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Epigraphy in Early Modern Greece

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In this paper, I study the emergence and advancement of epigraphic studies in roughly the first forty years following the foundation of the modern Greek state. The main protagonists – most of whom remain unknown outside Greece – are introduced, and their epigraphic output in its multiple manifestations is examined: the recording and analysis of inscriptions, the publication of articles and monographs, and the creation and protection of epigraphic collections. My study is contextualized by examining contemporary issues of ethnic identity and state-institution formation, as well as questions of interface amongst the Greek intellectuals themselves on the one hand, and between them and their European counterparts on the other. Ultimately, however, an attempt is made to understand the form and content that early epigraphic studies acquired in the Greek-speaking world, and the extent to which Greek scholarship contributed to the emerging field of epigraphy as it materialized with the publication of the early epigraphic corpora.

The assassination of the Greek intellectual and revolutionary Rigas Feraios in 1798 seemed to bring an abrupt halt to any schemes promoting an uprising against the Ottoman Empire. Yet, the French Revolution had set off dramatic changes that could no longer be resisted. The so-called Greek or Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment saw educational and intellectual activity of a magnitude not seen since the mid-fifteenth century when the last Greek-speaking states ceased to exist.[1] One of the pinnacles of that phenomenon was the publication of the journal Ἑρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος (*Hermes the Scholar)* from 1811 to 1813 and then again from 1816 to 1821. Its subtitle, Φιλολογικαὶ Ἀγγελίαι (*Philological News*), reveals the main orientation of the journal, which struggled to create a coherent argument about the so-called language issue. In the very first editorial, the journal's editor, the intellectual cleric Anthimos Gazis, laid out the aims and scope of Λόγιος Ἑρμῆς, and made the following proclamation: 'All the learned men of the nation who reside throughout Greece are kindly requested to notify me as soon as possible of their investigations concerning Geography, Astronomy, Natural History, Archaeology, old Inscriptions, the only venerable relics of antiquity . . .'[2] The privileged position of inscriptions in Gazis' editorial is no coincidence. On the contrary, it eloquently shows how the educated classes of the nascent Greek nation very consciously started to make use of the material remnants of the past in order to mould the ideology of the future.[3]

This paper will present a brief history of epigraphical studies in the first forty years or so of the modern Greek state. Neither the chronological nor the geographical contexts are circumscribed beyond reproach. The extract from the *Logios Hermes* cited above shows that ideas about studying inscriptions preceded the Greek War of Independence (1821–8). Moreover, as will be shown below, epigraphical work was carried out even during the turbulent 1820s. Furthermore, Greek scholars working with inscriptions operated outside the confines of the tiny Greek state that was founded in the late 1820s. The story I will relate is not totally new. It is however known to rather few in Greece proper, and even fewer outside Greece.[4] Yet it is a story that shows not only the intrinsic importance of epigraphy for the *Hellenes* of the Greek Kingdom,[5] but also how current accounts of nineteenth-century epigraphical studies can be one-sided and fail to do justice to the numerous interesting ramifications that remain to be explored.[6]

Greek Epigraphists: the expatriates

True to the difficulties just highlighted, I will start my treatment with a man whose name has been all but forgotten in epigraphical circles, namely the Corfiote historian, philologist, and polymath Andreas Moustoxydes (Ἀνδρέας Μουστοξύδης,

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1785–1860).[7] An understanding of Moustoxydes is primarily contingent upon the political circumstances of the period. He was the right-hand man of his compatriot John Capodistrias, first Governor of Greece: once his patron was assassinated, Moustoxydes and Greece parted company.

Yet, it was Moustoxydes in his capacity as director of the National Museum of Aigina, then capital of the Greek state, who arranged for inscriptions to be transferred to the island. How nice then to see Moustoxydes' first report revealing that in 1830 seventy-one inscriptions had already been transferred to Aigina, from as close as Salamis to as far as Skopelos and Anaphe. These and other inscriptions comprised a distinctive part of the collections of this first Museum. Along with sculptures, inscriptions were stored in the two open stoas of the courtyard of the Museum in a way that, we may imagine, was not very different from the way inscriptions are still stored in museums throughout Greece.[8] The thing to keep in mind is that in that humble collection on Aigina lie the origins of the Epigraphical Museum, which was only founded in 1885.

The establishment of the first archaeological museum at Aigina should be seen within the wider framework of pro-antiquities policies whose inception went back to the dark years of the revolution.[9] In his own 1829 draft decree for the protection of antiquities, Moustoxydes advocated a total ban on defacement of inscriptions.[10] The draft never became an official law, yet Article 14 provides the earliest evidence for explicit protection of inscriptions on the part of the Greek state. When in 1834 he submitted a defensive report concerning antiquities that had gone missing from the Museum, he vividly described the unsurpassable difficulties faced by the archaeological authorities in those early days: 'One needs to wander often through wrecks and stop at deserted places . . . and whenever a marble object is discovered, or an inscription or a relief, one is obliged to abandon it to the whims of fortune . . .'[11]

Moustoxydes' interest in inscriptions was not, however, merely that of the detached administrator. He possessed a profound knowledge of Greek and Latin acquired in Italy, and some classical philologists still remember him as the editor of several orations by Isocrates, including the first ever version of the 'Περὶ Ἀντιδόσεως' (On the Exchange of Properties).[12] They seem to have forgotten, however, Moustoxydes' numerous scholarly articles on inscriptions. Many of these came out in the short-lived journal *Aiginaia* (*Αἰγιναία*), which was published by Moustoxydes himself for six months in 1831. We find there such titles as 'Interpretation of an inscription and a relief from the Museum of Aigina', 'Publication and interpretation of inscriptions from Salamis', and 'Inscriptions from Skiathos'.[13] Appropriately the very first article published in *Aiginaia* bore the straightforward title 'Ἐπιγραφαὶ Σύρας' (Inscriptions of Syros). These were the first epigraphical articles ever published in the Greek state.[14]

Even after he had left Greece to return to his motherland as Professor in the Ionian Academy (effectively the University of Ionian Islands), Moustoxydes did not abandon epigraphy: using a new periodical publication, the *Ionios Anthologia* (Ἰόνιος Ἀνθολογία), he continued to publish inscriptions both in Greek and Italian, and sometimes in bilingual articles, thus anticipating some very modern scholarly trends. Some of Moustoxydes' epigraphical articles are unexpectedly erudite: thus he devotes sixteen pages to a four-line prose inscription from Zakynthos, scrutinizing earlier editions, and providing detailed linguistic, dialectal, onomastical, religious, and historical analysis of a type very rarely found in nineteenth-century scholarship. In his 1835 article, 'Iscrizioni inedite delle Isole del Mar Egeo', Moustoxydes discusses the loss of iota in the dative ending as a chronological indication; he very precisely fixes the date of the text as post AD 132, because of the epithet Ὀλύμπιος attributed to Hadrian; and most importantly he cites Boeckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. This is a scholar conversant with the best contemporary bibliography.

But as time went by, Moustoxydes' interests turned to later historical periods and his epigraphical output diminished accordingly. *Hellenomnemon* (*Ἑλληνομνήμων*), the well-known periodical that Moustoxydes published single-handedly from 1843 to 1853, contains only one epigraphical publication, his 'Corcyraean inscriptions'.[15] Here Moustoxydes demonstrates his usual diligence, and after carrying out onomastical analysis, an approach that was still at a premature stage, he makes a call for the composition of a lexicon of Greek personal names – *Onomatography* he calls it – for the progress of linguistics. In the same article, Moustoxydes mentions in passing that contemporary Athens saw the publication of numerous inscriptions, thanks to the care and the

toil of 'τῶν ἡμετέρων', i.e. 'our own people'. I point this out for two reasons: firstly, because Moustoxydes, though outside Greece, actively identified himself with those living in the kingdom, a nice reminder, if one was needed, that ethnic identities crossed political borders; and secondly, because his remark alludes to interesting developments in mainland Greece, which receive further attention below.

Before that I should try to save from oblivion another epigraphist who is all but forgotten today, namely Ioannis Oikonomides. Oikonomides was a native of Cyprus who fled with his family to Trieste in 1821 and who eventually became Professor in the Ionian Academy, effectively replacing his teacher, Andreas Moustoxydes. He wrote one of the earliest dissertations on the Stoic philosopher Kleanthes of Assos, and interpretations on Thucydides and other classical authors, but it would not be an exaggeration to say that he produced some of the finest epigraphical work of the mid nineteenth century.[16]

Of particular interest are his treatment of the imperative form ἐπιμελόσθων ('let them take care of'), instead of the canonical ἐπιμελείσθων, an analysis inspired by the famous Athenian regulations on Chalcis *Inscriptiones Graecae* I^3 40,[17] and, most of all, his monograph on the famous Locrian inscription recording a treaty between Oianthea and Chaleion.[18] Connoisseurs know that this is one of the most important non-Athenian epigraphical documents of the early Classical period. The reception of Oikonomides' publication is manifoldly didactic. The volume in question came out in 1850 but it was so obscure that it took two years for it to become known in Greece. In Germany Ludwig Ross learnt about the Oianthean inscription indirectly from the French review *Spectateur de l'Orient*, published in Athens. Unable to get hold of Oikonomides' original publication, Ross wrote to the Greek consul at Trieste begging him to provide a copy: the attempt was successful. Ross went on to publish his own edition of the treaty, and although he did gave Moustoxydes his due, the inscription soon became known as the 'Lokrian inscription of Ross'. Subsequent editions totally ignored Oikonomides' role. Hicks, for instance, in his well-known *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, started his bibliographical citations with Rangavis' *Antiquités helléniques*.[19] Ironically, in his own discussion Rangavis had urged his readers to consult Oikonomides' 'dissertation érudite'.[20] If I offer so many details about this single publication it is in order to show a dual systemic problem that has haunted Greek scholarship down to our day: inaccessibility due to poor book distribution networks and inaccessibility because of the language.

All in all, Moustoxydes' and especially Oikonomides' contributions to epigraphy have been largely overlooked, and I would like to make here the case for their rehabilitation in the context of Classical scholarship. My suspicion is that both scholars – but in particular Oikonomides – were never registered in the canon of Greek epigraphy primarily because they lived and worked outside the confines of the Greek Kingdom. It is no coincidence that their institutional base, the Ionian Academy, fell into decline the moment the Heptanese was incorporated into Greece in 1864. On 27 September 1865, the Greek minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education sent to Oikonomides the following laconic letter: 'To Mr Oikonomides, teacher at the Lycaeum of Corfu. By virtue of a royal decree issued today you are released of your duties'. Unfortunately, by that point Greece had already adopted a model of intellectual introspection.

Early Greek epigraphy: a historical sketch

Anyone looking for the origins of epigraphy in Greece will sooner or later bump into the legendary, and much-vilified, Kyriakos S. Pittakys (Κυριακὸς Σ. Πιττάκης) (Fig. 1). Praised by some as the hero-founder of Greek archaeology, vilified by others as a mediocre and narrow-minded public servant who never let Greek epigraphy fly high, Pittakys nicely bridges several worlds: the Ottoman Empire (he was born in Ottoman Athens in 1798), revolutionary Greece (he was a member of that archetypal revolutionary organization, the Φιλικὴ Ἑταιρεία), and finally the newly founded state of Greece: he became the first Superintendent of Athenian Antiquities, then, in 1833, Deputy of Antiquities of Mainland Greece, then Director of the Public Central Museum for twelve years, and finally Head (Ephor) of the Greek Archaeological Service from 1848 until his death. Besides, he was a founding member and eventually Secretary of the prestigious Archaeological Society.[21]

Now, Pittakys was the first Greek scholar inside Greece to make substantial use of inscriptions. Copying inscriptions had been Pittakys' passion since his adolescence. In his late 20s, he was so resolved to

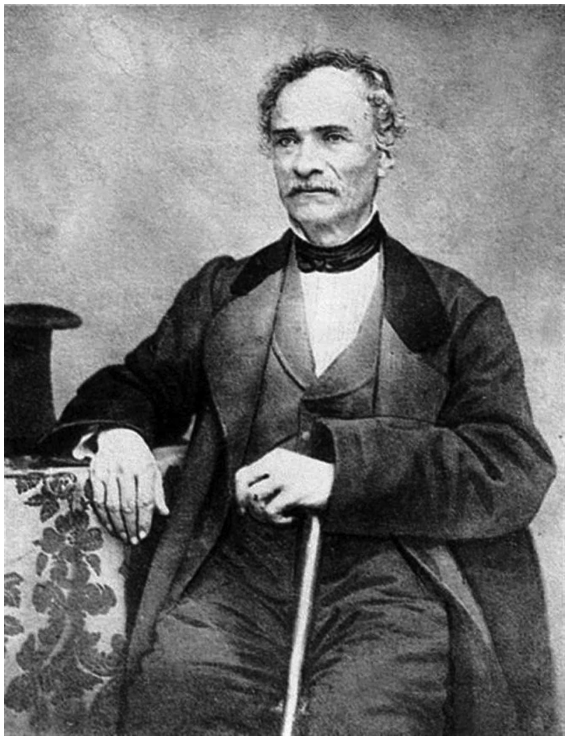

Fig. 1. Kyriakos S. Pittakys (1798–1863).

pursue it properly that he announced his intention to publish a collection of 1,600 inscriptions. Despite his youthful optimism, Pittakys had at least a set of rudimentary methodological principles.[22] Today he is primarily remembered for his 1835 monograph *L'ancienne Athènes ou la description des antiquités d'Athènes et de ses environs*, the earliest epigraphical work written by an ethnic Greek. [23] Already in the preface to the book, Pittakys prioritizes the study of inscriptions, affirming somewhat metaphysically: 'Thanks to approximately 800 unpublished inscriptions I have managed to make a comparison between ancient customs and habits and modern customs and habits; through which one realizes that the modern Greeks are the true descendants of the ancient Greeks'.[24]

However, Pittakys' monograph itself served a more pragmatic purpose. True to its subtitle, the structure of the book shows eloquently that the author was interested in the topography of Athens and Attica.[25] Each chapter is devoted to a geographical area, and contains much epigraphical material that Pittakys had seen and copied. Texts are in capital letters, restorations are minimal. Pittakys' treatment of individual texts leaves much to be desired but his monograph remains even to this day an unsurpassed source of topographical information. Without Pittakys we would have had numerous inscriptions with no archaeological context: even today, almost two centuries later, epigraphists make profitable use of Pittakys' work,[26] or ignore it to their detriment!

If Pittakys' *L'ancienne Athènes* fails to meet modern epigraphical standards, another collection written by a Greek epigraphist in French is still worthy of mention, the two-volume *Les antiquités helléniques (*Athens 1842 and 1855) of Alexandre R. Rangabé, i.e. Alexandros Rizos Rangavis (1810–92). Its subtitle, *Répertoire d'inscriptions et d'autres antiquités découvertes depuis l'affranchissement de la Grèce*, beautifully prioritizes inscriptions as a class of archaeological material and makes a programmatic statement about the newly constructed historical time: the liberation of Greece is the new era.

Rangavis' monograph marked considerable progress in relation to Pittakys'. For each inscription Rangavis provided the find-spot and a fairly detailed description. More importantly, each text was transcribed in lower-case letters and translated into French. This decision, which could well be a first in epigraphy, clearly vested the collection with a didactic role: we see here an early attempt at popularizing inscriptions. At the same time, one finds in *Les antiquités helléniques* precious dialectal notes, historical insights, and even acute technical observations, some of which would haunt the field of epigraphy for reasons that Rangavis could not have imagined. For it is in this work of 1842 that we find the earliest exposition of the so-called three-bar-sigma lettering criterion,[27] according to which Attic inscriptions with the old-fashioned three-bar-sigma had to predate year 446 BC. Automatic application of this technicality led to erroneous datings of several important fifth-century inscriptions, and to a subsequent distortion of mainstream interpretations of the Athenian Empire. However, the nucleus of the criterion was based on very reasonable observations, which, we now know, go back to Rangavis. He ought to be praised for his attempt.

At this point I wish to blur the ethnic focus that has hitherto underlain my analysis and introduce another scholar whose activity is inextricably linked with that of modern Greece, namely Ludwig Ross. An ethnic

German who arrived in Athens with the Bavarians in 1832, by the time he was practically forced to leave Greece in 1843 as a result of legislation that banned foreign nationals from holding public positions, Ross could proudly proclaim: 'Greece has now become my second Fatherland'. For the purposes of my discussion, suffice it to say that Ross was the first General Ephor of Antiquities,[28] and, following his resignation in 1836, Professor of Archaeology at the University of Athens.

As a professor he taught an array of courses from Horace's *Ars Poetica* to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and very importantly a course on the topography of Athens, which was heavily based on inscriptions he had discovered himself.[29] In the winter semester of 1840/1 Ross offered for the first time a course with the title 'Greek epigraphy'.[30] This seemingly insignificant detail is of major importance, since it marks the birth of Greek epigraphy as a separate subject in Greece. Ironically, the godfather of Hellenic epigraphical studies was a ξένος, a foreigner.

In this sense, it is hardly surprising that Ross has provided some of the earliest insightful contemplations on the role of epigraphy as an autonomous field: in 1836 he published a bipartite article on 'Greek philology and archaeology as a most ancient and unbreachable link of consanguinity between Greece and the rest of Europe'. I provide here a translation of a segment of the epigraphical section because of its intrinsic value:

> As stated above, a significant part of the discoveries made in Greece, as well as of the objects deposited in the various collections, consists of inscriptions; yet rarely do inscriptions arouse an immediate interest except for scholars who engage in improvised historical studies . . . Most inscriptions lacking elaborate decoration draw the attention but of the few. Yet by bringing many of them together one could build a historical edifice, whose unexpected rhythm and beauty could arouse our admiration, as has been proven, for instance, by the famous Boeckh in his work on the public economy of Athens. For these reasons, I have hitherto confined myself to publishing in journals only inscriptions such as can arouse a direct interest amongst the public; for they contribute to resolving topographical or historical problems. This will be so until the accumulation of experience in Greece facilitates the publication of inscriptions, and until the establishment of the University generally distributes the knowledge of this important branch of historical sciences and prepares more readers for epigraphical studies.[31]

Ross has long been praised for his epigraphical work: his drawings of inscriptions were exact and even staked claims of high aesthetic value; his topographical identifications, most of them based on epigraphical material, by and large precise; his datings and restorations fairly successful.[32] Besides, his 1834 *Inscriptiones Graecae Ineditae* has the honour of being the first ever epigraphical volume to be published in Greece,[33] even though Ross was reproached for having written it in Latin, as he himself admitted in his memoirs.[34]

In Ross's work as head of the newly-founded Archaeological Service, we see a profound interest in collecting and exhibiting inscriptions, even at the level of peripheral museums, such as the Regional Museum of Syros. Thus, on 2 January 1835, Ross dispatched an official note to Kokkonis, the acting deputy ephor of antiquities in the Cyclades, with instructions for the organization of the Museum of Ermoupolis at Syros (Νομαρχιακὸν Μουσεῖον was the official name):

> Sir, in addition to the instructions we sent you in document no. 88 for the establishment of a Regional Museum at Ermoupolis we add the following: You are obliged to make faithful copies of inscriptions already stored in the Museum or of any such inscription that may be placed there hereafter. You shall dispatch them to this Ephorate along with a copy of the catalogues of the Museum on which they will be inventoried. If you yourself are planning to publish some of the inscriptions of the Museum, you shall let me know about it, so that there will exist no double edition of the same epigram.[35]

Equally admirable are Ross's efforts to organize archaeological collections throughout the Cyclades. Once more, the relevant correspondence reveals his preoccupation with inscriptions. At the end of August 1835, Ross sent a letter to the prefect of Thera informing him of the small-scale excavations he had just completed on the island, excavations that had yielded twelve funerary inscriptions.[36] Interestingly, Ross picked out five inscriptions to be sent to the Central Museum of Athens, two for the Regional Museum of Syros, whereas five inscriptions were to remain on Thera under the protection of a local dignitary. The same letter mentions several other inscribed stones that Ross had seen in churches and architectural ruins on Thera but also on Ios.

Surprisingly, this impeccable administrator found himself involved in a complicated affair that had long-term repercussions for the development of epigraphical studies in Greece. In 1834 and 1835, excavations for the construction of the Custom House at Piraeus brought to light a series of extraordinary inscriptions, the so-called Naval Records (*Inscriptiones Graecae* II^2 1604–32).[37] These documents contained an enormous

wealth of information on aspects of Athenian public finances that had been unknown until then and, of course, their discovery generated excitement. Ross, in his capacity as the Ephor of Antiquities, studied the texts and submitted an application to be granted publication rights. In the meantime, he sent some first-rate sketches of the texts not to the Ministry, but to August Boeckh for inclusion in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (*CIG*). By taking this course of action, Ross did the right thing from a scholarly point of view but acted against the letter of the law. The Ministry protested, and Ross submitted his resignation, which was duly accepted. For almost two years Greek newspapers saw some rather nasty exchanges between Pittakys and Ross on the topic.[38]

Here a digression is in order. Boeckh, widely acknowledged as the father of Greek epigraphy, did make use of Ross's papers in an 1840 publication conceived as a monographic appendix to his widely acclaimed *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*.[39] The unsuspecting reader may find Ross's informal collaboration with Boeckh understandable: here we have two first-rate classicists sharing the same language, high culture, and, conceivably, the same scholarly vision. This, however, would be to overlook the fact that Pittakys was also collaborating with Boeckh. Already during the War of Independence, the impoverished Pittakys would send copies of inscriptions to the editor of *CIG*, for remuneration. This type of collaboration was of course conducive to the *CIG* – there is no way that Boeckh would have had access to the epigraphical material supplied by Pittakys – but had *de facto* limitations since the two parties were not equals: when Ross and Pittakys fell out, Boeckh started making accusations that Pittakys was in the habit of breaking inscriptions before sending them to him in order to increase his reward.[40] The accusations were probably unfounded – Pittakys was an honorable man – but they further damaged his *Nachleben*.[41]

Back to the Pittakys–Ross clash: the episode is characteristic of deep antipathy between Greeks and Bavarians, which developed into a profound schism at all levels of public administration. This rupture arguably stemmed from provincialism and acute nationalism on the Greek side, arrogance and a quasi-colonial superiority complex on the other side. In one way or another, such mutual suspicion permeated the relations of Greeks with other European archaeologists throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[42] But such animosity was never monolithic in its manifestation, and we should not forget that political considerations were often at play. Thus, when a group of French epigraphists under Philippe Le Bas started copying thousands of inscriptions in Athens in 1843, there were no protests from Pittakys or anyone else. It seems that the French team enjoyed the protection of the Francophile prime minister Ioannis Kolletis.[43]

The long-term consequences of the Naval Records affair have only recently been fully understood. Ross, arguably the most competent Greek archaeologist and epigraphist of his time – and a Greek he was becoming, as must have become obvious by now – was removed from a service still in its infancy that was in want of his good ministrations. Pittakys' reputation, on the other hand, was so badly tarnished that even in recent times some scholars refer to him disparagingly,[44] uncritically replicating largely unfair accusations that go back to the nineteenth century.[45]

In the beginning of Pittakys' confrontation with Ross, Rangavis supported his compatriot, although he later joined the anti-Pittakys camp. However, Pittakys and Rangavis had a rather complicated relationship. At first, these very different personalities – Pittakys, the autochthonous autodidact and Rangavis, the polyglot scion of a distinguished Phanariot family – managed to co-exist. More specifically, it is in the context of the *Ephemeris Archaiologike* (Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική, nowadays known as Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς), the oldest archaeological journal in Greece and one of the oldest in the world, that the works of Pittakys and Rangavis overlap considerably.

First published in 1837, the early period of the *Ephemeris* is marked by a throng of epigraphical publications, most of them produced by Pittakys with a few by Rangavis. The first volume's editorial note, written by Rangavis and entitled 'Ἀγγελία' (Announcement), does little to conceal the fact that inscriptions are given pride of place. The purpose of the *Ephemeris* is explicitly stated in the same sentence: new archaeological discoveries need to be made known to the enlightened world.[46] Especially important, the author continues, is the production of accurate and trustworthy copies of texts based on autopsy of the stones on several occasions.[47] This slip of the pen makes it clear that, despite his initial inclusive statement about antiquities in general, the editor is

thinking almost exclusively of inscriptions. In fact, the publishers of the *Ephemeris* conceive their work as the continuation of *CIG*: 'Indeed, if, as is our intention, we publish, essentially emulating Boeckh's collection, only unpublished inscriptions or inscriptions not rightly published . . .'[48]

Inscriptions were probably given priority because ancient Greek texts appeared to confirm linguistic and therefore historical continuity. In his insightful analysis of this editorial note of the *Ephemeris*, Yannis Hamilakis persuasively argued that in the case of epigraphical documents materiality was also important, since it turned inscriptions 'into the sacred texts of the new religion, literally cast in stone'.[49] The new religion was, of course, the emerging identity of the new nation-state.

Unsurprisingly, the first scholarly article of the *Ephemeris* dealt with an inscription, the famous third-century decree of Chremonides on the alliance of Athens, Sparta, and the Ptolemies against the Macedonians.[50] We should keep two things in mind: the obvious symbolism of an inscription ushering in the birth of official scholarly research in modern Greece, and the irony that almost 180 years after the publication of Chremonides' decree, its date remains one of the most puzzling enigmas of Hellenistic epigraphy.

Be that as it may, the *Ephemeris* became the single most important platform for epigraphical publications in Greece, and remained so for many years.[51] The first series of the *Ephemeris* ran until 1860. Twenty-three years after its inception, in the final editorial note, Pittakys famously stated: 'Until now I have published at my own will, freely and for no compensation four thousand one hundred and fifty eight inscriptions. I did that merely moved by my yearning desire for the ancestral relics, a desire which even in periods of war was my unbending partner . . .' And he concluded: 'My aim has been the common benefit and the dissemination to the ends of the world of every Greek letter, for the sake of Greek glory'.[52] In these few lines, in effect Pittakys' summarizing account of his career, we see beautifully the basic parameters of early Greek epigraphy: quantity of texts, very much a lone amateur's work – and one is tempted to contemplate the etymology of the word 'amateur' in conjunction with Pittakys's πόθος πρὸς τὸν ἔρωτα – within the context of a patriotism that strove to compete in the international arena.

The dawn of a new era

Pittakys' withdrawal marked the end of the so-called heroic period of Greek archaeology and epigraphy. The following period was one of maturity, the seeds of which had already been sown. One such seed was the foundation of the Archaeological Association (Ἀρχαιολογικὸς Σύλλογος).[53] Despite the deceptively narrow scope of its title, the short-lived Archaeological Association, in effect an ambitious venture of Rangavis, was intended to be the first Academy of the Greek Kingdom. It is in the context of this important institution that we see an interesting example of how the past was reused. In 1849, inspired by a generous donation by the ex-Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople Constantius I, the Archaeological Association decided to endorse a proposal by Rangavis and erect a marble stele, the so-called 'Stele of the Benefactors'. Amusingly, the stele was inscribed with a decree in ancient Greek that followed the typical formulas found in ancient documents.[54] This must be one of the earliest attempts at integrating, however awkwardly, epigraphical knowledge in contemporary cultural practices.

More importantly, the first publication of the Archaeological Association was a collection of inscriptions found at the excavations of the house of Louiza Psoma in downtown Athens. That first publication, a pamphlet rather than a book,[55] was sent gratis to distinguished European scholars, first and foremost to the venerable August Boeckh.[56] Here again the accompanying letter was written in ancient Greek (not even in *katharevousa*), harmoniously linking form and content. Interestingly, the composer of the epistle, the Greek epigraphist Panagiotes Eustratiades, portrays the Greeks as agents of transmission of epigraphical knowledge to Europe's sages. Also interesting is the comparison of inscriptions with paintings: viewing the ancestral inscriptions, we are told, could one day help Greeks contribute to the field of humanities. The whole sounds bizarrely self-effacing, either for the sake of politeness, or because such views expressed very honest feelings of inadequacy.

However, the Archaeological Association eventually failed, and its failure forced those concerned to return to old solutions, i.e. to the revitalization of the Archaeological Society. Pittakys remained on stage until his death in 1863, but a new generation of epigraphists appeared, including the aforementioned

Panagiotes Eustratiades, Ephor of Antiquities from 1863 until 1884; Athanassios Rhousopoulos, Professor of Greek Archaeology at the University; and last but not least Stephanos Koumanoudes.

Eustratiades is an obscure figure: talented but timid and unsociable, he is one of the few nineteenth-century Greek scholars of whom we do not even have a picture. A student of Ross and Boeckh, he had a great knowledge of the Classics, yet his scholarly output was rather limited. He was actually the composer of the archaizing decree of the 'Stele of the Benefactors'; the writer, as we have seen, of the letter to August Boeckh; and probably the main editor of the inscriptions discovered at the excavation of the Psoma house.[57] From 1869 to 1874, he published fifteen epigraphical articles, all in the *Ephemeris*.[58] He diligently kept records of his clerical and scholarly activities, and there are already good indications that close study of his archives could benefit epigraphical studies.[59]

As for Rhousopoulos, his life and work have recently come into the limelight and not necessarily for the right reasons: it seems that Rhousopoulos was heavily involved in dubious transactions involving illegally-excavated antiquities.[60] He was certainly a competent philologist and his epigraphical publications were as good as any studies of the mid-nineteenth century. In 1862, he published several inscriptions in the renewed *Ephemeris*, which entered its second period still with heavy coverage of epigraphical finds. [61] In the same year, Rhousopoulos published an article on an inscribed Corinthian aryballos in the journal of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome,[62] and this may well be the first epigraphical publication by any Greek in a non-Greek periodical. Unfortunately, what should have been a cause for celebration is a source of embarrassment since Rhousopoulos went on to sell the aryballos in question to the British Museum.[63]

However, in the field of Hellenic epigraphical studies the indisputable giant is Stephanos A. Koumanoudes (Fig. 2). With Koumanoudes Greece acquired a first-rank epigraphist, equal to the best nineteenth-century scholars, who praised him as the Nestor of Greek Archaeology,[64] attributing to him the German title of *Altmeister* (on the contrary, his compatriots used the slightly more dubious designation 'Cerberus of Epigraphy', Κέρβερος τῆς Ἐπιγραφικῆς).

Koumanoudes exemplifies the best that Hellenic culture produced in the nineteenth century.[65] A polyglot born into a family of merchants in Adrianoupolis in 1818, he studied for nine years in Munich, Berlin, and Paris. His teachers included Friedrich Thiersch, and von Schelling, who introduced young Koumanoudes to natural philosophy, as well as Franx, Lachmann, and Karl Wilhelm, all renowned Classicists. He was also instructed by Hotho on aesthetics, Panofka and Toelken on archaeology, Raumer, Schmidt, and von Ranke on history, and first and foremost August Boeckh on epigraphy. And it was probably Boeckh who instilled in Koumanoudes a lifelong proclivity for the historical angles of antiquity.[66]

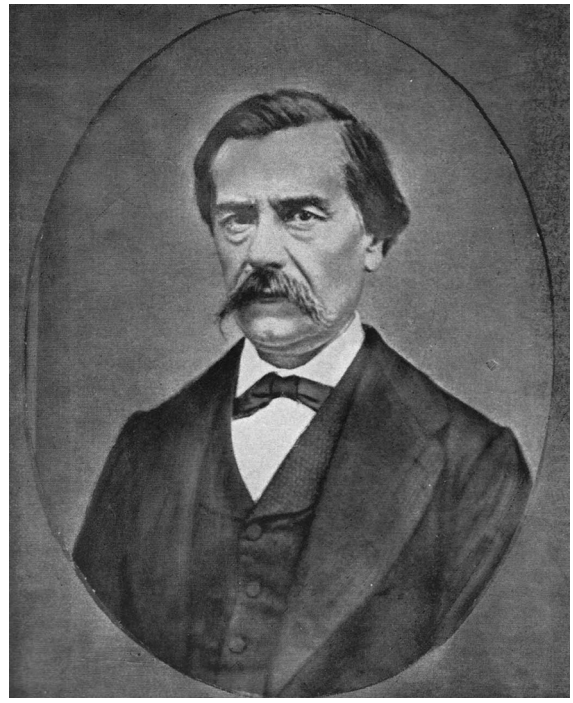

Fig. 2. Stephanos A. Koumanoudes (1818–1899).

Koumanoudes published numerous articles in the *Ephemeris*, but also wrote articles for mainstream newspapers. He published, for instance, a staggering 354 inscriptions in non-academic newspapers, including *Pandora* (*Πανδώρα*), which has been justifiably described as the best non-political Greek journal of the nineteenth century. Incidentally, this interesting phenomenon – epigraphical publications in non-academic journals – is worthy of further investigation because it shows a very tangible concern for popularizing inscriptions and because it presupposes a readership that possessed the ability to cope with such technical knowledge.[67]

An early, albeit short-lived, venue in which Koumanoudes unfolded his epigraphical talent was the periodical *Φιλίστωρ* (*Philistor*), which only ran from 1861 to 1863. The basic concept of *Philistor* was to bring together various disciplines – linguistics, philology, pedagogy, and, in the case of Koumanoudes himself, archaeology and epigraphy – in order to address issues considered to be important for the education of the Greek nation.[68] In practice, it allowed Koumanoudes to publish some important inscriptions from the Dionysiac theatre and the churches of Panaghia Pyrgiotissa and Aghios Demetrios Katephores, which were being excavated at the time under the auspices of the Archaeological Society.[69]

Admittedly, Koumanoudes' magnum opus is his 1871 *Ἀττικῆς Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἐπιτύμβιοι* (*Funerary Inscriptions of Attica*), a corpus of almost 4,000 documents.[70] The work is primarily important for its 'Prolegomena', which constitutes the single most significant exposition of epigraphical principles by any Greek epigraphist of the nineteenth century. Koumanoudes opens his discursive introduction with a justification of the need to have epigraphical texts published in miniscule letters 'for the benefit of archaeology and philology, and, in general, for the overall education of our own nation but also of those nations that have been fortunate to enjoy links with classical antiquity'. True, the Prolegomena display some degree of nationalistic discourse of the type so prevalent in the nineteenth century, but overall one gets the impression that for Koumanoudes belonging to an international community of scholars was equally important.

At any rate, *Ἀττικῆς Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἐπιτύμβιοι* is extraordinary for a further reason: it is one of the earliest thematic corpora. In fact, it may well be the earliest.[71] Earlier epigraphical corpora were collections of inscriptions from regions, museums, or excavations. Koumanoudes seems to be the first epigraphist to have singled out a theme for independent exploration, at least as concerns the field of Greek epigraphy. At first, Koumanoudes himself somewhat undermines the importance of his choice. He had once encouraged the Greek government, he reveals, to undertake the publication of the known Greek inscriptions in their entirety. On reflection, however, he had come to realize that the times were not ripe for such a major work, and he had therefore to content himself with the collection of funerary inscriptions, 'since they comprise the easiest part', he unashamedly confesses.

Koumanoudes knew, however, that funerary inscriptions are not only easy to read and transcribe: they are also notoriously boring, consisting as they do in their majority of names and patronyms. But if funerary inscriptions are not the most important documents, they are sufficiently important nevertheless: 'nihil in studiis parvum', he declares citing Quintilian, and continues:

> From them too, every dilettante learns sundry things, ethnological and topographical, and the peculiarities and the oddities of language and art, things otherwise unknown, and he supplements the knowledge he has acquired from the other monuments of classical literature. For instance, he learns numerous new personal names, observing which ones are particularly common, if not exclusive, to certain areas and at certain times. He further learns new words and unusual word formations; he marvels at the fact that many people are attested as coming from certain regions, whereas few come from other places, and hence he draws inferences about the longevity or the ephemerality of these places or the links established between them by means of intermarriage or trade or other relations; and, in particular in the case of epigrams, he observes various ideas and concepts, real or imaginary, moderate or excessive, and takes pleasure in them while simultaneously teaching himself. He pays attention to the form of the monuments and their artistic decoration, as they evolve over time . . .[72]

Such statements, I contend, show Koumanoudes' grip on historiographical potentialities. Here we find an array of fields – ethnography and topography, prosopography and onomastics, demography and economics, history of ideas and art history – which can be served by epigraphy. Not unjustifiably, Angelos Matthaiou has argued that it was only with the French *Annales* school, or, closer to our discussion, with the work of the great Louis Robert, that epigraphists and historians started seriously working on the avenues first highlighted by Koumanoudes. Koumanoudes himself did not fully explore all of these approaches in his work. He was, after all, still anchored in the great antiquarian tradition of the nineteenth century that aimed at building collections of pieces of evidence – inscriptions, papyri, coins – in order to write history. Unfortunately the type of history of events favoured in the nineteenth century left no space for the thousands of funerary monuments of the ignoble masses. Koumanoudes had the intellect to sense the existence of other types of history. He did not enlighten his contemporaries by his paradigm, and in fact he found no followers. But why?

One reason must be the paradoxical fact that Koumanoudes, the greatest scholar of Greek epigraphy that Greece could boast in the nineteenth century, was

in fact Professor of Latin! He never taught epigraphy and he therefore had no disciples. Nevertheless, I think that we should put the blame for Koumanoudes' lack of success on the historiographical paradigm that dominated Greece after Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos.[73] The founder of modern Greek historiography, Paparrigopoulos almost single-handedly changed the historiographical landscape with his monumental *History of the Greek Nation*, in which he treated the history of Byzantium as an integral part of the history of the Greeks.[74] He thus gave rise to the famous concept of historical continuity, which he developed on the well-known tripartite scheme: Classical antiquity, Byzantium, new Hellenism. This model served well the developing Greek state, and was endorsed by it. Few had reasons to question it: the only man who did challenge it from some position of authority was Koumanoudes himself. Now, it is likely that very few people today read Paparrigopoulos's *History of the Greek Nation*, a work that has much in grand narrative but very little in terms of historical justification. I submitted Paparrigopoulos's fourth book to some critical reading: there are no footnotes, no citations of inscriptions, and the whole reads as a paraphrasing of Thucydides in the *katharevousa*.

There does, in fact, exist a place where Paparrigopoulos made clear where he stood in relation to inscriptions. In 1890 he published a small work entitled 'The most instructive conclusions of the *History of the Greek Nation*'.[75] In his pamphlet, Paparrigopoulos took issue with that historical school for which 'truth can never be found in printed books, because it always lies in some unpublished document'.[76] For those scholars, Paparrigopoulos continued, the distinction between significant and insignificant events is invalid: everything is of equal importance. That approach, Paparrigopoulos contended, was unacceptable. Without naming names, he charged that 'instead of paying attention to the great achievements of the ancient, Macedonian, Christian, and Medieval Greeks, they prefer instead to study inscriptions'. 'I have to admit', he continues, 'that their inscriptions are sometimes useful, but I am unable to accept that they match the wonderful achievements of Athens and Sparta, or of Alexander the Great or of the eminent Fathers of the Church . . .'[77]

Today such aphorisms sound extremely reactionary. On the contrary, Paparrigopoulos' anonymous scorned opponents – Dimaras, by the way, suspected that the target of Paparrigoulos' criticism was Koumanoudes himself – advocated a very modern type of history.[78] It has been repeatedly observed that Greece was for a long time unable to produce eminent ancient historians.[79] It is my conviction that Paparrigopoulos' historiographical school and its rejection of epigraphy played an important role in that disappointment. This is not to say that epigraphy was not cultivated in Greece. Panayiotis Kavvadias, for instance, produced some fine work on inscriptions he himself had found on the Acropolis in the extensive excavations of the 1880s, and of course his are the first editions of the so-called miracle inscriptions from Epidauros. And who could ever imagine that the author of the erudite article 'Inscriptions from the Acropolis' in the *Ephemeris* of 1885 was Christos Tsountas, the founding father of the field of Cycladic archaeology and one of the pioneers of prehistoric archaeology?[80] However, after Paparrigopoulos, epigraphy, which in Greece had been from the beginning a branch of archaeology, lost any chance of being transformed into a historical discipline. For almost a century after Koumanoudes and Paparrigopoulos, epigraphy in Greece remained a subfield of archaeology, very much an archaeologist's affair. Inscriptions were seen as artefacts to be published along with coins, ceramics, and other finds: and it was left to others, the non-Greek historians, to use inscriptions to produce history. This model changed for good only in the second half of the twentieth century, when Greece acquired for the first time epigraphists-cum-historians, who did not work as excavators.

This is, however, a topic for another discussion. In the meantime, we should not forget that men like Moustoxydes and Oikonomides in the Heptanese, Pittakys, Rangavis, Koumanoudes, and even Ross in Greece proper, both individually and by means of their institutions, contributed substantially to the promotion of the study of inscriptions in the nineteenth century. Without them, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* and its offshoots would almost certainly have been defective, inferior works. Epigraphy, without them, would have been different.

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Notes and references

1 See K.T. Dimaras, Νεοελληνικὸς Διαφωτισμός (Athens, 1977).

2 'Παρακαλοῦνται λοιπὸν ὅλοι οἱ Ἑλλόγιμοι τοῦ γένους ὅσοι κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διατρίβουσιν, εἰς τὸ νὰ εἰδοποιῶσιν ἀμέσως εἰς ἐμὲ τὰς παρατηρήσεις των, τὰς ἀνήκουσας δηλαδὴ εἰς τὴν Γεωγραφίαν, εἰς τὴν Ἀστρονομίαν, εἰς τὴν Φυσικὴν Ἱστορίαν, εἰς τὴν Ἀρχαιο-λογίαν, εἰς τὰς παλαιὰς Ἐπιγραφάς, τὰ μόνα σεβάσμια λείψανα τῆς ἀρχαιότητος' (Here and below, wherever I cite Greek text, I keep the spelling and other grammar conventions of the original); cf. A. Koumarianou, *Ιστορία του ελληνικού τύπου, 18ος-19ος αι.* (Athens, 2010), pp. 203–6.

3 See Dimaras, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 125–6, 444, who notes that Hellenic interest in Greek inscriptions can be traced back to the eighteenth century and the work of Ignatius, Bishop of Nazianzus, and of Meletios Metrou ('the Geographer').

4 For the simple reason that the relevant bibliography is predominantly in modern Greek: see, for instance, the historical accounts of epigraphical studies in Greece by A. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios, *Ἀρχαῖαι ἑλληνικαὶ ἐπιγραφαί* (Athens, 1939); A. N. Oikonomides, 'Ἐπιγραφική: εἰσαγωγὴ στὴν μελέτη τῶν ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιγραφῶν', in *Λεξικὸν κοινωνικῶν ἐπιστημῶν* (Athens, 1960); C. N. Petros-Mesogeites, *Ἐπιγραφικὴ καὶ ἐπιγραφικὲς σπουδὲς στὴν Ἑλλάδα* (Thessalonike, 1961). Despite their importance, these works are virtually unknown outside Greece.

5 One should keep in mind the wider issue of language as a prime indicator of Hellenic ethnic identity, for which see now P. Mackridge, *Language and National Identity in Greece, 1766–1976* (Oxford, 2009). I myself have not systematically attempted this connection in the present essay, but the topic is worthy of further investigation.

6 For instance, in an otherwise very informed lemma, T. Corsten, *Der Neue Pauly* 14, s.v. 'Inschriftenkunde, Griechische', claims that 'Demzufolge waren es zunächst Angehörige westeurop. Länder, die sich mit griech. Inschr. zu beschäftigen begannen, und erst spät kamen die Griechen selbst hinzu (etwa seit der Mitte des 19. Jh.) . . .' My chapter will hopefully show that serious Hellenic interest in epigraphy should be pushed at least twenty years earlier.

7 The standard biography of Moustoxydes is that by E. Manes, *Ἀνδρέας Μουστοξύδης, 1785–1860: Ὁ ἐπιστήμων, ὁ πολιτικός, ὁ ἐθνικὸς ἀγωνιστής. Μελέτη ἱστορικὴ καὶ φιλολογική* (Athens, 1960). On Moustoxydes' bumpy career as the first director of the Greek Archaeological Service, we now have V. C. Petrakos, *Πρόχειρον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1828–2012. Μέρος Ι: Χρονογραφικό* (Athens, 2013), pp. 40–62.

8 L. Ross, *Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland* (Berlin, 1863), pp. 144–5, who noted that, unlike the reliefs, the inscriptions of the Museum at Aigina did not lack in interest.

9 See V. C. Petrakos, *Ἡ ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας καὶ ἡ ἵδρυση τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* (Athens, 2004), pp. 5–6.

10 Article 14 reads: 'It is forbidden to damage by any means, without permission from the Ephor, walls, paved streets, arches, and any part of an ancient edifice, such as plasterwork, wall-paintings, or *inscriptions* . . .' The text can be found in Manes, op. cit. (note 7), pp. 247–9; A. Kalogeropoulou and M. Proune-Filip, *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς. Εὑρετήριον 1837–1874*, Α΄ (Athens, 1973), p. οδ΄; A. Kokkou, *Ἡμέριμνα γιὰ τὶς ἀρχαιότητες στὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰ πρῶτα μουσεῖα* (Athens, 1977), p. 53.

11 Kokkou, op. cit. (note 10), p. 63.

12 The English-language reader can profitably consult J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. III: *The Eighteenth Century in Germany, and the Nineteenth Century in Europe and the United States of America* (Cambridge, 1908), pp. 369–70.

13 The original titles are: 'Ἑρμηνεία ἐπιγραφῆς καὶ Ἀναγλύφου Μουσείου Αἰγίνης', 'Δημοσίευσις καὶ ἑρμηνεία ὑπὸ Α.Μ. ἐπιγραφῶν τῆς Σαλαμῖνος', and 'Δημοσίευσις καὶ ἑρμηνεία ἐπιγραφῶν τῆς Νήσου Σκιάθου'; cf. Manes, op. cit. (note 7), pp. 346–7. The significance of these early publications can be tangibly seen in K. Hallof's recent corpus of Aiginetan inscriptions *Inscriptiones Graecae. Voluminis IV, Editio Altera. Fasciculus II* (Berlin, 2007), esp. pp. x–xiii.

14 Kokkou, op. cit. (note 10), p. 65.

15 A. Moustoxydes, 'Ἐπιγραφαὶ Κερκυραϊκαί', *Hellenomnemon* 2 (1843), pp. 117–22.

16 For Oikonomides we possess a very thorough, albeit extremely obscure, account by his devoted student D. Thereianos, Φιλολογικαὶ ὑποτυπώσεις (Trieste, 1885), pp. 111–379, on which I have drawn for what follows. For a brief, more accessible laudatory appraisal see Sandys, op. cit. (note 12), pp. 370–71.

17 A synopsis of Oikonomides' grammatical analysis is offered by Thereianos, op. cit. (note 16), pp. 287–96.

18 I. N. Oikonomides, *Λοκρικῆς ἀνεκδότου ἐπιγραφῆς διαφώτισις* (Corfu, 1850).

19 E. L. Hicks, *A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1901), pp. 73–6 no. 44.

20 A. R. Rangavis, *Les antiquités helléniques*, vol. II (Athens, 1855), p. 2: 'Elle (*scil.* the inscription) a été l'objet d'un travail aussi profond qu'étendu de la part du savant professeur M. S. N. Oeconomidés de Chypre . . .'

21 See V. C. Petrakos, 'Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ ἀρχαιολογία κατὰ τὰ χρόνια τοῦ Κυριακοῦ Σ. Πιττάκη', *Mentor* 47 (1998), pp. 74–113. A sympathetic portrayal of Pittakys emerging from a lightly annotated anthology of his texts can be found in G. E. Malouchou and A. P. Matthaiou (eds), *Χάριν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς εὐκλείας. Κείμενα Κυριακοῦ Σ. Πιττάκη, 1798–1863* (Athens, 2001). An occasionally hypercritical approach is now taken by V. C. Petrakos, Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ αὐταπάτη τοῦ Λουδοβίκου *Ross* (Athens, 2009) in an otherwise extremely useful, well-documented account.

22 See Kalogeropoulou and Proune-Filip, op. cit. (note 10), pp. ξ–ξα΄. Kokkou, op. cit. (note 10), p. 86; V. C. Petrakos, *Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ αὐταπάτη τοῦ Λουδοβίκου Ross* (Athens, 2009) pp. 30–31, 262 no. 3. Pittakys' collection was intended to contain 'not only funerary inscriptions' but also 'decrees, treaties, boundary-inscriptions, oaths, and others'. His programmatic principles included accurate drawing of texts, graphic reproductions of the monuments and the shape of the letters, and record of the exact date of the epigraphical autopsy.

23 K. S. Pittakys, *L'ancienne Athènes ou la description des antiquités d'Athènes et de ses environs* (Athens, 1835).

24 Ibid., p. b; cf. Malouchou and Matthaiou, op. cit. (note 21), p. 22. The reference to 'habits and customs' is clearly a manifestation of contemporary romantic ideas of nation.

25 In fact, back in 1830 Pittakys had announced as imminent a *Topography of Attica*, which would have included maps, and which would have been based on the literary and epigraphical sources. Modern scholars believe that part of this unfulfilled project was eventually integrated into *L'ancienne Athènes*: see Malouchou and Matthaiou, op. cit. (note 21), p. 21.

26 The importance of Pittakys' work has been aptly demonstrated by the ongoing *ΑΡΜΑ* (*Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἀττικῆς*) series of the Archaeological Society, which aims at gleaning epigraphical and topographical pieces of information from the major nineteenth-century publications. For *L'ancienne Athènes* in particular, see G. E. Malouchou, *Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Μνημείων τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς*, vol. III (Athens, 1998) pp. 21–8.

27 As aptly observed by P. J. Rhodes, 'After the three-bar *Sigma* controversy: the history of Athenian imperialism reassessed', *Classical Quarterly* 58 (2008), p. 500, note 1.

28 M. Pantou and M. Kreeb, 'Ο Λουδοβίκος Ροσς ως Γενικός Έφορος Αρχαιοτήτων: τα πρώτα χρόνια', in H. R. Goette and O. Palagia (eds), *Ludwig Ross und Griechenland. Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums, Athens, 2.–3. Oktober 2002* (Rahden, 2005), pp. 73–83.

29 One is reminded here of Ross's *Demen von Attica und ihre Vertheilung unter die Phylen: nach Inschriften* (Halle, 1846).

30 On this see O. Palagia, 'Λουδοβίκος Ροσς, πρώτος καθηγητής αρχαιολογίας του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών (1837–1843)', in Goette and Palagia, op. cit. (note 28), pp. 263–73.

31 The second part of the article, including section 18 on epigraphical studies, was written by Ross in Greek and published in the Ἑλληνικὸς Ταχυδρόμος of 17 July 1836. Here I have translated part of the text printed by Petrakos, op. cit. (note 21), pp. 364–72 no. 120.

32 I am unable in these pages to do justice to Ross's variegated epigraphical work: the interested reader could profitably consult several essays in the proceedings of the colloquium organized in his memory, Goette and Palagia. op. cit. (note 28), especially, but not exclusively, those by A. P. Matthaiou, 'Ο Ludwig Ross καὶ οἱ Ἀττικὲς ἐπιγραφές' (pp. 97–105); C. Habicht, 'Ludwig Ross als Epigraphiker' (pp. 107–12); K. Hallof, 'Ludwig Ross und die Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften' (pp. 113–28).

33 According to A. Moustaka, 'Ο Ludwig Ross στην Πελοπόννησο', in Goette and Palagia, op. cit. (note 28), p. 239, unpublished archival material suggests that Ross had scheduled to produce *Inscriptiones Graecae Ineditae* vol. II in 1835, but, for unknown reasons, the publication never materialized. One wonders whether Ross was discouraged by the criticism he received for his choice to use Latin for the first volume (see following note).

34 L. Ross, *Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland* (Berlin, 1863), p. 99.

35 M. E. Marthari, 'Λ. Ροσς: αρχειακές μαρτυρίες για την προστασία των αρχαίων και τη μουσειακή πολιτική στις Κυκλάδες', in Goette and Palagia, op. cit. (note 28), pp. 133–4, 140 no. 1.

36 Ibid., pp. 146–8 no. 10.

37 See V. C. Petrakos, *Ἡ ἀπαρχὴ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας καὶ ἡ ἵδρυση τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* (Athens, 2004), pp. 50–55; A. Kokkou, 'Ludwig Ross και Κυριακός Πιττάκης. Δύο πρωτεργάτες της ελληνικής αρχαιολογίας', in Goette and Palagia, op. cit. (note 28), pp. 63–71; Petrakos, op. cit. (note 21), pp. 84–112.

38 Parts of the correspondence and related administrative documents have been collected by Petrakos, op. cit. (note 21), pp. 362–401 nos. 118–35.

39 A. Böckh, *Urkunden über das Seewesen des Attischen Staates* (Berlin, 1840). Ross's contribution is appropriately acknowledged in the monograph's subtitle: 'mit achtzehn Tafeln, enthaltend die von Hrn. Ludwig Roß gefertigen Abschriften'.

40 On this aspect of Pittakys' contribution to Greek epigraphy, see G. E. Malouchou, *Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Μνημείων τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς*, vol. III (Athens, 1998), pp. 25–7, who provides the relevant sources. On Boeckh's accusations, see Petrakos, op. cit. (note 7), pp. 102–3.

41 See for instance, the negative references to Pittakys by W. Larfeld, *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik*, vol. I (Leipzig, 1907), p. 86.

42 See Matthaiou, op. cit. (note 32), pp. 103–4.

43 See Petrakos, op. cit. (note 21), pp. 190–97, chapter 21 ('Οἱ γάλλοι ἐπιγραφικοί').

44 For instance, H. N. Parker, 'A fragment of the Athenian dramatic didascaliae for the Lenaia re-examined (*IG* II/III^3 2319)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 158 (2006), p. 56, almost unbelievably calls Pittakys a 'casual epigrapher'.

45 For the criticism levelled on Pittakys, see Petrakos, op. cit. (note 21), pp. 161–8.

46 *Ephemeris* 1837: 'Ἀφ' οὗ διὰ πολλῶν ἐτῶν πολλὰ ἤδη ἐδαπανήθησαν, καὶ πόνοι κατεβλήθησαν εἰς ἀνεύρεσιν καὶ συλλογὴν τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι εἰσέτι διεσπαρμένων ἀρχαιοτήτων, ἀφ' οὗ τὰ μουσεῖα μας ἐπλουτίσθησαν μὲ περιέργους ἐπιγραφὰς (elaborate inscriptions) καὶ μὲ πολύτιμα γλυπτικῆς λείψανα, ἡ Κυβέρνησις ἐσκέφθη πῶς νὰ καταστήση τὰς πολυτίμους ταύτας ἀνακαλύψεις γνωστὰς εἰς τὸν πεφωτισμένον κόσμον . . .'

47 'Ἡ ἐπιτροπὴ ἀναλαμβάνουσα τὴν τοιαύτην ἐπιχείρησιν, γνωρίζει καὶ τὴν σπουδαιότητα καὶ τὰς δυσχερείας ὅλας

αὐτῆς, ὧν ἡ πρωτίστη εἶναι ἡ σχεδὸν παντελὴς ἔλλειψις βοηθημάτων ἐπιστημονικῶν, καὶ οὐδ' ἀνεδέχθη, οὐδ' ἐπαγγέλλεται ἄλλο τί, πλὴν τῆς ἀκριβοῦς μετατυπώσεως τῶν εἰσέτι ἀγνώστων ἢ ἐσφαλμένως ἐγνωσμένων ἐπιγραφῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἀρχαιοτήτων.'

48 'Καὶ τῷ ὄντι, ἂν ὡς προτιθέμεθα, ἀκολουθοῦντες κυρίως τὴν συλλογὴν τοῦ Βοικίου, ἐκδίδομεν τὰς ἀνεκδότους μόνον ἐπιγραφὰς κτλ. ἢ τὰς μὴ ὀρθῶς ἐκδεδομένας . . .'

49 Y. Hamilakis, *The Nation and its Ruins. Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 99–100.

50 See H. H. Schmitt, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums. Dritter Band: Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 338 bis 200 v.Chr.* (Munich, 1969), pp. 129–33 no. 476. The reader interested in following the debate can work his/her way backwards, starting with *Supplememtum Epigraphicum Graecum* vol. 56 no. 190, a lemma that reports the latest serious chronological proposal, 269/8 BC, of S. G. Byrne.

51 The significance of the early *Ephemeris* for epigraphical studies has been recently highlighted by G. E. Malouchou, *Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Μνημείων τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς 5: Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική, εὑρετήρια περίοδου πρώτης, 1837–1860* (Athens, 2010). See now the detailed account of the epigraphical publications that have appeared in the pages of the *Ephemeris* by A. Chaniotis, 'Ἐπιγραφικὴ καὶ ἀρχαία ἱστορία στὴν Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίδα', *Mentor* 103 (2012), pp. 154–74.

52 *Ephemeris Archaiologike* (1860), p. 2106: 'Μέχρι τοῦδε ἐδημοσίευσα οἰκείᾳ βουλῇ, προῖκα καὶ ἀμισθεί, τέσσαρας χιλιάδας ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ὀκτὼ ἐπιγραφάς, ἀριθ. 4158. Ἔπραξα τοῦτο κινούμενος μόνον ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἔρωτα τῶν προγονικῶν μου λειψάνων πόθου, ὃς καὶ ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου μοὶ ἦν ἀδιάσπαστος σύντροφος. Νῦν δὲ ἀναγκάζομαι νὰ διακόψω τὴν σειρὰν ταύτην διὰ λόγους, οὓς ἄλλοτε θέλω ἐξιστορήσει. Ὡς ἄνθρωπος π'θανῶς νὰ ὑπέπεσα εἰς λάθη, ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς ἀναμάρτητος. Ὁ σκοπός μου ἦν τὸ κοινὸν καλὸν καὶ ἡ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης διάδοσις παντὸς Ἑλληνικοῦ γράμματος, χάριν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς εὐκλείας.' On the basis of this famous quotation, Chaniotis, op. cit. (note 51), p. 155, recently observed that Pittakys was arguably the most prolific epigraphist from Greece. I think that Pittakys may well have been the most prolific epigraphist ever, regardless of origin.

53 For an exhaustive treatment, see V. C. Petrakos, *Ὁ Ἀρχαιολογικὸς Σύλλογος. Ἡ πρώτη ἀκαδημία στὴν ἐλευθερωμένη Ἑλλάδα, 1848–1854* (Athens, 2007).

54 On Constantius' donation and the 'Stele of the Benefactors', see Petrakos, op. cit. (note 53), pp. 47–61, who observes that the stele is considered lost (but the archaeologist Irene Rossiou has kindly informed me that the stele was recently re-discovered). The opening lines of the archaizing decree read: 'Βασιλεύοντος Ὄθωνος τοῦ πρώτου, ἔτους ͵αωμθ΄ Ἰανουαρίου τετάρτηι ἐπὶ δέκα· ἔδοξε τῶι Ἀρχαιολογικῶι Συλλόγωι, Γ: Γλαράκης προέδρευεν, Α: Ρ: Ραγκαβῆς ἐγραμμάτευ|εν· ἐπειδὴ Κωνσταντῖνος Ἰωνίδης βυζάντιος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γενόμενος κτλ.' (*In the reign of Otho I, on January 14 of the year 1849; resolved by the Archaeological Association; G. Glarakis presided; A. R. Rangavis was the secretary: since Constantinos Ionides of Byzantium having been a noble man towards Greece etc.*).

55 *Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἀνέκδοτοι ἀνακαλυφθεῖσαι καὶ ἐκδοθεῖσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρχαιολογικοῦ Συλλόγου. Φυλλάδιον πρῶτον* (Athens, 1851). The first document in this collection was the extremely significant prospectus of the Second Athenian League, for which see now P. J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 2003), no. 22.

56 See Petrakos, op.cit. (note 53), pp. 70–74.

57 On Eustratiades, see V. C. Petrakos, *Πρόχειρον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1828–2012. Μέρος I: Χρονογραφικό* (Athens, 2013), pp. 167–204 (passim); *Μέρος II: Θεματολογικό* (Athens, 2013), pp. 18–19.

58 Chaniotis, op.cit. (note 51), p. 157.

59 This has been shown vividly by G. E. Malouchou, 'Two overlooked Attic inscriptions', in P. Martzavou and N. Papazarkadas (eds), *Epigraphical Approaches to the Post-Classical Polis* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 201–7.

60 See Y. Galanakis, 'Doing business: two unpublished letters from Athanasios Rhousopoulos to Arthur Evans in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford', in D. Kurtz, with C. Meyer, D. Saunders, A. Tsingarida and N. Harris (eds), *Essays in Classical Archaeology for Eleni Hatzivassiliou 1977–2007* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 297–309; Y. Galanakis and M. Nowak-Kemp, 'Ancient Greek skulls in the Oxford University Museum, Part II: the Rhousopoulos-Rolleston correspondence', *Journal of the History of Collections* 25 (2013), pp. 1–17.

61 Cf. Chaniotis, op. cit. (note 51), p. 257. In the editorial note of the *Ephemeris* of 1862, Rhousopoulos, in his capacity as senior editor, noted: 'The present new series of the *Archaiologike Ephemeris* deals with the entire field of archaeology, but priority is given to studies and news about inscriptions and artistic monuments.

62 A. S. Rhousopoulos, 'Sopra un vasetto corinzio con iscrizioni d'un carattere antichissimo', *Annali dell'Instituto di corrispondenza archeologica / Annales de l'Institut de correspondance archéologique* 34 (1862), pp. 46–56.

63 Galanakis and Nowak-Kemp, op. cit. (note 60), p. 16 note 75, observe that this transaction was vociferously protested by Eustratiades.

64 A. Milchhöfer, 'Antikenbericht aus Attika', *Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts – Athenische Abtheilung* 12 (1887), p. 83.

65 Koumanoudes' diary of the years 1845–67, written in a mixture of Greek, Latin, German, and French, was transcribed by S. N. Koumanoudes and edited by A. P. Matthaiou, *Ἡμερολογόγιον 1845–1867, Στεφάνου Ἀ. Κουμανούδη* (Athens, 1990), whose epilogue is an excellent introduction to the work of the great Greek epigraphist. For Koumanoudes' early years and education, see Sophia A. Matthaiou, *Στέφανος Α. Κουμανούδης (1818–1899). Σχεδίασμα βιογραφίας* (Athens, 1999).

66 It has to be said, however, that Boeckh's epistemological influence was not accompanied by personal intimacy. It has long been observed that with the exception of Thiersch, Koumanoudes did not maintain contact with his teachers. Contrast the much warmer exchanges between Boeckh and his other Greek student, Eustratiades: Petrakos, op. cit. (note 53), pp. 78–81.

67 I would like, however, to bring attention to an unpublished dissertation on the presentation of archaeological events in the Greek newspapers (1836–1915): M. D. Sophronidou, 'Η αρχαιολογική είδηση στις εφημερίδες', PhD dissertation (University of Thessalonike, 2002).

68 The subtitle of the periodical, which was scheduled to be monthly (!), described it as 'Philological and

Pedagogical' (Φιλίστωρ: *Σύγγραμα Φιλολογικὸν καὶ Παιδαγωγικόν*).

69 For Koumanoudes' epigraphical and topographical output in *Philistor*, see V. Bardane, *Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Μνημείων τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. I. Εὑρετήρια τῶν περιοδικῶν Ἀθήναιον (1872–1881) καὶ Φιλίστωρ (1861–1863)* (Athens, 1992), pp. 175–229. As an indication of its importance, I will single out Koumanoudes's identification of the site of the Stoa of Attalos on the basis of the monumental dedicatory inscription *IG* II^2 3171.

70 S. A. Koumanoudes, *Ἀττικῆς Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἐπιτύμβιοι* (Athens, 1871), reprinted in 1993 as no. 131 in the Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας series of the Archaeological Society. Simultaneously his great-grandson S. N. Koumanoudes and A. P. Matthaiou published the Addenda (Προσθῆκαι), as vol. 132 in the Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας series. On pp. 463–92, Matthaiou produces an exquisite analysis of the epigraphical work of Koumanoudes seen in its contemporary historical context: in what follows, I make heavy use of his discussion.

71 Cf. Matthaiou, op. cit. (note 70), p. 482. To the best of my knowledge, the accolade for the second thematic corpus goes to G. Kaibel's *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta* (Berlin, 1878).

72 S. A. Koumanoudes, *Ἀττικῆς Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἐπιτύμβιοι* (Athens, 1871) pp. γ′–δ′.

73 K. T. Dimaras, *Κωνσταντίνος Παπαρρηγόπουλος: Ἡ ἐποχή του, ἡ ζωή του, τὸ ἔργο του* (Athens, 1986) is the standard monograph.

74 K. Paparrigopoulos, *Ἡ ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους* (Athens, 1860–75) has been revised and reprinted several times. On the historiographical presuppositions of Paparrigopoulos' oeuvre, see now I. Koubourlis, 'European historiographical influences upon the young Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos', in R. Beaton and D. Ricks (eds), *The Making of Modern Greece: Nationalism, Romanticism, and the Uses of the Past, 1797–1896* (London, 2009), pp. 53–63.

75 C. Paparrigopoulos, *Τὰ διδακτικώτερα πορίσματα τῆς Ἱστορίας τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους* (Athens, 1890). The pamphlet was reprinted in the Greek periodical *Ἔρευνα* 3 (1929), pp. 5–19.

76 Paparrigopoulos, op. cit. (note 75), p. 8, citing, on his own account, A. Bruneliere: '[L]a vérité n'est jamais dans un livre imprimé, mais toujours dans un document inédit'.

77 Paparrigopoulos, op. cit. (note 75), p. 9: 'Ὁμολογῶ προθύμως, ὅτι αἱ ἐπιγραφαὶ αὐτῶν εἶναι ἐνίοτε χρήσιμοι, ἀλλὰ δὲν δύναμαι νὰ παραδεχθῶ, ὅτι ἰσοφαρίζουσι πρὸς τὰ θαυμάσια κατορθώματα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς Σπάρτης, ἢ τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἢ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας πατέρων . . .' The passage is fully cited and dissected by Matthaiou, op. cit. (note 70), pp. 480–81 note 56, who points out the consequences of this anti-Epigraphy bias for the development of historiography in modern Greece.

78 Dimaras, op. cit. (note 73), pp. 413–14.

79 D. I. Kyrtatas, *Κατακτώντας την αρχαιότητα. Ιστοριογραφικές διαδρομές* (Athens, 2002), pp. 102–11, offers several important insights.

80 Kavvadias and Tsountas are here mentioned only *exempli gratia*. One could add D. Philios and his publications of Eleusinian inscriptions, B. Leonardos, director of the Epigraphical Museum and editor of numerous Oropian inscriptions, and many others.