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THE ARTEMIS ORTHIA'S NOTEBOOKS REVISED. NEW INFORMATIONS FROM OLD EXCAVATION?*

INTRODUCTION

The archaeological excavations at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia were amongst the most important projects conducted by the British School at Athens. The British School first started working in the region of Sparta in 1904.¹ The aim of the director at the time was to compile a more complete topography of the ancient town by defining the city walls.²

Initially, the sanctuary was not an object of investigation. The sacred area of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia is situated southeast of the Palaiokastro hill, the site of the ancient Acropolis, and northeast of the modern town of Sparta (Fig. 1). This area is located along the right side of the Eurota river and referred to as Limnai in ancient sources.³

In 1906, a survey near the river uncovered a few Roman walls, some pottery fragments, lead figurines and fragments of other material which protruded from a section of the river bank, almost falling into the river bed itself, probably due to several instances of flooding that had occurred in the area since the beginning of the 20th century.⁴ It was at this point that archaeological investigations commenced.⁵ The quantity and quality of material found, heterogeneous with respect to typology and chro-

* This paper is part of a wider PhD research carried out at the University of Salerno and the Italian Archaeological School at Athens. Warmest thanks are due to all the people who have facilitated this research: Professor A. Pontrandolfo and F. Longo whom have supported the project from the beginning. I am grateful to Professor E. Greco for fruitful discussions about Sparta, giving me the opportunity to participate in the Spartans Studies Project at IASA, and above all for allowing me to study at IASA, where my research was completed, as well as for his guidance during my stay in Athens. I am extremely grateful to the ex Director of the British School at Athens, Professor C. Morgan, who granted me the permission to study the unpublished material preserved at the Archive of the School, and I'm very grateful to the present Director, Prof. J. Bennet for permission to publication of unpublished images presented in this text. I would also like to thank her for her invaluable advice, discussions and for the opportunity to publish this little part of my research. I also thank Dr. Amalia G. Kakissis for her assistance during my work in the Archive and Dr. Philippa Currie for her help with the transcription of the notebooks. I am also grateful for opportunity to study the unpublished pottery stored in the warehouse of Sparta Museum facilitated by the Ephor of Laconia, Dr. A. Papadimitriou, to whom I am grateful for her kind availability. I wish to express my warmest thanks to Dr. Adamantia Vasilogamvrou, ex Ephor of Laconia for the encouragement and suggestions. Last but not least I would like to express my thanks to the staff of the Italian Archaeological School at Athens, the Archaeological British School at Athens and all my colleagues and friends for their help throughout the study and writing of the present article.

¹ Robert Carr Bosanquet was Director of the School from

1900 to 1906. The excavations in Crete continued until 1906, and in 1904 Laconia, and mainly Sparta, became the new focus of the School. M. Tod and A. J. B. Wace began to catalogue the items preserved in the Museum, and their work was published in March 1906. Surveys and short archaeological campaigns were performed in several sites in Laconia: Angelona, Geraki and Koutiphari (Thalamai). In London, the *Laconian Excavation Fund* was founded, and by 1906 had collected sufficient funding for excavations to commence. The first site to be explored was the ancient Acropolis, where fortifications and the scant remaining evidence of the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos were uncovered. In 1907 a generous donation of £1,000 by W. W. Astor allowed work on the site of Orthia and the exploration of the site of Terapne, east of the Eurotas river, to continue. The result of these investigations in Sparta and Laconia were systematically published in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*.

² BOSANQUET 1905-1906a, DICKINS 1905-1906, TRAQUAIR 1905-1906, WACE 1905-1906, WACE 1906-1907.

³ PAUS. III 16, 7-11; STRABO VIII 4.9.

⁴ Today the Eurotas is more like a creek than a river, but at the beginning of the 20th century its waters were so abundant that it periodically flooded the north area of the sanctuary. To carry out excavations, a containment wall was built, which is marked on the map drawn during the first mission as 'the new wall'. BOSANQUET 1905-1906a, pl. VIII, fig. 1.

⁵ 'Before our work this year, this deposit was accessible only from the side of the river, where erosion has produced a section of all the strata from the present surface down to virgin soil'. A picture taken before the commencement of the work shows the situation. BOSANQUET 1905-1906a, fig. 1; DAWKINS 1905-1906, 318.

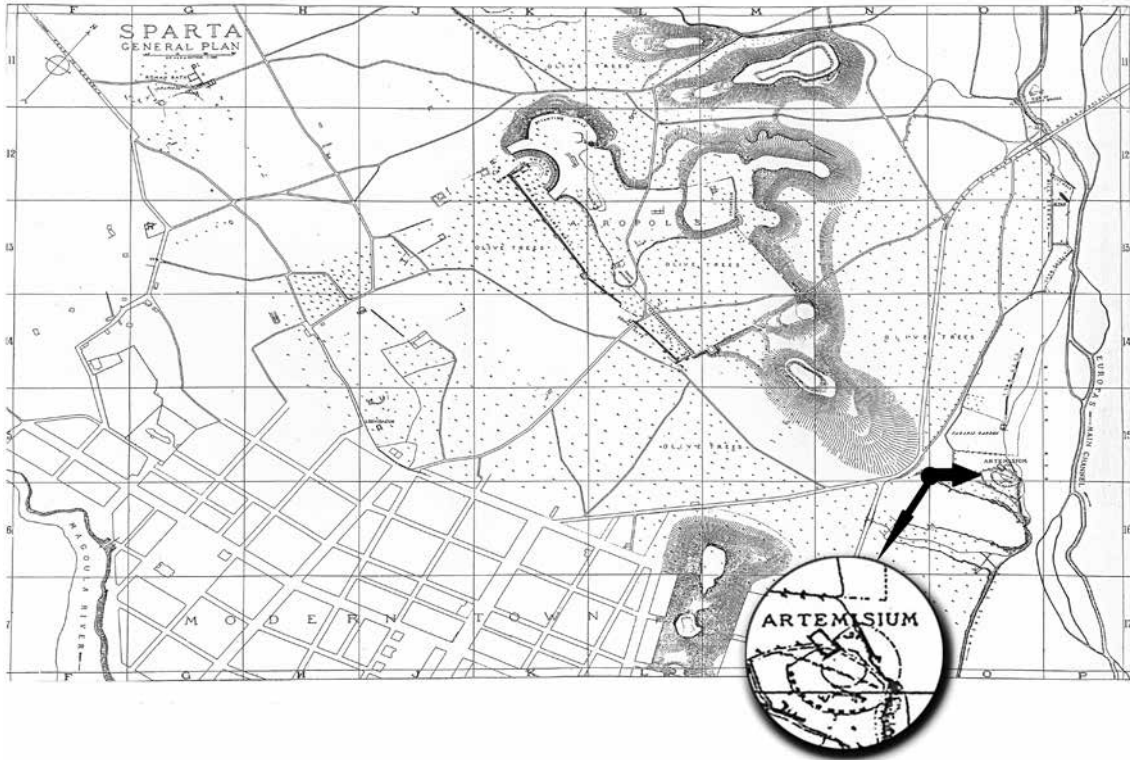


Fig. 1 - Sparta, general plan with the location of the Artemis Orthia sanctuary (Re-laborated after Bosanquet 1905-1906a, pl. VII. Reproduced with permission © British School at Athens)

nology, immediately revealed the presence of a rich votive deposit. The importance of the findings convinced R. M. Bosanquet to investigate the area extensively by excavating the outline of the remaining structures.⁶ He cut two trenches, which immediately revealed the presence of a very rich and complicated stratigraphy.⁷

The new director of the British School, R. M. Dawkins (1907-1910), focused all his energy on the excavation of this site.⁸ Over a period of five years the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia was investigated systematically down to the virgin soil level. The data from the excavations and classes of material were published each year in their entirety in the *Annual of the British School*,⁹ with the evidence collected together in a separate concluding volume in 1929.¹⁰ Over a hundred years later, the works of the British School at Athens still constitute the main reference point for anyone interested in the study of Artemis Orthia site.

⁶ For three weeks the line and typology of the visible structures, which consisted of a few remains, was explored. R. C. Bosanquet focused on the theatre and checked the borders of the structures, and this was compared to the data obtained from the map produced by architects of the French mission in Morea in 1829. It was thus possible to insert the space occupied by the temple, which he had found into the same map. In the same period, local authorities allowed the expropriation of the area, for a sum of £100, and the works to diverge the course of the irrigation channel southwards commenced. So work to free the central area of the temple was started, and concluded on 30 May of the same year. BOSANQUET 1905-1906a, *Expédition de la Morée. Architecture II*, 1829, pl. 46, 48, fig. 1, 2, p. 65.

⁷ Trench A crosses part of the amphitheatre and the 3rd-century-AD arena for ca. 40 m. Trench B, parallel to trench A and placed ca. 10 m south of the latter, intersects ca. 20 m of the southern portion of the amphitheatre. In both

cases the position and the extension of the trenches are reproduced on the map. BOSANQUET 1905-1906a, pl. VIII, fig. 1.

⁸ Richard MacGillivray Dawkins, had been working at the British School since 1902, was Director of the School from 1906 to 1914. R. M. Dawkins was skilled archaeologist and expert on folklore, he focused all the energy of the School on the excavation of the Artemis Orthia sanctuary. His main collaborators were G. Dickins, J. P. Droop, H. J. W. Tillyard and A. J. B. Wace.

⁹ BOSANQUET 1905-1906b, DAWKINS 1905-1906, BOSANQUET 1905-1906c, TILLYARD 1905-1906, DAWKINS 1906-1907, DROOP 1906-1907a, DROOP 1906-1907b, DAWKINS 1907-1908, DROOP 1907-1908, FARREL 1907-1908, WOODWARD 1907-1908, DAWKINS 1908-1909, DROOP 1908-1909, WOODWARD 1908-1909, DAWKINS 1909-1910, WOODWARD 1909-1910.

¹⁰ DAWKINS *et alii* 1929.

These publications provide a precise framework for the different phases of life of the sanctuary as well as the presentation of all the evidence found. The excavation reports contain a plethora of detailed pictures and drawings. Maps and illustrations of sections of the votive deposit and its structures were published at the end of each excavation campaign. The results allow us to reconstruct the stratigraphic and monumental sequence that accompanied the thirteen centuries of the sanctuary's life. Apart from issues concerning the interpretation and chronologies, on which recent discoveries in Magna Graecia and Greece may well shed new light,¹¹ it is important to highlight the methodology used. The excavation was conducted in the early 1900s, before any scientific approach to archaeology had yet been formalised. The documents at our disposal reveal a few gaps, which could compromise the reading of the data. *In primis*, the graphic documentation does not consider the negative stratigraphic units of the trenches and of the wall foundations, which were not taken into account during the archaeological investigation. Moreover, all the classes of material were published separately, making it impossible to ascertain the context of their provenance and, consequently, to correctly interpret the chronology of the site on the basis of the published material. Nonetheless, the archaeologists meticulously observed the geological characteristics of the soil and noted their research methodology in order to guarantee optimum preservation of data.

If the first year of the excavation was characterised by the investigation of the area through the creation of two trenches, the second campaign in 1907 was devoted to the systematic exploration of the site, bringing to light most of the structures and votive deposits.¹² The excavation of the theatre and the archaic temple was completed, while the area of the *arena* was investigated to the depth of virgin soil.¹³ In this respect, it is important to read the reports of the archaeological excavations to understand the importance and exceptional nature of the findings, as well as understand the methodology used, which was not explicitly detailed in the *Annual* or the book published in 1929.

R. M. Dawkins reports that the whole area was divided into squares and a levelling instrument used to measure the depth of the deposits and finds for the duration of the campaign.¹⁴ Unfortunately, the published documentation does not report the division of the site into squares, the number assigned to each square or the depth of the finds. However, R. M. Dawkins notes that during the entire campaign all the data was recorded in the notebooks, and plans and sections of the excavations were drawn each time changes in the earth were perceived. This claim implies that it should be possible to find all the information and the data we need in those same notebooks, written over 100 years ago. The re-examination of the notebooks is a necessary step, not only to recreate the context of the findings, especially the pottery, but also to read the sanctuary stratigraphically and monumentally, and delineate the various phases of the sanctuary's development.

In the course of my PhD investigations I conducted a study of both the published and the unpublished data and of the notes of the archaeologists preserved in the Archive of the BSA, focussing on the technical information, which is not normally published but which is necessary to the understanding of a site.¹⁵ To reflect on the methodology and actions performed by the archaeologists at the time, an analysis was made. A new plan of the site was drawn up, including all the squares used for the excavations of the sacred area.¹⁶ This plan will allow us to connect the information to the artefacts to the structures on the site.

¹¹ Through a reading and re-examination of all the published material at our disposal it is possible to formulate new hypotheses and reflect on chronological issues, in particular on the archaic phases of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, see LUONGO 2011.

¹² DAWKINS 1906-1907.

¹³ The term *arena* is used here to define the circular area where the altars and votive deposits were found. This was the fulcrum of the sanctuary, which was of primary importance in the cult and rites up to the 3rd century AD, when, still housing the altar, it became the *arena* of the amphitheatre. For the dating of the amphitheatre on the basis of the inscriptions reused in the foundations, see WOODWARD 1929, 285-377.

¹⁴ DAWKINS 1906-1907, 71; DAWKINS *et alii* 1929, VII.

¹⁵ My PhD thesis aims to define and articulate the development of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, namely the analysis of the evidence under the sand stratum obliterating the *area sacra* at the beginning of the 6th century BC. The research can be divided into four main steps: systematic critical review of all the published material, study of all the documents and notebooks in the Archive of the British School at Athens and examination of the published and unpublished pottery preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Sparta, the analysis and organisation of all the data into a database and from thereon into a GIS system.

¹⁶ For a reconsideration of the excavation method at the site of Artemis Orthia based on published material, see LUONGO 2011.

ARCHIVE DOCUMENTS¹⁷*Notebooks on Classes of Materials, Photographic and Graphic Documentation*

The material preserved in the Archive of the British School at Athens, compiled by R. C. Bosanquet, R. M. Dawkins and their collaborators between 1906 and 1910, preserves all the information about the excavation and on the classes of material found at the site.

The first ten notebooks, which I will discuss later, form the core of the documentation and describe the activities performed during excavations.¹⁸ The remaining 15 notebooks focus on the different classes of materials found: inscriptions,¹⁹ architectural terracottas,²⁰ brick stamps,²¹ tile stamps,²² lead figurines,²³ pottery,²⁴ marble artefacts,²⁵ and bronzes.²⁶

Another two notebooks on small items found at the site are very interesting.²⁷ Here, in addition to the numbering, the place of discovery is recorded, though full descriptions and drawings of the object

¹⁷ All the references in footnotes come from the notebooks in the Archive of the British School at Athens.

¹⁸ Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 1. Dawkins R.M., Site notes for spring 1906; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 2. Dawkins R.M., Site notes for May and June season 1906; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 3. Dawkins R.M., Notes on the Artemis Orthia site, April to June season 1906; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 4. Dawkins R.M., Notes on the Artemis Orthia site, March to May, season 1907; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 5. Dawkins R.M., Notes on the Artemis Orthia site, May onwards, season 1907; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 6. Dawkins R.M., Notes on the Artemis Orthia site. Arena and Altars areas, season 1907; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 7. Dawkins R.M., Notes on the Artemis Orthia site, March to April, season 1908; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 8. Dawkins R.M., Notes on the Artemis Orthia site, April to May, season 1908; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 9. Dawkins R.M., Notes on the Artemis Orthia site, season 1909; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 10. Dawkins R.M., Notes on the Artemis Orthia and Menelaion sites, season 1910.

¹⁹ Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 11. Dawkins R.M., Catalogue of Inscriptions I. 1906; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 12. Dawkins R.M., Catalogue of Inscriptions II. 1906; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 13. Dawkins R.M., Catalogue of Inscriptions III. 1907. In these notebooks the inscriptions found are described and drawn in detail and the text is transcribed and often integrated. Information about the day, find spot and graphical references to previous BSA publications has been noted. The author of these last notebooks was probably A.J.W. Tillyard, who later published the epigraphic material.

²⁰ Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 14. George W.S., Catalogue of Architectural Terracottas. (Notes on Terracottas at Delphi). 1906-1910. The notebook contains references to architectural terracottas from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, as well as from other contexts: Atena Chalkioikos, Heroon and Menelaion, which were partially investigated in the same years. The most significant fragments are intricately drawn and measured and often the context of the find and the number of the box in which it is stored are reported. Fragments were marked with a number or a letter, to be interpreted as a sort of initial inventory or reference number to aid in the identification of the fragment in the box. The notebook was written by several different scholars as the variety of handwriting indicates.

²¹ Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 15. George W.S., Catalogue of Brick Stamps. 1906. All the objects have a reference number, are drawn and measured, and the inscriptions, when possible, are transcribed and integrated. Even in these cases the day and the find spot are recorded.

²² Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 16. George W.S.,

Catalogue of Tile Stamps I. 1906-1908; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 17. George W. S., Catalogue of Tile Stamps II. 1908-1910/1924-1928; George, W. S.; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 18. Catalogue of Tile Stamps. Types. 1906-1910/ 1924-1928. The material described within comes from different sites in Sparta and each time its origin is noted. As elsewhere, findings have reference numbers, are drawn and measured, the inscriptions transcribed and the day and place of discovery recorded. For this class of material, an initial typological division was provided on the basis of the epigraphic evidence already in the notebooks.

²³ Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 19. George W.S., Catalogue of Lead Figurines I. 1906-1908; George W. S.; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 20. Catalogue of Lead Figurines II. 1909-1910. The lead figurines are one of the most peculiar categories of material found at the Artemis Orthia site. The pages of notebooks contain detailed and schematic lists, showing items according to their typological and iconographical criteria. For each iconographic type, there is a corresponding context, where the items were found, as well as quantity. The total number of each iconographic group was recorded for each archaeological campaign.

²⁴ Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 21. Dawkins R.M., Notes on the kinds of pottery found. 1906-1910. The information in this notebook relates exclusively to the ceramics found in trench A in 1906; here the description of the composition, decoration and shapes is very generic and only a few classes of pottery were analysed.

²⁵ Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 25. Dawkins R.M., Catalogue of Marbles. 1906-1910/ 1924-1926. The place of discovery of the finds is recorded very vaguely and not many finds have Artemis Orthia as the place of discovery. Almost all the items described were found during the archaeological excavations in the area of the theatre. From an examination of the handwriting it can be assumed that the notebook was written by different scholars.

²⁶ Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 24. Dawkins R.M., Catalogue of bronzes & some other small objects. 1906-1907/1926-1927. The notebook consists of 16 pages; like the one for pottery, lists only the geometric and archaic items found in 1906 in trenches A, B as well as 'below sanctuary'. All finds have a reference number or letter and are divided into types, for instance, fibulae, pins, rings, animals, plaques, etc.; they are described generically and sometimes drawn. Moreover, for each object is recorded the box number.

²⁷ Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 22. Dawkins R.M., Catalogue of small objects found at the Artemis Orthia site. 1906-1910; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 23. Dawkins R.M., Catalogue of miscellaneous small objects, including Terracottas, plus loose notes. 1906-1910.

are not always provided. Very likely, the numbers in the pages relate to the numbers attributed to the items; thus it was a sort of preliminary inventory of the most significant finds.

The Archive of the British School contains numerous photographs taken between 1905 and 1910, as well as several other types of documentation, such as plans, sections and drawings of a few objects. The photographs of the Artemis Orthia sanctuary were published in the *Annual of the British School* and in final publication of 1929.²⁸ Thus, the photographic archive does not add any new information to our knowledge of the site. Some of the drawings (plans and sections) have been published, but the archive preserves important documents that are not included in the published version.²⁹ Some unfinished sketches in pencil, that were probably created during the excavations, allow us to observe the progress of works at the site.³⁰ The objects drawn were the architectural terracottas and lead figurines that also have detailed descriptions.³¹ Only a few architectural terracottas were illustrated, but minutely detailed descriptions record the shape and decoration, measurements of the fragment, find place and number of the box to which they belong.³²

Notebooks 1 - 10: 1906-1910

Notebooks 1-10 are useful as a starting point for the comprehension of all the reports in the archive. For a complete and systematic review of the procedures undertaken for the archaeological excavation, and to re-create the overall plan of the squares in which all the findings can be placed in context and layer, the first ten notebooks had to be examined in detail. The notebooks are effectively modern excavation records, very difficult to read, from which all the following information was drawn. The information noted in the course of all the excavations was not intended for publication, but as a guide for the elaboration of data. They contained quick notes, often confusing, truncated and cryptic, mirroring the frenetic rhythm of the excavation. A correct interpretation of the notebooks will help us understand the logic followed by the archaeologists working on site. In other words, a virtual archaeological excavation at Orthia should be re-enacted, using the notebooks as a medium.

Notebooks 1-10 contain all the information and data connected to the archaeological excavations and management of the mission. They constitute the core of the entire archive and can be divided into two groups. The first group contains the first three notebooks, on the work done in 1906 by R. C. Bosanquet, both at Artemis Orthia as well as throughout the area round Sparta; the second group contains materials from 1907 to 1910, in which the main hand is that of R. M. Dawkins.

The first group differs substantially from the rest of the notebooks, not only for the organization and layout of the pages, but also for the kind of information contained. The writing - always in the same hand - is fast-paced, but contains little information and few observations on the methodology of the excavations, or comments on the choices made during the first phases of the work. Definitively, this type of information can only be inferred after an in-depth examination of the published material.³³

The first notebook collects all the site data gathered during the spring of 1906.³⁴ The pages report

²⁸ Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 35-69. Photographs.

²⁹ Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 77. General Plan of Sparta. 1907; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 79a-b. Plan of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. 1907; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 80a. 2 sections across the site of Artemis Orthia, 1907; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 80b. Artemisium. Section along Trench A, North side; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 82. Plan, elevation & section of the remains of the Roman and underlying altars. 1907; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 83a. Plan of the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. 1908; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 83b. Plan of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. 1908; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 84. Section across the W part of the Arena and the Temple. 1908.

³⁰ Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 85. Elevation of the E side of the South wall of the temple. 1907; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 86. Plan & sections of the 'Mask pit' region in the Artemis Orthia sanctuary. 1908; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 87. Plan of the area around the bed of the Eurotas, showing the sanctuary of

Artemis Orthia and other remains. 1906-1910; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 89. Rough plan of the arena & temple. 1906-1910; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 90. Plan of the temple area with the geometric altar. 1906-1910; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 91. Section across the arena parallel to the S wall of the temple. 1906-1910; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 92. Section 1.25 m below the temple. 1906-1910.

³¹ Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 31. Peet, T.E. Notes and drawings of lead figurines. 1907.

³² Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 100-103/ 106-109. Various drawings of vase fragments and sherds - 12 sheets. 1906-1910.

³³ LUONGO 2011.

³⁴ Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 1. Dawkins R.M., Site notes for Spring. 1906. On the 19th of March investigations started in the SE corner of the Roman Stoa and continued in the area of the theatre, in the so-called Tomb of Leonidas and in the Roman building called Aramissa. The archaeological investigations at the site of Artemis Orthia began on 7 April 1906 and the last day mentioned in the notebook is the 9th of May.

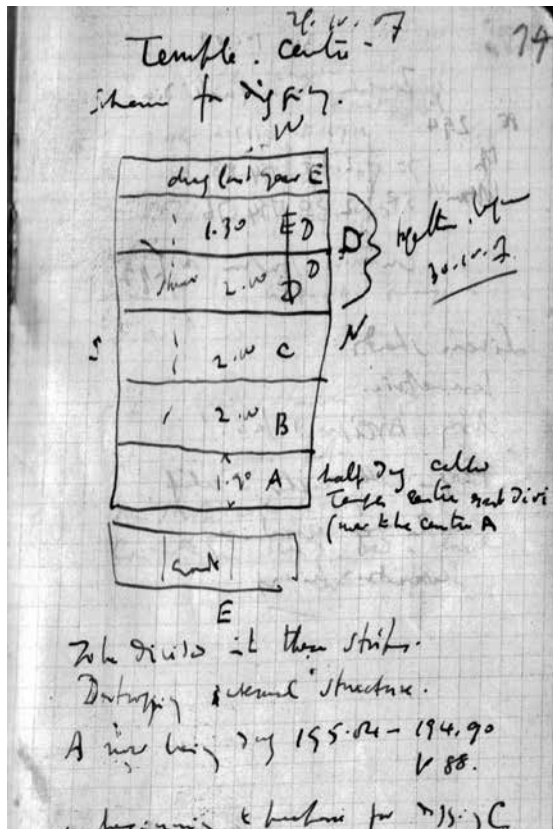


Fig. 2 - Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 4, 78 (Reproduced with permission © British School at Athens)

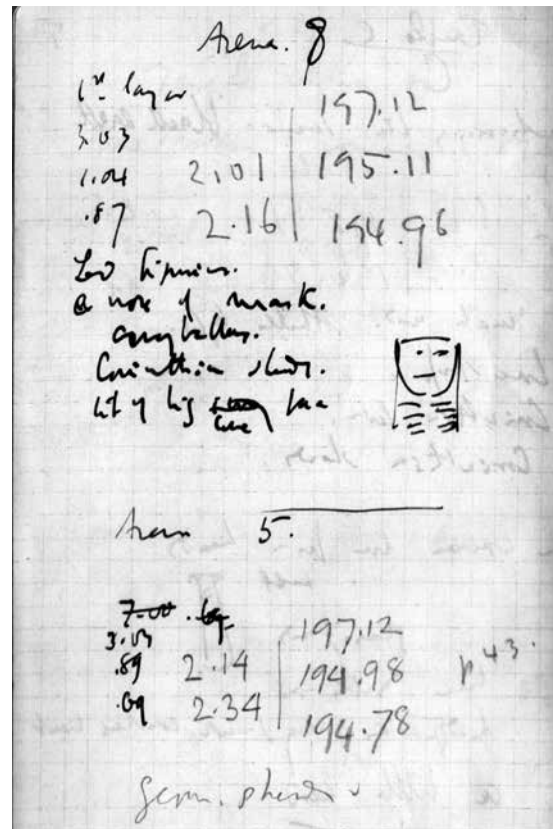


Fig. 3 - Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 5, 48 (Reproduced with permission © British School at Athens)

the evidence found beneath the Roman walls in the exposed section situated near the river. The objects are listed generically; however, much more attention is paid to inscriptions, which are inventoried and described in detail. The main characteristics of the soil are recorded and interpreted as the residues of debris from the sanctuary, most of which derives from votives. The pages of the notebooks describe day-to-day works but, in comparison to the archaeological report published that same year, the notebooks provide much more generic information. Only one of the details is unchanging: the depth. All the levels identified and distinguished on the basis of the pottery were recorded along with the depth of each find.³⁵ Unfortunately the initial measurement, the height of the surface layer, is not recorded, rendering most of the information useless.

Similarly, for the months of May and June, notebook 2 does not provide any information on the methods used during the excavations in 1906.³⁶ The first pages contain a form of survey of the classes of material found in the previous months.³⁷

Notebook 3, of the first archaeological campaign, from April to June 1906, is a sort of résumé of the first two notebooks.³⁸ It records some of the data already in notebooks 1 and 2, but is structured differently and gives much more detailed and complex information, especially on some classes of evidence. A lot of space is given over to the inscriptions found in the sacred area.³⁹

In 1906, R. C. Bosanquet surveyed the nature of the structures, whose remains could be seen at the site, and cut trenches A and B. The data reported in the first three notebooks is very descriptive and

³⁵ As for instance, 'Geometric layer', 'Corinthian stratum', etc.

³⁶ Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 2. Dawkins R.M., Site notes for May and June, 1906.

³⁷ A few objects are described in detail, but rarely drawn. A series of bibliographical references follows and a few pages list the days worked, the names of all the workers employed during the campaign and their salaries. The notebook ends with the description and transcription of some ep-

igraphic evidence found on blocks reused in the Roman wall.

³⁸ Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 3. Dawkins R.M., Notes on the Artemis Orthia site, April to June, 1906.

³⁹ Each example of epigraphic evidence is recorded with a number, which should probably be interpreted as evidence of an inventory used to facilitate the identification of the pieces in the museum and in the note collecting the epigraphic evidence. These objects were drawn and roughly described.

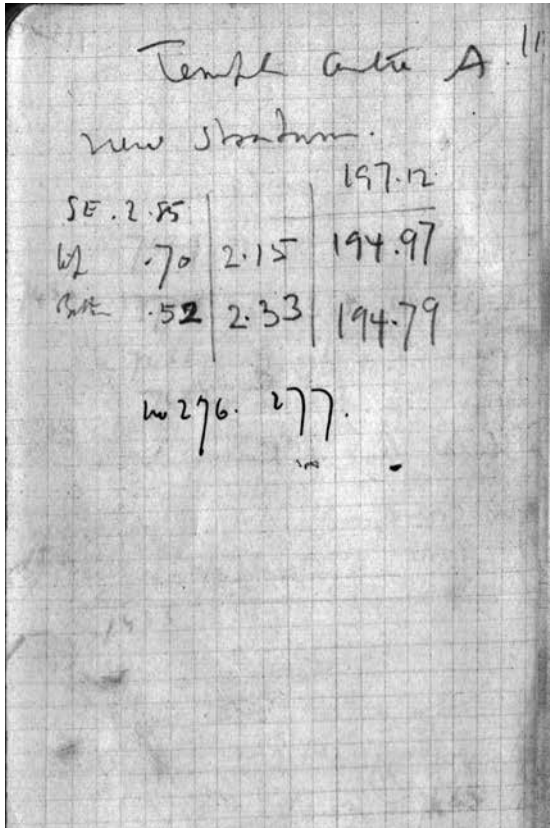


Fig. 4 - Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 4, 97 (Reproduced with permission © British School at Athens)

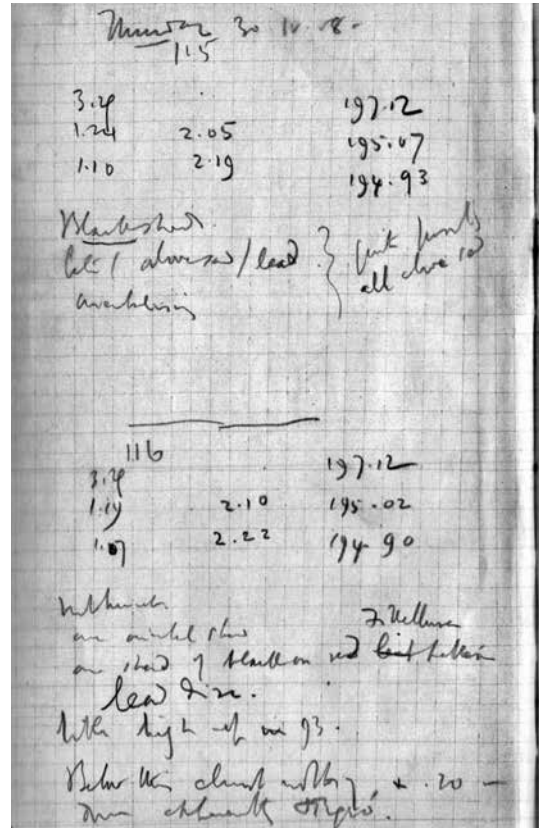


Fig. 5 - Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 8, 1 (Reproduced with permission © British School at Athens)

mainly details the type of finds, depth at which they were found and the geological characteristics of the layers. The depths are consistently reported, but as in notebook 1, there is no trace of the initial height, and consequently, such information is only indicative. Thus the first three notebooks only contain general information. If read separately, they do not supply any useful specific information, just rather brief and generic annotations.

The second group of notebooks (nos 4-10) is quite different, and describes the archaeological campaigns carried out between 1907 and 1910 under the supervision of R. M. Dawkins. Starting from notebook 4, the type of information recorded is schematically and systematically annotated.⁴⁰ The data is often accompanied by sketches and sections along with information on the strata, nature of the level and its depth. The figure 197.12 often occurs in association with other calculations and numbers; its significance, however, is in no way specified.

Notebook 4 has a very interesting sketch of the excavation of the whole area of the archaic temple (Fig. 2). This should be interpreted as a useful drawing of the site, because of the dimensions of six divisions marked by letters. Part E, investigated in 1906, is also shown.

In 1907 the focus was on the temple and the *arena*, which are described over several pages.⁴¹

Notebook 5 provides information on the *arena* and the temple.⁴² The information is reported more and more schematically and consistently. The same pattern is also reported in notebook 9, with the exception of a few pages, in which the data is reported more narratively.

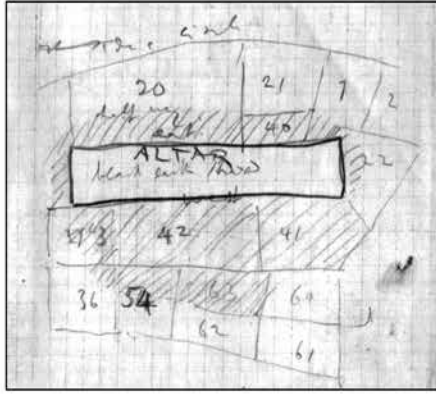
Pages are entitled 'Arena', 'Temple', 'Arena (and a number)', 'Temple (plus a letter and a cardinal point or simply a number)' respectively and often contain a reference to other pages of the notebooks or the words 'New Stratum' (Fig. 3-5).⁴³ The strata and layers are generically described according to

⁴⁰ Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 4. Dawkins R.M., Notes on the Artemis Orthia site, March to May. 1907.

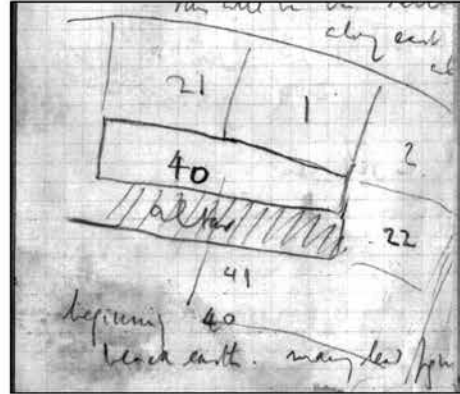
⁴¹ Notebook 4 concentrates on the inscriptions found in the arena. As in many other notebooks, all the epigraphic evidence is drawn and given a reference number, which is constantly repeated to recall the context of the discovery.

⁴² Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 5. Dawkins R.M., Notes on the Artemis Orthia site, May onwards. 1907.

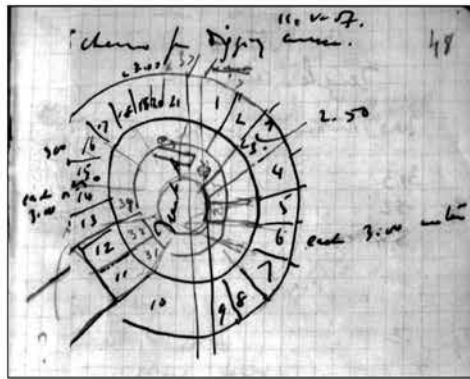
⁴³ By 'title' or 'to title' I mean here the habit adopted in notebooks 4-9, in which each page began with the mention of the main area excavated.



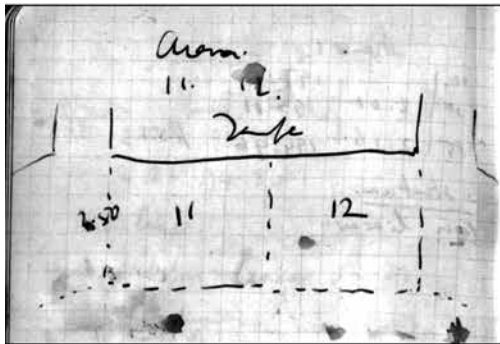
Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 6, p. 17.



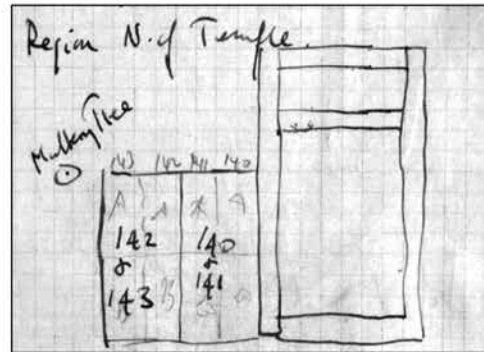
Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 5, p. 131



Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 5, p. 48



Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 5, p. 65



Sparta Excavations Records: Sparta 8, p. 25

Fig. 6 - Sketches extracted from the pages of notebooks
(Reproduced with permission © British School at Athens)

the geological variations of the ground, with reference mainly to colour changes. A list of the materials found is often recorded; but in the majority of the cases no reference is provided rough the object can later be identified. In the luckiest but rarer cases, a number is associated with these objects, thus cross-comparison with notebooks 22 and 23 helps in the identification.⁴⁴

The most interesting aspect and most consistent piece of information are the 8 figures presented in three rows. The figures are always different, but one occurs more frequently: 197.12 (Fig. 3-5).

A few pages only have a title and 8 figures, sometimes accompanied by three different references: SE, Top, Bottom (Fig. 4). Often the information consists of a couple of figures, other times the scheme of 8 figures is repeated several times by the titles of a page or section.

⁴⁴ Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 22. Dawkins site. 1906- 1910. R.M., Catalogue of small objects found at Artemis Orthia

In notebook 7, it is clear that the area under investigation was widened, as references to the east and north sides of the temple appear.⁴⁵ Even in this case, they are used as titles of the pages, but are always accompanied by a figure. The layout and type of information are the same as those in previous notebooks, and recurs in notebooks 8 and 9.⁴⁶

Notebook 10 consists only of a few pages⁴⁷ containing two inscriptions with their transcriptions.

Many pages in the notebooks contain sketches, crucial for understanding the information contained in the notebooks and the methodology of the excavations. As in the drawing of the temple in notebook 4, the remaining notebooks have similar drawings, which should correspond to the area next to the altars. All the sketches indicate the structure, identified as the altar, and a series of rectangular subdivisions marked by numbers and dimensions (Fig. 6).

The square and level system

The first reading of the notebooks from the excavations of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, both as single volumes and as an entire corpus of evidence, provides valuable information. To understand the ten notebooks it is important to be familiar with all the published material, which contains interesting data on the methodology, beginning with the second archaeological campaign. All the documentation in the archive should be read synchronically and systematically to ensure the information contained within is clear and the data interpretable.

The notes are general, but refer to specific notebooks devoted to specific classes of material. The different phases of the archaeological excavations can be reconstructed by knowing the month and day of the dig. Only two elements of the information provided defy easy comprehension: the titles of each page and the 8 figures, which are repeated at regular intervals.

R. M. Dawkins writes that the entire area of excavation was divided into squares, 34 for the *arena* and 6 for the archaic temple. This information allows us to interpret the data that derives from the graphic documentation (plans, sections, sketches) and the notebooks. Plans and sketches show subdivisions of different shapes, always related to fixed reference points: altars, temple and trench A. The figures and letters reported at the tops of the pages in the notebook correspond to the numbers and letters used on the plans, sections and sketches. Thus, these subdivisions can be interpreted as the squares mentioned by R. M. Dawkins. Each square has a number in the area of the *arena* and on the north and south sides of the temple, and the letters were used for the squares in the area of the temple (Fig. 7).

Beginning with notebook 4, each page contains a 'title', and according to the area excavated, the number of the squares processed on a certain day.

The title *Arena 8* can be interpreted as a reference to square 8, excavated in the *arena* area (Fig. 3).

The squares containing letters are larger and more rectangular, and have been divided into smaller sections, such as north, centre, and south (Fig. 2). The terms *Temple Centre A* can be interpreted as square *A* of the temple, central section (Fig. 4). The area of the temple contains divisions marked by letters as well as a square marked *East*. The same divisions were applied to this square as to the others. For example, *Temple East Nord* is used as a heading for all the data following on the *East* square of the temple area, excavated in its northern part. Very often the pages of the notebooks only have a title and a number without any indication of the area (Fig. 5).

In this case, the maps and sketches must be used for the identification and reconstruction of the exact position of the squares.

Given that page titles refer to the squares and areas investigated on a given day, the different numerical sequences can only refer to the latter, which allows me to advance the hypothesis that they may well have been connected to the work of the excavations and thus an understanding of them is necessary for our investigation to proceed. The sequences consist of 8 figures placed in columns, with a constant initial number appearing throughout: 197.12 (Figg. 3-5). These numbers must refer to triangulations or the depth of the finds, but it was difficult to answer this question without a definite and verifiable point of reference. Even in this case, the published material is helpful.

⁴⁵ Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 7. Dawkins R.M., Notes on the Artemis Orthia site, March to April. 1908.

⁴⁶ Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 8. Dawkins R.M., Notes on the Artemis Orthia site, April to May. 1908; Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 9. Dawkins R.M., Notes on

the Artemis Orthia site. 1909.

⁴⁷ Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 10. Dawkins R.M., Notes on the Artemis Orthia & Menelaion sites. 1910.

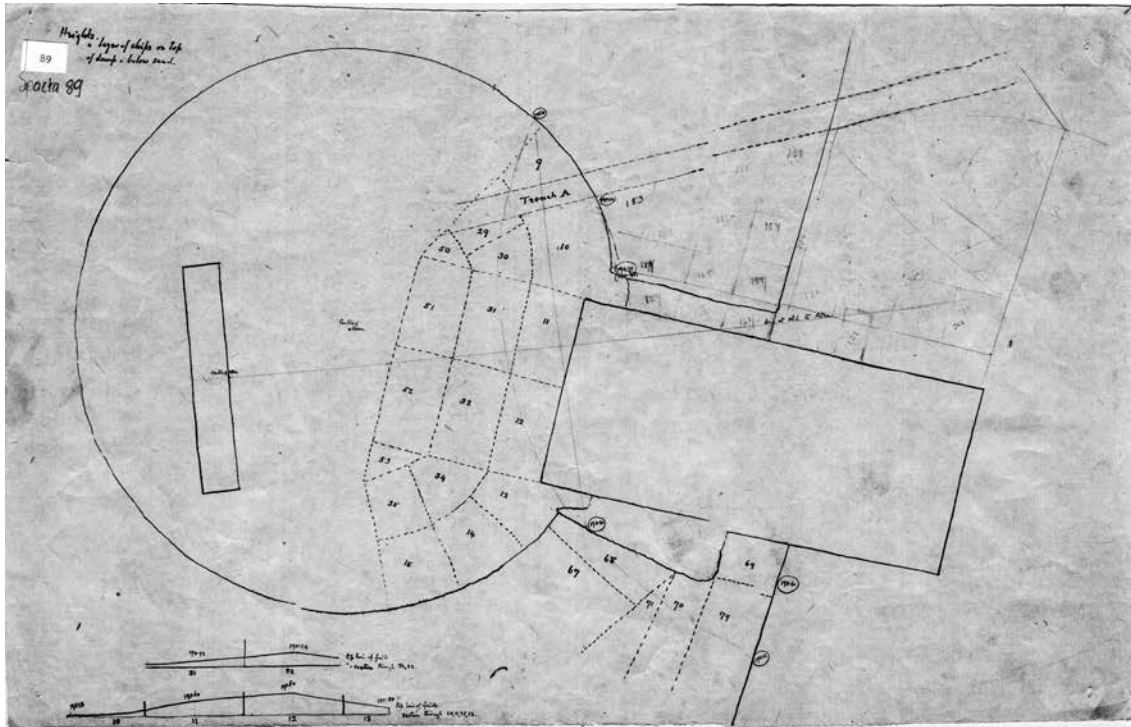


Fig. 7 - Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 89 (Reproduced with permission © British School at Athens)

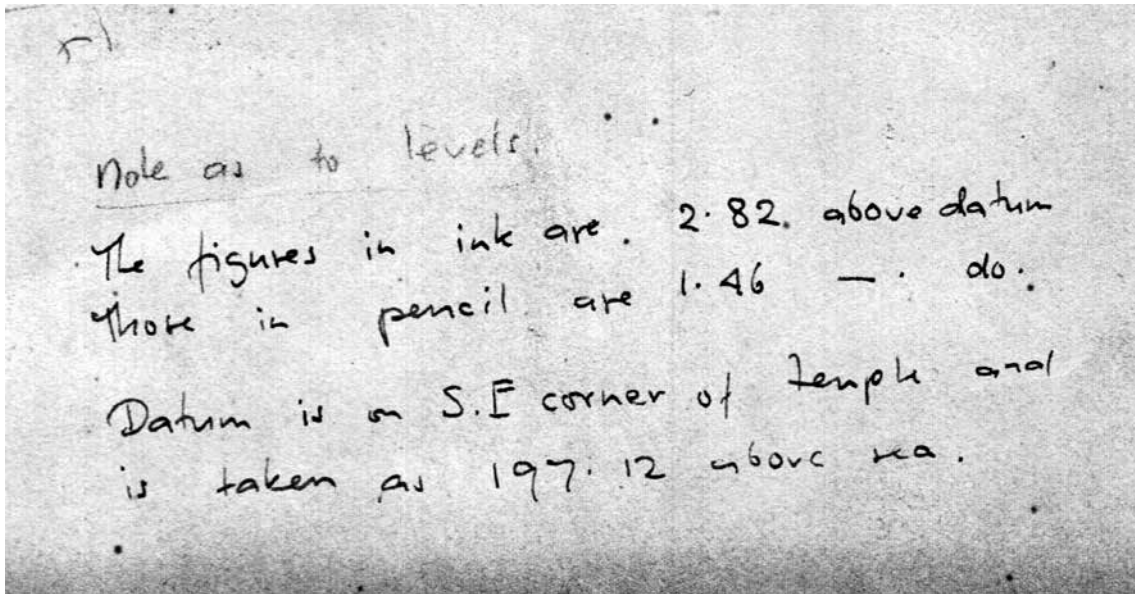


Fig. 8 - Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 79b. Detail (Reproduced with permission © British School at Athens)

R. M. Dawkins writes that each square was divided from the top to the bottom into various strata, each of which was measured with a levelling tool.⁴⁸ This implies that the figures were used to describe the height of the different levels. An incomplete plan, representing the investigated area after the second archaeological campaign, would appear to support this hypothesis.⁴⁹ In one corner it is possible to discern a brief note, in which it is recorded that the height is taken in the southeast corner of the temple and corresponds to 197.12 m above sea level (Fig. 8).

⁴⁸ 'All through the work a levelling instrument was constantly in use, for measuring the levels of the strata'. DAWKINS 1906-1907, 71. 'Without Mr Thompson's constant labours with the levelling telescope, with the tape and the sketch-book, it is not likely that our knowledge of what

happened at the Orthia site, especially in the critical years of the seventh and sixth century, would be as full as it may now claim to be'. DAWKINS *et alii* 1929, VII.

⁴⁹ Sparta Excavation Records: Sparta 79b. Plan of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. 1907.

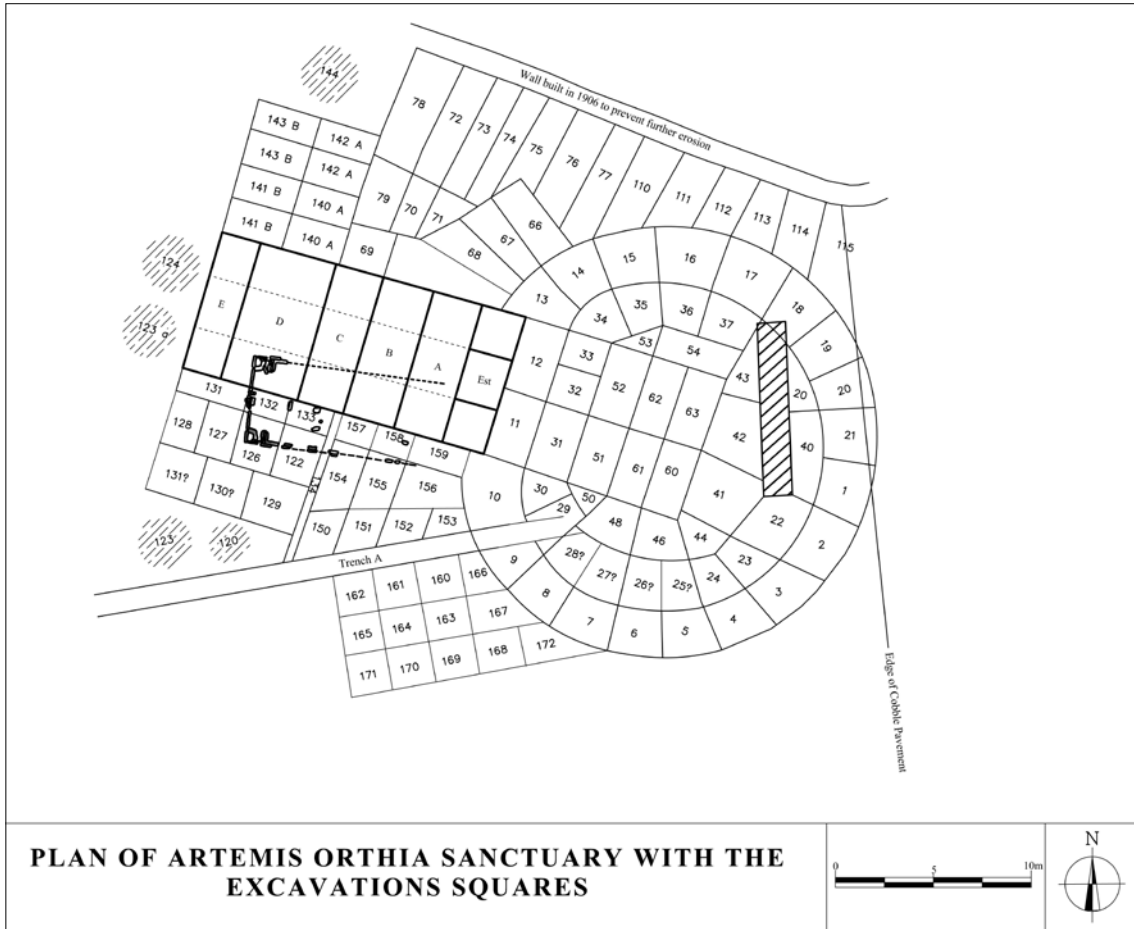


Fig. 9 - Plan of the sacred area with the excavation squares (Graphic reconstruction by the Author)

Notebooks 4-9 contain data that is fundamental not only to understanding the methodology of the archaeological excavations, but also to the interpretation of the different phases in the life of the sanctuary. From mere numerical sequences, the figures take on meaning and can be deciphered as follows (Fig. 4):⁵⁰

Temple Centre A

SE	2.85		197.12
TOP	.70	2.15	194.97
BOTTOM	.52	2.33	194.79

- Reference is made to the square and its location within the site: Temple, square A, central portion;
- The absolute height above sea level taken from the southeast corner of the temple is: 197.12;
- The top and the bottom absolute heights of the stratum are: 194.97 – 194.79;
- The relative heights are: 2.15 – 2.33;
- The depths of the stratum are: 2.85 - 0.70 - 0.52.

All the information on the nature and colours of the strata have been recorded, along with their levels, the findings and a series of other details to be read as a whole complex of data. Additional information can be sourced from the graphic documents, which allow us to place the net of squares in context.

So far, I have placed all the squares in the area of the sanctuary, without considering the area of the 5th-century-BC houses on the eastern side of the site. (Fig. 9) This plan is from the graphic documentation produced at the end of the third campaign in 1908, illustrating the position and progression of the

⁵⁰ This data is from p. 113 of notebook 4.

area investigated, the wall built in 1906 to protect the area from floods and the borders beyond which lay sand and cobbles, interpreted by R. M. Dawkins as a pavement. The fixed points, used both by the British archaeologists to define the squares and by myself in the reconstruction, are the archaic temple, its altar and trench A. Each square represents the location, shape, form, dimension and number reported in the notebooks, in the sketches within the notebooks, and in the unpublished graphic documentation.

To make the plan clearer, the rest of the rectangular, earlier temple, dating to the 7th century BC and found in the sacred area, was inserted. The north portion of the structure was cut through by the archaic temple, but exactly one half was preserved as was the first middle row of column bases which divided the temple into two naves. For this reason, it is possible to mirror the remaining evidence to have a more precise picture of the space occupied by the most ancient temple. In my CAD plan, all the data has been drawn and measured using the information from the notebooks. Some squares are graphically different, because this is what the documentation describes. For the majority of the squares I have managed to establish their precise position in space, their dimensions, their shape and their numbering. With respect to the squares I have indicated with a question mark, precise location, shape and measurements have been provided; there is, however, an uncertainty factor of 10% on this numbering. For the squares numbered 120, 123, 123a, 124 and 144, the notebooks only contain generic information about location, shape and dimensions, which is why they are only outlined here.⁵¹

The Museum Records

R. M. Dawkins states that all the objects were placed in wooden boxes with labels, recording their find spot and other details: mounds of earth, sections of the deposit, depths.⁵²

The Archaeological Museum in Sparta has preserved all the pottery and architectural terracottas in the same wooden boxes used by the British archaeologists.⁵³ The boxes contain several wooden labels which still provide short descriptions of their contents. These labels cannot be understood if studied separately, but become a precious instrument if interpreted systematically with the published material and archive documentation. In this way the museum records are very important because specific information about the pottery and other findings can be sourced.

The two examples of wooden labels relating to two different boxes and thus to two different groups of unpublished material whose recovery context was unknown are reported below.

In the examples in question, the labels only have three numbers and a brief note:

- Box 2358: 159 195.05 194.92 (Fig. 10)
- Box 2359: 194.92 194.37 Outside wall East to altar (Fig. 11)

Through the examination of the archive documentation, it is now possible to interpret the numbers as well as the context in which the evidence was found.

The pottery preserved in Box 2358 was found in square 159 and in a stratum which had a top height of 195.05 and bottom height of 194.92.

For Box 2359 the information is slightly different. The fragments were found in a stratum which had a top height of 194.92 and bottom height of 194.37, but we do not know the square number. Despite this the label informs us that the pottery was found 'Outside wall East to altar'. This data is not as precise as the number of the square but in the same way allows us to place the finds in a specific area of the sanctuary.

The material exhibited in the display case has no information about which box it came from, nor any label. However, it is still possible to identify materials and their location context when they were found as certain objects followed the same numerical sequences reported in the notebooks, which indicated square number and figures for the level at which the vase or fragment was found (Fig. 12).

Other objects only contain a number, which could be an inventory number assigned by the British

⁵¹ For square no. 124, on p. 38 of notebook 8, its location is right behind the archaic temple. Unfortunately, the square is neither on the plan nor in any of the sketches. For this reason, it is not possible to know its dimensions, shape or precise location.

⁵² DAWKINS 1906-1907, 71.

⁵³ In 2006 on the occasion of the CSPS organised by the University of Nottingham, three weeks were devoted to the re-organization of the entire pottery evidence - including that from Artemis Orthia - in the storage rooms of the Sparta Archaeological Museum. Except for a few boxes, the material was divided and organized into small bags and labelled (the original wooden plate was put inside the bag).

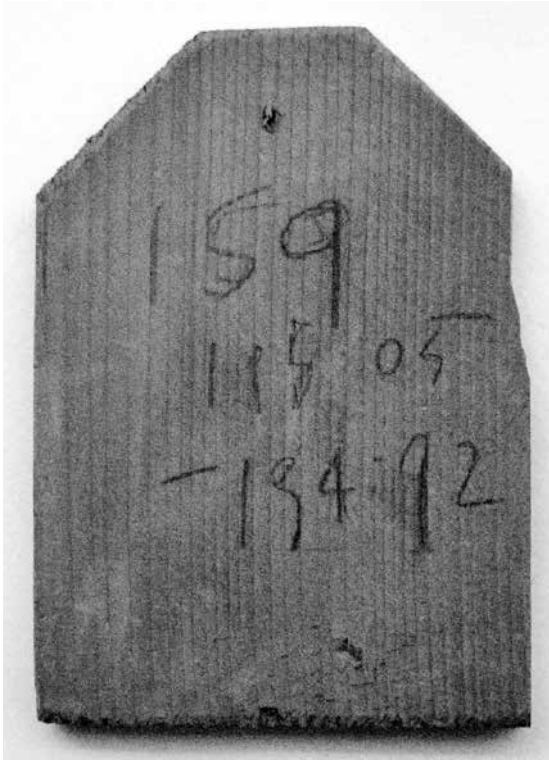


Fig. 10 - Label of Box 2358
(Photo Author. Reproduced with permission of the British School at Athens)



Fig. 11 - Label of Box 2359
(Photo Author. Reproduced with permission of the British School at Athens)

archaeologists when first uncovered. Notebooks 22 and 23 contain a list of numbers, and each number corresponds to a brief description of the piece and numerical sequence which can now be used as its context. By cross-referencing these figures with the figures from the finds, there was clearly correspondence between the figures and the brief descriptions.

Material with no indications (no label or numerical sequence) can again be located by cross-referencing the data.

Most of the objects were published in the *Annual of the School* and in the monograph published in 1929, and have since then always been studied from a stylistic standpoint. Now, this material can be located on the plan I have drawn up to understand the actual context of finds and stratigraphy.

All the information on the labels and objects corresponds to the information recorded in the notebooks.

For these items, and for those in the boxes still preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Sparta, it is now possible to reconstruct provenance: the precise place of discovery in the sanctuary, (square or generic area), as well as the depths and therefore the stratigraphy.⁵⁴

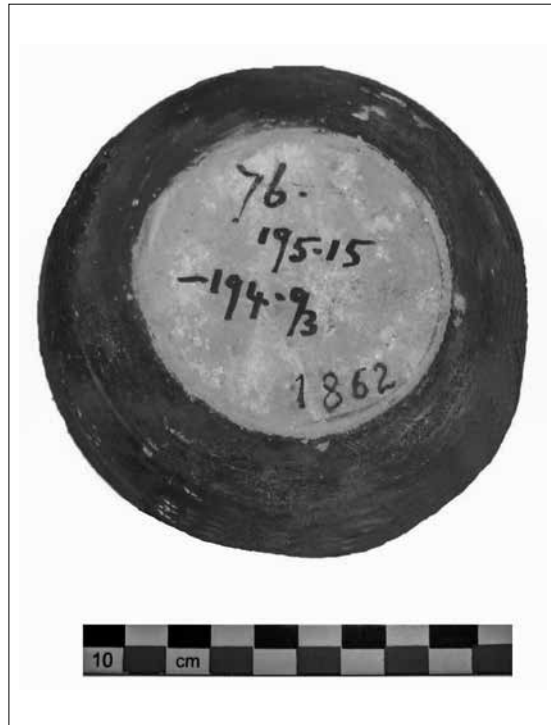


Fig. 12 - Vase published in Dawkins 1929, fig. 70 c
(Photo Author. Reproduced with permission © British School at Athens)

⁵⁴ I am grateful to the staff of Sparta Ephoria, in particular to Drs. Maria Tsouli, Afroditi Maltesou, Hara Giannakaki, Evangelia Maniati and Anna Poelstra Traga for their

hospitality and assistance during my periods of study at Sparta. In this regard thanks are also due to the staff of the Archaeological Museum of Sparta.

INITIAL CONCLUSIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

The complete analysis of all the published material and archive documents allows one to reconstruct the methodology used in the archaeological excavations of the sanctuary. Despite the lacunas and contradictions of the method, we must take into account that it was conducted and completed more than a century ago. The nature of the information provided is quite unusual. The top and bottom height of each layer was measured and the nature of the layer described. All the information was noted in the notebooks and sketched. The archaeologists were concerned about using an appropriate method for the excavation, and this is documented in the literature.⁵⁵ The examination of the archive documents allows us to comprehend that everything was designed to waste as little data as possible. Systematic analysis of the material, both published and unpublished, indicates the archaeologists were highly professional and their accurate work has produced large quantities of precise data.

For this reason, the plan proposed here is not the culmination, but rather the starting point of my research. All the available data will be combined to relocate the different classes of material, *in primis* the pottery and the remaining structures, not only in the area of the sanctuary, but also in the various strata, which will be reconstructed on the basis of the coupled heights – top and bottom – recorded in the pages of the notebooks. With the help of a database to organise the enormous amount of data,⁵⁶ integrated using GIS,⁵⁷ and combined with a systematic study of all classes of materials still unpublished, it will be possible to address chronological issues and articulate the different phases in the life of the sanctuary, particularly the archaic phases, in order to cast new light on one of the most important cult places in Sparta.

⁵⁵ DAWKINS-DROOP-WACE 1930.

⁵⁶ So far, the database consists of 542 coupled heights relating to contextualised levels above the sand layer oblite-

rating the sacred area at the beginning of the 6th century BC.

⁵⁷ I would like to thank Dr. Emeri Farinetti for her help in the creation of the database integrated with GIS.

ΤΑ ΗΜΕΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ ΟΡΘΙΑΣ ΣΕ ΝΕΑ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΗ. ΚΑΙΝΟΥΡΙΕΣ ΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΙΕΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΙΣ ΠΑΛΙΕΣ ΑΝΑΣΚΑΦΕΣ; - Το κείμενο που παρουσιάζεται εδώ αποτελεί τον καρπό της πλήρους εξέτασης όλου του δημοσιευμένου υλικού και της αδημοσίευτης τεκμηρίωσης αρχείου, διαμέσου της οποίας στάθηκε δυνατό να ανασυντεθεί η ανασκαφική μέθοδος που χρησιμοποιήθηκε κατά την αρχαιολογική έρευνα που πραγματοποιήθηκε ανάμεσα στο 1905 και το 1910 από τους αρχαιολόγους της British School των Αθηνών στο ιερό της Αρτέμιδος Ορθίας στη Σπάρτη. Μια μέθοδος που παρουσιάζει πολλά κενά και αντιφάσεις, αλλά επειδή πρόκειται για μια ανασκαφή που έγινε και περατώθηκε εδώ και πάνω από έναν αιώνα, η φύση των πληροφοριών που μπορέσαμε να αποσπάσουμε είναι μοναδική. Πράγματι, αν εξεταστούν συστηματικά μας επιτρέπουν να διατρέξουμε τις φάσεις της ανασκαφής και να συλλογιστούμε σχετικά με κάποια προβλήματα. Το Μουσείο της Σπάρτης πράγματι, διατηρεί το κεραμικό υλικό και τις αρχιτεκτονικές πήλινες διακοσμήσεις στα ίδια κιβώτια που είχαν κατασκευαστεί και οργανωθεί από την αγγλική αποστολή, τα οποία έχουν κάποιες ταμπελίτσες που αναφέρουν ενδείξεις που υπάρχουν και στα ημερολόγια ανασκαφής. Η τακτοποίηση όλων των στοιχείων που διαθέτουμε θα επιτρέψει στην έρευνα όχι μόνον τον καθορισμό των προβλημάτων χρονολογικού χαρακτήρα, αλλά και τη διάρθρωση και τη συγκεκριμενοποίηση των διαφόρων φάσεων ζωής του ιερού, κυρίως των αρχαϊκών, επιτρέποντάς μας να προσφέρουμε κάτι νέο σε έναν από τους πιο σημαντικούς τόπους λατρείας της αρχαίας Σπάρτης.

I DIARI DI ARTEMIS *ORTHIA* RILETTI. NUOVE INFORMAZIONI DAI VECCHI SCAVI? - Il testo qui presentato è il frutto dell'analisi completa di tutto il materiale edito e della documentazione d'archivio inedita, mediante la quale è stato possibile ricostruire il metodo di scavo adoperato durante l'indagine archeologica condotta tra il 1905 e il 1910 dagli archeologi della British School di Atene nel santuario di Artemis *Orthia* a Sparta; un metodo che presenta molte lacune e contraddizioni, ma trattandosi di uno scavo condotto e terminato più di un secolo fa, la natura delle informazioni che è stato possibile estrapolare risulta singolare. Esse infatti, analizzate sistematicamente permettono di ripercorrere le fasi dello scavo e riflettere su alcune problematiche.

Il Museo di Sparta infatti, conserva il materiale ceramico e le terrecotte architettoniche nelle stesse cassette create e organizzate dalla missione inglese, le quali presentano alcuni cartellini che riportano indicazioni presenti anche sui taccuini di scavo. La messa a sistema di tutti i dati a nostra disposizione consentiranno alla ricerca non solo la definizione delle problematiche di carattere cronologico, ma anche di articolare e precisare le diverse fasi di vita del santuario, soprattutto le fasi arcaiche, consentendoci di apportare un contributo nuovo a uno dei luoghi di culto più significativi di Sparta arcaica.

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