in particular the former's interpretation of the architecture of the New Palace at Phaistos as part of an Achaean 'megaron' (see Dörpfeld 1905). It is likely that the journey made by the two German scholars is connected with this dispute: see Momigliano 1999a, 72-5.

<sup>134</sup> A reference to Evans's preliminary report for the 1905 season (Evans 1905b).



A.J.E. 5.

Athens,  
June 27, 1908.

My Dear Dr. Halbherr,

I have been meaning to write to you for some time as I hoped to be able to suggest a date when I should be passing through Rome. But owing to my Father's death & all kinds of family affairs, I am now obliged to hurry back to England direct – & I shall have no chance of meeting you.

I have been busy with the first volume of my book on the Script (*Scripta Minoa*) which contains a general review of the material & the 'hieroglyphic' class. A good deal of this is now in print, & I hope may appear by the end of the year<sup>135</sup>. I have given there some general notice of all classes of the tablets including Class A, reproducing a few specimens from your published accounts. I have also gone into the question of chronology, & practically adopt, as far as the Egyptian evidence goes, Eduard Meyer's system<sup>136</sup>.

I have given a series of comparative tables of Minoan signs with Cyprian, Anatolian, Phoenician & Iberic forms & have developed my ideas of a connexion with the Phoenician alphabet.

I had only a glimpse of De Sanctis as he was going on first to Phaestos. We have had a very fruitful season, chiefly occupied with Palace boundaries & dependencies, & some very good finds have come out. The most remarkable is a bull's head of steatite, a kind of rhyton – magnificently carved with a crystal eye preserved, having the pupil & iris painted underneath & nose inlaid with a kind of shell<sup>137</sup>. We have also some very good metal finds – including a 'nest' of silver vessels –<sup>138</sup> a great many of bronze & amongst other things a saw of bronze somewhat larger than that from Hagia Triada<sup>139</sup>. I have also had the window of the Hall of the Double Axes opened out & the Queen's Megaron roofed over – so as to preserve its beautiful little bathroom &c. The house on the Hill to the West<sup>140</sup> proves to be of extraordinary dimensions & we seem to have a whole series of large mansions on that side.

<sup>135</sup> See Evans 1909, cf. Halbherr's letter 15.

<sup>136</sup> Eduard Meyer (1855-1930), eminent German classicist and ancient historian. See Chambers 1996. Evans is referring in particular to Meyer's *Aegyptische Chronologie* (Berlin 1904): cf. Evans 1921-1935, vol. 1, 30-1.

<sup>137</sup> A reference to the famous bull's head rhyton in steatite from the Little Palace: see Evans 1921-35, vol. 2, 527-30 figs. 330-331.

<sup>138</sup> A reference to the silver vessels from the South House at Knossos: see Evans 1921-35, vol. 2, 387 fig. 221.

<sup>139</sup> A reference to the bronze objects and saw from the South East House at Knossos: see Evans 1921-35, vol. 2, 629-632, fig. 394, where the Knossian saw is also compared to the one found at Hagia Triada.

<sup>140</sup> Another reference to the 'Little Palace' at Knossos (n. 123 above).

I will ask the Press<sup>141</sup> to send you the proofs of my general introduction & shall very much like to have any remarks that occur to you. You will see that I have put forward many theories in a tentative way – but theories are useful in order to marshall facts & even when not wholly accurate they still may help towards the true solution.

I hope you are feeling well & that we will meet before long. My Father's death came suddenly, as the result of an operation, & he had been able to lead his active life almost to the last. It was sad being so far away at such a time.

Yours ever sincerely,  
Arthur J. Evans

**A.J.E 6.**

Whitebarn<sup>142</sup>,  
Berks,  
Near Oxford  
July 18, 1908.

My Dear Dr. Halbherr,

Many thanks for your last letter, & your kind words of sympathy about the loss of my Father which leaves a great void in life.

I have been very much occupied by his affairs & great responsibilities are thrown on me as his very extensive collections are left to me.

I am truly sorry for your trouble about the eyes. It must greatly hamper your work.

Now about your very important news about the hieroglyphic disk from Phaestos<sup>143</sup>. I judge its importance so great to myself that I am at once giving orders to

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<sup>141</sup> The Oxford Clarendon Press, where Evans's *Scripta Minoa* was typeset and published.

<sup>142</sup> This and the following letters are sent from Whitebarn instead of the usual Youlbury address. This was Evans's second house near Oxford, and was located next to his first. His half-sister Joan recalls that in 1907 Evans "let Youlbury and planned to retire to his recently acquired second house near by in an unwonted spirit of economy" (Evans 1943, 354; cf. Momigliano 1999a, 127).

<sup>143</sup> On this well-known find from Phaestos see Di Vita 1984, 224 figs. 411-412 (with further bibliographical references). The first publication was by L. Pernier (1908). Evans, thanks to Halbherr's kindness, was able to include it in his *Scripta Minoa* (Evans 1909, 272-93): see also next letter. For another account of the discovery see also Mackenzie's letter to Evans of 13/8/1908 in Momigliano (1999a) 193-4, which highlights the different attitudes of Halbherr and Pernier regarding the sharing of information amongst colleagues: "I have seen the inscription. It is pictographic but it is not Cretan and it is not Egyptian. My impression is that it is some kind of Anatolian writing ... the whole thing looks like a letter sent by some Anatolian potentate (Caria, Lycia?). The Italians [i.e. Pernier] have been very secret about the whole thing and it was with some difficulty I was allowed to see it." For Halbherr's more generous attitude see also Militello 2000, 140, 142, 145.

stop the further printing of my first volume (dealing with the pictographic script)<sup>144</sup> till I learn the full details of this. Nor will it be advisable for me to publish anything till Dr. Pernier has made his new discoveries juris publici. Please urge him to publish this at least in a preliminary way as early as he possibly can. Perhaps in the meanwhile I may be allowed to have photographic copies for purposes of study. It is so necessary to have the full material to the work & this inscription is apparently so important that it may supply some entirely new clues.

I am not surprised that a linear inscription was found near the hieroglyphic for the Linear A class goes back to within the limits of the Middle Minoan Period & certainly overlaps the other class.

The fact that the letters are stamped is also of high interest. It is as you say a step on the road to printing. The stamped inscriptions on two cups from Palaikastro are also suggestive of the same tendency but in this case the whole group was stamped together<sup>145</sup>. In the Phaestian example, I gather from what you say that each character was separated [*sic*] stamped.

If I can have photographs of these inscriptions I shall be very much obliged but you will understand that I do not want to anticipate in any way Dr. Pernier's publication. Only to me it must ultimately be part of a great whole – and an integral part.

With kindest remembrances  
believe me  
ever sincerely yours  
Arthur J. Evans

A.J.E. 7.

Whitebarn,  
Youlbury,  
Berks,  
near Oxford.

Aug. 9, 1908

My Dear Dr. Halbherr,

I have been running about & much occupied with my Father's affairs or I should earlier have answered your kind letter of July 27. I am very much obliged for the tracing of part of the disk. It is evidently much the most important document of the hieroglyphic script that we yet have and I see it will supply some new signs to the list.

<sup>144</sup> The first volume of *Scripta Minoa* (Evans 1909).

<sup>145</sup> This is reference to a couple of cups from Palaikastro, which, according to Evans, presented "stamped" potter's marks: see Evans 1909, 157, P.43 and 1921-35, vol. I, 242, fig. 182c.

It will involve a considerable revision of my tables & may throw a good deal of new light on this class of script. I have stopped all work at the [Oxford Clarendon] Press and must wait till Pernier has published the object. I hope that he may be able to do so after his return.

It will be specially interesting to see the date of the other associated objects in the room in which it was found. The evidence that I have at present shows that the advanced type of the hieroglyphic script belongs mainly to the Third Middle Minoan Age – when it is overlapped by the Linear Script of Class A. It is hardly probable that the disk belongs to a later time. It would therefore seem that though the crested helmet recalls that of the ‘Philistines’ at Medinet Habu this must belong to an earlier phase in their history.

I agree with you that it is highly desirable to make supplementary researches in E. Crete for later Eteocretan inscriptions.

I am sorry to have omitted to answer your question about Demons. No, I have very little new material – what there is is in the form of rather poor & fragmentary seal impressions from Knossos. I have a drawing of the best of these impressions by Gilliéron<sup>146</sup> (enlarged 3 diametres) which I enclose & the lady archaeologist to whom you refer may publish it if it is of any use to her<sup>147</sup>. Only I should be obliged if she would return me the drawing later.

With warmest greetings,  
Yours v. sincerely  
Arthur J. Evans

A.J.E. 8.

Youlbury,  
Berks,  
near Oxford.  
Mar. 26 1910

Dear Dr. Halbherr,

I was unable to reply to your kind letter without first consulting the Director of the British School & others on the question that you asked me about Lyttos<sup>148</sup>. Since

<sup>146</sup> A reference to Émile Gilliéron (probably père), a Swiss artist resident in Greece since the 1870s, who became Evans's chief restorer and was helped and succeeded in his trade by his homonymous son. See Lapatin 2000, 19 and Hood 1998, 23-26, with further references.

<sup>147</sup> The identity of this “lady archaeologist” remains enigmatic. No female archaeologist was part of Halbherr's entourage at the time. Perhaps the lady referred to was a friend of Halbherr with some archaeological interests, not a ‘professional’ archaeologist. I am very grateful to V. La Rosa for this suggestion.

<sup>148</sup> On Lyttos see n. 82 above.

then I have unfortunately been laid up with a prolonged attack of influenza which delayed all my correspondence & left me a good deal below par! But I am better now & hope to be in Crete early in May.

You have been so good to me by placing the Hagia Triada tablets at my disposal that so far as I am concerned I am quite willing that you should carry out any excavations that may be necessary for your purpose at Lyttos. I was aware that some of my colleagues had certain reserves on this matter, but I have succeeded in entirely overcoming them & I write this to say that, so far as 'British interests' in the matter are concerned, you have the fullest liberty to carry out any researches & excavations that you think necessary on the site of Lyttos.

I hope that you are having a successful campaign & enjoying your return to your old arena! I shall look forward to seeing you when I return to Crete. Mackenzie will arrive about the middle of April to begin preliminary operations, &, later on, I shall have Doll<sup>149</sup> & Mr Noel Heaton<sup>150</sup>, who is making analyses of painted plaster and hopes to solve the problem of the process of painting.

We want to finish the excavation of the deep tholos under the Southern porch of the Palace<sup>151</sup> & also to follow up the excavation of the 'House of Fetish Shrines' or 'Little Palace' to the West – where a new Pillar Room appeared at the end of the last excavation.

With kindest regards & good wishes

Yours very sincerely

Arthur J. Evans

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<sup>149</sup> Doll, Christian Charles Tyler (1880-1955). British architect, who worked at Knossos with Evans before the Great War, and built Evans's Knossian home, the 'Villa Ariadne'. He studied Archaeology, Chemistry and Physics at Cambridge and later trained as an architect in his father's firm (Charles Fitzroy Doll). See C.C.T. Doll's Biographical File, available on request from the Library of The Royal Institute of British Architects; see also n. 126 above and Gray 1985, 165-6.

<sup>150</sup> Noel Heaton (1874-?). British chemist. He graduated from University College London in 1896 and became a Fellow of the Chemical Society of London in 1902: see *British Biographical Index* (2nd ed., 1998), vol. 4, Frame II, 1538, 213; see also *Biographical Database of British Chemists* (<http://www5.open.ac.uk/Arts/chemists>). He performed important analyses of Knossian frescoes, as mentioned in this letter, and made useful technological observations: see Evans (1921-35) vol. 1, 530-35; vol. 3, 49, 211. He also analyzed samples of Knossian faience (Evans, 1921-35, vol. 1, 489) and, with Halbherr's permission, of painted plaster from Hagia Triada (Evans 1921-35, vol. 3, 310).

<sup>151</sup> A reference to a puzzling Knossian structure, the so-called 'Early Hypogaeum' or 'Tholos', a subterranean rock-cut construction located beneath the South porch of the later Palace, excavated between 1907 and 1910: see Evans 1921-35 vol. 1, 103-6 and, most recently, Belli 1999, with further bibliography.

A.J.E. 9.

Youlbury,  
Berks,  
near Oxford

Mar. 21, 1914

My dear Halbherr,

I was very much obliged to you for the photographs & was also much interested in the impression of the cylinder. I have delayed writing to you about it as I wanted to consult one or two authorities.

I have now shown the impression to Mr L. W. King<sup>152</sup> of the British Museum – our first authority on Babylonian & Assyrian antiquities & also to Hogarth who has a thorough knowledge of Hittite seals. They are both agreed that the cylinder is neither Mesopotamian [n]or Syrian<sup>153</sup>.

On the other hand certain features in the design seem to me to be definitely Late Minoan. The griffin with the two wings spread – itself suggestive of fantastic Zakro types – recurs on a L.M. III steatite lentoid in my collection from Central Crete though the monster in that case is more contorted. The long-robed adorants seem to me to represent the long [drawing of seal motive: see Fig. 4] robed class of Minoan priests (?).

That the cylinder type was making way from the Middle of the Late Minoan Age in Crete is clear. There is the important Syrian example found in the Palace at Knossos – lapis lazuli mounted with gold – which apparently belongs to the Fifteenth

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<sup>152</sup> L. W. King (1869-1919) was Assistant Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum from 1913, Prof. of Assyrian and Babylonian Archaeology at King's College, University of London, from 1915, and the author of several works on Near Eastern Archaeology: see *Who's Who 1916-1928*; obituaries in *The Times*, 25 and 27 August 1919; see also Evans 1921-35, vol. 4, 9 and 406, n. 6.

<sup>153</sup> This could be a reference to the Hagia Triada cylinder seal first published by Pecorella 1966 and Scacchi 1966. The seal is also republished by Pini 1988, Nr. 287 and by Cline 1994, 160-1, no. 223. La Rosa 2000a, 89 n. 4, gives more precise information as to the circumstances of the discovery of this seal and provides a transcription of Halbherr's excavation notes (erroneously referred to as Pernier's notes by Pecorella). The seal was found between 26 and 29 June 1911 in a LM IIIA2 context. In his notes, Halbherr described it as depicting two men, a sphinx, and a hare, wondered whether it could be a Minoan imitation of an Assyrian prototype, and reported that Evans considered it to be Cretan and of LM III date. The remark concerning Evans's opinion seems to be a later addition (Militello, pers. comm.). This coincidence, the presence of two long-robed figures, and the absence of other likely cylinders which might fit Halbherr's description, all strongly suggest that the seal now in Florence is the one discussed in this letter. One should note, however, that Halbherr's sphinx (which must have become Evans's griffin) and hare are nowhere visible on the seal, though this may be a misreading of some elements on his and Evans's part. I am very grateful to Pietro Militello for suggesting this identification.

century B.C. and to the last age of the Palace<sup>154</sup>. A faience specimen of Syrian fabric but belonging to a later date was found in Tomb 66 at Zapher Papoura (L.M. III a)<sup>155</sup>. It is probably of Palestinian fabric. I have seen several specimens of L.M. III Cretan fabric & possess one of haematite. Late Mycenaean cylinders are also known. I should set down the Hagia Triada specimen as of Cretan fabric L.M. III.

Wishing you all success in your researches & with warmest greetings

believe me  
[I] am sincerely yours  
Arthur J. Evans.

I am so bound down here with the work of publication that I fear that I shall not get out to Crete this season.

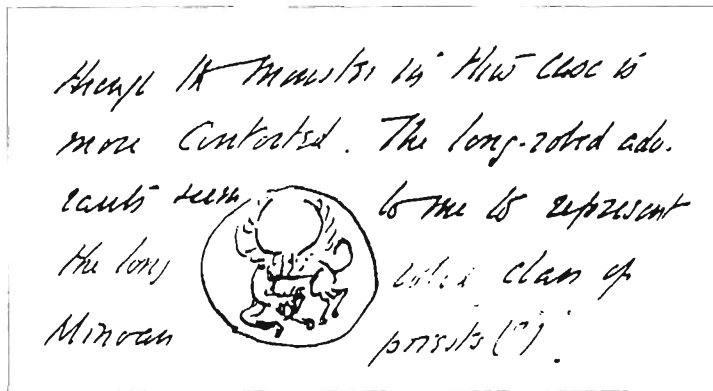


Fig. 4 – Part of Evans' letter to Halbherr of 21 March 1914 (A.J.E. 9).

#### A.J.E. 10.

From Sir Arthur Evans,  
Youbury,  
Berks,  
Nr. Oxford.

Jan 9 1915

My Dear Dr. Halbherr

I have been rather indisposed & otherwise taken up with matters directly or indirectly connected with the War or I would have written before to thank you for your letter & to wish you all happiness that is possible in these sad times for the New Year. My own family has suffered very grievously in the death of my young nephew –

<sup>154</sup> Cf. Evans 1921-35, vol. 4, 423-4, figs. 349-50.

<sup>155</sup> On the cemetery at Zapher Papoura see Evans 1905a or 1906a.

my sister's son – in action near Ypres<sup>156</sup>. I am sorry that you have suffered material losses. We have to support great sacrifices here – but no one doubts that the struggle will result in final victory. The Germans have set back the standard of humanity in war over a thousand years! Their treatment of the Belgians is an enormity. Like others, I have been taking in Belgian refugees. I had three University families from Louvain. I have also succeeded in liberating two friendly aliens: Austrian Slavs from Dalmatia & Croatia who I have had on my hands for over two months.

This country is making enormous efforts & we hope in a few months to have 2000000 or more men fit to take the field.

We are also able to do much to supply our allies. Indirectly even the final defeat of the Austrians & the recapture of Belgrade was due to British action – but the story may not be told yet.

I can well understand your feelings ...

I have been a good deal occupied with the Relief Fund that we have started here to help the Serbian wounded refugees. Our Fund has already fitted out two Red Cross expeditions.

The various distractions have much impeded my archaeological work but I have made some progress with my general work on the Nine Minoan Periods<sup>157</sup>. I was delighted to receive the splendid volume of your School at Athens & now that I have had the time to study it am writing to Pernier to thank him and to congratulate him on his excellent article on the Prinias temples<sup>158</sup>.

With kind regards,  
Yours very sincerely  
Arthur Evans

A.J.E. 11.

Youlbury,  
Berks,  
Nr. Oxford

Jan. 5, 1917.

Dear Dr. Halbherr,

Your letter – for which very many thanks – reached me after some delay & my answer has been again delayed! As you say, these are bad times for Archaeology. I have a good deal to do myself with Relief Funds and such business, and have therefore been

<sup>156</sup> Frederick Longman, killed on 18 October 1914: see Joan Evans 1943, 368.

<sup>157</sup> A reference to Evans's *The Palace of Minos*, 1921-1935, which was originally entitled *The Nine Minoan Periods* (cf. n. 111 above).

<sup>158</sup> A reference to the very first volume of the *Annuario della Regia Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente* published in 1914, which contained Pernier's article (Pernier 1914).



hampered in my work on the 'Nine Minoan Periods' which however proceeds slowly. It will be in two volumes and will be very fully illustrated. It centres, of course, round Knossos, but I deal with the whole of Crete in a general way and also with the relations of Mycenae. How I wish I had your work and Dr. Stefani's before me!

I have often thought of you in the course of this terrific struggle in the Trentino. I fear that your property must be entirely ruined. It is a mortal struggle in which we are engaged, but in England there is the fixed resolution to fight on to a decisive victory, and the firm belief that we shall win it. There is practically no Peace Party here. But the loss of life – and of most precious lives – has been terrible. My sister's boy and two other nephews of mine have been killed. My nephew Lance (who lives with me when at home) was reported to be 'killed in action' by the War Office<sup>159</sup>. I received a card, however, with his name scrawled on it in pencil. It turned out that he was alive, but severely wounded. He had lain 36 hours in Delville Wood shot through the lungs and shoulder by shell casings. I was allowed to go out to him at the Field Hospital in Abbeville. Now he has been moved to a hospital at Oxford & is convalescent, though I fear he will not use his left arm again. The transformation of English life is astonishing. We have now over five million men under arms – what our naval watchdogs do is kept secret, but I learn from a good source that it is very satisfactory. I think that Crete is quiet, under Venizelist Government<sup>160</sup>.

All good wishes for the New Year and may it bring us all Peace – but not now! Not till the Germans are beaten to their knees.

With affectionate greetings,  
Ever truly yours  
Arthur Evans

Dr. Mackenzie, who is here, also sends his greetings.

*Nicoletta Momigliano*  
*Dept. of Archaeology*  
*University of Bristol*  
*43 Woodland Road*  
*U.K. – Bristol BS8 1 UU*

<sup>159</sup> Lance Freeman: see J. Evans 1943, 369, 371.

<sup>160</sup> A reference to the 'alternative' and provisional government formed by Eleftherios Venizelos (1864-1936), the famous statesman of modern Greece, in October 1916, after he had been sacked by King Constantine because of their differing views on Greece's involvement in the Great War. By the end of 1916, France and Britain had conferred official recognition to Venizelos's provisional government. Venizelos, himself of Cretan origins, became Prime Minister of Greece for the first time in October 1910, paving the way for the island's union with Greece three years later. See Woodhouse 1986, 188-205, esp. 201-2; Clogg 1992, 73, 76-80, and esp. 85-93, 226.

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