Historical Contexts and Intellectual Traditions

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Chapter 2
Scholarly Traditions and Scientific Paradigms: Method and Reflexivity in the Study of Ancient Praisos

Abstract: Histories of archaeological thought and handbooks of archaeological theory generally try to fit developments into a tri-partite scheme: traditional (cultural historical), processual and postprocessual. These three stages have been understood as three distinct scientific paradigms, in Kuhn's sense. Though this scheme was first devised for areas of archaeology (American anthropological archaeology, British prehistory) other than classical, it remains the only scheme around, and one that has been applied (intermittently) to our understanding of developments in classical archaeology (e.g. Shanks 1995). This paper looks at how this understanding of archaeological development applies to the study of one particular "classical" site, Praisos in eastern Crete. In particular it examines whether the notion of "reflexivity" (Hodder 1997), hitherto held to be a scholarly virtue unique to the postprocessual stage of intellectual development, has any real meaning in distinguishing between competing paradigms. Praisos is a site which, almost intrinsically, invites reflection on various forms of identity both in ancient and in modern times. It is the city of the "Eteocretans" (Hom. *Od*. 19. 175–7; Strabo 10.4.6), the "True Cretans," whose distinctive ethnic identity was first noted by Herodotus (7.170–1), the intellectual (if not the historical) progenitors of the Minoans. This paper argues that various forms of reflexivity have been in evidence on the part of the earliest systematic investigators of this site. These forms of reflexivity have however been refracted through three scholarly traditions (Italian, British and Greek) which have distinct institutional affiliations. It also investigates how we should understand the differences between the methods and approach of earlier investigators (Bosanquet for the British, Halbherr for the Italians) as compared to those used in more recent excavations and survey. Does it make sense to explain these differences in terms of paradigm shifts? The paper argues that greater attention must be paid to intellectual traditions, which persist despite paradigm shifts, if we are to have a viable history of classical archaeology, and a truly "reflexive" understanding of current practice.

Introduction: What is Classical Archaeology?

This looks like a simple question with a simple answer. Classical archaeology is the archaeology of the Greek and Roman world (as in Alcock and Osborne 2012, 2–10). When we come to the Greek world however, this apparently simple answer dissolves under close scrutiny. In terms of strict logic, there are at least four possible answers, which give the discipline (or sub-discipline) of classical archaeology varying degrees of distinctiveness (see Snodgrass 2012, 13–14). And even if we prefer the answer "classical archaeology of Greece is the study of the material remains of Greek antiquity," this is the very answer that begs the most questions. First, why "classical?" What is it about the Greeks that is "classical?" Is it their cultural legacy, their art, or both? And when and where do the Greek and Roman worlds begin and end? What about other

peoples of the ancient Mediterranean—Lycians, Lydians, Phrygians, Eteocypriots, Lemniots, Etruscans, Sicels, Sicans, Umbrians, Oscans, Lucanians, Apulians (Messapians), the Veneti, the Phoenicians (and Carthaginians) and the Eteocretans? And is classical archaeology a sub-discipline (a "handmaiden") of classics, or part of a wider archaeological (and historical and anthropological) enterprise?

It is perhaps for these reasons that classical archaeology sits rather uncomfortably in any general account of what archaeology is, has been or should be. In histories of archaeological thought (e.g. Trigger 1989; 2006), classical archaeology enters the discussion with Winckelmann and the Olympia excavations, after which it drops from view; in primers of archaeological theory classical archaeology's distinctiveness is acknowledged (e.g. Johnson 2010, 43), but mentioned as a rather embarrassing hangover from earlier (and outdated) forms of humanism. For many of its practitioners, classical archaeology remains a branch of classics or art history—its place within archaeology is not a question worth asking. All these factors result in the grittiness of classical archaeology (Alcock and Osborne 2012, 503)—its inability to fit into wider narratives of how archaeology as a whole progresses.

Other archaeologies—notably American anthropological archaeology and British prehistoric archaeology—do not appear to have such difficulties. Both can, with some modifications, be made to fit into a three- or four-stage scheme of archaeological development. This runs as follows. First archaeology emerged from antiquarianism, the crucial insight being the antiquity of humankind and widespread acceptance of evolution as both a natural and a cultural force. Then, a kind of cultural historical archaeology emerged, which attempted to make sense of the particulars of human material cultures in various times and places. In European prehistory, the major figure in this "cultural historical" stage remains Gordon Childe; in the archaeology of North America, an equivalent figure might be that great scholar of the Ohio and Illinois Hopewell, James B. Griffin. Then, partly due to parallel intellectual developments at the University of Michigan (Lewis Binford) and the University of Cambridge (David Clarke), a more scientific approach to the development of human culture over long time scales emerge. This is the so-called "New Archaeology," whose most celebrated exponent in an Aegean setting remains Colin Renfrew. In the Aegean, a concern with cultural evolution over the *longue durée* led directly to the earliest systematic surveys, such as those on Melos (Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982). From about 1982 onwards, this style of archaeology was critiqued, mildly by some (e.g. Hodder 1986), aggressively by others (e.g. Shanks and Tilley 1987). Another form of archaeology was proposed, one more comfortable in the space between the humanities and the social sciences than with "science" (at least science in a strict, positivist sense). This was postprocessualism, and in the field of British prehistory it has prevailed. In North America, similar critiques of evolutionary processualism have now emerged (e.g. Yoffee 2005).

Such is the standard account that informs most archaeological primers (e.g. Johnson 2010). These stages of development have been presented as changes in *paradigm*, in Kuhn's (1962) sense. Each stage is guided by a number of underlying and

distinctive methods and assumptions, which are more or less incommensurable with earlier or succeeding stages. In this, Kuhn's account of scientific "paradigm shifts" resembles Foucault's (1970) account of changes in the underlying *episteme* which informed (respectively) eighteenth and nineteenth century practice in the human sciences: each stage deals with fundamentally different concepts and entities; there is nothing of practical use that a modern scientist/researcher can learn from earlier practice. Phlogiston is simply a redundant concept, of interest to historians of science but not to scientists.

Herein perhaps lies a clue to classical archaeology's distinctiveness. Natural scientists may have rejected phlogiston, and few if any chemists would now read Lavoisier except out of historical curiosity. But many classical archaeologists still read Beazley, Furtwängler and even Winckelmann with profit—it does not seem that the concepts and entities they were talking about are entirely alien to the concepts and entities we wish to talk about. This is perhaps one reason why attempts to shoehorn classical archaeology into the three- or four-stage scheme (e.g. Shanks 1995, 119–182) often strike many as implausibly programmatic. This is not to say that the interests of all classical archaeologists remain exactly the same as they have always been. A plausible case has been made that classical archaeology has undergone a paradigm shift since 1980 or so (Snodgrass 2002; 2006, 78–104). Many readers of this volume would, for example, be interested in such things as gender, ethnicity, material culture, agency, commensality, pre-state social formations and so forth, ideas and interests which have come to classical archaeology sometimes directly from anthropology (e.g. agency; Gell 1998), but sometimes via processual and postprocessual archaeologies.

In this article, however, I want to suspend belief in a "paradigm shift." I want to explore the potential of another approach: classical archaeology as a nexus for a number of distinct traditions of inquiry, which have retained much of their character from the middle of the nineteenth century until today. I do so for several reasons. First, intellectual traditions have, so far, been little explored in the history of archaeological thought. Though much good work has been done on the dominant tradition in classical archaeology, that is, the German (Marchand 1996), we do not have equivalent understandings of the French, British, Italian, American or Greek traditions. Though the non-Greek traditions were all "imperial" rather than "colonialist," in Trigger's (1984; *pace* Hamilakis 2007) sense, they each had their distinct character. The Greek, while always to a degree nationalist, was partially shaped by these foreign traditions. Second, an understanding of the intellectual traditions within which one works has to be a major aspect of that "reflexivity" which postprocessual prehistorians claim is their unique possession (Hodder 1997). Postprocessual prehistory is, however, much less reflexive than it claims—a presentation on Çatalhöyük at the European Archaeological Association conference in Thessaloniki in 2002, for example, notably failed to reflect on the character of its audience, many of whom were the descendants (Karamanlides) of the Orthodox Christians expelled from the Konya plain in 1922 (Mazower 2004, 356–370; Astrinidou 2010). "Reflexivity"—the need to reflect on one's practice—

remains a worthwhile ideal, especially (as in the case of Praisos) when the local community takes an enormous interest in what you are doing.

Praisos is a very good place to explore the interaction of various intellectual traditions. It has been explored by Italian, French, Greek, Polish and British scholars, some of great distinction. It lies between two other major zones of study in East Crete, whose exploration exemplifies the character of the French/Belgian tradition on the one hand (Itanos) and the American on the other (Kavousi/Azoria, see Haggis, this volume). And the ancient traditions which relate to this particular site have, it could be argued, determined the research priorities of Cretan archaeology since 1902 (Whitley 2006b). Let us begin with these traditions.

Praisos: The Ancient Traditions and Early Exploration

Praisos, in eastern Crete (see **fig. 1**), is a site that, almost intrinsically, invites reflection on the relationship between identity and politics. Though the site itself is not mentioned, the "Eteocretans" (Hom. *Od*. 19.175–7) are one of the five peoples of Crete mentioned by Odysseus in his mendacious attempt to pass himself off as a Cretan. Herodotus (7.170–1) is the first to mention the "Praisioi," and relates how the people of Praisos regarded themselves as a remnant of the original inhabitants of Crete, being (with the Polichnitai) the only subjects of King Minos who did not accompany him on his disastrous expedition to Sicily. Strabo (10.4.6), whose account may be entirely based on Ephoros, combines these two traditions: the Eteocretans (literally "True Cretans") are identified with the Praisioi, the people of Praisos. Strabo also notes that Praisos is where the temple of Dictaean Zeus is to be found, and locates the site by reference to others in Crete.

Strabo's equation between the Praisioi and the Eteocretans seems to have been accepted by most of his contemporaries writing around the time of Augustus (such as Diodoros). But by this time the site was a ruin, having been destroyed by its neighbor Hierapytna in the years before 140 B.C. Nonetheless, the "Eteocretans" continued as minor players in the ethnographic accounts of the ancient world for another century or so, their curious customs being mentioned in Athenaeus (*Deipnosophistae* 9. 375f–376a = *FrGrHist* 472 fr.1). There were, by this time, no Eteocretans around to dispute this account.

During the Middle Ages, the only memory of ancient Crete seems to have been the labyrinth at Knossos. In the sixteenth century, Venetian antiquaries such as Coronelli (Pashley 1837, 290, n. 17 and Bosanquet 1902a, 231, n. 1) recorded a small village called "Prassous" on the site of what we now know as the first Acropolis of Praisos. This antiquarian research was brought to an end by the Ottoman conquest of 1649, during which time the Christian village of Prassous shrunk, and the Muslim village to the South (Vavelloi) grew. Antiquarian research was also hampered by Strabo's

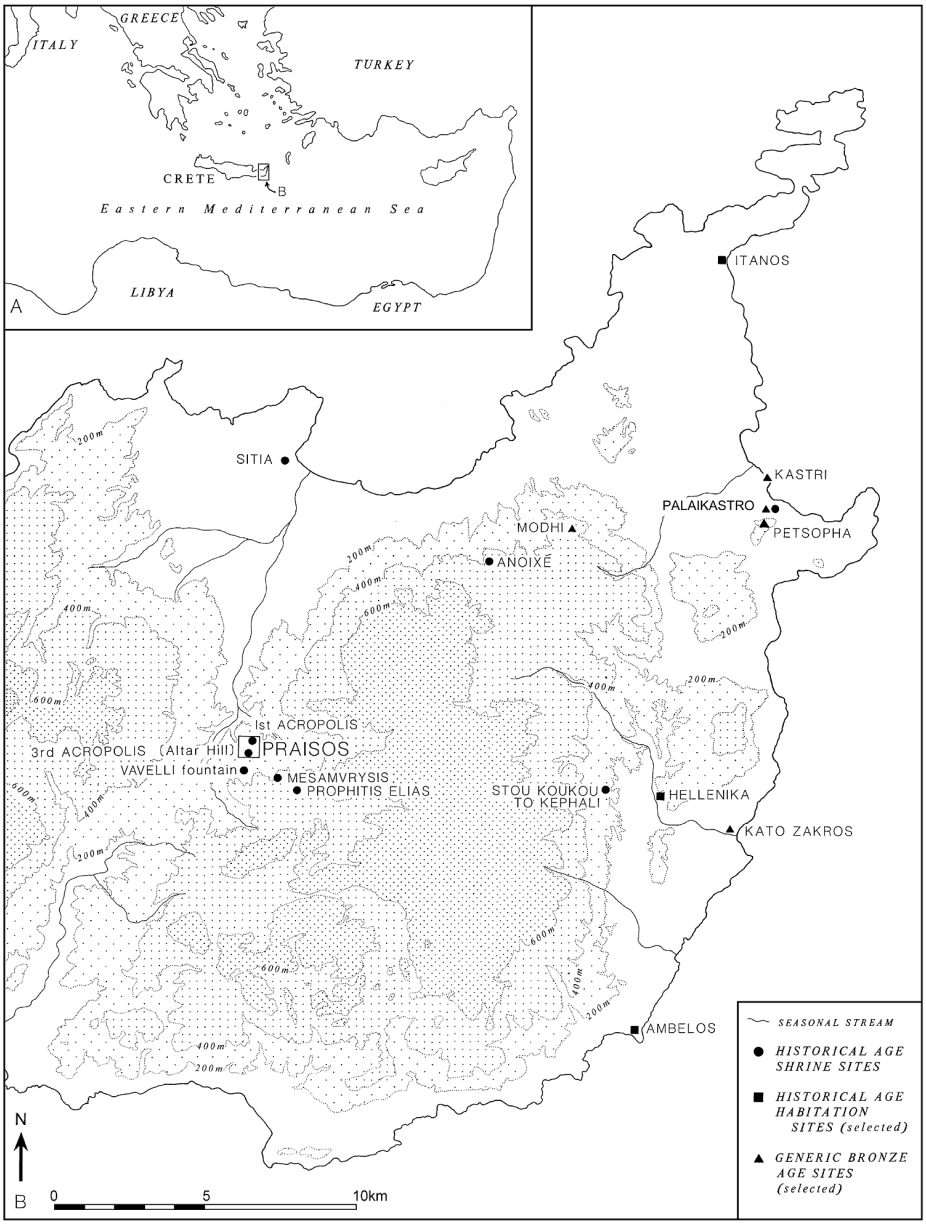

Figure 2.1 : Map of Eastern Crete showing location of Praisos and other sites in Eastern Crete (drawing H. Mason; Praisos Archaeological Project).

confusing account of the site's location. Was Praisos the same as Priansos, a site in south-central Crete?

Antiquarian research then lapsed. It was revived not by the Italians but by the British. The British had a political interest in determining just how oppressive Ottoman rule was (as the Ottoman Empire, more often than not, was Britain's ally between the Napoleonic and Crimean wars). Robert Pashley toured the island in the aftermath of a failed Cretan revolt in support of Greek independence. His account of the island is a classic of the "traveler" genre. It mixes observations on antiquities with detailed accounts of geography, the local inhabitants (Christian and Muslim), folklore, and poetry. Pashley (Pashley 1837, 288–293) was also the first to look in detail at inscriptions; one preserved to this day at Moni Toplou near Palaikastro is an account of an arbitration of a boundary between Itanos and Hierapytna (*IC* III.4. 9). It locates both Praisos and the temple of Dictaean Zeus firmly in eastern Crete, between Itanos and Hierapytna, and provides a date for the site's destruction (before 140 B.C.). Pashley's account (Pashley 1837, 288–293), which was never completed for the Eastern part of the island, was followed by that of Spratt (1865, 163–169), who visited the island in the aftermath of the Crimean War. Spratt's is another classic of the traveler genre. It fills in Pashley's gaps by visiting the site and suggesting various possibilities for the site of the sanctuary of Dictaean Zeus.

None of these antiquarian researchers engaged in excavation, which the Ottoman authorities did not encourage, and the Christian inhabitants of Crete did not support. In the 1870s there was another Cretan revolt, firmly suppressed by the Ottomans. Between 1869 and 1881 the Ottomans had established their own imperial museum in Constantinople/Istanbul, to which all finds within the empire were sent. For the majority, Greek-speaking Christian inhabitants of Crete, their Cretan patrimony could not be located in Istanbul; this would be an admission of their subject status, and a denial of their aspiration to join with Greece. Before excavation could begin the political situation would have to change. But before it did, there were other visitors to Praisos.

The Italian Tradition

The Italians were latecomers to the game of imperialist classical archaeology. Unlike the French, Germans, Americans and British they had not established a foreign school in Athens by 1890, and had not staked their claim on any major classical city or sanctuary on the Greek mainland. Crete, however, remained relatively unexplored in the 1880s, and the island provided the perfect place for Italians to demonstrate that they had fully mastered the German art of classical *Altertumswissenschaft*. Born within the Austrian empire and educated at Vienna, Federico Halbherr (1857–1930), had already discovered the first fragments of the Gortyn Law Code in 1884. In the

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ος | βαρξε | α[·]ο – –
– – αρκ[·]αγσετ | με· ·
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5 – – ασεγ·ναν(αι)τ

Figure 2.2: "Eteocretan" inscription (circa 500 B.C.) discovered by Halbherr (barxe inscription) (after Guarducci, *ICr* III.6.1).

same year he visited Praisos. Here he found and published a number of inscriptions (Halbherr 1894, 540), all in Greek letters, but one of which (*IC* III.6.1) was not written in the Greek language (**fig. 2**). This inscription was almost immediately interpreted as "Eteocretan" (Comparetti 1888, 673), thus confirming the essential truth of the ancient traditions about the site. They also excited considerable interest amongst scholars of other nationalities (see below).

These discoveries did not result from excavation. By the 1890s, however, the Ottoman authorities were more accommodating to Western interests. With backing from the Archaeological Institute of America, Halbherr returned to Praisos in 1894 where he conducted extensive excavations (Halbherr 1901; Savignoni 1901): on the First Acropolis (his Acropolis A); on the third Acropolis or Altar Hill (his Acropolis C); and at a spring site just below the Muslim village of Vavelloi ("the spring at Vavelloi"; site no. 68 in **fig. 3**). The considerable finds he uncovered dated from the end of the Geometric period until Hellenistic times. They included numerous votive terracottas, many of which came into the possession of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New

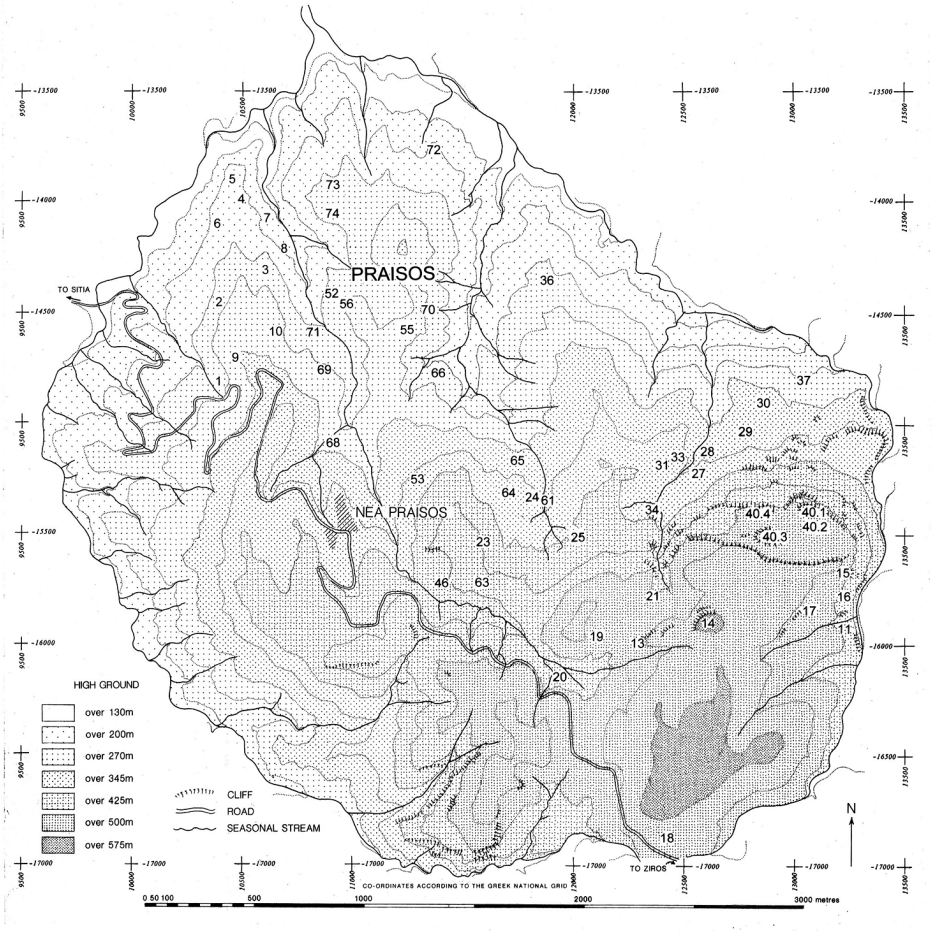

Figure 2.3: Map of the Praisos survey area, with locations of sites referred to in text (drawing H. Mason; Praisos Archaeological Project).

York, and more inscriptions. But there was nothing of Bronze Age date, and therefore nothing to confirm the hypothesis that Praisos had been a major centre in that period that subsequently became a place of refuge for the other, pre-Hellenic inhabitants of the island.

The Cretan uprising of 1896, which eventually led to Crete becoming a protectorate of the Great Powers and leaving the Ottoman Empire, put a stop to excavation (see Carabott 2006). Many of the sites that Halbherr had excavated were looted (though some of the loot was collected by the bishop of Ierapetra). This may be one reason why Halbherr did not continue here. But his subsequent, much more successful endeavors at Phaistos and Hagia Triada suggest another reason: he was much more interested in the Cretan Bronze Age.

Halbherr's departure did not end Italian interest in Praisos. After Halbherr's death, his pupil, Margarita Guarducci (1902–1999), undertook a comprehensive publication of all the inscriptions that Halbherr had collected on Crete (and any others she could get permission to publish; see D'Agata 2009). The title of this great work (in four volumes) *Inscriptiones Creticae opera et consilio Friderici Halbherr collectae* shows the great regard in which she held her mentor. In 1942 she published the volume on eastern Crete, with an extensive chapter on Praisos (Guarducci 1942, 134–155 = *IC* III.6.1–34).

It is instructive to compare *Inscriptiones Creticae* with its ultimately German (and Berlin-based) model *Inscriptiones Graecae* (*IG)*. The texts accompanying both are written in Latin. *IG* is, like many of the tools we use in classical archaeology, highly Athenocentric; it begins in Athens, and is organized by type of inscription (legal, funerary, honorific etc.), as defined by historians. Though it gives due regard to both *Standort* (original context) and *Fundort* (where the inscription was found), as the twentieth century progressed, *Inscriptiones Graecae* gradually shed its interest in the physical and material character of inscriptions. Inscriptions became texts to be edited and interpreted, not objects whose nature was as much archaeological as textual. Guarducci, however, retained a great interest in the physical form, the appearance, the *materiality* and in some cases the *monumentality* of inscriptions (see again **fig. 2**). Her chapters on individual sites such as Praisos are informed by autopsy and her own topographical research. Each chapter begins with the ancient sources, moves on to numismatics (which of course often involves epigraphy), and then to the inscriptions themselves. She paid close attention to the context of particular finds—indeed her attention to both context and physical form make her (arguably) an exemplary "contextual" archaeologist.

All this also means that *Inscriptiones Creticae* is much more useful to *archaeologists* than *Inscriptiones Graecae*, if also (curiously) more old fashioned. Or, to put it another way, in not following a kind of "paradigm shift" within classical studies (from inscribed object in the nineteenth century to text in the twentieth), Guarducci was anticipating some of the more promising developments in early twenty-first century archaeology.

The British Tradition

Of the many foreign scholars who visited Praisos during the 1890s, it was an Englishman with a Welsh surname who kept coming back. Arthur Evans visited the site in 1894, 1896, 1898 and 1899, and picked up a number of distinctive finds. Of particular interest to him were the sealstones, some of which were inscribed in a script not yet understood (see Evans 1894; 1909, 150), which Evans tried to relate to Halbherr's "Eteocretan" find. Evans was not the only British scholar to show a particular interest

in the "Eteocretan country" at this time. Between 1899 and 1910 D.G. Hogarth, R.C. Bosanquet, R.M. Dawkins, J.P. Droop, J.H. Marshall, E.H. Marshall, E.S. Forster and J.L. Myres investigated Palaikastro (Roussolakkos, Petsofas, and Kastri), the Neolithic site at Magasa (Dawkins 1905), Kato Zakro, the Zakro gorge, Petras (recently re-investigated by Metaxia Tsipopoulou) and the site and environs of Praisos (see **fig. 1**). What drew them to this part of the world?

Like their Italian counterparts, British scholars were influenced by the ancient traditions, the idea that this part of the world was the home of the "True Cretans." But there was also a peculiarly British dimension to their understanding of ancient ethnicities. French, German, Greek or American readers of this article will not really understand this if they are in the habit of treating "English" and "British" as synonyms. Englishmen with Welsh surnames (such as Evans) or those whose families were rooted in the Welsh Marches or the border county of Northumberland (such as R.C. Bosanquet) came to East Crete with a particular understanding of the complexities of British identity. Coming from an antiquarian tradition, they would know that the central fact of Medieval British history was the gradual displacement of the autochthonous Celtic-speaking peoples by Anglo-Saxon (i.e., German) immigrants from what is now England and their continuing survival in the mountainous western region of Wales. The Welsh then are the "Eteo-Britons" (True Britons). Hence Bosanquet's bold declaration that "The Sitia peninsula is a Cretan Wales, and like Wales it has its Pembrokeshire" (Bosanquet 1940, 64). The "Pembrokeshire" in question is the Itanos peninsula: just as south Pembrokeshire was settled by English and Flemish immigrants in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. (creating a sharp North/South linguistic divide between English-speakers and Welsh-speakers that survives to this day), so the Itanos peninsula was settled by Greek immigrants at some point during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (or so Bosanquet believed). Interestingly, British scholars have tended to let the French explore this "Cretan Pembrokeshire."

There are two other distinctive features of this British tradition. First, while all these scholars were archaeologists, they were not really professionals. By this I do not mean that they were bad either as excavators or as scholars. Rather their interests were more generally and omnivorously antiquarian and anthropological (informed by a spirit of what I have called "ethnological antiquarianism;" see Whitley 2003; forthcoming). Dawkins combined his excavations at Palaikastro with trips to Karpathos (Dawkins 1903; 1904) to make observations on the local dialect and customs. J.L. Myres, the excavator of Petsofas (Myres 1903) with wide archaeological interests in both Crete and Cyprus, is better known as an ancient historian than an archaeologist—he has been described by Andrew Sherratt as the "most broadly read Oxford Classicist of this (or any other) generation" (Sherratt 2006, 108). Evans himself had cut his archaeological teeth on the Aylesford-Swarling culture of Iron Age Britain (Evans 1890), had been a journalist in the Balkans, spent time in Scandinavian caves trying (in the best phenomenological fashion) to gain insights into Saami rituals (Bradley 2000, 3–5 and 18–19), and made a major contribution to the numismatics of

Greek Sicily before he committed himself wholeheartedly to the exploration of Bronze Age Crete. In this sense, British scholars were working within the same intellectual tradition of "ethnological antiquarianism" as Pashley and Spratt. Like Pashley and Spratt, scholars such as Bosanquet made observations on the local inhabitants and customs. Most of Bosanquet's dealings with landholders in Praisos (Vavelloi) and Petras were with Muslims. Bosanquet, however, was well aware (e.g. 1902c, 282) that these "Turks" mainly spoke Greek and had Greek names (if Ottoman titles).

A second major feature of the British tradition, one that made it distinct from the Italian, lay in the British attitude towards German *Altertumswissenschaft*. The Italians were keen to show that they had mastered the rules of German philological and archaeological scholarship, and to beat the Germans at their own game. The British attitude was more complex and contradictory. The British had so far resisted professionalization. None of the British scholars who explored East Crete were experts on ancient art, and only one object from the British excavations, the "Praisos plate" (Hopkinson 1904), was to figure at all in general discussions of Greek art. British scholars were reluctant to cut off classical antiquity from earlier and later periods (Whitley, forthcoming). But they were also (perhaps for this reason) only too eager to find fault with German or Austrian philologists wherever or whenever they could (as in Bosanquet 1940, 61).

All these features are apparent in British explorations of Praisos between 1901 and 1904. British excavations were much more extensive than Halbherr's. As well as exploring the First Acropolis (Halbherr's Acropolis A) and the Altar Hill (Third Acropolis or Altar Hill), tombs ranging in date from the Late Bronze Age (LMIIIA) to the Hellenistic were investigated. A more extensive exploration of the city's sanctuaries, both within and outside the bounds of the ancient city, was undertaken, and the "megalithic house" at Hagios Konstantinos (site 24 in **fig. 3**) excavated by J.H. Marshall (Bosanquet 1902a, 236–240). These excavations resulted in a whole raft of publications, most of a preliminary character. A general account of the investigation of the Skalais cave, and of excavations on the Altar Hill, the First Acropolis, the Megalithic House and the tholos tombs (Bosanquet 1902a) was accompanied by more specialized publications on the (largely Geometric) pottery (Droop 1906), the tombs (F.H. Marshall 1906), the terracottas (Forster 1902; 1905) and the inscriptions (Bosanquet 1910; Conway 1902; 1904). Since several of these inscriptions (both those found by Bosanquet and by Halbherr) seemed to be "Eteocretan," they called for both epigraphic and linguistic analysis. Wales (with Germany) is the home of Indo-European comparative philology, and it fell to the Cambridge-educated and Cardiff-based Welshman, R.S. Conway (who was later to undertake similar studies on the Umbrian inscriptions of Gubbio) to make the first serious attempt to decipher the language of the inscriptions. He decided (Conway 1902, 141–143; 1904, 120) that they were probably in an Indo-European language rather than a Semitic one (see Duhoux 1982).

The British excavations of 1901 were the most extensive to have taken place on the site and its environs. Finds of a greater range of dates were recovered than in any

other project. Despite this, major excavations were confined to one season. Bosanquet did return to the Third Acropolis in 1904, but only to recover more inscriptions. One reason for this is that Bosanquet had already taken an interest in Palaikastro (Bosanquet 1902b) by the end of that year, where he was eventually to find what he was looking for on the Altar Hill of Praisos: the site of the Temple of Dictaean Zeus (Bosanquet 1905). But there were other reasons for this rush to the coast and to the Bronze Age. Though Praisos had been explored, it had failed to provide evidence for continuity of occupation between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age, and therefore absolute proof of continuity of culture. Most of the finds from the main area of settlement, the First Acropolis, seemed to be of Classical and Hellenistic date, and this led to the idea that the city itself was founded very late, and had simply served as a kind of cult center before that time. In another sense, the Eteocretans had served their purpose, as midwives to the Minoans, a lost race of exclusively Bronze Age date whose exploration was to determine how Cretan archaeology was to develop over the next century (Whitley 2006b).

Notions of race imply racism, and, in a scientific sense, there was quite a lot of racism in the British exploration of eastern Crete. Racism was combined with a more generally cultural-historical approach, in which racial (biological) differences between human groups were held to account for cultural differences (and thus differences in material culture). So when Hogarth explored the Bronze Age and Geometric (and so Eteocretan) cave burials of the Zakro gorge, he collected the skulls (but not the rest of the skeletons), and gave them to Boyd Dawkins for craniometric analysis. It was concluded that the skulls showed dolichocephalic rather than brachyocephalic traits, indicating racial differences with later Hellenes (Boyd Dawkins 1901; Hogarth 1901, 142–145). A more elaborate piece of cultural-historical sophistry is provided by Droop (1906), who tried to account for the "Dorian" Geometric designs on pottery from Eteocretan eastern Crete. But to call British scholars cultural historians, and to fit them in to a grand design of historical development approved for other archaeologies, is not to take account of the breadth of their interests, or the long-term effects of their ideas.

For, linked to this general commitment to a cultural-historical paradigm, and in a sense forming an integral part of it, was a more general, melancholic contemplation of the rise and fall of civilizations, the idea that every civilization enjoys its day in the sun, and then (inevitably and inexorably) declines. This grander vision is of course present in *The Palace of Minos*. But it is also apparent in the work of two other students of the British School at Athens who worked in this part of the world in the years after 1900. J.H. Marshall who helped Bosanquet excavate the Megalithic Structure at Hagios Konstantinos (Gill 2000; Bosanquet 1902a, 231) went on to become Director General of the Antiquities Service of India, excavating at the major Buddhist cities of Sarnath and Taxila, and was instrumental in uncovering the remains of the Harappan civilization. Another visitor to eastern Crete at this time was Arnold Toynbee, who, while travelling on foot through the modern village of Chandras on his way to

Zakro, came upon an abandoned Venetian village with its ruined villa. He was struck by the thought that a contemporary Jacobean house in Britain would be full of life, whereas this structure was as much a ruin as Minoan Zakro, and this thought led him on to his great comparative study of civilizations (Toynbee 1972, 495). This vision is, of course, imperialist, in Trigger's (1984) sense—confidently, if also complacently so in comparison to those latecomers, the Italians. But this fact does not render it either worthless or redundant.

Even though Praisos was abandoned by British scholars in 1902, it was never quite forgotten. Sylvia Benton and R.W. Hutchinson returned to examine and publish some finds from the Altar Hill (Hutchinson et al. 1940). R.C. Bosanquet went on, first to Sparta, and then to excavate Roman military sites in Britain, such as Caerleon (in Wales) and Housteads (on Hadrian's Wall, near the Scottish border). But he never forgot Praisos, and was (at the time of his death) preparing a draft for the final publication of the site (Bosanquet 1940). But, while not quite forgotten, the site did not become the focus of any major excavation. When the British re-visited East Crete, they went to Palaikastro.

A Phenomenological Interlude: The French and the Poles

Joseph Demargne, for the French School, had visited Praisos in the 1890s, where he had picked up some terracotta plaques that are now in the Louvre (J. Demargne 1898; 1902, 571–580). Though the French did not explore the site further, the "Eteocretans" remained an important component in his son Paul Demargne's major synthesis of Archaic Crete, *La Crète Dédalique* (P. Demargne 1947). Interest in the Eteocretans was also maintained by the discovery, by French scholars, of other non-Greek inscriptions at Dreros, further to the West of Praisos (Van Effenterre 1946; cf. Duhoux 1982). None of this, however, materially affected how Praisos was understood.

This was to change from the late 1950s onwards through the intervention of Paul Faure (1960; 1969; 1972). Faure's interest was not in the site itself, but in the use of caves, and the location of sanctuaries. He noted the extraordinary concentration of "spring shrines" in the territory of Praisos, and (with the help of locals, including Manolis Figetakis) explored many of the caves in the area. (The changing role of caves on Crete, whether as refuge, sanctuary or sepulcher, was one of his principal interests). Faure's topographical and speleological interests could be described as "phenomenological" (*sensu* Tilley 1994), in that he was interested in the human dimensions of landscape, and why certain locales acquire a particular, often sacred significance. In this, he was part of a French tradition of studying "la terre," later manifested in the work of François de Polignac (1984). Faure's speleological interests were partly shared by the Polish scholar, Bogdan Rutkowski, who in 1985 re-explored

the Skalais cave (Papadakis and Rutkowski 1985). But the Poles also had a particular interest in remote locations in Crete. From the 1980s onwards, Rutkowski's junior colleague, Krzystof Nowicki, began his exploration of all the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age "refuge" settlements on Crete (Nowicki 2000). Several of these, notably the extensive settlement of Kipia above Kalamafki, are located near Praisos. Nowicki's plans provide a vivid sense of what life was like in these upland settlements, and in this sense too could be seen as phenomenological.

The Greek Tradition

The first Greek scholar to look seriously at finds from Praisos was the numismatist J.N. Svoronos (1890), who compiled a complete catalogue of all the ancient coins from the island, arranged by individual cities; in this his structure anticipates Guarducci's. His motivation was scholarly, but, writing in French for an international and largely Western audience, his purpose must be seen in part as political: to establish the Greek character of the island in ancient times. His work (which has not yet been replaced) did exactly that, even if it could not anticipate the curious effects of the invention of the "Minoans."

There was little or no Greek work on Praisos during the Cretan protectorate. Only when Crete had firmly become a part of the Greek state did the Greek Archaeological Service show any interest in the site. The first Greek excavations were those in the 1930s of Mavroeidis, who discovered the "tomb of the athlete" (Mavroeidis 1937). These were rescue excavations, necessitated by the activities of *archaiokapeloi* (tomb-robbers) in the area. Indeed, the need to forestall the *archaiokapeloi* was a major determinant of Greek archaeological policy in East Crete. One notorious *archaiokapelos* of the 1950s was a local from the Praisos area, the very Manolis Figetakis mentioned above. His activities prompted renewed interest on the part of the Greek Archaeological Service, which began to publish the results of their work in a specifically Cretan journal, *Kretika Chronika*. From the early 1950s onwards, Nicolas Platon (who was later to find and excavate the palace at Zakro) systematically recorded any chance finds in these *Chronika* (e.g. LM III to Geometric graves; Platon 1960, 301–320, Platon 1952, 485; other chance finds (Platon 1953, 516; Platon and Davaras 1960, 526–527), from Kipia above Kalamafki (site 40 in **fig. 3**; Platon 1954b, 481). He also revisited the "Megalithic House" at Hagios Konstantinos (site 24 in **fig. 3;** Platon 1960, 302), a Late Bronze Age "warrior grave" at Photoula (site 53 in **fig. 3**; Platon and Davaras 1960, 514–515; Platon 1960, 303–305) and the Minoan Villa at Hagios Georgios, Tourtouli (just outside what was to be our survey area and also, confusingly, referred to as Prophetes Elias Praissou; see Platon 1960, 294–300; Platon and Davaras 1960, 513–514). Platon's focus was on the Bronze Age, that is, the "Minoans," and, apart from Davaras' (1982) brief re-investigation of the Altar Hill, this remained the focus of Greek interest in the

area until the late 1980s, when Nikos Papadakis began his research into Hellenistic eastern Crete and Metaxia Tsipopoulou began her synthesis of Early Iron Age (Geometric) finds in the area (Tsipopoulou 1992; 2005).

Hamilakis (2007) has called the Greek Archaeological Service a "secular priesthood" in the service of the Greek Nation. And it is true that members of the Greek Archaeological Service take very seriously indeed their mission as a corporate body charged with both investigating and curating the archaeological heritage of ancient Greece. In this sense, the Greek Archaeological Service is "nationalist" in Trigger's (1984) scheme. But this categorization is also reductionist. The Greek Archaeological Service is not a unity—it is, for one thing, divided into "Prehistoric and Classical" and "Byzantine" sections, and even within the "Prehistoric and Classical" there is a split between prehistory and "the Classical." What Hamilakis omits is a fundamental tension within Greek archaeology, between a classical archaeology partly shaped by a German example, and a prehistoric archaeology influenced by American and British ideas. In most areas of Greece, classical archaeology is dominant, and "the Classical" is used to define what is unarguably and essentially Hellenic; but not in Crete. Here, classical archaeologists are in a minority, and it is essentially the Bronze Age that is elevated as the essence of Cretanness.

This tension (between a national archaeology focused on the Classical, and a regional archaeology focused on "the Minoans") in turn creates further complications (see papers in Hamilakis and Momigliano 2006). It does not however much concern Praisos, except as an explanation for its comparative neglect between 1902 and 1992. More relevant is the division of interest that has grown up between what the Archaeological Service, as custodians of the Greek past; the research interests of Greek universities, shaped in part by international theoretical agendas; and what the locals want from their archaeology. Rescue excavations conducted by the Archaeological Service, both from a Geometric cave tomb near Hagios Spiridhon (Tsipopoulou 1984; 1987; 1990) and from excavations conducted on the First Acropolis by Nikos Papadakis (Blackman 2002, 112) and Chryssa Sophianou (Morgan et al. 2010, 178; Sophianou 2010) have inevitably taken finds away from the site to the museum in Siteia. These excavations were conducted specifically to forestall the actions of *archaiokapeloi*. But not all locals with an interest in the past are *archaiokapeloi*. Towards the end of his life, Manolis Figetakis started to help the Archaeological Service (and other researchers; see below) in their endeavors, and his son is now a leading figure in a local antiquarian society, led by Nikos Kokkinakis.

British Research since 1992: The "Praisos Project"

In 1992, when a team from Cardiff University brought renewed interest to Praisos, it did so for reasons that were partly processual. The aim of the first season was to

complete a new and more accurate plan of the site, and so better to understand how the urban structure of Cretan cities differed from mainland ones (Whitley, O'Conor and Mason 1995). This topographical survey was always conceived, however, as the first step in a wider investigation into the site and its environs, as an attempt to understand the settlement history of the area, and place the city within its local setting. Our survey was to be truly diachronic, and fully engaged with the *longue durée*—we would not be focusing on the Bronze Age, and indeed found the hardening of boundaries between Aegean prehistory on the one hand and classical archaeology on the other to be increasingly unhelpful. The next step had to be fieldwalking, that is, "survey" in its wider sense. In the 1980s in particular field survey had been the subject of heated methodological debate. It was agreed that intensive was better than extensive survey, and the model to be followed was Boeotia (Snodgrass 1987, 93–131). This model, well suited to the rolling plains of the area around Thespiai, did not suit the dissected landscape we had chosen as our survey area (**fig. 3**). An alternative model, provided by the Keos survey (Cherry et al. 1992) seemed more suitable. This was to divide the landscape into irregular tracts, which could be covered by teams of irregular size (Whitley, Prent and Thorne 1999, 221–4). We hoped to apply this model to the problem of urban survey (Alcock 1992).

Further problems emerged, however. Our survey was intensive and so we were much concerned with recording the density of finds on the surface. We had hoped to make some kind of contribution to the debate about background noise and ancient agricultural practices (Alcock, Cherry, and Davis 1994; Snodgrass 1994, 199–200). We were conscious of factors such as visibility—that we would see more, and so record more finds, when the vegetation was sparser. We were then surprised when we discovered that, in many areas of high visibility (in particular newly-planted olive trees) the recovery of finds was close to zero. Often, finds would be recovered not from the field itself, but from what seemed to be a pile of rubble by its side. The reason for this was simple: earth-moving equipment had been used to clear fields of vegetation in advance of planting new olive trees, thus removing (or "skimming") all the finds from earlier dates. In practice there were two major factors affecting the recovery of finds. First was background geology—marls were easy to clear with bulldozers, schist slightly less so, and karst limestone almost impossible. So the *best* finds came from areas of karst limestone. Second, some of the area had for some time been designated an *archaiologikos choros* (archaeological site), and this was divided into an Alpha and Beta zone. No agricultural activity was allowed in the Alpha zone (i.e. the First Acropolis).

A bigger problem arose when trying to date the finds we did recover. The only complete ceramic sequence in Crete is that of Knossos, whose utility for surface finds is severely compromised by Crete's ceramic regionalism. Though the Bronze Age sequence of eastern Crete was fairly well understood by this date, it was continually being refined by excavation at Palaikastro, Petras and Zakro. Neither the Neolithic nor the Early Iron Age and later periods were well understood in ceramic terms—there

was no obvious sequence of stratified deposits to which we could closely relate our surface finds. To illustrate the problem it will be convenient to contrast our approach and our methods with those of two neighboring surveys. The first was an extensive survey, conducted over many years by Norbert Schlager in the areas around Zakro. The methods of this survey seem hardly to have been affected by the debates of the 1980s, but it did turn up sites which provided useful comparanda with our survey, notably a number of upland or cave sites with deposits of Middle Minoan II fine ware cups (Schlager 1991; 1992, 1995; 1997; 2001; Schlager and Dollhofer 1998). Another, more intensive survey was conducted in two flat upland basins around Ziros (Branigan 1998), which had an explicitly Bronze Age focus. Here the methodological strictures of the 1980s were taken to extremes. Only flat areas were surveyed, since only on flat areas would the chosen methods work. This survey produced convincing patterns of density of finds. However, only three culture periods were distinguished: the Neolithic, Bronze Age, and the Greco-Roman. Only a handful of Archaic to Hellenistic potsherds were identified from this survey—a degree of imprecision that would have rendered urban survey of Praisos fairly pointless. Our ceramic chronology, thus, had to be more refined than this. The problem of dating finds was resolved over many study seasons, with the help of outside experts: Brice Erickson for the Archaic and Classical finds (Erickson 2010), and Natalia Vogeikoff-Brogan for the Hellenistic. The complete publication of the known Iron Age pottery in the area (Tsipopoulou 1992; 2005) proved invaluable.

There were further complications. Hitherto, dating of survey finds had been based on the sequence of painted fine wares from sites such as Knossos. But the Kavousi (Haggis and Mook 1993; Haggis 2005), Vrokastro (Hayden 2005; Moody 2005) and Sphakia (Moody et al. 2003) surveys had taken an increasing interest in coarse wares, both for dating purposes and to establish exchange relations between regions. So this line of research had to be pursued too, and is now being undertaken by Jennifer Moody.

The above account suggests that there was a clear processual direction to our research—one of increasing precision and increasing refinement of methods. This is only part of the picture, though. When we revisited the survey area during our study seasons, it was clear that the human and natural landscape was changing. Agricultural practice was shifting from the kind of labor-intensive practice associated with "traditional" agriculture (as in Halstead and Jones 1989; Blitzer 2004). Mixed farming in small plots was being replaced by capital-intensive investment either in herding (sheep and goats) or olives. The land was being depopulated, young people were moving to Athens and the coast, and the inhabitants were (increasingly) elderly. Increased bulldozing led to the destruction of Venetian/Ottoman *kaldirimi* and sites we had identified, and a realization that survey was a form of rescue archaeology. This realization in turn led to a more "phenomenological" understanding of our survey practice. Mieke Prent voiced the view that the three hills of the "refuge" settlement at Kipia above Kalmafki (site 40 in **fig. 3**) might be "referenced" in the three *acropoleis* of

Praisos, when the inhabitants moved from the upland settlement to the lower one in the latter part of the Early Iron Age (Whitley, Prent and Thorne 1999, 251 n. 112). Continual study of the material also involved the evaluation of earlier scholarship, and the various traditions it encompassed: it became apparent that this "phenomenological" understanding of the landscape had been anticipated by French scholars. This change in understanding could then be seen as an example of increased "reflexivity," but it does not represent a straightforward move from a processual to a postprocessual position.

Indeed, it is hard for me to describe where the Praisos project lies on a scale of traditional, processual, postprocessual and (presumably) post-postprocessual archaeologies. Theoretical interests have tended to multiply as the project has developed, since the study of Praisos does not exist in isolation from other academic interests. Praisos, being a Cretan city, is relevant to the question of "Cretan exceptionalism," the nature of the Cretan poleis (Whitley 2009; cf. Wallace 2010), Cretan epigraphic habits (Whitley 1997) and other forms of "material entanglement" (*sensu* Hodder 2011). Survey has reinforced an existing interest in the relation between ethnicity and material culture (Whitley 1998; Whitley 2006a) and in the "phenomenological" relationship between a city and its sanctuaries (Whitley 2008; Prent 2005, 302–9; Erickson 2009).

Figure 2.4: Excavation (2007) outside of the Almond Tree House/Andreion on the first Acropolis of Praisos (view from NW) (photo S. Pak; Praisos Archaeological Project).

Excavation in 2007 led to a further proliferation of theoretical problems and interests. We opened three trenches just to the North and West of the Almond Tree House, excavated by Bosanquet in 1901, which he had interpreted as an *andreion* (**fig. 4;** Bosanquet 1902a, 259–70; Whitley 2011). Our original intention was to excavate Cretan houses, and to try to get to grips with why Cretan houses were so much smaller and simpler than mainland ones in the Classical and Hellenistic periods (Westgate 2007; cf. Glowacki and Vogeikoff Brogan 2011). We had also hoped to use some of the techniques developed at Çatalhöyük for understanding activity areas through micromorphology and microstratigraphy (Matthews 2005a; 2005b). But in order to reach the house levels we had to dig through Bosanquet's dump, which was full of drinking vessels. This inevitably led to further thoughts about Cretan commensality, and the possibility that the forms of "diacritical feasting" encountered in Crete in the Middle Minoan period (Haggis 2007; Dietler 2001) might not be too distant, in terms of func-

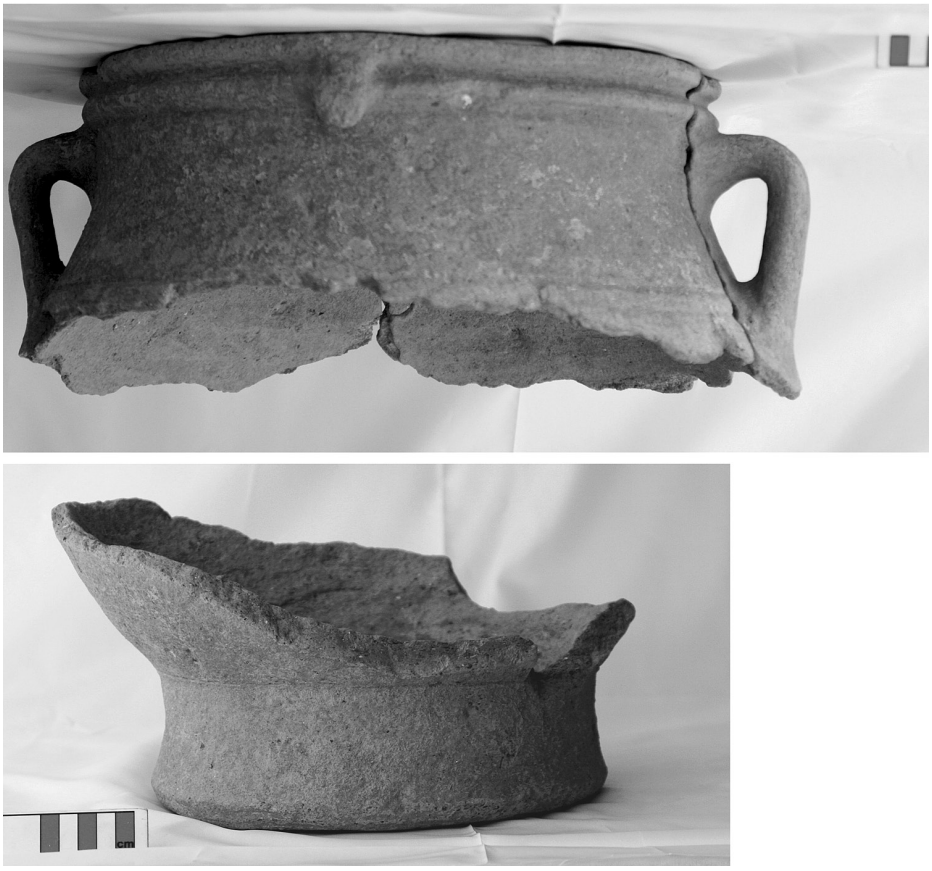

Figure 2.5: Archaic pithos (pithos 3) found on Hellenistic floor in 2007 (A-216.10 rim; A-216.13 base) (photo S. Pak; Praisos Archaeological Project).

tion, from the "diacritical feasting" as represented by deposits both within the city (Whitley 2011, 40–41) and contemporary sites of feasting in the *chora*, such as our site 14 (see site 14 in **fig. 3**, also known as Prophetis Elias; Whitley, Prent and Thorne 1999, 249–253; Whitley 2014; Erickson 2010a, 199–220; 2011). Having dug through Bosanquet's dump, the floor levels we reached did seem to confirm the date of Praisos' abandonment (but not destruction by fire) in the years around 140 B.C., and provide more evidence for the relative simplicity of Classical and Hellenistic Cretan houses (Westgate 2007). But they provided another surprise: many of the pithoi, which appear to have been left on the floors, were not of Hellenistic but Archaic in date (**fig. 5**), and many seem to have been made elsewhere in Crete, perhaps in Afrati (Brisart 2007; Whitley 2011, 27–33; see Galanaki et al. in this volume). This pattern is not confined to our site (Vogeikoff-Brogan 2011) and raises questions about the agency (*sensu* Gell 1998) of storage vessels in Crete as compared to the rest of the Aegean in historic times.

Conclusions

The Praisos project is one conducted within multiple "paradigms." For example, in our attempt to interpret the deposits outside the "Almond Tree House" we are employing many of the methods of traditional classical scholarship. This involves both the reinterpretation of ancient texts that mention the *andreion* and the iconography of the male figurines we found in Bosanquet's dump (**fig. 6**). Study of such figurines requires the use of well-established methods (see Nicholls 1952), and for iconographic comparanda we had recourse to Beazley (Whitley 2011, 16–19; Beazley 1986, 53–54 and pl. 49; *ABV*, 152 no. 27 (Boston 01.8027)). At the same time, such re-interpretations require some knowledge of modern debates about commensality (Dietler 2001).

As the project has developed, I have gained a greater respect for the scholars who have worked on this area in the past, and the intellectual traditions that they represent. Putting Evans or Bosanquet in a box labeled "culture history" is a convenient means of not treating them seriously. One of the strengths of classical scholarship, after all, and one of the features that distinguishes it most strongly from prehistory, is that the discipline requires you to approach your intellectual forebears both as men and women of their time and, in some sense, as your intellectual contemporaries. Herodotus, Thucydides and Plato have to be engaged with, not simply dismissed as "men of their time," but as intellectuals whose insights you have to respect. This is not so much an acknowledgement of the necessity of "reflexivity" as an acknowledgement that the German philosopher, Hans Georg Gadamer (1975) might have been on the right track when he talked of a "fusion of horizons."

This is not however to endorse either an unthinking "whiggishness" or an unthinking relativism. Not every theory is equally good—they have to be tested against some

Figure 2.6: Terracotta plaque (A-205.7 object 6) recovered from upper layers of trench 200 (photo J. Whitley; Praisos Archaeological Project).

kind of empirical reality. Not every theory is compatible with every other; and the recent attempt, for example, to force Gell's concept of agency into a postprocessual mold, to make it compatible with Saussurean semiotics, is clearly misplaced (Whitley 2012). Such theoretical "shotgun marriages" can only lead to incoherence.

Clearly some things have progressed over the years compared to the state of archaeological methods in 1900—we have much more precise information, and are able to address a wider range of questions in a more systematic fashion. We are also, in some senses, more "reflexive," since in 2007, like many other foreign-school projects in Greece (Stroulia and Buck Sutton 2010), we began to work much more closely with the local community. But developments over the long twentieth century have not been straightforwardly linear or cumulative. Sometimes paradigm shifts can be, in effect, reactionary. One such is the increasing textualization of inscriptions (that is, treating them as decontextualized texts, and not objects whose materiality and agency need to be taken seriously) that seems to have taken place throughout the twentieth century. Margarita Guarducci and Lilian Jeffery (1949; 1990) were unusual among epigraphers in continuing to respect both the materiality and the context of the inscriptions they studied. More recently, the Cambridge trend towards "Classical Art History" (e.g. Squire 2012) has downplayed both materiality and context, resulting in a similar kind of post-structuralist textualization of ancient material culture.

Finally, diachronic survey projects have a habit of trampling over sub-disciplinary boundaries. Elsewhere in the Mediterranean, the problem is often that classical archaeology and prehistory have developed along quite different lines. In Crete, the problem is the "Minoans" (Hamilakis and Momigliano 2006). Aegean prehistory and

classical archaeology have become strangers to one another. In our survey, it is not simply that we need to adopt a fully diachronic approach to the *longue durée* of settlement and landscape history. It is rather that debates about such things as the nature of Cretan state structures in the Bronze Age and in the Archaic and Classical periods have been conducted in isolation from one another. This is particularly odd in view of the fact that it is increasingly acknowledged that the success of both Bronze Age and Iron Age political structures (*poleis*) depended upon forms of institutionalized commensality. But that is another story, for another article.

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