

## Dream Archaeology

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### *Introduction*

In 1929, Anastasios Orlandos, the most prestigious Greek archaeologist of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, presented a report to the august members of the Athenian Academy on the excavation of an Early Christian basilica-style church at the site of Daphnousia in Locris in central Greece. Orlandos was deeply interested in Early Christian architecture, but would become better known for his meticulous work on the Athenian Acropolis and on its great temple, the Parthenon. Considering his otherwise traditional archaeological interests, it is striking that he reported that a village woman had initiated the excavations at Daphnousia after the site was revealed to her in a dream. A vision in her dream told her to excavate a buried icon by digging in a particular place, and her excavations revealed the foundations of a building dating to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D., which Orlandos subsequently excavated and published.

Needless to say, this is hardly the standard, scientific practice for discovering archaeological sites in Greece. Yet, I'd like to argue today that this "dream archaeology" represents an important, if un-scientific, tradition of archaeological practice in Greece. This paper will make an effort to put this case of dream archaeology in historical and archaeological context, and in the process offer some considerations of the way in which archaeology produces knowledge.

Dream archaeology appears among the earliest manifestations of archaeological practice in the Eastern Mediterranean. In its most common form, a dream or vision directed an individual to conduct an excavation or to discover a lost object. From Roman times, if not earlier, dreams of divine personages or saints have guided the hands of numerous excavators and formed a vital context for the material traces of the past in the Greek landscape. Following the guidance provided by sleeping or even waking visions, dream archaeologists uncovered sacred relics, lost

icons, long-vanished churches and even occasional treasure. This practice contributed to the tangible link between the will of the divine, past human activities, a particular place in the landscape, and the highly intimate experience of dreaming. In Christian times, hagiographic texts (saint's lives) bound together private dreams, local acts of discovery, and found objects. Through saints' lives dream archaeology (and the archaeologist) became **both** localized as part of the Christian liturgy at a particular shrine **and** part of a broader Christian sacred history. This Christianization of "dream archaeology" set the foundations for the appearance of the phenomenon in 19th and 20th century Greece. In this context, an archaeology of dreaming formed part of what some scholars have identified as an indigenous archaeology in Greece.<sup>1</sup> As an indigenous archaeology, dreams of lost and buried objects both challenged the universalizing tendencies of modern archaeological practices, and played a role in establishing the religious and mystical foundations of Greek nationalism.

My approach to this topic draws inspiration from a recent resurgence in the study of dreams in the scholarship of the post-antique Greek world (and so will regrettably ignore the spectacularly vital discourse on dreams from in the Late Antique and Medieval West).<sup>2</sup> Scholars have studied Byzantine, Early Modern and Modern dreaming in contexts ranging from Late Antique literature,<sup>3</sup> to Byzantine Oneirocritika (dream books),<sup>4</sup> ethnographic studies,<sup>5</sup> and

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<sup>1</sup> Y. Hamilakis, "Decolonizing Greek Archaeology,: indigenous archaeologies, modernist archaeology, and the post-colonial critique," in D. Damaskos and D. Plantzos, eds, *A Singular Antiquity: Archaeology and Hellenic Identity in twentieth-century Greece*. (Athens 2008), 273-284

<sup>2</sup> For the West see: S. F. Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*. (Cambridge 1992); I. Morelli, *Dreams, Visions, and Spiritual Authority in Merovingian Gaul*. (Ithaca 2000); J. LeGoff, *The Medieval Imagination*. trans. by Arthur Goldhammer. (Chicago 1985), 217-218; G. G. Stroumsa, "Dreams and Visions in Early Christian Discourse," in *Dream Cultures: Explorations in the Comparative History of Dreaming*. D. Shulman and G. G. Stroumsa eds. (New York 1999), 189-212;

<sup>3</sup> J. S. Hanson, "Dreams and Visions in the Graeco-Roman World and Early Christianity," *ANRW* II 23.2 (1980): 1396-1400; P. C. Miller, *Dreams in Late Antiquity: Studies in the Imagination of a Culture* (Princeton 1994).

<sup>4</sup> S. Oberhelman, *Dreambooks in Byzantium*. (Aldershot 2008); M. Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation: The Oneirocriticon of Achmet and Its Arabic Sources* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); A. Kazhdan and H. Maguire, "Byzantine Hagiographical Texts as Sources on Art," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991): 1-22.

<sup>5</sup> C. Stewart, *Demons and the Devil*. (Princeton 1991), 35-37; C. Stewart, "Fields in Dreams: Anxiety, Experience, and the Limits of Social Constructivism in Modern Greek Dream Narratives," *American Ethnologist* 24 (1997), 877-894; C. Stewart, "Dreams of Treasure: Temporality, historicization, and the unconscious," *Anthropological Theory* 3 (2003), 481-500.

critiques of the imagining of Greek nationalism.<sup>6</sup> Despite this attention, there has been little analysis of dreams as a diachronic phenomenon in Greek history. Most often, scholars have seen the regular appearance of dreams as evidence for an uncritical historical continuity or for the universal character of certain human practices, but neither of these explanations do much to explain why the particular practice of dream archaeology persisted for such a significant length of time. This paper proposes that the persistence of dream archaeology is best understood by focusing on the performative aspects of archaeological practice and how this can explain how different types of archaeological activities are deployed in different contexts.<sup>7</sup> From a purely archaeological perspective, I hope to shift the emphasis from the objects discovered to archaeological practices that embody the link between diverse *disciplinary* traditions and culturally and politically significant knowledge.

To do this, this paper will look at the archaeologist as a mediator between the past and present in a number of different circumstances ranging from the emerging Christian landscape of Late Antiquity to modernism and the Greek state, and, at the same time, set aside many disciplinary assumptions. To begin, let me offer some case studies.

### *Some Case Studies of Dream Archaeology*

In antiquity, dream critics – the best-known being the 2<sup>nd</sup> C. A.D. Roman Artemidoros – had a clear understanding that there were different kinds of dreams. Today, I will focus on the most straightforward kind of dream in which visions made clear demands on the dreamer (it is worth

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<sup>6</sup> Y. Hamilakis and E. Yalouri, "Sacralizing the past: the cults of archaeology in modern Greece," *Archaeological Dialogues* 6.2 (1999), 129-130; Y. Hamilakis, *The Nation and its Ruins*. (Oxford 2007); S. Gourgouris, *Dream nation : enlightenment, colonization, and the institution of modern Greece* (Stanford, 1996).

<sup>7</sup> M. Shanks and Mike Pearson, *Theatre/Archaeology*. (London 2001); Cf. M. Shanks and R. H. McGuire, "The Craft of Archaeology," *American Antiquity* 61 (1996), 75-88; M. Shanks, "The Rooms: Archaeology and Performance," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 4 (2004), 147-152; Y. Hamilakis, "Decolonizing Greek Archaeology,: indigenous archaeologies, modernist archaeology, and the post-colonial critique," in D. Damaskos and D. Plantzos, eds, *A Singular Antiquity: Archaeology and Hellenic Identity in twentieth-century Greece*. (Athens 2008), 273-284; S. Atalay, "Indigenous Archaeology as Decolonizing Practice," *American Indian Quarterly* 30 (2006), 280-310. For a slightly different take see: S. Alcock, *Archaeologies of the Greek Past: Landscape, Monuments, and Memories*. (Cambridge 2002); Y. Hamilakis, *The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece*. (Oxford 2007), 39-40: This coincides with recent readings of Greek archaeology which have stressed the close relationship in the public eye between archaeological field work and religious duty. Y. Hamilakis has pointed out, for example, that archaeological work is sometimes described as "leitourgima", which is also used to describe the liturgy at the church.

noting that ancient dream critics regarded these dreams as particularly uninteresting). The 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. Roman traveller Pausanias provides a good example of this kind of dream in an archaeological context. In book four of his *Description of Greece*, he described the founding of the city of Messene. A dream prompted the Argive general Epiteles to excavated at a particular spot on Mt. Ithome, which was sacred to the Messenians. The dream told him: "wherever he found yew and myrtle growing on Ithome, to dig between them and recover the old woman, for, shut in her brazen chamber, she was overcome and well-nigh fainting."<sup>8</sup> His excavations revealed a brazen urn which Epiteles took to the Theban general Epaminondas. In the urn was a piece of rolled tin which the great Messenean general and hero Aristomenes had buried on Mt. Ithome some 300 years previous. Inscribed on this thin sheet of tin were the rites of the Sacred Mysteries (of Andania) which would protect the Messenians from future danger. The discovery of this urn by Epaminondas and Epiteles prompted the (re)founding of the city of Messene and, according to Pausanias, inspired the mysteries conducted at Andania well into Roman times.

In the Early Christian era – that is by the 4<sup>th</sup> c. A.D. – the most famous episodes of dream archaeology center around the phenomenon of *inventio* or the rediscovery of a lost object.<sup>9</sup> As a genre of literature, *inventio* continued to be popular throughout the Byzantine and Early Modern period, and in many cases dreams or visions provided the impetus for the discovery of the lost object. Such stories of dream inspired excavation circulated as either individual tracts or in the context of devotional literature like hagiography. The best-known, and most-influential example of Christian dream archaeology derives from stories surrounding St. Helena's discovery of the True Cross. According to one major versions of the event, Helena, the emperor Constantine's mother, was guided by a dream or vision to excavate the location of cross on which Christ was crucified.<sup>10</sup> She dutifully followed the dream's instructions, set a corps of soldiers to dig, and in time discovered the three crosses set up on Calvary as well as some supporting evidence like the trilingual sign that Pontius Pilate had set up above Christ reading "King of the Jews". Helena dispelled any doubts about the verity of the relic and demonstrated its sacred power by using it to resurrect a recently deceased man. The discovery of the True Cross became closely associated with Helena both in literary sources and in her depiction in Byzantine iconography where she is

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<sup>8</sup> Paus. 4.26.7.

<sup>9</sup> W.H.C. Frend, *Archaeology of Early Christianity*. (Minneapolis 1996), 1-6.

<sup>10</sup> Soz. *Hist. Eccl.* 2.1-2; Soc. *Hist. Eccl.* 1.17

often shown holding a spade.<sup>11</sup>

A similar and probably contemporary story concerns the inventio (or relevatio) of the relics of St. Stephen, the first martyr.<sup>12</sup> In this story, the priest Lucianus had a dream while he slept in the reliquary of his church. The Rabbi Gamaliel appeared to Lucianus and told him to go and talk to the Bishop John of Jerusalem and tell him to excavate the body of St. Stephen which had been lost. Lucianus made the trip to Jerusalem where the Bishop ordered *him* to find the place of St. Stephen's burial. While Lucianus looked for the relics, Gamaliel reappeared to him in the guise of a local monk and directed Lucianus and the local villagers to the proper place to dig. When they excavated there, they discovered not only the relics of St. Stephen, but also those of Gamaliel and Nicodemus who with Joseph of Arimathea helped to bury Jesus's body after the Crucifixion.

Accounts of dream archaeology continue throughout Late Antique and Byzantine literature. Perhaps the most famous of these relates to the discovery of the bones of the 40 Martyrs of Sebaste.<sup>13</sup> Initially the bones of these relics were rediscovered in the early 5th century by the Empress Pulcharia who received a vision of the martyr Thyrsos. He informed her of the existence of these relics in the neighborhood of his church in Constantinople and their need to be honored. Lest there be any confusion, the 40 martyrs themselves appeared in her dream seemingly to validate the authenticity of St. Thyrsos's information. The martyrs, however, could only tell the Empress the general area of their remains, not the specific location, and this precipitated a rather lengthy search for an individual who might remember the precise location of the now-lost martyrs' tomb. The location of their relics was eventually discovered under the floor of a standing church. The early fifth century ecclesiastical historian Sozomen provides a fairly lengthy (if somewhat hard to follow) discussion of the archaeological features found in their immediate vicinity which included the tombs of other saints, a small oratory, and architectural details.<sup>14</sup>

The presence of a ruined church or a lost tomb characterized many stories of the Byzantine period and later which clearly evoked the long-standing character of the Christianized landscape around the Mediterranean World. A story in the the 12th century *Life of St. Nikon*, a 10th

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<sup>11</sup> Frend, *Archaeology of Early Christianity*, 6.

<sup>12</sup> S. Vanderlinden, "Revelatio Sancti Stephani," *Revue des Etudes Byzantine* 6 (1946), 178-217.

<sup>13</sup> Soz., *Hist. Eccl.* 9.2.

<sup>14</sup> Procop. *Aed.* 1.7.2-10. Describes the re-appearance of these relics some 100 years later.

century saint, provides a particularly rich example. St. Nikon stayed the night amidst the ruins of an Early, but now largely ruined church, while on the island of Crete where he was active urging local Christians to repent. The archaeologically-savvy saint was able to identify the church on the basis of visible architectural fragments (particularly the geisons). While sleeping, St. Photeine appeared to the saint in a dream. She asked Nikon to rebuild the ruined church or she would not allow him to leave the island.<sup>15</sup> At first, Nikon ignored the saintly vision and continued on his way, but he was soon struck blind. His sight was restored only when he committed to rebuilding the ruined church. Regaining his sight, Nikon returned to the church but lacked a spade (gr. skapani) or a shovel (gr. ptuon) necessary to complete the task. The need for such a tool clearly implied that the restoration of the church would involve excavation. At this point, God sent a column of fire and this attracted the attention of those living in the area who soon arrived with tools to help the saint. St. Nikon with help from the local community completed the work on the church in a mere two years.

The appearance of St. Photeine in the dream of St. Nikon conspicuously invokes the stories surrounding the discovery of her relics in 10th century Constantinople.<sup>16</sup> In those days, an epidemic of blindness swept through the city of Constantinople and a man called Abraham (Abraamios) was distraught having lost his sight. He called out to God to restore his vision, and God sent to him a dream in his sleep. In the dream St. Photeine appeared, touched his eyes with a large candle, and told him "A thickly wooded and dark cave holds my <remains> in its depths, and if you dig you will find me and light will shine on you and all your household and everyone who calls on my name through Jesus Christ." Abraham ran to the site that the the Saint had revealed, promptly excavated her relics, was immediately healed. Abraham and local onlookers who had gathered to watch his excavation erected a church to the Saint on the spot and the saint's relics continued to heal the blind for many years. The story of St. Nikon and St. Phoneine are linked not only in the important role played by blindness, but in the redemption of a lost scared place by excavation.

Late Antique and Byzantine hagiographic narratives such as these would have been sufficiently well-known to cast a long shadow over the archaeological imagination of post-Byzantine Greece. The most notable of these Post-Byzantine *inventio* stories is probably that

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<sup>15</sup> Bios Nikon, 21.

<sup>16</sup>A. M. Talbot, "The Posthumous Miracles of St. Photeini," *Analecta bollandiana* 112 (1994): 85-104.

associated with the discovery of the icon of the Panayia on the island of Tinos in 1823. A dream of the Virgin directed the nun Pelagia to excavate at a particular spot. This work ultimately led to the discovery of an important icon.<sup>17</sup> The icon depicted the Annunciation which had particular significance in that two years earlier on the Feast of the Annunciation (March 25<sup>th</sup>) the Greeks had raised the flag of rebellion from the Ottoman Empire.<sup>18</sup> Similar stories, of course, come from all over Greece. C. Stewart reported a similar story from the island of Naxos,<sup>19</sup> John Cuthbert Lawson, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> c., relates the story of a schoolmaster who sought a week off so that he and some villagers could excavate at a particular spot in order to find an icon that had appeared to him in a dream. H. Forbes, in his recent “archaeological ethnography” of Methana documented a similar story dating evidently to the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century surrounding the discovery of the bones of St. Barbara and St. Juliana.<sup>20</sup>

A slight variant of the tradition *inventio* story, comes from an interview in the early years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century conducted over the course of my fieldwork with the Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey (EKAS). The informant revealed that a church dedicated to Ay. Aikaterini in an upcountry hollow had been in ruins with old wall-painting still visible on the walls.<sup>21</sup> In a dream, St. Katherine herself appeared to a woman in a nearby village and asked that “old saddle be removed and a new one put on her”. As a result of this dream, the old church was “lifted” and a new church was built in its place. Less than 20 kilometers away, the villagers tell a similar story regarding the discovery of an Early Christian basilica style church and an icon on the Evagalistria Hill near the site of Ancient Nemea.<sup>22</sup> Around the turn of the century, a woman who wanted to become a nun had a dream in which the Virgin told her that she should go and dig on the Evagalistria hill, and she would find an icon there. Her brother prevented her from seeking out the icon or becoming a nun until he too had a dream of the Virgin. He then went with his sister to the hill, excavated the spot revealed in the dream, and ultimately found the icon

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<sup>17</sup> J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Kessinger Publishing, 2003), 301-302; Jill Dubisch, *In a different place : pilgrimage, gender, and politics at a Greek island shrine*. (Princeton 1995);

<sup>18</sup> Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, 301.

<sup>19</sup> C. Stewart, “Dreams of Treasure: Temporality, Historicization and the Unconscious,” *Anthropological Theory* 3 (2003): 490.

<sup>20</sup> H. Forbes, *Meaning and Identity in a Greek Landscape: An Archaeological Ethnography* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 359-365.

<sup>21</sup> Interview by Lita Tzortzopoulou-Gregory, "Interview with Mihalís Perras at the site of Agia Aikaterini (Lakka Skoutara) in the Sophiko District: June 10, 2002," Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey Unpublished Report.

<sup>22</sup> Jeannette Marchand, Pers. Comm. Oct. 2008.

and the foundations of the earlier church. The sister became a nun and lived on the hill for many years tending to the miraculous icon.

Lest it appear that stories of dream excavations only derive from a rural context, Y. Hamilakis has analyzed the role that dreams played in the work of Manolis Andronikos.<sup>23</sup> Andronikos was perhaps the most well-known archaeologist in Greece owing to his discovery of the so-called Royal Tombs at Vergina in Macedonia. According to his memoir, Andronikos's workmen had a series of vivid dreams prior to their discovery of these tombs. While Andronikos himself did not have dreams, he clearly associated the workmen's dreams with the discovery of the royal tombs. To emphasize even more dramatically the link between sacred experiences and excavation, Andronikos regularly describes the opening of the first undisturbed tomb at Vergina on November 8<sup>th</sup>, the feasts of Archangel Michael and Gabriel, who were regarded as guardians of hell and often associated with underground grottoes. On that day, Andronikos descended into the underworld to reveal a sarcophagus full of relics.<sup>24</sup>

### *Discussion*

These case studies represent the range of material available from Late Antiquity, the Byzantine period, and more recent Greek history and, hopefully, have demonstrated the importance of dreams and visions in creating an archaeological landscape through time. Dream inspired excavations emphasized the performance of archaeological ritual in first mediating between individual piety and the sacred, and, ultimately, localizing manifestation of the national experience.

My concluding discussion today will look a bit more closely at how and why dreams and archaeological practice found common ground across over 1500 years of Greek history. First, dreams created a sacred landscape which liturgical practices reinforced. Second, these sacred landscapes became fused to national identity as the Greek nation found the Christian past complementary with the emerging national narrative. Finally, the archaeological metaphor resonated both with the practical relationship between the discipline of archaeology and Greek nation buildings and the metaphorical relationship between the cluttered overburden of

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<sup>23</sup> Hamilakis, *Nations and its Ruins*, 139-144.

<sup>24</sup> Hamilakis, *Nations and its Ruins*, 142-144.



contemporary Greek culture and the supposed purity of suppressed, but eminently real, and recognizable, historical continuity.

**First:**

The important role that the discovery of lost objects played in arguments for historical continuity, even in antiquity, has not eluded modern scholars. By restoring lost objects, dream archaeology recovered continuity through appeals to the literally autochthonous nature of various groups. For example, S. Alcock's study of Messenian history in book four of Pausanias,<sup>25</sup> showed how the buried "secret thing" represented the irrepressible persistence of Messenian identity on the slopes of Mt. Ithome and Pausanias's belief in a indissoluble connection between a people and the soil.<sup>26</sup> In a Christian context, dream archaeology functioned in a similar, if not identical way, by validating the (literal) Christian foundations of local society. The Christian framework for Dream Archaeology developed in stories associated with the *inventio*, which emerged alongside the growing cult of martyrs. Hagiography, or saints lives embedded, *inventio* stories in ritual practices that linked sacred space to an increasingly historical sense of sacred time at the bodies and graves of Christian saints.<sup>27</sup> The bodies of these saints and the stories surrounding their discovery became prominent through ritualized, liturgical commemoration. As a result, the discovery of a lost object became another kind of miracle that demonstrated the power of the sacred and the persistence of sacred space.

The stories relating the discovery of the True Cross and the relics of St. Stephen, for example, show how dream archaeology worked to promote simultaneously the sanctity of relics, places, people, *and* the act of discovery. The popularity and importance of the True Cross and relics of St. Stephen likely contributed to the spread of such stories and reinforced the capacity of dreams to establish sacred landscapes.<sup>28</sup> In fact, it is likely that these stories contributed directly

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<sup>25</sup> S. Alcock, "The Peculiar Book IV and the Problem of the Messenian Past," in Susan E. Alcock, John F. Cherry, and Jas Elsner, *Pausanias: Travel and Memory in Roman Greece* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2003), 142-153.

<sup>26</sup> J. Elsner, "Pausanias: A Greek Pilgrim in a Roman world," *Past and Present* 135 (1992), 3-29. [See also Frazer]

<sup>27</sup> R. A. Markus, "How on Earth Could Places Become Holy? Origins of the Christian Idea of Holy Places," *JECS* 2 (1994), 257-271.

<sup>28</sup> For St. Stephen see: Theoph. 86.26-87.5. I. Kalavrezou, "Helping Hands for the Empire: Imperial Ceremonies and the Cult of Relics at the Byzantine Court," *Byzantium Court Culture from* (1997), 57-62; K. Holum and G. Vikan,

to the production of a sacred landscape in the city of Constantinople which relied not only on the relics of the True Cross and the Protomartyr, but on at least a few episodes of dream archaeology as well.

Throughout the Middle Byzantine (ca. 800-1204) period, hagiography remained the dominant source for episodes of dream archaeology. The presence of dream archaeology in saints' lives, assured that they appeared in the annual liturgical commemorations of saints and may have formed the basis for popular devotional practices. Liturgical rituals and wide circulation of hagiographic texts provides a distinctive, popular context for the practice and methods of dream archaeology. These public dreams, then, provided a bridge between the personal experience of dreaming and public significance of a holy relic or a saint to the community. The physical remains of a saint, the adornment of a sacred spot with a building, and the celebration of sacred experiences within the perennial, ritual life of the community translated the personal and ephemeral to the public and permanent. Sermons and commentaries could even draw saints from distant locales into a local context, as the life of St. Nikon drew the life of St. Phteini to Crete from the capital city through references in his *Life*. Thematic parallels between the lives of local saints and empire-wide saints' lives and *inventio* stories surely contributed to and made manifest a sense of broader community in Byzantium and the Orthodox world. In all of these ways, Dream Archaeology has a place within the broader performative discourse of the Byzantine world, which functioned as a method for mediating between the sacred realm and the world of lived experience.<sup>29</sup>

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"The Trier Ivory, Adventus Ceremonial and the Relics of St. Stephen," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33 (1979), 126-133; For the True Cross see: Han J. W. Drijvers and Peeters, *The Finding of the True Cross: The Judas Kyriakos Legend in Syriac*. (Lovanii 1997); J. W. Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross* (Leiden 1992).

<sup>29</sup> The literature on the place of the liturgy in Byzantine society is vast: R. F. Taft, *Through Their Own Eyes: Liturgy as the Byzantine's Saw it*. (Berkeley 2006), 133-145 provides a short summary; For the role of the liturgy on hagiographic narratives see: S. A. Harvey, "The Stylite's Liturgy: Ritual and Religious Identity in Late Antiquity," *J ECS* 6 (1998), 523-539 [538-539]; for the liturgy in public space: J. F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*. OCA 228 (Rome 1987); for the liturgification of Byzantine society see: J. Nelson "Symbols in Context: Rulers Inauguration Rituals in Byzantium and the West in the Early Middle Ages" *Studies in Church History* 13 (1976), 97-119 [101-105]; A. Cameron "Images of Authority: Elites and Icons in Late Sixth-Century Byzantium," *Past and Present* 84 (1979), 3-35, [15-17].

**Second:**

The ritual, religious, and local character made dream archaeology suitable for the national project within Greece in the 19th and 20th centuries. Its methods as well as discoveries demonstrated how an indigenous archaeology contributed to the production of a cohesive national culture. The stories surrounding the pilgrimage church of the Annunciation on Tinos demonstrate in an obvious way the intersection between local and national projects. Many of the leaders of the Greek War of independence (Kolokotronis, Makriyiannis) and early national period, including King Otto, made a pilgrimage to the church on Tinos and clearly saw the discovery of the icon as a sign of divine favor for the fledgling Greece nation. As a result, the church becomes a center for pilgrimage on two holy days: March 25<sup>th</sup>, the feast of the Annunciation and Greek Independence day and on August 15<sup>th</sup>, the feast of the Dormition of the Virgin which is also a national celebration.<sup>30</sup> The fame of Tinos as a pilgrimage site spread to most parts of Greece over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries. Even today it is not unusual to find votive objects associated with a pilgrimage to Tinos in rural churches throughout the country. John Lawson and Charles Stewart argued that the fame of Tinos inspired the emergence of a similar, if less well-known, pilgrimage sites which acquire some of Tinos' prestige.<sup>31</sup>

The act of pilgrimage also reinforces the performative aspect of both dream archaeology and national building. The practice of pilgrimage allows an individual to not only commemorate and personalize the faith of the original excavator but also to participate in the community building aspects of the pilgrimage experience. Like the original dream, the pilgrim's personal faith is fulfilled and revealed through public actions. This interpretation can even extend to the dreams documented by Manolis Andronikos. Andronikos' explicitly nationalistic goals of discovering the Greek roots of Macedonia evoke the discovery of Christian relics which embed local residents within a universal Christian history. Even today, visits to the archaeological museum at Vergina simulate a pilgrimage experience as the visitor physically descends into the liminal world of the reconstructed tumulus to discover the brilliant treasures within.

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<sup>30</sup> J. Dubisch, *In a Different Place*, 164-174.

<sup>31</sup> C. Stewart, *Demons and the Devil*. (Princeton 1991), 35-37; C. Stewart, "Dreams of Treasure: Temporality, historicization, and the unconscious," *Anthropological Theory* 3 (2003), 481-500 [490-496].

**Third:**

The significance of dream archaeology for the national and religious consciousness in Greece did not end its physical and ritual character. Dream archaeology resonated with the power of archaeology as a metaphor. In particular, archaeology appeared as a model for revealing lost truth through numerous discourses of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In particular, archaeology became a dominant metaphor in the study of folklore in Greece (more commonly known in a Greek context as *laography* or the study of the *laos* or folk) which like the discipline of archaeology had explicitly nationalist goals.

In the second half of the 19th century and early 20th century, Nikolaos Politis almost single-handedly forged the study of Greek folk tales and customs into a proper, modern discipline.<sup>32</sup> Politis drew particular inspiration from Edward Tylor's efforts to study the distant past by documenting cultural survivals present in so-called primitive societies. In Greece, this practice translated to an understanding that careful study modern folk tales could reveal aspects of Ancient Greek culture left obscure by the ancient sources. As Michael Herzfeld has noted, Politis explicitly recognized the parallel between the *laographer's* task and that of the archaeologist when he described his work as excavating the historical strata of Greek folk tales.<sup>33</sup> Politis and his successors carried on research that valued folk customs as an unambiguous link between the Greeks of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century and the Greeks of antiquity. In English, J. C. Lawson leaned heavily on Politis in his well-known work of the early 20th century, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*,<sup>34</sup> where he argued that religious dreams, in particular, represent a pagan survival in Modern Greek religion. In fact, he saw the "archaeological" discovery of the icon of the Vigin on Tinos as a religious survival and a patriotic precedent for similar stories among the credulous Greek peasant.<sup>35</sup>

For Politis, Lawson, and other laographers, the archaeology of folk culture became a way to

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<sup>32</sup>Herzfeld, *Ours Once More*, 97-122.

<sup>33</sup> Herzfeld, *Ours Once More*, 100.

<sup>34</sup> Herzfeld, *Ours Once More*, 103.

<sup>35</sup> Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, 301-302.

appropriate even the “irrational” behavior of Greek peasants for the national program.<sup>36</sup> This practice finds broad parallels with Sigmund Freud’s explicitly archaeological approach to dreams as an avenue for exploring the organization and content of the similarly “irrational” unconscious.<sup>37</sup> By digging down through the strata of repressed and displaced thoughts, psychoanalysis revealed the long-obscured, primordial individual and in Freud’s later thought, the tensions that characterized the primordial life of the individual ultimately shed light on the origins of all human society.<sup>38</sup> While this is not the place to examine in depth the extent of the archaeological metaphor in Freud's work, it is worth noting that Freud was aware of the close relationship between his study of the primordial mind and the work in the emerging discipline of archaeology. Freud followed closely the achievements of Heinrich Schliemann at Troy and accumulated an impressive collection of antiquities during his lifetime.<sup>39</sup>

The potential of Freudian thought to reconcile the rational and irrational aspects of modernizing Greek society received its most curious and archaeological application in the work of Angelos Tanagras.<sup>40</sup> Tanagras was the archaeological pseudonym for Angelos Evangelidou, and it referred to the well-known Tanagras figures of the Classical to Hellenistic period. He was a former doctor in the Greek navy and a respected member of Athenian intellectual society who sought to apply Freudian principles to his research on parapsychological elements in Greek folk practices.<sup>41</sup> His most influential work dates to 1929, and is entitled *The Psychophysical Elements in Parapsychological Traditions*.<sup>42</sup> This work featured extensive analysis on the

<sup>36</sup> See. Stewart, *Demons and the Devil*, 124-125 noted that Kyriakidis sought to invoke Freud to reconcile the ration and irrational in Modern Greek ethnography. Kyriakidis was Politis success and over his long career continued his teachers methods and commitment to laography as a nation-building discipline. The best known example of using Freudian methods to reconcile the irrational with more rational methods is E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*. (Berkeley 1951). Dodds section dreams is particular exemplary.

<sup>37</sup> Sigmund Freud, *The interpretation of dreams*. trans. Joyce. Crick (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); R. H. Armstrong, *A Compulsion for Antiquity*. (Ithaca 2005), 109-112, 183-200.

<sup>38</sup> Armstrong, *Compulsion for Antiquity*, 215-251; C. Schorske, "Freud: The psychoarcheology of civilizations," in J. Neu ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Freud*. (Cambridge 1991), 8-24; D. Shmidt, “Refuse Archaeology: Virchow – Shliemann – Freud” *Perspectives on Science* 9 (2001), 210-230.

<sup>39</sup> Armstrong, *A Compulsion for Antiquity*, 114-117; L. Gamwell and R. Wells, *Sigmund Freud and Art: His Personal Collection of Antiquities* (Binghamton: State University of New York, 1989).

<sup>40</sup> There is little scholarship of Tanagras to date and I thank Dr. Kostis Kourelis, for the the references and information presented here.

<sup>41</sup> P. Drandakes, ed. 1926. *Μεγάλη ελληνική εγκυκλοπαίδεια*, 2d ed., (24 vols.), Athens, v. 22, p. 782; P. Hartocollis, "A Letter from Greece," *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 48 (2000), 675-676.

<sup>42</sup> A. Tanagras, *La destin et la chance: La psychobolie humaine*. (Athens 1929)

parapsychological power of dreams and argues for a similar basis for certain folk traditions like the evil eye. In this work he includes a testimony from the archaeologist Konstantinos Kourouniotis who not only excavated the site of Eleusis but later became the Director of the Archaeological Service and a founding influence on the creation of the Greek Museum of Folk Art.<sup>43</sup> In 1924, the renown archaeologist Alexander Philadelphus dedicated to Tanagras his landmark work on the ancient monuments of Athens.<sup>44</sup> Tanagras's works followed empirical, modernist principles and sought to establish sound foundations for parapsychological research based on Greek testimonia. While he never specifically addressed the phenomena of dream archaeology and his ties to actual archaeological practice remain associative, he nevertheless revealed the ability of the modernist discourse in a Greek context to accommodate dreams, archaeology, and folk practices. Tanagras's work both validated the "age old" practices of Greek tradition and appropriated them for the modernist project.

### *Conclusion*

And here we return, at least chronologically, to A. Orlandos 1929 report on the excavation of the Early Christian basilica at Daphnusia. I hope this rather diffuse and diachronic paper has suggested multiple reasons – ritual, religious, and national – for the persistent performance of episodes of dream archaeology in a Greek context. And perhaps we can look to Freud for some well-known parting words concerning “the value of dreams for giving us knowledge of the future”:<sup>45</sup>

“There is of course no question of that. It would be truer to say instead that they give us knowledge of the past. For dreams are derived from the past in every sense. Nevertheless, the ancient belief that dreams foretell the future is not wholly devoid of truth. By picturing our wishes as fulfilled, dreams are after all leading us into the future. But this future, which the dreamer pictures as the present, has be moulded by his indestructible wish into a perfect likeness of the past.”

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<sup>43</sup> Kourouniotis was involved in the founding of the Museum of Greek Folk Art (R. S. Peckham, *National Histories, Natural States*, 121)

<sup>44</sup> A. Philadelphus, *Μνημεία Αθηνών*. (Athens 1928).

<sup>45</sup> S. Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*. Standard Edition. Vol. 5. (London 1958), 621.