

had already taken place at the level of the socioeconomic configuration. This led to a whole lot of belated demands being addressed to the state by those parts of society that felt themselves to have been left out of social and political developments in the previous period of political authoritarianism.

It is precisely, we believe, this dual character of interventionist policies of the post-1974 period that explains not only the fact that the policies pursued was inevitable to confront a macroeconomic constraint but also, and more importantly, that they were themselves responsible for creating the macroeconomic impasse. In fact, the contradictory and often mutually exclusive demands on the state in this period seem to correspond to the parallel coexistence of two distinct political paradigms: a "social democratic" consensus and a "populist" consensus. The former was mainly expressed as the absolute faith in the state's ability both to manage and to lead the process of economic development through direct interventions and the latter being expressed as the general demand that the state must ensure that economic change should not be allowed to worsen the economic position of any social group.

In view of the heterogeneity involved in the coexistence of these two paradigms, the compromise between them has not been easy. For one thing, even in its ideal and well-intended version, the "social democratic" consensus was no more on the agenda internationally. The tide of the new orthodoxy at the level of industrial policy has discarded the option of defensive state intervention for the maintenance of "mature" sectors, swept away by the more dynamic and lower-cost new entrants from the Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs). The dominant trend in fiscal management has emphasized the relevance of macroeconomic constraints and the destabilizing role of inflation and deficits. Therefore, if we consider the model of development proposed by *Nea Economía* as the expression in Greece of what we have termed as the "social democratic consensus", it is unfortunate that it came to be actually implemented at a time when its developmental effectiveness had been already exhausted. The important thing to note, however, is that although the macroeconomic constraint could not have been avoided as intervention is a costly option, it was not industrial intervention as such that caused the collapse of the Greek fiscal regime. Rather, it was the cost of the "populist consensus" as opposed to the social democratic consensus, that accounts both for this collapse as well as for the delay with which policy makers came to realize the insurmountable character of macroeconomic constraints.

## The British School at Athens and the Modern History of Greece

RICHARD CLOGG

The archaeological sites that proliferate throughout the Greek lands constitute a vast and incomparably rich resource for the study of antiquity. Over the years these have been the object of intensive study. But the politics of archaeology in the independent Greek state have as yet has been relatively unexplored. Given the importance of the heritage of the ancient Greek world to the formation of the modern Greek identity this relative neglect is puzzling. A significant dimension of the politics of archaeology in Greece is the role of the foreign archaeological schools in uncovering the physical remains of antiquity. Their function is necessarily a sensitive, and sometimes a controversial, one and not only in Greece.<sup>1</sup> Melina Mercouri in the run-up to the 1981 elections in Greece more than once called for the closing down of the foreign archaeological schools on the grounds that they were institutions for the training of spies. Such a contention is inherently implausible, but it is nonetheless unquestionably the case, as we shall see, that alumni of the archaeological schools served in the intelligence services of their home countries in both world wars.

The story of the foreign archaeological schools necessarily forms a part of the modern history of Greece. The present paper is a survey of the role of the British School in promoting the study of modern Greece. For although the interests of the British School have very largely been focused on antiquity this focus has not been an exclusive one and, as we shall see, at certain periods there has been a considerable interest in modern Greece, its history, language, and culture. This paper is a revised version of a communication which I delivered at the conference held in Athens in June 1986 to

<sup>1</sup> The eight British archaeological schools and institutes in various part of the world have also recently come under fire in the United Kingdom, dismissed by their critics as remnants of a colonial past and as "expatriate dining clubs." See, for instance, *The Times Higher Education Supplement* 17 June 1994.

mark the centenary of the establishment of the British School (sometimes referred to as the British School of Archaeology) at Athens.

At the time that I was invited to give the paper on the contribution of the British School at Athens to the study of the modern, which I interpreted as being the post-Byzantine history of Greece I was putting the finishing touches to a detailed study of the strange but fascinating circumstances of the foundation in 1918 of the Koraes Chair of Modern Greek and Byzantine History, Language and Literature at King's College, London, and of Arnold Toynbee's brief and stormy initial tenure of it.<sup>2</sup> In writing this book I had been very much struck by the fact that virtually all those who were seriously considered for this chair when it was established at the end of the First World War had a close connection with the School. Besides Toynbee himself, these included A. W. Gomme, R. M. Dawkins, A. J. B. Wace, F. W. Hasluck and C. A. Scutt, all former students of the School. This represented an extraordinary array of talent and at no stage since has so much of the School's effort been devoted to the study of the recent history of Greece and of its modern language and society as during the "Golden Age" which coincided with the directorships of Dawkins (1906-1913) and Wace (1913-1923).

From the very beginning of the School's existence, there had been students with a very real interest in modern Greece. R.A.H. Bickford-Smith, for instance, who was admitted as a student as early as 1888-9, was the author of *The Greece of King George* (London 1893), a mine of information on the kingdom of Greece in the last decade of the nineteenth century that retains its value to the present day. Bickford-Smith recalled that soon after he had arrived in Athens a foreign diplomat had observed to him "you are off to study the dead, and I the living; but I think you will pay attention to the living too some day," a prophetic remark that reinforced a proposition that Bickford-Smith believed to be almost universally true, namely that "however antiquarian the instincts may be that send a traveler to Greece, he is certain to become infected after a little while by the patriotism of the Greece before his eyes." In his chapter on archaeology, Bickford-Smith not only solicited subscriptions to the newly founded British School but went so far as to list the name of the treasurer, Walter Leaf. He also called, predictably without result, for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make an annual subsidy of £5000 per annum to the School.<sup>3</sup> A further indication of early interest in contemporary Greece on the part of the School is afforded

<sup>2</sup> *Politics and the Academy: Arnold Toynbee and the Koraes Chair* (London, 1986).

by the publication in the third volume (1896-97) of the *Annual* of the School of an article entitled "Macedonian Customs" by Helen Triandaphyllides, a graduate of the Arsakeion School, perhaps the leading girls school in Athens. Ms Triandaphyllides is described as "a Greek lady who was attached, during the past season to the British School, and who, by her attainments, no less than by the circumstances of her nationality, is peculiarly fitted for the work she has here undertaken." Another of the early students of the School, Edward S. Forster (1902-04) developed a strong interest in the history of modern Greece. This interest was reinforced by his service as an intelligence officer in Macedonia and in Constantinople between 1915 and 1919 and resulted in the publication in 1941 of a *Short History of Modern Greece 1821-1940*.<sup>4</sup>

Arnold Toynbee, probably the best known historian of our century, and certainly in the course of long and hard-working life, one of its most prolific, is not normally thought of in connection with the British School. But it is clear that the nine months that he spent in Greece in 1911-12 was one of the truly formative periods of his life and that it had a profound influence on the subsequent development of his scholarly interests. Toynbee had not been at all happy at the boarding schools to which he had been sent and was not to be as thoroughly happy as he had been at the age of nine until he arrived at the School and learned at last to stand on his own feet.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, it was during this *Wanderjahr* that he was to come to see the history of classical, Byzantine, and modern Greece as a unity and that he was to develop that concern with the rise and fall of civilizations which was to form the basis of his best known, if most controversial, work, the multi-volume *Study of History*.

In his *Experiences*, published in 1969 when he was approaching eighty and which constitutes the nearest thing to an autobiography that he ever produced, Toynbee writes at some length about his time at the School or, rather, out of it. For, as he wrote, to sit stewing in the School's library, reading books that would have been equally accessible back in Britain, would have been a perverse misuse of time when he was within reach of historical sites the opportunity to visit which might never recur.<sup>6</sup> Toynbee reckoned to have hiked between 2000 and 3000 miles during his time at the School, a formidable achievement even at a time when prodigious feats of

<sup>4</sup> (London, 1941). Forster's history was reprinted in 1957 in an edition revised by Douglas Dakin.

cross country walking were something of a tradition at the School, albeit one to an extent enforced at that time by poor communications in rural areas. The School's *Annual Report*, on a rare personal note, paid tribute to Toynbee's prowess: "his time was spent (the winter months included) almost entirely in travel, mostly alone and on foot, with the briefest possible intervals of rest.... Mr Toynbee's record for travel is a remarkable one."<sup>7</sup>

One of the great strengths informing Toynbee's many writings about the Greek lands is his marvelous sense of place and it is clear that this largely derives from his months at the British School. Indeed, it was during 1911-1912 that he had a number of those intense mystical experiences that were to occur at various stages of his life and which, more often than not, were prompted by visits to historic sites in the Greek lands. One such had occurred on 19 March 1912 when he had been hiking alone in a remote area of Eastern Crete and had come across the ruins of a Venetian baroque villa. This had given rise to an experience that was, he relates, the psychic counterpart of an aeroplane falling into an air pocket: "the spectator was suddenly carried down in a 'time-pocket' from a day in the year A.D. 1911 to a day in the fifth decade of the seventeenth century on which History, in that house, had come abruptly to an end in an evacuation without any sequel except solitude and decay." Two months later, on 23 May 1912, like Gibbon "musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol," Toynbee at Mistra was moved to reflect on the importance of geography in determining those patterns of history that were to be his great concern in the *Study of History*.<sup>8</sup> A month earlier, again in Laconia, on 23 April 1912 (Toynbee was always very precise about dates) he underwent a similar experience in which he was "transported to the evening of the day—whatever that day may have borne in Archbishop Ussher's chronological chart—on which this historic fortress had been stranded on the flowing Time-stream's motionless marge."<sup>9</sup>

Toynbee acquired much more than a profound knowledge of the topography of ancient and medieval Greece during the year or so that he spent at the School. He had come to Greece, as he wrote, to learn more "about the dead and buried Greek world" that had become his spiritual home as a consequence of his classical education. Yet in the course of this pilgrimage he had, like Bickford-Smith before him, encountered "living Greek men and women who were highly intelligent, alert, and vocal."<sup>10</sup> These present-day Greeks had initiated him into the twentieth century world from which

<sup>7</sup> *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 18 (1912) p. 317.

<sup>8</sup> *A Study of History* (Oxford, 1954) p. x, 107. Cf. Thomas Africa, "The final

he had hitherto been very largely sheltered. It was in the village coffee shop, after strenuous days of hiking, that he was to receive his "unexpected Greek education" in "the deadly game of international power politics that was being played by the European great powers". In February 1912, after climbing to the top of Mount Khlomos, he had encountered some amateur *klephts* in the form of armed shepherds who had considerably not deprived him of his father's gold watch on the perennially valid ground that schoolmasters were not rich, while in July he was briefly arrested for crossing the railway bridge spanning the Asopos gorge on foot. (It should be remembered that he was traveling on the eve of the First Balkan War and the single line railway was to be the Greek army's major line of supply for the front). Subsequently Toynbee, somewhat self-importantly as he himself conceded, complained to the British Embassy which "showed sympathy, but prudently took no action."<sup>11</sup> At the time, however, as is clear from a letter which he wrote to his mother, he hoped that "these little men at Lamia" who had had the temerity to arrest him would "be dropped on heavily enough to prevent them playing the fool with the next archaeologist who comes along". The experience of arrest had been enough, so he wrote, to inculcate in him a belief in "the soundness of race prejudice" and make him "religiously preach mishellenism to any philhellene I come across."<sup>12</sup>

It was during his time in Greece that some awareness dawned on the extremely precocious but somewhat sheltered Toynbee of what he termed "the passionateness of the hatred between nation and nation which was to accentuate the horrors of warfare" in his lifetime. His initiation into the intensity of ethnic conflict and the reality of "Original Sin" came on 15 March 1912 as he traveled across the Mesara plain in the company of an elderly man driving two mules. His traveling companion was the soul of hospitality but Toynbee confessed himself to have been considerably shaken by the old man's answer to his inquiry as to why the villages at the edge of the plain were deserted. In 1897 the villagers had all had their throats cut.<sup>13</sup> Toynbee's *Wanderjahr* at the British School not only gave him some in-

<sup>10</sup> *Experiences*, p. 28.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 29, 26, 35. Toynbee's encounter with his amateur *klephts* might have had an altogether less happy outcome, for the *Annual Report* for 1924-1925 records a large turn out from the British School at the Anglican Church in Athens for the funeral of a student of the American School who had been fatally wounded by brigands whilst travelling in Acarnania: "an event without parallel in the history of the foreign schools in Athens," p. 14.

<sup>12</sup> William McNeill, *Arnold Toynbee: A Life* (New York, 1989) pp. 41, 42.



sight into the nature of ethnic conflict in the twentieth century but probably also ensured that, unlike so many of his former classmates at school and university, he was to survive the slaughter of the First World War. For it was on 26 April (again note the precision of his recollections) that he contracted dysentery while walking from Kato Vezani to Gythion by drinking from a stream, a condition which he sought to alleviate by dosing himself with an alarming concoction of sugar lumps soaked with arsenic. Toynbee regarded the acquisition of dysentery, which lasted for some six years, as a blessing in disguise for it spared him from a combatant role in the slaughter of the First World War which killed so many of his contemporaries.<sup>14</sup> He was, however, actively engaged in other forms of war work, compiling, *inter alia*, a dossier of evidence on Turkish atrocities against the Armenians which was published as an official government Blue Book.<sup>15</sup> He also penned, at government behest, a crudely anti-Turkish propaganda tract that he was subsequently to disown and which was entitled *The Murderous Tyranny of the Turks* (London, 1917).

Toynbee's unusually distinguished academic attainments, coupled with abundant evidence, if not necessarily of philhellenic then of Turcophobic sentiments, clearly attracted the attention of the principal of King's College, Ronald Burrows, when he was looking for suitable candidates to fill the Koraes chair. Burrows, a classicist who had worked on one of the School's earliest excavations at Rhitsona in Boeotia, was an old-fashioned romantic philhellene and, moreover, an ardent Venizelist. At the time of the Balkan wars, when still a professor at the University of Manchester, he was to pen a curious paean in praise of Venizelos that began: "Venizelos! Venizelos! Do not fail us! Do not fail us!"<sup>16</sup>

It was with Venizelos' active help that the Koraes chair was established and, indeed, it was initially intended to call the chair the Venizelos chair. When Toynbee, in applying expressed doubts as to whether the incumbent should not be more of an active philhellene than he felt himself to be, Burrows replied that he had not the least doubt that anyone who studied the history and people of Greece would strengthen their sympathetic interest in the country.<sup>17</sup> Toynbee was duly appointed to the chair and, shortly before taking it up at the beginning of the autumn term 1919 (for once he does not record the precise date), he had perhaps the most remarkable of his

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. pp. 37-39.

<sup>15</sup> *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-1916* (London, 1916).

several mystical experiences. Walking along Buckingham Palace Road he was to find himself "in communion, not just with this or that episode in History, but with all that had been, and was, and was to come. In that instant he was directly aware of the passage of History gently flowing through him in a mighty current, and of his own life welling like a wave in the flow of this vast tide."<sup>18</sup>

Toynbee's inaugural lecture on "The place of mediaeval and modern Greece in history" was delivered in October 1919 in the Great Hall of King's College in the presence of Eleftherios Venizelos. The lecture was introduced by Ioannes Gennadius, the recently retired Greek minister in London whose library forms the basis of the Gennadius Library. (Perhaps in parenthesis, as a modern historian, I may be allowed to lament the very different turn the British School's direction might have taken had Gennadius's original intention that his magnificent library should go to the British rather than the American school been realized.)<sup>19</sup> In introducing Toynbee, Gennadius launched into a characteristic outburst, urging that the newly established department should teach only the *katharevousa*, the "purifying" form of Greek, eschewing "the queer fancies of Mr. Psichari [Yannis Psicharis] and his concert of sciolist youths." At interview, another candidate for the chair who was closely associated with the British School, C.A. Scutt, had been given a thorough grilling by Gennadius, who, inappropriately, was one of the electors, over his championing of the demotic or spoken Greek. One of Scutt's referees for the chair, the Rev. G.F. Fisher, at that time headmaster of Repton School and a future Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote that while he thought that Scutt had a "very good brain" he would nonetheless have been more favorably impressed if he had had a better set of false teeth. Scutt went on to enjoy a distinguished career as Professor of Greek at the University of Melbourne.<sup>20</sup>

Toynbee's inaugural lecture in the Koraes chair was a characteristically wide-ranging *tour de force* in which he expressed his interest in the way in which the Greeks would administer the large Muslim population in the

<sup>18</sup> *A Study of History*, 10, p. 139.

<sup>19</sup> It is interesting to note that Gennadius, in the deed of gift establishing the Gennadius Library, envisaged special conditions of access for members of the British, French, and German Schools, together with professors of the University of Athens and members of the council of the Greek Archaeological Society.

<sup>20</sup> Clogg, *Politics*, p. 29. One outcome of Scutt's researches at the School was a lengthy two-part article on 'The Tsakonian dialect,' *Annual of the British School at*

territories that they had recently acquired in western Asia Minor. This interest in the co-existence, peaceful or otherwise, of different civilizations was to prompt Toynbee soon after taking up the chair to apply for leave of absence so as to enable him to investigate at first hand for some nine months in 1921 (a period during which he was re-admitted as a Student of the School) the nature of Greek administration in the newly acquired territories, somewhat unusually in the guise of a special correspondent for *The Manchester Guardian*. His findings, which were unflattering to Greece, were embodied in the despatches which he telegraphed back to *The Manchester Guardian*, in other journalistic writings and, above all, in that remarkable book *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey: A Study in the Conflict of Civilizations* (London, 1922).

Toynbee's observations on the conduct of the Greek army in Asia Minor and his increasingly manifest emotional attachment to the Turkish nationalist cause enraged the wealthy London Greeks who had put up the money for the Koraes chair endowment. These now began to put pressure on the College authorities to remove Toynbee from his chair, pressures which enjoyed significant support from a powerful group in the King's professoriate, fearful lest other endowments might be jeopardized. Toynbee involuntarily resigned from the Koraes chair in 1924, whereupon he was immediately contacted by the Turkish ambassador in London and offered a chair at the University of Istanbul. This he was quite interested in, although in the event, he was attracted to new pastures at the British (subsequently Royal) Institute of International Affairs or Chatham House. Although from then on he was to be immersed in the analysis of contemporary international relations and in the writing of *A Study of History*, Toynbee never lost his profound interest in Greek history throughout the ages and it is characteristic that his last book, *The Greeks and their Heritages* (Oxford, 1981), published posthumously, should have ranged effortlessly and penetratingly over the whole of Greece's historical experience.

But to return to what I have called the "Golden Age" of the School's interest in post-Byzantine Greece, which coincided with the directorships of Dawkins and Wace. The runner-up to Toynbee in the election to the Koraes chair was A.W. Gomme who, after being Prendergast Scholar at the School in 1908-9, had been appointed lecturer in Ancient History at the University of Glasgow. He had subsequently spent a further period in Greece, presumably also under the aegis of the School. In a reference which he wrote for Gomme, J.L. Myres wrote that he had given "much attention to modern Greek literature, especially to romance, poetry and drama. Greek

his knowledge and judgement. He has followed carefully the current controversies as to standards of Greek speech and style ..."<sup>21</sup> Gomme remained at Glasgow for the rest of his academic career but the slim, and still useful, *Greece* (Oxford, 1945) indicates a continuing and sympathetic interest in the modern Greeks.

William Miller, the great historian of medieval and modern Greece, had always been Principal Burrows' favored candidate for the chair. He was never apparently an actual Student of the School but was a frequent user of its library, having been elected an associate in 1906 and an honorary student in 1933. Miller, however, had declined to stand for the Koraes chair, fearful lest the acceptance of a post endowed with foreign funds might compromise his independence as a commentator on the Greek political scene. When Miller declined Burrows, he then turned to A.J.B. Wace. Given the refusal of Miller and also of R.M. Dawkins (who in 1920 was to be appointed to the Bywater and Sotheby Chair of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language and Literature at Oxford) to stand and given the poor state of Hasluck's health, so Burrows wrote to Wace, his personal feeling was that he (Wace) would be the best candidate, provided that he was prepared to abjure prehistory.

Wace, however, replied that he was much too interested in archaeology to give it up, besides which he was too old to do so. "The only thing that would attract me is modern Greek history ... but that I can study just as well here and besides", he over-modestly added, "I know nothing of it". Not only did he feel that it would be a gross presumption on his part to stand but, furthermore, his duty to the British School, of which at this time he was director, tied him to Athens.<sup>22</sup> Wace, and the companion of many of his travels, M.S. Thompson, belonged very much to the hard walking tradition that characterized the School at that time and for several decades afterwards. Helen Waterhouse, in her centennial history of the School, has written of Wace and Thompson tramping through Thessaly equipped only with a toothbrush and waterproofs, while Toynbee, no slouch himself, compared them to a couple of sleuth hounds on the scent. Like *klephts* they were unburdened by impedimenta and were "indifferent, while chasing their quarry, to heat, cold, hunger, or exposure to the elements."<sup>23</sup> In 1911-12 Wace was working simultaneously on neolithic stratification, on the exca-

<sup>21</sup> Clogg, *Politics*, p. 36.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. p. 28.

<sup>23</sup> Helen Waterhouse, *The British School at Athens: The First Hundred Years*

vations at Mycenae, on Greek island embroideries and on the Vlach community of Samarina in the Pindus. Wace and Thompson's pioneering ethnographic study *Nomads of the Balkans: An Account of Life and Customs among the Vlachs of Northern Pindus* remains to this day one of the fundamental sources for those interested in the Vlachs in modern times. It is touched with a lightly ironical style as when the authors observe that in 1910 "the annual disturbance in Albania had begun somewhat earlier than usual". Re-reading the book during the winter of 1985, when the hysteria over the virtually invisible Halley's comet was at its height, I was fascinated to learn that in 1910, when the Vlach mule trains with which Wace and Thompson traveled camped overnight in the open "on most occasions when the night was clear conversation turned on Halley's comet which was then blazing in the western sky. It was pointing towards Macedonia, and was thought to be a sign of war."<sup>24</sup> Certainly the time was not far off when Macedonia was to be convulsed by hostilities during the Balkan wars of 1912-13.

F.W. Hasluck, who was assistant director and librarian of the School between 1906 and 1910 and between 1911 and 1915, was to be ruled out of consideration for the Koraes chair by ill health, for by 1918/19 he had already been struck down by the tuberculosis that was very soon to take his life. Although still a young man, he had published widely in the field of classical, medieval and modern Greek studies and had demonstrated a particular interest in the symbiotic relationship of Christian and Muslim in Asia Minor. Perhaps his most important contribution was the posthumously published two volume collection of papers, edited by his wife Margaret (née Hardie, School Student in 1911 and herself a distinguished Albanologist), and entitled *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford, 1929). These are full of fascinating and recondite lore about obscure by-ways in the history of the Levant, much of it clearly derived from intensive reading in the Finlay Library.

Another person in whom principal Burrows had a considerable interest as a possible holder of the Koraes chair was R.M. Dawkins. Dawkins, of course, was primarily a linguist but he was also clearly fascinated by the historical and social context of the various modern Greek dialects which he studied with such assiduity. The preface to his *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, 1916) is a mine of information on the Greek speaking villages of Cappadocia on the eve of the Balkan wars and it was, sadly, not to be long before the communities whose dialects he studied, and for which

he had such an affection, were to be permanently uprooted and moved to Greece. Tragic though the subsequent fate of these communities was, we may be thankful that Dawkins carried out his researches when he did, preserving a record of a number of the dialects of Asia Minor while they were still being spoken *in situ*. He also wrote, *inter alia*, on the Greek dialects of Pontos, on *karamanlidika*, the writing of Turkish with Greek characters practiced by the numerous Turcophone Greek communities of Asia Minor, and on the phenomenon of crypto-Christianity in the Ottoman Empire (the practice whereby in certain areas of the Empire communities of Orthodox Christians outwardly conformed to Islam while secretly remaining faithful to the precepts and practices of the Orthodox faith).<sup>25</sup> Dawkins also wrote extensively on folklore, which was also a major concern of two others closely associated with the School at this time, J.C. Lawson and W.R. Halliday. The latter, so we learn from a testimonial by the School's then acting secretary in London, was a gentleman both by birth and education, a man from an old Devonshire family who acted "the young squire" during the vacations.<sup>26</sup> Lawson, a fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge and a former student at the School, was the author of *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 1910) in which he sought "to trace the continuity of the life and thought of the Greek people, and to exhibit modern Greek folklore as an essential factor in the interpretation of ancient Greek religion."

During the years immediately before the outbreak of the First World War there was, as we have seen, an extraordinary galaxy of talent in the School, producing work on post-Byzantine Greece of the highest quality. But, as it will be recalled, the Vlachs with whom Wace and Thompson traveled, had looked upon the arrival of Halley's comet in 1910 as a portent and it was not to be long before Greece was to be caught up in the tides of war which were to engulf Europe. The tumultuous events of the second decade of the twentieth century in Greece could not but affect the life and activities of the School. Indeed, already during the Balkan wars of 1912-13, the Marasleion School next door had become a temporary hospital, some of whose nurses were housed in the School hostel.<sup>27</sup>

When the First World War broke out its repercussions were not immediately felt in Greece and, indeed, at the beginning of hostilities, the absence

<sup>25</sup> For a detailed listing of Dawkins' voluminous writings, see Minas Alexiadis, "Τό ἔργο τοῦ R.M. Dawkins: Βιβλιογραφική συμβολή" *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικῶν Σπουδῶν*, 5 (1984-85) 361-89.

<sup>26</sup> Clogg, *Politics*, p. 26.



of students at the School gave Hasluck more time to work on his catalogue of the Finlay Library and Wace the opportunity work on the Finlay papers, that superb repository of material on nineteenth century Greece, a calendar to which was published some years ago by Professor Joan Hussey, *The Finlay Papers: A Catalogue* (London, 1973). It was not to be long, however, before the war intruded on the School's affairs and the Director, Wace, seconded to the British Legation, assumed responsibility for the relief of British refugees from Turkey after the Ottoman Empire had entered the war on the side of the Central Powers.<sup>28</sup> Wace, with Mr and Mrs Hasluck together with another former student, F.B. Welch, were soon set to work in the euphemistically named Passport Control Office, which was actually housed in the School. Compton Mackenzie has given a characteristically amusing, if somewhat hyperbolic, account of his time working in this office. His description of the School as he found it in the autumn of 1915 will strike many a nostalgic chord and certainly bears an uncanny resemblance to the School as my wife and I knew it in the mid-1960s: "the photographs upon the walls of temples, theaters and mountains; the faded groups of student archaeologists in old-fashioned straw hats, who in bygone years had sojourned here for a while and hence sallied forth to excavate some classic site; the library of Hellenic scholarship and research; the long table in the deserted dining room; the subtle air of learning which permeated the whole place with a faint dusty perfume."<sup>29</sup>

Not all of those associated with the School were as enamoured of the frowzy atmosphere of scholarship that emanated from it. One such was Pierson Dixon, one of a number of former students to enter the diplomatic service. He wrote how in 1927, having just graduated in classics from Cambridge where he had won the Porson Prize and the Craven Scholarship, he arrived at the British School "and immediately hated its lovely garden, palm trees and pepper trees, the composed building with pots, stelae, and busts in the entrance hall, its two libraries, clean bare corridors and atmosphere heavy with academicism...."<sup>30</sup> Dixon was to marry Ismene, the daughter of S.C. Atchley, Oriental Secretary to the British Legation in Athens where he was to live for some forty years, and of his Greek wife, whom he had met at a ball held in the British School in the 1890s. This Greek connection seems

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. p. 24.

<sup>29</sup> *First Athenian Memories* (London, 1931), pp.196-97. In *Greek Memories*, first published in 1932 and hastily withdrawn when its author was charged under the Official Secrets Act, Mackenzie had revealed that the Passport Control Office was a cover for secret service activity.

<sup>30</sup> Piers Dixon. *Double Diploma: The Life of Sir Pierson Dixon. Don and Diplo-*

to have given Dixon a sympathy with Greek aspirations that was not always shared by his colleagues in the Foreign Office.

Compton Mackenzie lived in the hostel and Wace, who was likewise engaged in intelligence work, invited him to join him for lunch everyday in the Director's house. Mackenzie records that there were "few things that I remember with such pleasure as that Mess, which provided every day an opportunity to slip back out of the war into a civilized existence." Among Mackenzie's numerous, and not infrequently far-fetched, anecdotes is one which deserves retelling. It concerns a Captain Potts of the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve, a man of immense physical strength who once, when crossing an Athenian street, had with one arm pushed a horse back on its haunches to stop a hackney carriage from running into him. Potts visited the temporarily incapacitated Mackenzie one evening when he was at the School, and, on leaving, had unwisely refused Mackenzie's offer of a candle to light his way downstairs. But Potts' electric torch failed him and he was left in pitch darkness. Primed to expect the worst in the dubious world of intrigue in which Mackenzie moved, he was alarmed to see the outline of a lurking form against the glimmer of light coming in through the front door.

"Look here," said Potts, "if you don't say who you are, it will be the worse for you..." The sinister form neither spoke nor moved. So Potts, as Compton Mackenzie relates,

determined not to take any risk of a knife under his ribs and thinking that it behoved him to take precautions on behalf of me lying upstairs with a game leg, drew back a mighty fist to a massive shoulder, and then drove it with all his force below the jaw of the taciturn assassin. That the jaw of the assassin, which was of Parian marble, did not completely smash Potts's knuckles, was due to it owner's being a bust on a pedestal, and so less stable than a life-size statue. Still, even as it was, the assassin made a pretty mess of Potts's hand.<sup>31</sup>

This was, of course, the statue that continues to grace the entrance hall.

The years of the First World War were clearly exciting ones for the British School and, indeed, for many of its former students. During the critical winter of 1916-17 two rival governments came into existence in Greece and there was a great deal of anti-British feeling in royalist Athens. As a consequence the British Legation was actually transferred to the transport *Abbasieh* anchored off Keratsini and the director of the neighboring Ameri-

<sup>31</sup> Mackenzie. *First Athenian Memories* pp. 194-200-01

can School temporarily took charge of the School's buildings.<sup>32</sup> At least four members of the School served in naval intelligence in Greek waters and a further dozen or so on the Salonica front. J.L. Myres, for instance, cut a dashing figure in his motorized caique. In cattle-raids on the Anatolian coast, so Compton Mackenzie tells us, "the Assyrian Myres came down like a wolf on the Turkish fold." These raids, however, while they may have delighted the ward-rooms of the British Mediterranean fleet, and, indeed, may even have incommoded the enemy, were eventually stopped "as doing more harm to the Greek population on the (Anatolian) mainland than to their Turkish masters." As Mackenzie put it, there was indeed "something irreconcilable between Myres the Assyrian pirate and Myres the purveyor of information to the Commercial Department, between Myres the Blackbeard of the Aegean and Myres the Gladstone professor of Greek at the University of Liverpool."<sup>33</sup>

David G. Hogarth, the second student to attend the School, and subsequently Director, became the director of the Arab Bureau in Cairo and played an influential role in shaping the map of the modern Middle East.<sup>34</sup> Dawkins, by now commissioned as a lieutenant in the RNVR, was despatched as an intelligence officer to Eastern Crete, where he joined another former student at the School, J. C. Lawson, whose wartime experiences are entertainingly recounted in *Tales of Aegean Intrigue* (London, 1920).<sup>35</sup> The end of the war brought a return of the School to its traditional pursuits, although here again external events impinged on its activities. Although women had been admitted as students as early as the mid-1890s, they were permitted to reside in the hostel for the first time only during the winter of 1920-21, as a consequence of pressure on the part of the British minister, Lord Granville, who was fearful of the turmoil consequent on the defeat of Venizelos in the November 1920 elections and the restoration to the throne of King Constantine I.<sup>36</sup>

With the ending of the First World War, Wace was re-appointed director in 1919 for a further three years. Myres at this time proposed a rather extraordinary scheme by which the School would become a center for propaganda "in the widest sense" engaged in what was somewhat mysteri-

<sup>32</sup> Waterhouse, *The British School*, p.24.

<sup>33</sup> Mackenzie, *First Athenian Memories*, p. 253. Cf. also J.N.L. Myres, *Commander J.L. Myres, R.N.V.R.: The Blackbeard of the Aegean* (London, 1980) passim.

<sup>34</sup> See his *The Wandering Scholar* (London, 1925).

<sup>35</sup> The war service of former students during the First World War is detailed in J.N.L. Myres, *The British School at Athens* (London, 1919) pp. 111-112. A similar listing for the Second World

ously termed the "gradual assimilation of various spheres of Greek life to British ways." This proposal met with no favor on the part of the Managing Committee.<sup>37</sup> Wace, more realistically, suggested widening the School's sphere of work to include subjects such as geology and botany, a proposal reflecting his own catholic interests in many aspects of Greek life. Nothing, alas, came of Wace's imaginative proposal and, for much of the twenties and thirties, the School's interests appear to have been fairly narrowly archaeological. This more restricted focus was recognized in the formal adoption in 1935-36 of the title "British School of Archaeology." Only in 1970 did the School revert to its original title "The British School at Athens."<sup>38</sup>

There were, however, one or two exceptions to the general rule. Romilly Jenkins, was Macmillan Student at the School in 1932 and, for a brief period, was subsequently assistant director. He later became the third Koraes professor at King's College, writing, in a predominantly Byzantine corpus, a pioneering English language study of the poet Dionysios Solomos (London 1940) and *The Dilessi murders* (London, 1961), a detailed anatomy of the kidnapping and murder in 1870 of a party of English *milordoi* on an excursion to Marathon and of its extensive political ramifications. H.D.F. Kitto published in 1933 an attractive small book entitled *In the Mountains of Greece*. A more modern leaven to the School's activities was also given by William Miller who, although not formally attached to the School, was a regular reader in the library, having been elected, as we have seen, an associate of the School in 1906 and an honorary student in 1933. Miller had a prodigious knowledge of medieval and modern Greek history and his *Greek Life in Town and Country*, which was published as long ago as 1905, remains in my view one of the most informative, perceptive and sympa-

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p. 25. Myres seems also to have been involved with the Anglo-Hellenic Educational Foundation that was established in London in 1918 with the aim of advising and assisting "in the foundation in Greece of schools conducted on English principles". In a talk to the Anglo-Hellenic League in 1919 he mentioned 'educational experiments foreshadowed under the catch-word of a "Greek Eton", adding, apparently in all seriousness, that if such a foundation were to succeed 'in being either "Eton" or "Greek" then "its curriculum must be that of ancient Persia - to ride and to shoot and, to tell the truth", *Address by J.L. Myres to the Annual General Meeting of the AngloHellenic League on Friday. June 20. 1919* (London 1919). Nothing appears to have come of this particular scheme either. On the sometimes rather eccentric philhellenic circles in Britain during this period see my "The



thetic books ever to have been written about modern Greece.<sup>39</sup> I cannot leave the 1930s without referring to Dilys Powell's *The Traveller's Journey Is Done* (London, 1943) with its marvelously sympathetic portrait of her husband Humfry Payne and its wonderful, if not entirely flattering, evocation of the School during the early thirties.

In 1940 Greece was again to be caught up in the maelstrom of war and the British School was once again to be harnessed to war purposes. The hostel was given over to those on official or British Council business. The director, Gerard Young, became director of information for the British Legation, with an office in the Penrose Library, while David Wallace, in Greece as a Student of the School and carrying out research into crusader castles, became press attaché. Wallace was subsequently parachuted into Greece on behalf of the Foreign Office and was killed in the course of a guerrilla engagement in the summer of 1944. A. R. Burn was with the British Council in 1940-1941, while Wace resumed the work for MI5 that he had undertaken during the First War. An atmospheric evocation of the febrile climate of the times in Athens is contained in the third volume of Olivia Manning's well-known *Balkan Trilogy*.

Not surprisingly, many of those who had been associated with the School were employed in war work in Greece. J. D. S. Pendlebury who, on the outbreak of hostilities, had been appointed vice-consul in Crete as a cover for his activities on behalf of the Special Operations Executive (SOE), was killed in mysterious circumstances at the time of the German airborne landing in May 1941.<sup>40</sup> A number of those who had been at the School were parachuted into Greece to work with the Greek resistance on behalf of SOE. These included C. M. Woodhouse, who had been at the School on the outbreak of hostilities, and who, in 1943, succeeded Brigadier E. C. W. Myers as commander of the British, subsequently Allied, Military Mission to the Greek resistance. N. G. L. Hammond, who had carried out some epic journeys of archaeological exploration in Epirus, Macedonia and Albania before the war, also played a leading role in liaison with the Greek resistance, as did, *inter alia*, Anthony Andrewes, J. M. Cook, P. M. Fraser and John Stevens. The British had so many academics in occupied Greece, indeed, that the joke within SOE's American counterpart, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), was that Oxford ruled in northern Greece and Cambridge in the south of the country.<sup>41</sup> The propensity of the British military and intelligence authorities to seek to make use of the linguistic and other tal-

<sup>39</sup> In 1951, the School received a legacy of £500 from William Miller for the upkeep of the garden, his dog being buried near the west wall, *Ibid.* p. 69.

ents of former members of the British School was by no means unique. Many alumni of the American School of Classical Studies served in a similar capacity, as, indeed, did former members of the German Archaeological Institute. Indeed, when working on the papers relating to the Greek affairs of OSS in Washington, I encountered such names as J. L. Caskey, Rodney Young, Jerome Sperling and Virginia Grace.<sup>42</sup> This was not in the least surprising, nor were the trenchantly expressed criticisms leveled by many of the "archaeological captains", as they were known within OSS and who sometimes came under fire for their prima donna-ish ways. British policy in wartime Greece has come under fire for being too supportive of the existing *status quo* and too hostile to the aspirations of the communist-controlled National Liberation Front (EAM). In this context it is worth noting that General Stephanos Sarafis, the commander of the ELAS guerrilla army, EAM's military arm, after the war married Marion Pascoe who had been a student at the School between 1936 and 1939.<sup>43</sup> Other former students were engaged in various forms of war work bearing on Greek affairs, whether military, diplomatic or other. Stanley Casson, for instance, who had been assistant director in the early 1920s, was on the staff of General Heywood of the British Military Mission in 1941, wrote a widely distributed book *Greece and Britain* (1942), which pointed to the long ties of friendship linking the two countries, and subsequently worked for SOE.<sup>44</sup> E. S. Forster, as we have seen a former Student of the School and latterly professor of Greek at Sheffield University, was inspired by Greece's entry into the war in October 1940 to write his *A Short History of Modern Greece 1821-1940*, which was published in 1941. The purpose of Forster's book, like that of Casson's, was to promote a better understanding of a country which in the winter of 1940-41 had been Britain's only active ally in Europe. A. R. Burn served in the Foreign Office and still managed to find the time produce an attractive small book entitled *The Modern Greeks*, first published in Alex-

<sup>41</sup> Anthony Cave Brown, *The Last Hero: Wild Bill Donovan* (New York, 1984) p. 428.

<sup>42</sup> For more detail on the involvement of British and American academics in the affairs of occupied Greece see my paper "Distant cousins: SOE and OSS in Greece" (forthcoming).

<sup>43</sup> Marion Sarafis (Pascoe) recalls that during her time at the School she encountered complete indifference to the pre-war Metaxas dictatorship. Some of its members, indeed, were of the view that Metaxas was what the Greeks deserved. Marion Sarafi, *O Stratigos Saraphis opos ton gnorisa* (Athens, 1990) p. 14.

<sup>44</sup> Casson's experiences on the Macedonian front during the First World War are

andria in 1943 and which was sold to raise funds for Greek War Relief. I have already referred to the similar short book on modern Greece published by A. W. Gomme.

Not all those Students of the School involved in the turbulent events of Greece during the Second World War were there in a combatant role. Donald Nicol, for instance, served as a member of the Friends' Ambulance Unit during the Battle of Athens in December 1944, while Mercy Money-Coutts was engaged in work for UNRRA. Likewise, during the First World War, R.C. Bosanquet, who had been director of the School between 1900 and 1908, had similarly served in the Friends' Ambulance Unit and had also been active in relief work on behalf of the Serbs.<sup>45</sup>

During the occupation, the School was initially placed in the charge of the American School of Classical Studies and, following America's entry into the war, of the Swiss Legation, under whose aegis it became a center for the distribution of food by the Swiss and Swedish Red Cross. The School's annexe was originally built as a store house to accommodate relief supplies. On liberation the hostel was used by the British Embassy as a mess and it was not until October 1946 that the School regained control of its premises.

In the post-war period we can trace a gradual expansion in the School's interests in the direction of more recent periods of Greek history, culture and society. Philip Sherrard's two periods as assistant director were a pointer in this direction and the volume *Modern Greece* (London, 1968) which he wrote together with another former student at the School, the anthropologist John Campbell, certainly ranks as one of the best books on modern Greece to appear in any language in the post-war period, a worthy successor to William Miller's earlier endeavours. Topics such as the Sarakatsanoi, refugee communities in Piraeus, folk poetry, the folk textiles of Crete, urban folk music and the attitude of Greek political parties towards European integration afford evidence enough, if such were needed, that the study of modern, even contemporary Greece, is firmly integrated into the life of the school, a development all the more fruitful now that Greece is a member of the European Community. The range and diversity of the studies being undertaken at the School in recent years are beginning to match those of the first two decades of the century. Modern Greek studies in general have enjoyed a significant resurgence over the past twenty years or so and the distinguished list of students engaged in various aspects of these studies at

<sup>45</sup> Ellen Bosanquet, *Robert Carr Bosanquet: Letters and Light Verse* (Gloucester,

the School amply demonstrates the increasingly important role that it has played in the development of these disciplines.

Although inevitably I have not been able to mention all aspects of the School's activities in relation to the study of post-Byzantine Greece I hope that I have been able to give some indication within the compass of this paper of the British School's distinguished contributions to the study of modern Greece. Despite some fallow periods the School during the century and more that it has been in existence has much to be proud of in encouraging the sympathetic study of the host country. We can, I am sure, confidently expect, during the next hundred years, that work of equal distinction will be forthcoming.