

# P.O. Brøndsted's excavations at Karthaia, Kea

by John Lund

This paper deals with the first Danish archaeological excavations in Greece: P.O. Brøndsted's investigations at Karthaia in the island of Kea (ancient Keos) in the winter of 1811 and 1812.<sup>1</sup> Special attention is given to the fate of the sculptures unearthed at the site, and in conclusion Brøndsted's efforts are set in a broader perspective against the background of excavation practices current in Greece at the dawn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## Sources

What are our sources for Brøndsted's explorations in Kea? Regrettably, his travel diary for the period in question has not been preserved,<sup>2</sup> but other sources inform us of his work in the island, primarily the first volume of his prestigious international publication series *Voyages dans la Grèce*, which came out in 1826 in a French as well as a German edition.<sup>3</sup> Brøndsted ambitiously planned to publish his discoveries in Greece in eight volumes, but for various reasons – not least the expenses involved – only the two first appeared in print.<sup>4</sup> An early outline of the series has been preserved, which shows that he originally intended Volume I to comprise an “overview of the entire journey”, whereas Volume II was supposed to deal with “the ex-

cavation at Carthæa, my treatise on this endeavour and its results in relation to the geography of the entire island”.<sup>5</sup> However, for some reason or other he abandoned this scheme, which might have made more sense from a reader's point of view, and devoted the first volume in its entirety to Kea.<sup>6</sup>

Brøndsted's public lectures about his journey to Greece are another important source of information about his activities in Kea.<sup>7</sup> They were read in Copenhagen from 1815 to 1817, even if not published until 1844,<sup>8</sup> and contain certain details, which are excluded from the *Voyages dans la Grèce*.

Finally, the fate of some of the sculptures found at Karthaia can be clarified – up to a point – through letters in the Brøndsted archive in the Royal Library of Copenhagen.

## Background to the excursion to Kea

In December 1811 – on the eve of Brøndsted's journey from Athens to Kea – the Dane had already spent nearly a year and a half in the Aegean, and he had during that period travelled extensively in Greece and Western Asia Minor, using Athens as his base, fig. 1.<sup>9</sup>

It has recently been observed that: “Kea's history is

1. Dyggve 1943, 141; Rathje & Lund 1991; Haugsted 1996, 35-37; Haugsted 2000, 82-83.

2. Cf. the article by Gorm Schou-Rode in this publication.

3. Brøndsted 1826-1830a.; Brøndsted 1826-1830b. The quotations cited in this paper are drawn from the French edition.

4. Cf. Rohde 1985; Rasmussen 2000a.

5. “Udsigt over den hele rejse ... Gravningen i Carthæa og min Afhandling om dette Foretagende og dets Resultater i Hens: til hele Øens geografie”. I am grateful to Ivan Boserup, Keeper, Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, KB (The Royal Li

brary/Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen), for having drawn my attention to this document; KB, NKS (New Royal Collection/Ny kongelig Samling), 2400 4<sup>o</sup>: Peter Oluf Brøndsted, 3. Alfabetisk ordnede Noticer, Ph-Æ, Phigalia, 92-93.

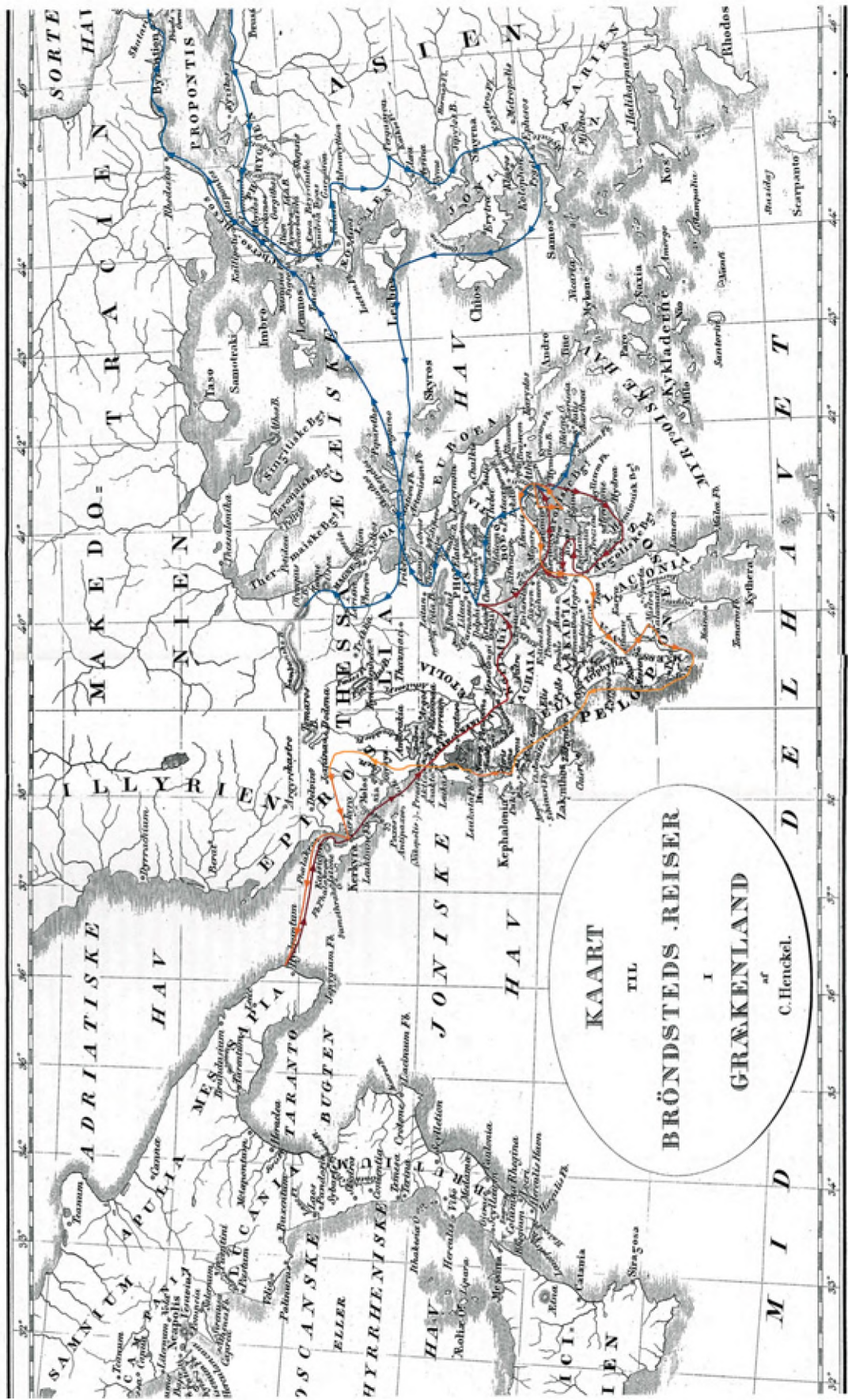
6. Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I.

7. Cf. the article by Jørgen Mejer in this publication.

8. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 495-527.

9. Cf. Bernth 1995; Haugsted 1996, 11-35; Brøndsted 1999, 13-17; Haugsted 2000, 69-82; Riis 2004.





Kort publiceret i P. O. Brøndsted, *Reise i Grækenland / Aetne 1810-1813*, I-II, udg. N. V. Dorph, Kbh. 1844.

Fig. 1. Brøndsted's journeys in the Aegean in 1810 (red), 1811 (blue) and 1812 (yellow), reproduced from Christiansen 2000, 66-67 with kind permission of the author.



not remarkable for outstanding events. Fate had not destined it for a major role in the ancient historical process; it simply followed the course of its powerful neighbours and the great powers of the Aegean".<sup>10</sup> Hence the island was not an obvious target for a traveller in Greece in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Why, then, did Brøndsted decide to go to Kea? According to his own account, he had "for a long time wanted to visit this beautiful island, so rich in wine, mainly to see the fatherland of Simonides, whom Plato refers to as "the divine poet", and to see an ancient monument in the vicinity of the modern town: an ancient lion in stone, which he had often heard people talk about".<sup>11</sup>

But his main incentive was the arrival in Athens of a "plucky" Scottish merchant called Walsingham, a resident of Kea.<sup>12</sup> He explained that he had come to pay ransom for four distinguished Englishmen (Lord Frederick North, his nephew Frederick Sylvester North Douglas, and the architects Charles Robert Cockerell and John Foster),<sup>13</sup> who had left Athens for Crete aboard a Greek ship a short while earlier. It was rumoured in Kea that pirates had captured their ship, and that they were being held for ransom in a prison tower somewhere in the Mani. "Honest Walsingham" brought money and pearls to Athens to buy their freedom, but Brøndsted could prove the rumour untrue, since he had just received a letter from one of the supposed hostages describing their safe arrival in Crete.

Walsingham now wanted to return to Kea, but he talked so eloquently about the antiquities to be found there that he persuaded Brøndsted and an old friend of his from Rome, Jakob Linckh, to travel back with him.

The latter was a 24-year-old landscape painter from Cannstatt in Southern Germany, who had been one of Brøndsted's travelling companions on the journey from Italy to Greece in 1810.<sup>14</sup> Brøndsted, Linckh and Walsingham set out with their servants on the journey to Kea on the 18<sup>th</sup> of December 1811.

## Ancient Keos

The small party reached the harbour of Koressia the next morning,<sup>15</sup> and ascended immediately to what was the most important town of the island, Ioulis, where they found lodgings with the Danish vice-consul, whom Brøndsted incidentally describes as one of the vainest and most ignorant people he had ever encountered. But he speaks with enthusiasm about the beauty and fertility of the island, which was well cultivated with plenty of excellent wine, honey, lemons, oranges, figs etc.<sup>16</sup>

Brøndsted's map of Kea published in the first volume of *Voyages dans la Grèce* gives a fair impression of the island's geography, even if the southernmost part of the island is not accurately rendered, fig. 2.<sup>17</sup>

## Preparing for the excavations

In the Early Classical period, Keos was divided between four *poleis*.<sup>18</sup> The most important of these was Ioulis in the interior of the island. The three others were located on the coast: Koressia with its great natural harbour towards the northwest, Poieessa on the west coast, and Karthaia towards the southeast. But in

ited, mainly by ships from the Western countries, which are bound for Constantinople and the Black Sea or Smyrna and the Near East".

10. Papageorgiadou-Banis 1997, 3.

11. Brøndsted 1844, 495.

12. The information about Walsingham is derived from Brøndsted's lectures, Brøndsted 1844b, II, 495-522, and a few letters, to which references are given below. He is not mentioned in Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, for reasons, which will become clear later.

13. Bracken 1975, 188, 190, 192, 199; Haugsted 1996 *passim*.

14. Honroth 1982.

15. Brøndsted notes in Brøndsted 1844b, II, 497 that "the harbour is regarded as the best in the Myrtoan Sea, and still extremely vis-

16. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 498-499. For an overview of the history of Kea between ca. AD 300 and 1821, cf. Στέφανος 1999, 59-72.

17. Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, pl. XII; the plan was drawn by Brøndsted, who acknowledges that "il m'a manqué des données suffisantes pour rendre quelques parties des côtes avec une exactitude géométrique", Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, 34. For the cartography of the island, see Στέφανος 1999, 35-41.

18. Reger 2004, 747-751; see also Mendoni 1994.

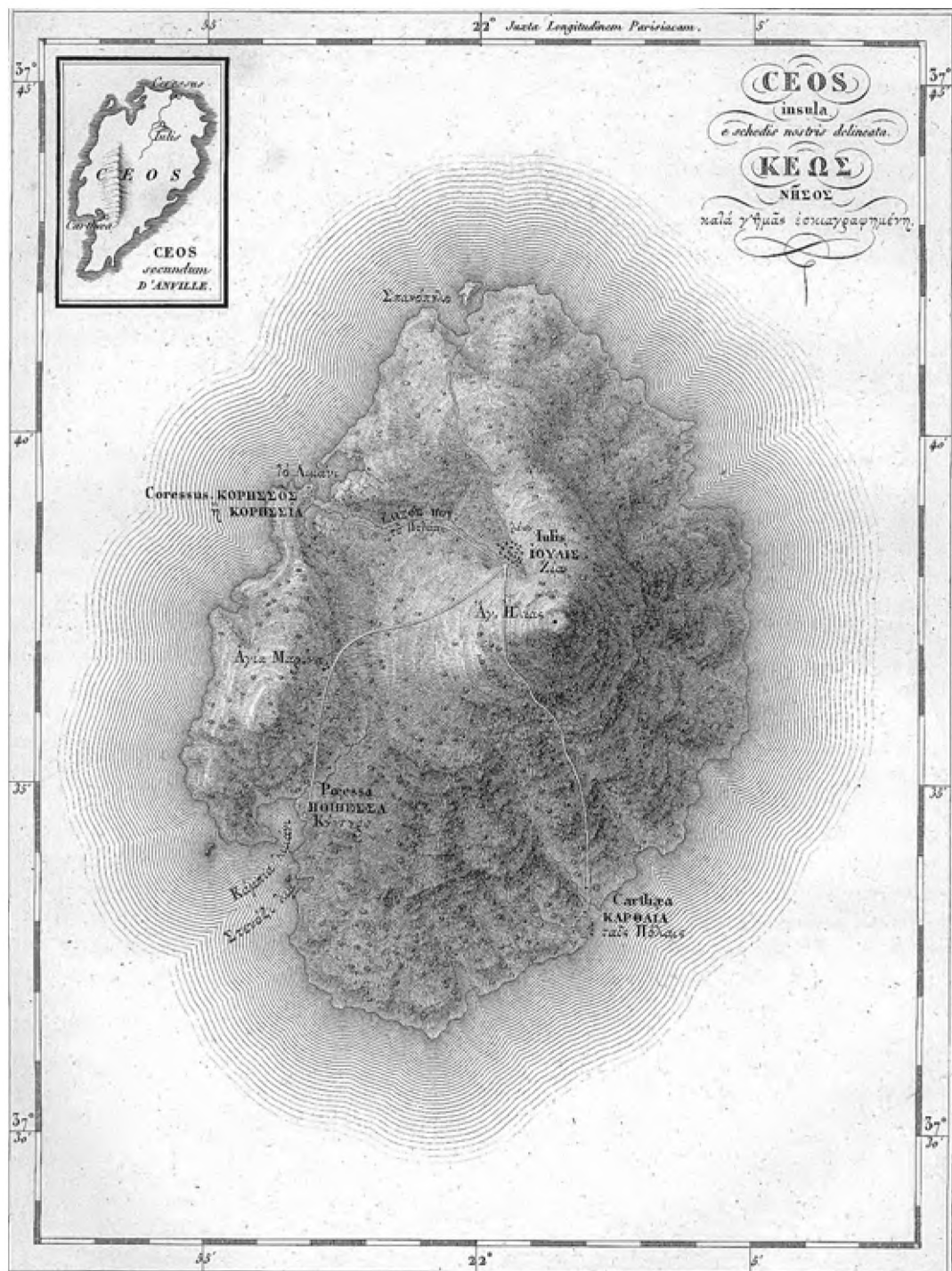


Fig. 2. Map of the island of Kea, after Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, pl. 12.



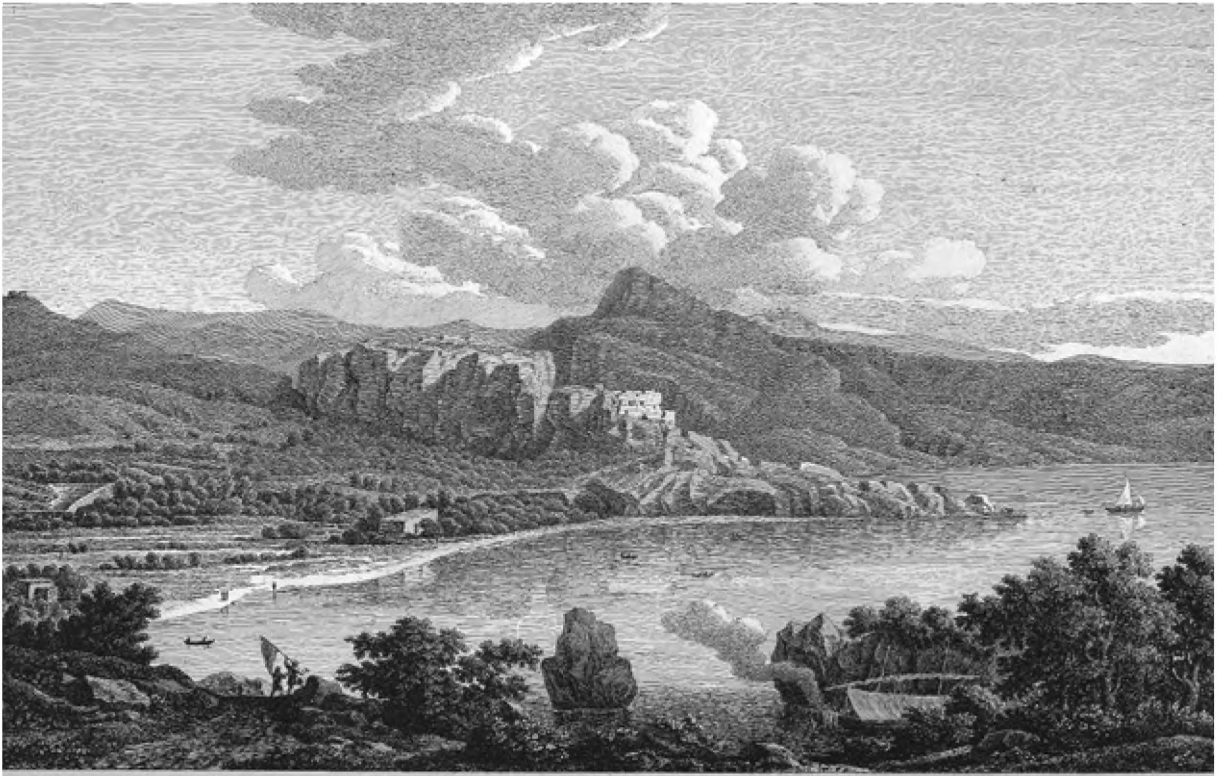


Fig. 3. Prospect of the site of Karthaea, after Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, pl. 7.

the Early Roman period, there were only two major cities in the island, “Ioulis having taken over Koressia, and Karthaia having absorbed Poieessa”.<sup>19</sup>

During their stay, Brøndsted and his companions were told of the many curious objects to be found at a site, which most scholars in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century identified as ancient Ioulis.<sup>20</sup> They visited it and found the ancient remains so interesting that they decided, in Brøndsted’s words, to “dare a serious excavation of the most important parts of the ruins. Over the next couple of days we procured what was necessary for this in the modern town, and hired workmen, acquired spades,

19. Caskey 1976, 446.  
20. Cf. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 500-501. Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, 34-35 acknowledges that the site had previously been identified as Karthaia by the D’Ansse de Villoison, who had visited the island

ropes and other tools, and went again – but now led by 22 peasants armed with spades and scoops – back to [what we thought was] Ioulis.” Each of the workmen was hired for “one and a quarter to one and a half Levantine piastres a day”, with two overseers being paid double the amount. “We lodged ourselves and our colonists, in all 30 persons, in a magazine of sorts or rather a barn built in part of stones from the ruins of the nearby theatre”.<sup>21</sup>

Jakob Linckh, who served as the draughtsman of the expedition, drew a picturesque view of the ruins in their natural setting, which was published in *Voyages* in 1785 and whose manuscripts are kept in Paris, where Brøndsted had studied them, cf. the article by Gorm Schou-Rode in this publication.

21. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 501.

22. In Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, 124 it is merely stated that the drawing was made by a friend of the author, but Haugsted 1996,



Fig. 4. The site of Karthaia today – seen from the vantage point as fig. 3. Photo by the author.

*dans la Grèce*, fig. 3.<sup>22</sup> Though not correct in all details, the drawing conveys an excellent impression of the scenery,<sup>23</sup> which is remarkably unchanged to the present – the expedition's headquarters, the “stone barn”, is still standing, fig. 4. The archaeologist Lina Mendoni who in recent years has investigated the site rightly notes that this ancient city and its uplands “is one of the few instances in Greece where the ancient topography has been preserved entirely with its city and area plans”.<sup>24</sup>

36 identified the artist as Linck. His authorship is now assured by the early outline of the volume referred to above, where Brøndsted writes that the figures should i.a. comprise “The view of the Gulf of Carthæa after Linckh's drawing”, i.e. “Udsigten af Carthæagolfen efter Linkhs tegning”.

23. Cf. Honroth 1982, which refers to drawings and sketchbooks in

private ownership. It is an intriguing thought that this body of material probably comprises drawings made by Linckh at Keos.

A plan of the site – the only one published to this day – was included in *Voyages dans la Grèce*, fig. 5. It was drawn without instruments, but gives a good impression of the salient features.<sup>25</sup> The acropolis is indicated by the letter A, while B designates a terrace with a temple, C marks a propylon in the town wall, and DD a terrace wall of what has subsequently been identified as a temple of Athena built at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>26</sup>

24. Mendoni 2004, 202; cf. also Μενδόλι 1985-1986 [1989]; Μάσθου 1991, 55-61 with informative notes by Λινα Γ. Μενδόλι *ibidem*, 124-133; Fittschen 1998.

25. Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, 13-15 pl. VI.

26. See Λινα Γ. Μενδόλι in: Μάσθου 1991, 126 note 272; Παπανικουλάου 1998a and 1998b; Kanellopoulos 2003.

27. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 502-503.



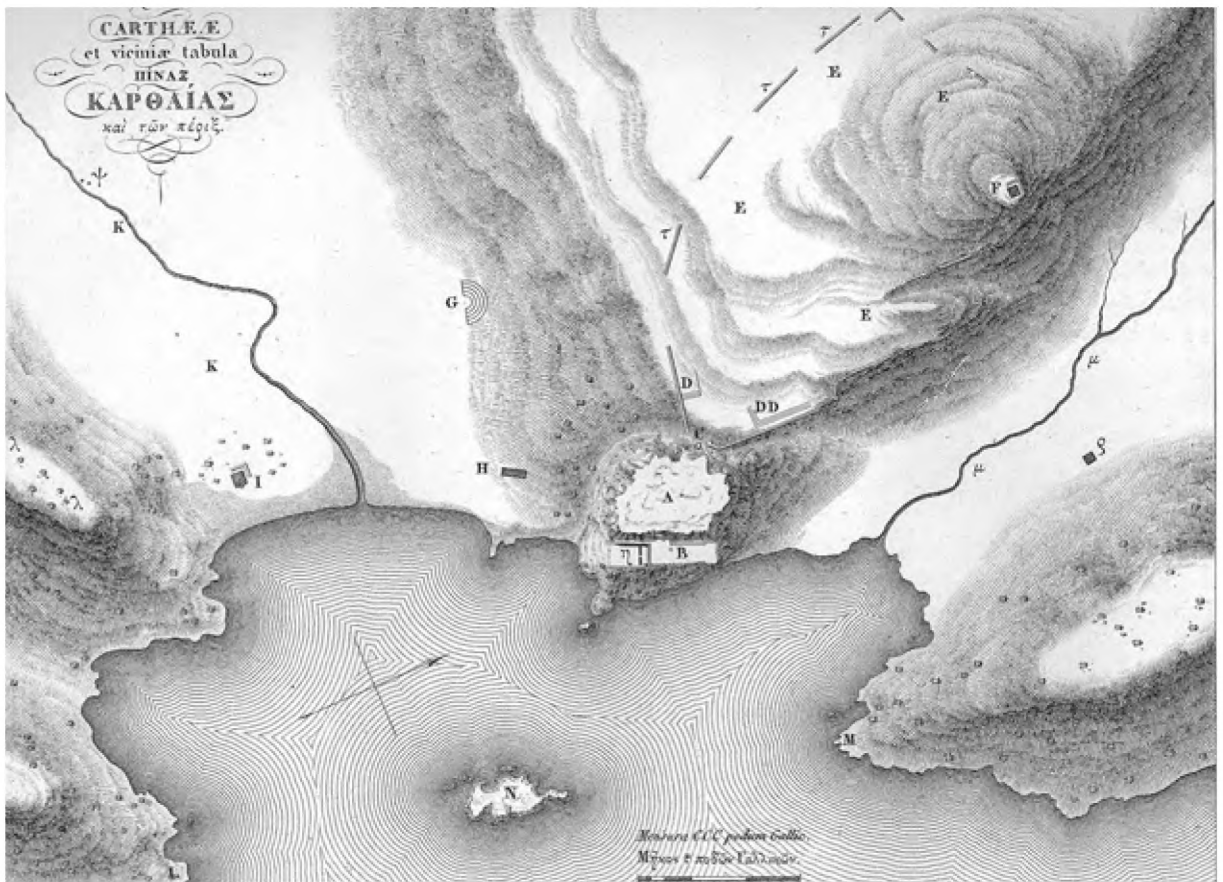


Fig. 5. Plan of Karthaea, after Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, pl. 6.

## The excavations

Brøndsted described the progress of the excavations thus: “after a couple of fruitless attempts on the upper terrain within the town wall and in the area of the propyleia ... we soon distributed our people on the beautiful temple terrace outside the town wall” (i.e. the area designated with a B), fig. 6.<sup>27</sup> He published a plan of this terrace, fig. 7,<sup>28</sup> which has been re-investigated recently by Αλέκος Παπανικουλάου.<sup>29</sup> Brøndsted’s

account continues thus: “We had hardly removed the heaps of stone lying at a circular pedestal with a diameter of 4 feet, and here excavated a couple of feet, before the side of the pedestal ... was found ... The inscriptions we found enlightened us: we were in a temple of Apollo, and what was even more interesting, not, as we had thought until now, in Ioulis, but in Karthaea”.<sup>30</sup> Both identifications are still accepted; the temple of Apollo was apparently built about 525 BC.<sup>31</sup>

28. Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, pl. VIII.

29. Παπανικουλάου 1998b.

31. Παπανικουλάου 1998a.

30. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 503; cf. also Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, 18.



Fig. 6. The terrace of the temple of Apollo at Karthaia. Photo by the author.

Work continued in front of the temple, and particular attention was given to a niche in the side of the rock, which was excavated to a depth of more than 7 or 8 feet, fig. 8. At its bottom was found the larger part of a torso of a colossal statue of Apollo, which reminded Brøndsted of a famous statue in the Vatican representing Apollo holding a kithara, and a similar representation on a coin from Delphi, fig. 9.<sup>32</sup> He goes

on to say: “now a staircase came to light; it led from the terrace of the temple to one of the gates in the town wall. In the area of this staircase, and hardly two feet below the ground, we found the torso of a female marble statue slightly below natural size, of the highest beauty. The slim body, so richly covered by the drapery, was so exquisitely rendered as we have hardly seen on any other of the famous draped statues of An-

32. Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, 18-19. It seems to have belonged to the so-called Vatican/Stockholm type, cf. Flashar 1992, 108-113.



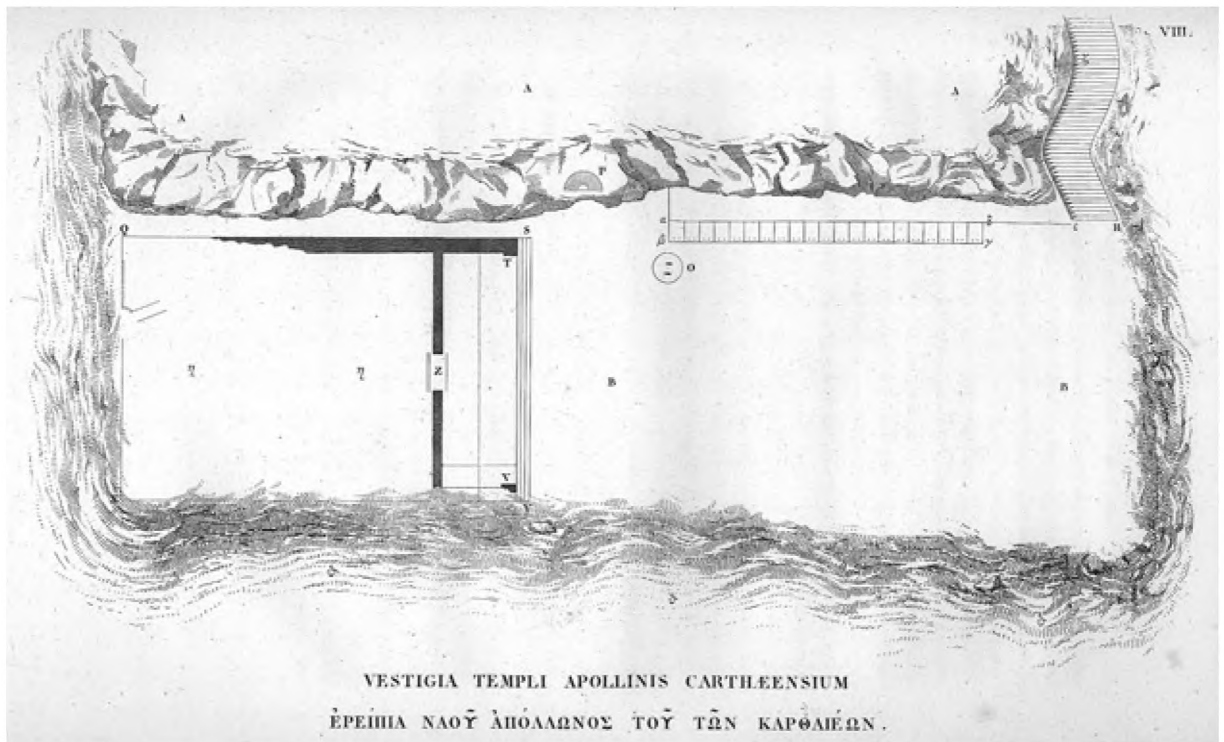


Fig. 7. Plan of the terrace of the temple of Apollo at Karthaea, after Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, pl. 8.

tiquity ... Unfortunately, neither the head nor arms of this marvellous fragment were found”, fig. 10.<sup>33</sup> The torso is usually dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>34</sup>

It is beyond the scope of this paper to enumerate all of the observations and discoveries made by Brøndsted at Karthaiia, but it may be noted that he took the presence of Christian tombs within the sanctuary of Apollo as a sign that the site was still inhabited in the Byzantine period.<sup>35</sup> Also, he paid particular attention to inscriptions, of which 18 are published in the first vol-

ume of the *Voyages dans la Grèce*,<sup>36</sup> and he recorded the find spots of the most interesting sculptures and other objects, as for instance “the upper part of a small female statue, the feet of another, and a large quantity of potsherds and fragments of tools of marble and terracotta”, which were found on the uppermost part of the staircase. He even brought one such find along to his lectures to show the audience: “the only completely preserved specimen of the latter ... which I have taken out of the collection ... It is not exceptionally beauti-

33. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 505; cf. also Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, 21-22, pl. IX.

34. Cf. Kabus-Jahn 1970, 68 note 8 Figs. 7-9; Adolf H. Borbein in Bauer & Geominy 2000, 113-115. A rather similar torso from Karthaiia is exhibited in the Museum of Kea. Its inventory number is 56 according to the pedestal, but the number painted on it

seems to be 66; it is the second sculpture from the right on Choremi 2002, 54 fig. 50.

35. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 505-506. Στέφανος 1999, 88-89.

36. Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, pl. VIII, 18-24 and Supplément A pl. XVI-XXV.



Fig. 8. The niche of the statue of Apollo at Karthaea. Photo by the author.

ful, but remarkable for the sake of its good preservation".<sup>37</sup> It is not clear what object and which collection he is talking about; the wording suggests that he is referring to a terracotta figurine, yet the only objects in the Danish National Museum with the provenance Karthaia are two juglets, which Brøndsted later donated to the Danish King Christian VIII.<sup>38</sup>

### The fate of the sculptures

As the investigations at Karthaia were winding down in February 1812, Brøndsted, Linckh and Walsingham drew lots for the sculptures found at the site. The Dane emerged as the winner, but he had to pay a sum of money to his companions in compensation. The lot consisted of: "two beautiful female torsos, another greater torso of Apollo and a quantity of smaller pieces, as heads legs hands etc. of other statues of

37. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 505.

38. Breitenstein 1951, 199; Rasmussen 2000b, 32 fig. 20.





Fig. 9. A coin from Delphi, after Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, 18-19.

which the bodies were not found ... at least 15 or 16 pieces”.<sup>39</sup> As luck would have it, Walsingham was acquainted with the captain of an English merchantman, the “Bella Nina”, lying in the harbour of Kea at the time, who agreed to transport the sculptures to an English firm in Malta for safekeeping. Brøndsted states in his lectures that “the sculptural relics soon arrived ... at Malta, and they were deposited with the House Wilson & Allardyce, where they should remain, until the time when I can have them transported to Rome, to be, as I hope, restored either by Thorvaldsen (who has more or less promised it to me) or by another able sculptor”.<sup>40</sup>

However, when Brøndsted came to Malta eight years later to reclaim his property, James Wilson informed him the firm had refused to receive the marbles in question, and that “the person who assumed the name of Walsingham, with whom you had the misfortune to meet at Zea, and who was the sole medium through which you were to become acquainted with [the company] was known only to them as a notorious Swindler, having robbed them, but a few months before, of a Sum exceeding twelve Hundred Pounds Ster-



Fig. 10. Torso of female statue found at Karthaia, from the original drawing in the archives of the National Museum, which served as the basis of Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, 21-22 pl. IX.

ling, in the most dishonourable manner possible – through falsehood and forgery – Walsingham was not the real name of this itinerant Villain”.<sup>41</sup>

Still, things were not as bad as all that. A few weeks later, Brøndsted wrote to the private secretary of the future Danish King Christian VIII, Johan Adler, that his stay at Malta had been most pleasant and instructive, and that: “I also had the great pleasure to recover

39. KB, NKS, 1578<sup>1</sup> 2<sup>o</sup>: Brevkopibog, letter from Brøndsted to Mr Wilson Esq dated the 9<sup>th</sup> of May 1820.

40. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 507.

41. KB, NKS, 1546 2<sup>o</sup>: Breve til P. O. Brøndsted fra Udlændinge, letter from James Wilson to Brøndsted dated the 10<sup>th</sup> of May 1820.



Fig. 11-13. Plaster cast of the torso from Karthaia, in the Thorvaldsens Museum. Photo by the author.



Fig. 12

two of my most beautiful marble fragments, sent from one of my excavations, from Zea in the Archipelago in the year 1812, and shamefully tossed into a store room due to the bestiality of the English captain with whom they were shipped; the scoundrel has disposed over 7 or 8 fragments as presents to ... ingratiate himself with

gentlemen".<sup>42</sup> And after his departure from Malta, Brøndsted received a new letter from James Wilson informing him that "I leave with my friend Capt<sup>th</sup> Smyth R.N. another fragment of your Grecian Marbles, which was found in the King's Bakery after you left Malta ... This is the last piece, I think, which you may expect to

42. Letter to J.G. Adler dated the 10<sup>th</sup> of June 1820 in the Danish National Archives, Archive number 5008, number A.I.4, package 8: "ogsaa havde jeg den store Glæde at redde to af mine skjønneste Marmorfragmenter, didsendte efter een af mine Gravninger, fra Zea i Archipelaget i Aaret 1812, og skammeligt henslængte i et

Magazin ved den engelske Captains Bestialitet, med hvem de oversendtes; 7 eller 8 andre meget nydelige og lettere transportable Fragmenter har Kjæltringen disponeret over til Presenter for, hvad Skoleholderen i Frejas Alter kalder, at forsaarsage Hosernes Grønhed hos naadige Herrer".





Fig. 13

hear of from Malta as I have searched most diligently anywhere".<sup>43</sup>

Brøndsted had the recovered sculptures sent to Rome, and they must have arrived there safely because he wrote to another correspondent that "J'ai fait venir une partie de mes marbres grecs, découverts par ma fouille dans les ruines de la ville de Carthæa ... Le principal morceau en est un torse (de femme drapée) du plus beau stile. Je le fait mouler actuellement – j'en fais faire actuellement la forme pour en tirer une dizaine de plâtres".<sup>44</sup> A cast is kept in the Thorvaldsens Museum, and replicas exist in other European cast collections, fig. 11-13.<sup>45</sup>

This torso is the only piece of sculpture from Brøndsted's excavations at Karthaia of which we have more information. It must have remained in his possession for several years, because he was trying to sell it to the British Museum in 1826,<sup>46</sup> but nothing came of it, and we have no certain knowledge as to its subsequent fortune. There are, however, two possible clues to its whereabouts. The first may be found in Adolf Michaelis' book on "Ancient Marbles in Great Britain" from 1882, in which reference is made to a draped female in Parian marble in the "Royal Institution" in Edinburgh, which might be Brøndsted's lost torso.<sup>47</sup> The torso in question is presumably identical to an "Antique draped Female, without head or arms" of Parian marble, which is listed in the web site of The Torrie Collection at the University of Edinburgh as EU Cat. 666.<sup>48</sup> Unfortunately, I have not been able to obtain any information about this piece of sculpture, nor even a photograph.<sup>49</sup> Still, if the web site is correct in

43. KB, NKS, 1546 2<sup>o</sup>: Breve til P. O. Brøndsted fra Udlændinge, letter from James Wilson to Brøndsted dated the 16<sup>th</sup> of July 1820.

44. KB, NKS, 1578<sup>l</sup> 2<sup>o</sup>: Brevkopibog, letter from Brøndsted to "Son Excellence Mylord d'E" dated the 30<sup>th</sup> of January 1821. The recipient has not been identified.

45. Müller 1850 no. 61. I am grateful to Jan Zahle for informing me of the existence of these casts and to Torben Melander for making the specimen in the Thorvaldsen's Museum available to me. Cf. further Kabus-Jahn 1970, 68 note 8 Figs. 7-9 and Adolf H. Borbein in Bauer & Geominy 2000, 113-115.

46. This emerges from a letter in the British Museum, cf. the article by Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen in this publication.

47. Michaelis 1882, 299: "In the buildings of the R. Institution are to be found, belonging to the legacy of Sir James Erskine, some small Torsos, and among them that of (1) a draped female in Parian Marble, and also that of (2) a man, with the head and limbs restored ... Can the former be the charming torso from Keos which has been lost sight of, engraved in Brøndsted, Voy. et Recherches en Grèce, I Pl. 9?"

48. <http://www.trg.ed.ac.uk/torrie/artists/sculptors.html>.

49. Jacky MacBeath of the Museums & Galleries Office, Edinburgh University Library kindly informed me on the 10<sup>th</sup> of October 2006: "this sculpture is not available for study at this time".

giving its height as 80,5 cm, it cannot be identical to Brøndsted's torso, which only measured 53 cm.<sup>50</sup> The other clue is the fact that in 1866 Julius Lange states in his catalogue of the plaster casts in the Danish Royal Academy that the original is "now in the Louvre".<sup>51</sup> I think it unlikely to be true, because the torso is not among the published Greek sculptures of the Louvre. It seems more likely that the torso is still standing unrecognized in a private, or public?, collection in Great Britain or France.

## Conclusion

In sum, the archaeological investigations carried out by Brøndsted and his companions at Karthaia were comprehensive, given the few weeks at their disposal. They conducted excavations at several places, drew plans of the site and of the sanctuary of Apollo, and recorded the find spots of the most important items. From the inscriptions unearthed at the site, Brøndsted was able to prove that it should be identified as Karthaia, not Ioulis.<sup>52</sup>

Also, he subsequently made the results public – both in French and German – in a magnificent publication which not only focuses on Karthaia, but also deals with the ancient remains to be seen elsewhere in Kea. The volume contains drawings of the inscriptions found by the expedition and also deals with the ancient coins of the island. In a recent publication on "The Coinage of Kea", Charikleia Papageorgiadou-Banis states that "Brøndsted was the first to attempt a general presentation of the coins of Kea, illustrating coins that had either been found in the course of his researches, or had come into his possession in various ways ... The ma-

jority of his attributions were correct and are still currently accepted".<sup>53</sup> Moreover, Brøndsted also discusses the ancient literary sources, and the publication includes sections on the climate, agriculture, geography and topography of the island, topics that are still in the forefront of archaeological discourse. In many respects the publication is far ahead of its time.

Fani-Maria Tsigakou has noted that "in the first decades of the nineteenth century, none of the ancient sites [of Greece] had been excavated",<sup>54</sup> and, indeed, the diggings carried out in Athens at the time by resident antiquarians seem to have been motivated solely by a desire to uncover spectacular antiquities. This emerges for instance from a passage in Brøndsted's diary written in Athens on the 17<sup>th</sup> of October 1810: "in the afternoon, with my friends and Gropius etc. to Fauvel's and Lusieri's excavations.<sup>55</sup> We found Mr. Fauvel with his Mr. Pinko there. Fatal Lusieri has today found a rather nice bas relief in marble; a young woman holding a small libation vessel or tear bottle in her hand. In Fauvel's excavation a grave had just been found and we were all curious to know what would come. But nothing special emerged: a few vase pieces. F. himself raked around among the pieces: "ça doit être quelque-chose – non ce n'est rien -, c'est moi qui l'a découvert".<sup>56</sup> Neither Fauvel nor Lusieri published accounts of their excavations, and their activities "made no lasting contribution to the study of Greek art and architecture".<sup>57</sup>

According to the Concise Oxford Dictionary, "to excavate" currently has three meanings: 1) "to make (a hole or channel) by digging", 2) "to reveal or extract by digging" and 3) to "dig systematically into the ground to explore (a site)".<sup>58</sup> It is doubtful whether

50. Cf. Bauer & Geominy 2000, 113.

51. Lange 1866 no. 73 and 1887 no. 209.

52. Brøndsted 1826-1830a, II, 3-5 and *passim*.

53. Papageorgiadou-Banis 1997, vii.

54. Tsigakou 1981, 28.

55. For these three individuals, cf. the biographical sketches in Bracken 1975, 191, 194, 197. Fauvel and Lusieri are frequently mentioned in Brøndsted's diaries, cf. Bernth 1995 *passim*. The

Dane had a certain sympathy for Lusieri, but considered the Frenchman a windbag.

56. Rathje & Lund 1991, 17-18; the Danish text is quoted in Bernth 1995, 267. For descriptions of other excavations, cf. Bracken 1975, 56-57.

57. Bracken 1975, 64-65.

58. The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English, (Oxford, 1995, 9<sup>th</sup> ed.), 468.



such distinctions would have made sense to someone living at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the concept of an archaeological excavation was in its infancy, but the second definition seems to cover Fauvel's and Lusieri's activities. By contrast, it seems justified to apply the third definition to Brøndsted's excavations at Karthaia. It is true that he was, like most – if not all – of his contemporaries, mainly driven by a desire to unearth spectacular finds, which he could sell in

compensation for the considerable expenses he had incurred in connection with the investigation. Yet Brøndsted's excavations at Karthaia were surely among the first archaeological excavations in Greece, if not *the* first, to have had a scientific purpose as well.<sup>59</sup> The fact that he decided to publish the results of his Kean investigations as the first volume of his international series *Voyages dans la Grèce* shows that he was very much aware of the importance of his achievement.<sup>60</sup>

59. Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, XIV and p. XIX.

60. Cf. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 506: "I have ... tried to present succinctly ... the results of the excavations at Karthaia by me and

my friends, one of the most successful endeavours of its kind which to my knowledge has been carried out in the Greek countries recently."