



*British School at Athens, view from the Finlay balcony looking towards Lycabettus hill, photograph by F.W. Hasluck, ca 1904; BSA Photographic Archive: BSAA8-2 (SPHS-6265).*

# Introduction

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The establishment of the so-called 'Foreign Schools' in Athens, starting with the French School in 1846, followed by the German (1882), the American (1883), and in 1886 the British, was a significant step in the development of a modern Greek state which embraced European models, locating Greece within a European network of intellectual and cultural institutions. It answered to the need of foreign students of the material culture of ancient Greece to have their own base in the country. The Schools immediately became, and have remained, a part of the intellectual life of Athens. Their establishment marked the beginning of the end of the period of the casual appropriation of antiquities by foreign travellers, and the beginning of a process of negotiation of the terms and conditions of excavation between the Schools and the sovereign — albeit limited — power of Greece.<sup>1</sup>

From the start, the relatively new discipline of archaeology held a key position in the missions of these Schools. The reason is clear enough: the archaeology of Greece depends on material remains, which are for the most part available only in Greece and Greek lands. You do not need a School in Athens in order to study classical languages and literature. Foreigners had done this satisfactorily for centuries in Oxford, Cambridge and other universities of Europe. Archaeology by contrast requires a physical presence, such as a School, from which to negotiate with Greek authorities, launch excavations, store sherds. Some other disciplines which flourished in Britain also required a physical presence in the landscape of Greece: travel and topography, geography, the study of folklore, ethnography, the

1. For the early history of the British School at Athens see Waterhouse 1986, esp. chs. 1 and 5, and Calligas and Whitley 2005. For recent debate about the role of the Foreign Schools see Hamilakis 2007, 48–51. Hamilakis rightly rejects the view that Greek archaeology has simply been a victim of 'colonialism' (represented by the Foreign Schools), arguing that it is partner in an exchange relationship where archaeology and colonialism meet.

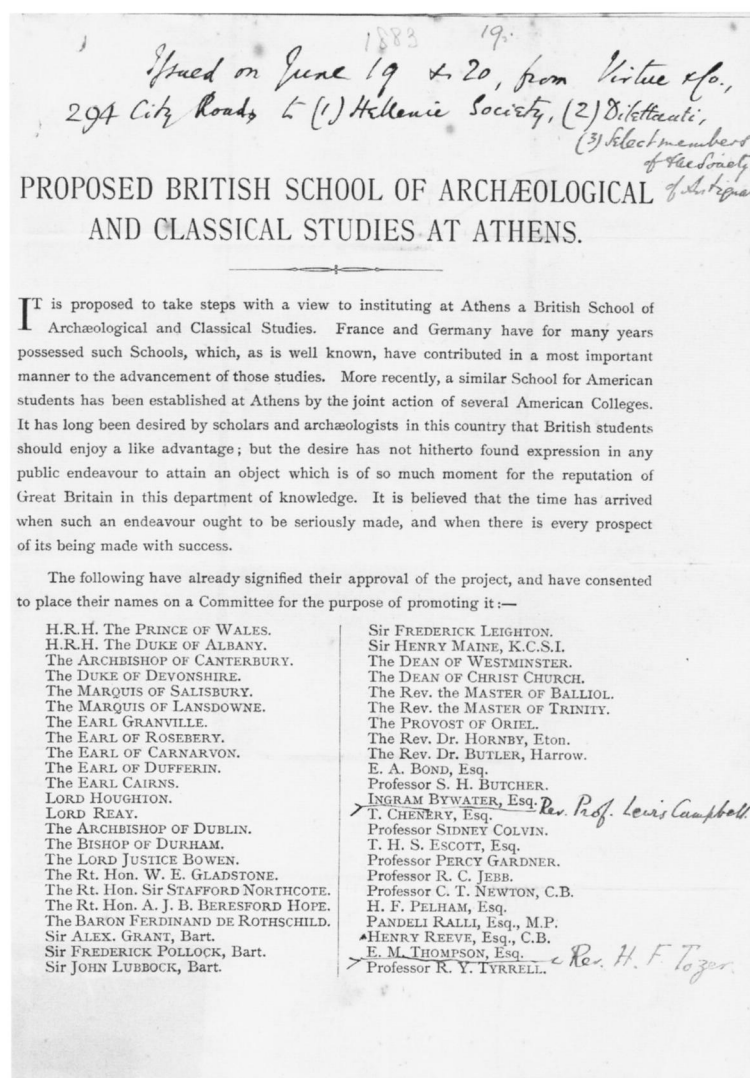


Fig. 1.1: 'Proposed British School of Archaeological and Classical Studies at Athens'; BSA Corporate Records—Athens: Athens Property, Correspondence: R. Jebb 1882–86, no. 19.

modern language and dialects, even politics. These also stood to benefit by the presence of a British School.

The Foreign Schools each had and has its own individuality. From the start the mission of the French School extended more widely than archaeology, into philology, architecture and art, classical studies and the modern Greek language. The more narrowly focussed missions of the American and German Schools are reflected in their names ('American School of Classical Studies' and 'German Institute of Archaeology'). The British School at Athens, like the French, spread its net more widely. Here are the Objects of the School as set out in the 'Rules and Regulations of the British School at Athens' drafted in 1894–95:<sup>2</sup>

I. The first aim of the School shall be to promote the study of Greek archaeology in all its departments. Among these shall be (i) the study of Greek art and architecture in their remains of every period; (ii) the study of inscriptions; (iii) the exploration of ancient sites; (iv) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic.

II. Besides being a School of Archaeology, it shall be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Every period of the Greek language and literature, from the earliest age to the present day, shall be considered as coming within the province of the School.

III. The School shall also be a centre at which information can be obtained and books consulted by British travellers in Greece.

IV. For these purposes a Library shall be formed and maintained of archaeological and other suitable books, including maps, plans and photographs.

Much of the ethos and future direction of the School is reflected in this statement. Although the primacy of archaeology is asserted, there is sufficient flexibility to permit the study of any aspect of Greek culture in any period,

2. Note the name of the School (in Greek, Βρεταννική Σχολή Αθηνών). It later changed its name to 'British School of Archaeology' (Αγγλική Αρχαιολογική Σχολή). As pointed out by Whitley, all three words of that title in Greek are misleading, since the School is British not English, it is not exclusively 'archaeological', nor is it a School in the sense of a primarily teaching institution — rather a research institute. The School has changed its name back to British School at Athens. Calligas and Whitley 2005, 11.

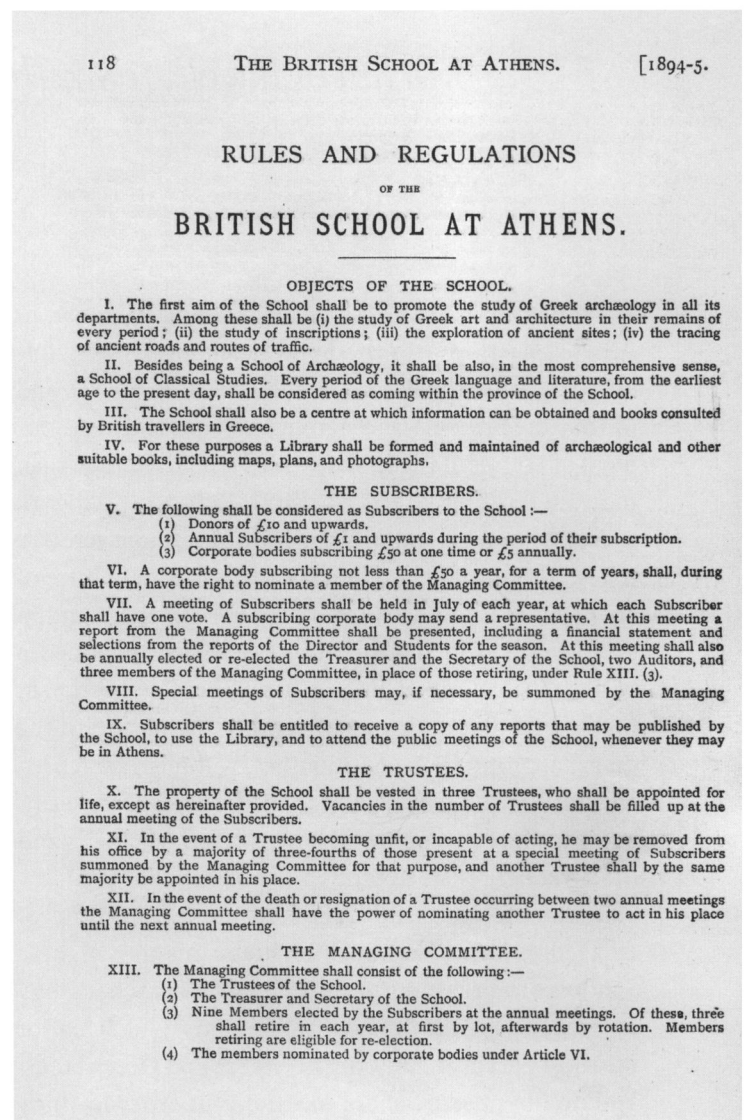


Fig. 1.2: Statutes, BSA 1, 1894–95, 118.

and there is an openness to the amateur traveller as well as the professional academic. The mission of the School has been modified since 1896, to put all scholarly disciplines on a footing of equality, within the general purpose 'to promote the study of Greece in all its aspects.'<sup>3</sup>

3. Statute no 1 of the current statutes is as follows: 'The purpose of the British School at Athens shall be to promote the study of Greece in all its aspects. It shall be its aim in particular to provide facilities for those engaged in research into the anthropology, archaeology, archaeometry, architecture, art, environment, geography, history, language, literature, religion and topography of Greece in all periods to modern times...' The alphabetical order seems consciously designed to avoid privileging any discipline, although in practice archaeology remains pre-eminent.

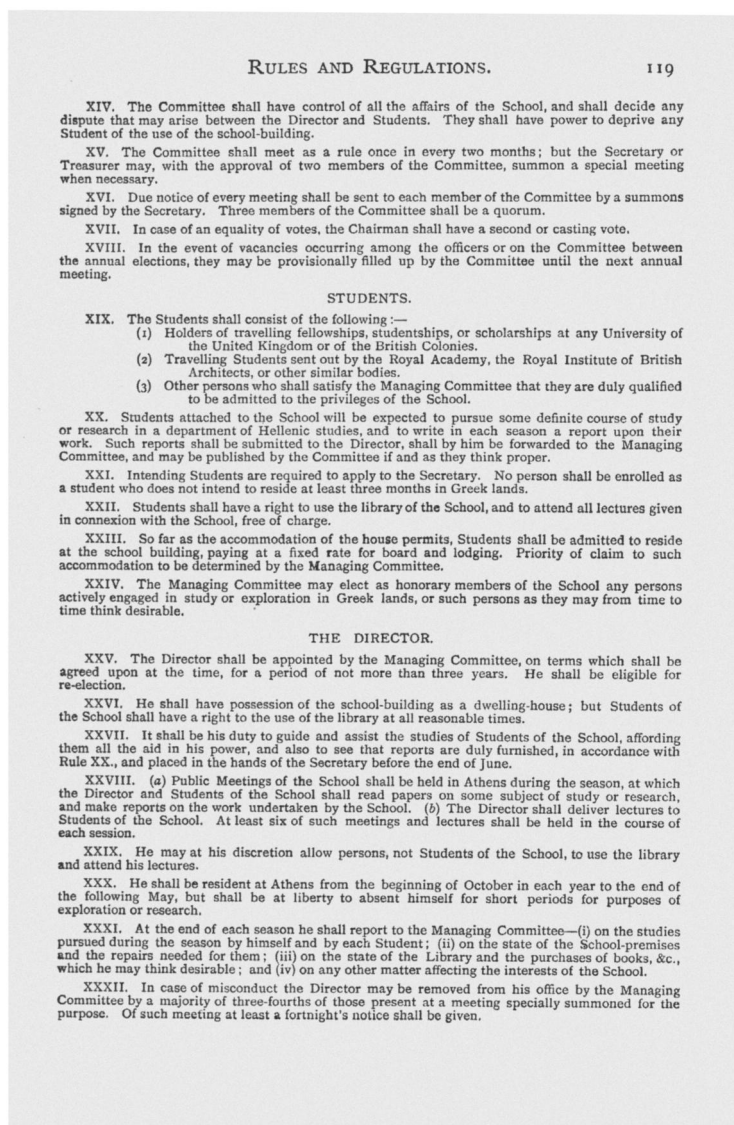


Fig.1.3: Statutes, BSA 1, 1894–95, 119.

From the earliest days scholars at the School have taken advantage of the flexibility of this remit. In the second year of the School's existence, the arrival of the architects S. Barnsley and R. Weir-Schultz as Royal Academy Travelling Students signalled that Byzantine art and architecture was within the scope of the School. The interests of early School members such as R.A.H. Bickford-Smith, D.G. Hogarth, J.L. Myres, R.M. Dawkins, A.J.B. Wace and M.S. Thompson included aspects of modern Greece, its society, physical features and language.

The conference 'Scholars, Archives, Travels' which gave rise to this book was conceived jointly by the editors as a way of illuminating what the British School and its

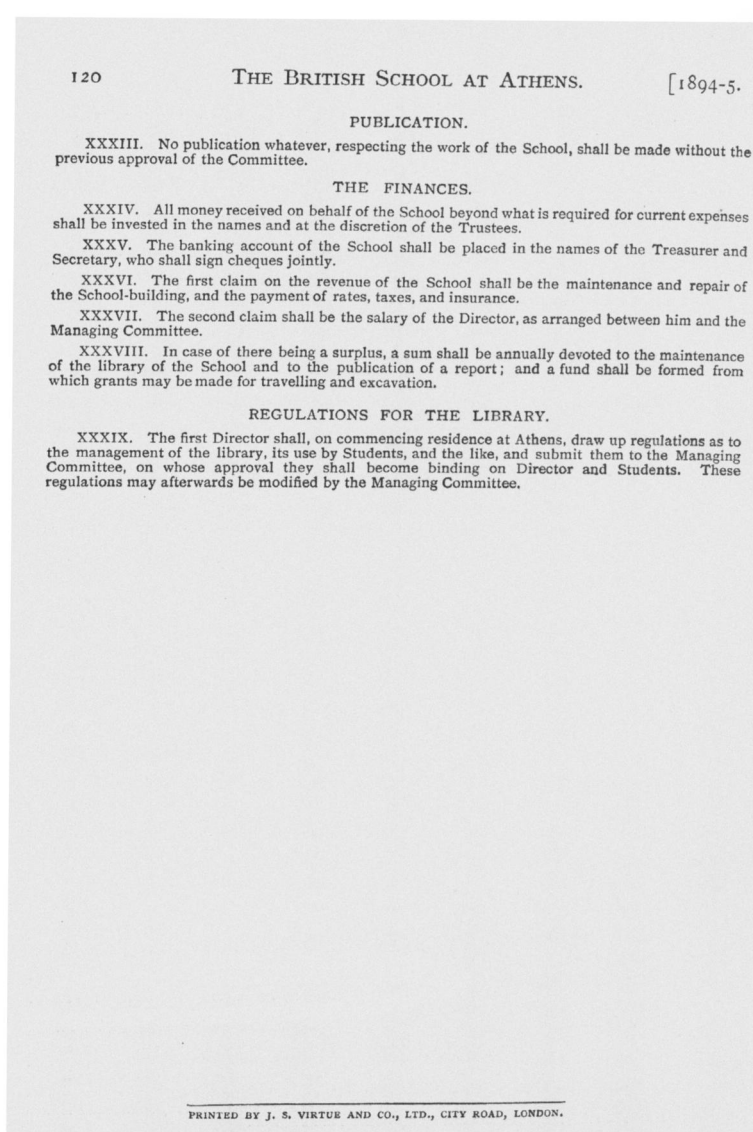


Fig.1.4: Statutes, BSA 1, 1894–95, 120.

scholars have done to further the study of Byzantine history and culture, and the 'modern' period in Greece in disciplines other than archaeology. We wanted also to explore connections and influences between these disciplines, in particular anthropology and archaeology.

The conference was a joint project of the British School at Athens and the Institute for Neohellenic Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, and was held at the L. Zervas amphitheatre of the Institute. The papers read at the conference, which took place on 6–7 October 2006, are reproduced in this book, with one exception (John Koliopoulos's paper on Finlay's Disenchanted Progeny) and one addition (Ann French's paper on Wace and Dawkins as collectors of Greek embroideries).

The best account of the intellectual currents which swirled around the British School in its early years is given by James Whitley, Director of the School at the time of the conference, in the book *On Site: British Archaeologists in Greece*.<sup>4</sup> Two connected things seem to have happened. First, British archaeology developed around the turn of the century a strong ethnographic content, which it has never lost. Second, scholars emerging mainly from the 'old' British universities, and coming to Athens to pursue the study of the history, archaeology and culture of ancient Greece, were seduced by the powerful impact of the Greek landscape<sup>5</sup> and contemporary culture, and drawn into other, and more contemporary, pursuits.

Whitley notes how in the first decade of the 20th century, largely under the influence of Arthur Evans's work at Knossos in Crete, the School developed a corner in the archaeology of the bronze age and a bias towards prehistory which has persisted to this day. He noted also the anthropological and comparative perspective which Evans brought to his material. Evans himself was not of the British School, but profoundly influenced the ethos and intellectual interests of the School, and became its greatest benefactor. He brought to his investigations in Crete both a wide range of comparative experience including in Celtic archaeology, and practical liberal engagement as a journalist in the politics of the south eastern European states still under Ottoman rule. Other scholars at the School followed Evans in taking a close and informed interest in the societies around them. Some, such as A.J.B. Wace, were able to do so without at any point abandoning their main commitment to bronze age archaeology. Others, such as R.M. Dawkins, shifted their focus of interest from archaeology to other fields, in Dawkins's case to modern Greek dialects and folk tales. Both Dawkins and Wace developed an interest in Greek folk embroideries which went far beyond amateurish dabbling, to the extent that their meticulously catalogued collections now enrich museums in the UK.

4. Calligas and Whitley 2005.

5. An example of an Oxford scholar profoundly affected by the impact of Greece and its physical environment is Alfred Zimmern, author of *The Greek Commonwealth*, which he wrote during his at the BSA in 1909–11; see Millett 2007, 168–202.

To those conventionally educated in the classics, the impact of the Greek landscape and culture threw up questions about Greek history, society and geography, and about possible connexions and continuities, of language, cult or custom, between the ancient and the modern worlds. Such themes had been debated by Greek and foreign historians and thinkers since the 18<sup>th</sup> century. To these questions, scholars from the British School made a distinctive contribution, such that when during the First World War it was proposed to set up a new Koraes Chair of Modern Greek and Byzantine History, Language and Literature at King's College London, the School was seen as the natural recruiting ground for the first incumbent. Those seriously considered as candidates, R.M. Dawkins, A.W. Gomme, F.W. Hasluck, C.A. Scutt, A.J.B. Wace and Arnold Toynbee all had close connections with the School.<sup>6</sup>

The successful candidate, Arnold Toynbee, had spent nine months of the years 1911–12 as a student of the British School, much of the time walking in the Greek countryside (something of a passion among many students at the School). Later, after taking part in propaganda work during the First World War, he was elected in 1919 as the first Koraes Professor. The appointment led to an acrimonious row on account of his reporting on the Greco-Turkish war of 1919–22, and in particular his book *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey*, published in 1922. In the end Toynbee resigned his Chair. His graduation from the classical to the modern, and the modern political, was traumatic for himself and for the subscribers to the Chair, but resulted in a book that has stood the test of time. Toynbee went on, with his voluminous publications about Hellenism and history, to become one of the acknowledged great men of 20<sup>th</sup> century historiography. Even if time has eroded his reputation he retains his interest as representing one sort of outcome of the exposure of Greek scholars and 'philhellenes' to 'Greek reality'. He is not considered further in this book, but has been studied in lively detail by Richard Clogg.<sup>7</sup>

6. Clogg 2000, 20.

7. Clogg 2000, in particular the chapters 1, 'Anglo-Greek Attitudes: an Introduction'; 2, 'The British School at Athens and the Modern History of Greece'; and 3, 'The "ingenious enthusiasm" of Dr Burrows and the "unsatiated hatred" of Professor Toynbee'. See also Clogg 1986.

Although British School students pursued a wide range of interests, ranging from Byzantine art and architecture to folk tales, embroideries, travel and topography, and ethnography, these remained for the most part at the periphery of the School's activities. The reason is clear. The classics were the core of the British education system until the 19th century. The Byzantine and the modern were regarded as a side show.<sup>8</sup> Byzantium had to struggle against the prejudices of Gibbon and Lecky. The interest of the Arts and Crafts movement, happening to coincide in time with the foundation of the School, gave Byzantine art and architecture a toehold at the School. The modern had to struggle against the disillusion of philhellenes with the development of the new Greek Kingdom, fostered by men such as Edmond About (an early fellow of the French School). Classical Greek therefore ruled the university curriculum in Britain, progressively supplemented by archaeology. The study of Byzantium and of the history, geography, language, literature and anthropology of the modern country had to fight for a place.

They were helped to do so by the man who should be seen as a founding father of the School, though he died before it was established. This was the Scottish historian George Finlay, who followed Byron to Greece, settled in Athens, wrote a series of books about the history of the country, quarrelled with the Greek government, and corresponded about Greek affairs with British politicians and writers. The particular importance of Finlay to the British School is his library, which was donated, with his papers, to the School in 1900. It is a wonderful collection of books about Greece and the Levant, European history, English and Scottish literature and other subjects. The Finlay papers are a main part of the School's archive.<sup>9</sup> By personal example as well as by his books and papers Finlay is a continuing presence and influence, though a paradoxical one, in that though devoted to the study of Greek history throughout the ages, he was himself responsible for some of the disillusion felt in Britain with the development of the Greek state. The 'Finlay Library' which contains many of his books, and a marble bust of him, is also the School's common room.

8. For Byzantium, see Cameron 2006.

9. Hussey 1973.



*Fig. 1.5: Arnold Toynbee, ca. 1911-12; This is part of a series of photographs for which students and officers of the School posed in the same setting but surrounded by a different collection of objects. The photographs seem to be part of a, now undecipherable, inside joke. BSA Photographic Archive: BSAA7-61.*

Finlay lived in Athens at the time when the great Greek historian Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos was reclaiming Byzantium and its history as an integral part of the history of the Greek people.<sup>10</sup> Finlay contributed to the same end by his books, for example *A History of Greece: From its Conquest by the Romans to the Present*

10. Paparrigopoulos 1886-87; Kitromilides 1998.



Fig. 1.6: *The BSA Hostel, ca. 1900; BSA Photographic Archive: BSAA3-69.*

*Time*.<sup>11</sup> His career and his influence are considered by Liz Potter in her paper 'George Finlay and the *History of Greece*'. Malcolm Wagstaff explores Finlay's correspondence with the great traveller, topographer and observer Colonel Martin Leake, a correspondence bearing on British-Greek relations.

It is worth looking more closely at the path taken by the early members of the School, from upbringing in England and education in the classics to archaeology and thence to other pursuits: a path from the ancient to the modern, in some cases from the classical to the ethnographic. These early members were almost all men. Although women were admitted as student members from 1890, it took time, and some agonising, for them to be accepted fully into the School's community. They were admitted to accommodation in the School hostel only in 1920, and as David Shankland describes in his paper, when in 1912 F.W. Hasluck married the young Margaret Hardie, a student at the School, and requested that they be accommodated in the hostel, the refusal of his request was disruptive, obliging him and his new wife to move out of the School into their own accommodation.

Of the scholars described in this book, R.M. Dawkins was the first to be Director of the School, in 1906-13. His career path illustrates the contingent and

zig-zag way in which he came to realise the true focus of his life. Always passionately interested in languages and literature, especially ancient ones, he trained as an engineer, stumbled into the classics at Cambridge at the age of 27, and was thus already 30 when he arrived at the British School in 1902. He thereupon acquired the skills of archaeology, supervising the excavation of Palaikastro in eastern Crete, and studying the local dialects of Crete and the islands whenever he got the chance. Travelling with A.J.B. Wace in the Cyclades in 1906 and 1907, he acquired an impressive collection of Greek embroideries. He travelled prodigiously to most parts of the Greek world including Cappadocia in Asia Minor and Pontos. An aspect of Pontos which attracted Dawkins's interest was the phenomenon of the 'crypto-Christians', which is examined by Anthony Bryer, the eminent historian of the area. Bryer's paper offers an explanation of the phenomenon which deserves and requires close reading.

Peter Mackridge writes that Dawkins reckoned to have visited all the Greek islands except Chalki, a record which if true, which we doubt, must have been unique. During the war he served in the RNVR in Crete, which gave him a further opportunity to study the dialects and customs of the islanders. Mackridge's comment on Dawkins's approach to archaeology is an indication of the direction that others at the School were to take: 'what interested him in archaeology was its anthropological and ethnographic aspect: the way to reconstruct the way of life, the belief system, the thought-world and the mentality of the people whose material remains were being examined'. He ended as a dialectologist and folk-lorist, tracing the folk tales of Greeks in Asia Minor, the legends of the monks of Mount Athos, and the dialects of those with whom he came in contact.

Dawkins illustrates better than any other the successful progression or broadening of intellectual endeavour which the School, and the Greek environment, made possible. He made a major contribution to the understanding of the prehistoric civilisation of Crete and of the classical period in Sparta, before going on to explore the philology of the Greeks of Asia Minor, at first for purely linguistic purposes, and finally for the meaning of the folk tales, poems and legends he collected, and their illustration of the mentality of the

11. Finlay 1877. Also Finlay 1844; 1861 and 1856.

people who produced them. He flourished in the hospitable atmosphere of the British School.

Alan Wace succeeded Dawkins as Director of the School and served in the eventful period from 1913–23. Wace is best known for his archaeological work, first his collaboration with Maurice Thompson on prehistoric Thessaly in the early years of the century, later at Mycenae in the 1920s and 30s. But his interests were much wider. Apart from his collection of embroideries, during his season of work in Thessaly he became interested in the way of life of the Vlach transhumant shepherd communities which wintered in the plains of Thessaly, returning to Samarina and other Vlach villages in the high Pindus for the summer pasturage. The outcome was the classic account of the Vlachs of Greece, *Nomads of the Balkans*, in which Wace and Thompson, without submitting the Vlachs to the systematic ethnographic analysis of a modern social anthropologist, nevertheless went about as far as it was possible to go in all-round description of the language, culture, origins and way of life of this unusual community of mysterious origins - all illustrated by their own photographs.<sup>12</sup> Tom Winnifrith, who has made a long and loving study of the Vlachs, describes in his paper how often he found that Wace and Thompson had been there before him.

Dawkins's closest friend and intellectual stimulus was F.W. Hasluck, Assistant Director and Librarian at the School, a quiet man of charm and great learning who died at the age of forty two in 1920. His life and career, including his differences with Wace, are considered by David Shankland; and both Shankland and Paschalis Kitromilides assess his contribution to historical thought. Hasluck has won much attention recently, in large part owing to Dr Shankland's own efforts. He calls him, controversially, 'by far the greatest scholar it [i.e. the British School] has had'. Shankland argues that Hasluck was doing something new and different, in applying historical, archaeological and anthropological skills to pre-modern societies in such a way as to show the connections, continuities and discontinuities between them. For Kitromilides, Hasluck's thought 'tries to rescue pre-national pluralism which is directly threatened by the agenda of nationalism'. Even if the



Fig.1.7: The Penrose Library; BSA Photographic Archive: SPHS-6340.

prime interest of the School remained a more conventional archaeology of the ancient world, the currents explored by Hasluck continued to flow beneath the surface and to break out in later work up to this day.<sup>13</sup>

Some of these scholars come together in two other contexts, those of the First World War, and of Mount Athos. Richard Clogg's paper on the School in the First World War explores the role of the School in the political and military history of Greece, a subject about which he has written extensively.<sup>14</sup> He describes the parts played by Wace, Hasluck, Dawkins, Myres and others in the British military and intelligence effort in Greece. It is not surprising that these people, knowledgeable about the country, its culture and (to different degrees) its language, should have played an important role, as was to happen again in the Second World War. Clogg's account makes clear that the School was caught up, willingly, in the British war effort and in the violations of Greek sovereignty which it involved. In the light of this story, it is hardly surprising that in the early 1950s, at a time of rising tension between Greece and Britain over Cyprus, Greeks should have assumed that

12. Wace and Thompson 1914.

13. For an example, influenced by Hasluck's demolishing of unsound theories of cultic continuities, see Nixon 2006.

14. Clogg 2000.





Fig. 1.8: *Kafeneio in Attica*; BSA Photographic Archive: SPHS-3408.

the fair haired British anthropologist doing fieldwork in the Zagorochoria near the border with Albania must be up to no good. This was John Campbell, innocent of politics but rumoured to be scouting out landing fields for parachute drops.

A second context in which scholars of the British School converged was Mount Athos. Metropolitan Kallistos in the keynote address to the October 2006 conference considered ‘three different views’ of the Holy Mountain, those of Hasluck, Dawkins, and the scholar poet Philip Sherrard, who was Assistant Director of the School in the 1950s (1950–52 and 1958–61). Here the Metropolitan confronts what we have called the ‘powerful impact of the landscape’ and the people who inhabit it. Mount Athos demands visiting if one is to understand and appreciate Eastern Orthodox monasticism. His paper shows how different facets of

Athonite monasticism are filtered through the imaginations of these three scholars, all sensitive and all linguistically competent. Hasluck’s particular object of study was the history of the monastic establishments and their governance; Dawkins’s was the legends of the monks and what they reveal of the monks’ mental world; Sherrard’s, the inner life of the monks, and the new challenges of balancing the pressures of modernity with the spiritual need to preserve silence and stillness. It is not difficult to see which approach is for Kallistos the most fruitful; but he skilfully extracts the useful and valuable from all three.

The question of how Byzantium fitted into the British School’s conception of its mission, which as we have seen is to explore every aspect of Hellenism then and now, arose early in its life, and was resolved empirically. It was only one year after the establishment of the

School that Robert Weir Schultz and Sidney Barnsley came to the School, with travelling scholarships from the Royal Academy's School of Architecture, and started to explore and illustrate the Byzantine monuments of the Hellenic world. Their mission arose as part of a growing interest on the part of British architects from the Academy and the Royal Institute of British Architects, which were closely associated with the Arts and Crafts movement. There followed a series of architects, including Walter George who recorded St Demetrios Church in Thessaloniki before the great fire of 1917; Ramsay Traquair who documented churches in Laconia and Constantinople; and Harry H. Jewell who studied the church of Our Lady of the Hundred Gates (*Ekatontapyliani*) in Paros.

The Byzantine Research and Publication Fund was established in 1908 with the aim of sponsoring and publishing the work of these British architects. The Fund responded to a mixture of aesthetic and practical needs. Byzantine art and architecture were forcing themselves on western European taste and scholarship. At the same time the monuments, churches and paintings were in need of recording and conservation. (Many still are.) After many vicissitudes the Fund's holdings of drawings and photographs have found a permanent home at the School under the new title Byzantine Research Fund Archive. They were presented in February 2008 in an exhibition at the Hellenic Centre, London: 'The Byzantine Research Fund: Encounters of British Arts and Crafts Architects in Byzantium'. Amalia Kakissis, the archivist at the School, has charge of the conservation, cataloguing and digitisation of the archive, and tells in her paper the story of the Fund and its connexion with the Arts and Crafts movement. In view of its importance and new accessibility, we hope that this archive will serve as a resource for further scholarly research.

It may seem inevitable, in the light of the growth of social anthropology in the UK, that Greece should have become a field for anthropological fieldwork by British scholars. It did not seem so in the early post-war years. The first into the field in Greece was John Campbell, with his fieldwork on the value system of the Sarakatsani of Epirus, carried out (with his wife Sheila) in 1954–55. Campbell was not primarily a Brit-

ish School scholar. He was an anthropologist trained at Cambridge and then Oxford. The factors which led him to northern Greece were his war experiences in 1944–45 in Greece, and the influence of his teachers, especially Professor E. Evans-Pritchard of Oxford. But once launched on his course, he found the School a helpful 'home from home' particularly after he was obliged to leave the Zagorochochia because of tensions over Cyprus.

The School however played a large part in the subsequent story, of scholars, many of them taught or influenced by Campbell, who enlarged and enriched the practice of anthropology in Greek lands. This wider story is told by Roger Just, himself a student of Campbell, and Assistant Director of the School from 1982–84. His conclusion is that in developing an ethnography of values as opposed to social structures, the early ethnographers of Greece, such as Campbell, Juliet du Boulay, Renée Hirschon, Michael Herzfeld, Charles Stewart — and I would add Just himself — achieved ground-breaking work the theoretical content of which was not sufficiently appreciated at the time, or since.

Paul Halstead opens up another aspect of ethnography in which the School has been active, in his paper 'Studying the Past in the Present: Archaeological Engagement with Modern Greece'. Ethnoarchaeology aims to use the present as a key to the past by the use of analogy. Halstead concentrates particularly on the analogical investigation of farming and land use practices. He outlines the different approaches required in exploring the 'what' and the 'why' of ancient farming practices, and despite cautionary words about the use of evidence, he notes that important conclusions can be drawn. In developing the science of ethnoarchaeology, Halstead and others have been following the footsteps of earlier generations at the School, such as Stanley Casson (pottery) and John Pendlebury. The prominence of survey work in the School's activities, with its line of descent from the 19<sup>th</sup> century travellers' observations, is another area in which the anthropological and the archaeological come together.

This cross-disciplinary ferment of ideas is in tension with the tendency, with increasing professionalisation and compartmentalisation, for archaeologists and social anthropologists to constitute themselves as separate tribes. Renée Hirschon bends her anthropo-

logist's eye on the School itself through the personal experiences of anthropologists who have worked there. Her title 'Home from Home' — a title that on close inspection rings somewhat ironically — brings out the ambivalence of anthropologists about some aspects of the School: its old fashioned ethos, reflecting the Old Universities and public schools; its finicky rules, 'like a British boarding school'; the sometimes self-absorbed world of archaeology; the English speaking environment unsuited to anthropologists who have to work with Greek speaking people. All these made the School a less than ideal place for students of anthropology especially if they came from other than British middle-class backgrounds. And yet...the School also inspired affection, it led to lasting friendships, it served as a source of credentials and respectability, it had a good library, and it had baths and showers. For most, it was some sort of a home from home.

From its inception, the very features of the School which anthropologists have found strange made it a comfortable and familiar home for the amateur, the man of letters, generally of middle class background, who does not quite fit into the category of professional university scholar. Two examples are explored in this book. R.A.H. Bickford-Smith, whom Maria Christina Chatziioannou likens to the rolling stone that gathers no moss, was not a particularly important writer nor an original scholar. He was a law graduate who came to Greece almost by accident on the way to Constantinople, and stayed. The interest in Maria Christina Chatziioannou's paper lies in the scrupulously researched anatomy of a 'generalist' subscribing member of the School in its early years. Bickford-Smith represented distrust of ideas, enthusiasm for facts, and the propensity of British visitors to be carried away by the experience of Greece. In him, the School was carrying out its function as expressed in the original Statutes, of serving the interests of travellers. The result, Bickford-Smith's book *Greece under King George*, was a work of taxonomy on the state of the Greek polity and economy in the time of King George I which has served historians well.

The second case is William Miller, a more intriguing figure. Far from amateurish in his approach to his material, indeed a professional writer and journalist to the

core, he nevertheless did not fit the profile of a British School academic, except in that he had had a classical education at Oxford. Like Bickford-Smith he then read for the bar, but never practised. Like Arthur Evans, he travelled extensively in the Balkans as a young man. He spent twenty years, between 1903 and 1923, in Rome, working as a journalist, and the following eighteen years, 1923–41, in Greece. When he settled in Greece he was already nearly sixty years old. He held no university post, rejecting the attempt of Ronald Burrows, Principal of King's College London, to persuade him to take up the newly established Koraeas Chair. Miller preferred to stick to his amiable, gentlemanly life in Athens, writing a series of well-informed and stimulating books about Greece and the Balkans and about medieval Greece, of which the cream are *Greek Life in Town and Country*, *The Latins in the Levant* and *Essays in the Latin Orient*. The Millers were forced to leave Greece by Hitler's invasion of April 1941, and he spent his declining years in South Africa, dying in 1945.

Paul Hetherington throws much light on this amiable figure, who played a notable part in the movement for animal welfare in Greece, a cause in which expatriate British people remain active today. His eccentricities included an obsession with accurate numeration which drove him to count and record the strokes he swam every day of every year (taxonomy again!). His importance, in Hetherington's account, is his ability to apply to the study of history a journalist's ability to delve for facts, and to apply his knowledge of history to the task of reporting and interpreting the current political scene, in Italy and Greece.

These examples show the School as a garden in which many different flowers can grow and blossom. Openness to the non-university scholar and the amateur continues.

As James Whitley remarked in his introductory remarks at the conference, the 'modern Greece' which has been the object of study continually changes, through the effects of war, migration, tourism and economic development.<sup>15</sup> Some of these changes are reflected in this book. The papers which follow are part of the history

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15. 'Greeks are always in the process of becoming.' (J.L. Myres)



*Fig.1.9: Athens from Lycabettos hill; BSA Photographic Archive: SPHS-1076.*

of the British School at Athens, but part also of the wider history of Britain's engagement with Greece. The first feeds into the second in, for example, Finlay's correspondence with Leake about Britain's relations with Greece, as described by Wagstaff. That larger story is considered in an epilogue by Professor Roderick Beaton, who concluded the 'Scholars, Archives, Travels' conference with some stimulating thoughts arising from it.

Many people have contributed in various ways to the making of this book and the conference which gave rise to it. We wish to thank the sponsors of the conference and of this book, Applebee's; BP Hellas; Pavlos I. Con-

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