



The Australian Archaeological
Institute at Athens

BULLETIN



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Letter from the Director

Dear Members and Friends,

It is with great pleasure that I am writing this letter to introduce the tenth *Bulletin* of the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens, which contains reports of considerable quality.

As usual those about museums and exhibitions in Greece by the Deputy Director in Athens, Dr Stavros Paspalas, are exciting—as well as reassuring during the financial crisis through which Greece is currently going.

The article by Dr Craig Barker of the Nicholson Museum about the excavations at the theatre of Nea Paphos and that by Professor Margaret Miller and the co-directors of Zagora on Andros show how active are archaeologically the University of Sydney and our Institute.

I would especially draw the attention of the *Bulletin*'s readers to two feature articles in it: one by Professor Jack Davis on the “philanthropy and politics” in Greece of American scholars soon after the end of World War I and more particularly Edward Capps on the American side and the Greek Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos that secured for the American School of Classical Studies the excavation and the reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos in the ancient Agora in Athens.

Extremely interesting also is Professor Catherine Morgan's article on the work of the British School at Athens on the island of Ithaca which, although it did not bring to light Odysseus' palace, proved archaeologically very interesting, in an area of Greece that was previously very inadequately studied.

I would point out also the report by Mr Michael Turner on the acquisition of the vase illustrated on the cover of this *Bulletin* which was donated to the Nicholson Museum in honour of Professor J.R. Green who, as every archaeologist knows, is an authority of Greek theatre.

Finally, I would like to say a few words about the Australian Ambassador to the Hellenic Republic, Ms Jennifer (Polyxeni) Bloomfield. Her term as Ambassador is coming to an end in July 2014. Australian Ambassadors in Greece have always supported the AAIA, but she supported it more actively than anybody else in that position. The Institute will award her its medal at the end of the annual open meeting in Athens on May 7 and the members of the executive board voted at their last meeting that she be made a life honorary member.

With all best wishes,



Alexander Cambitoglou

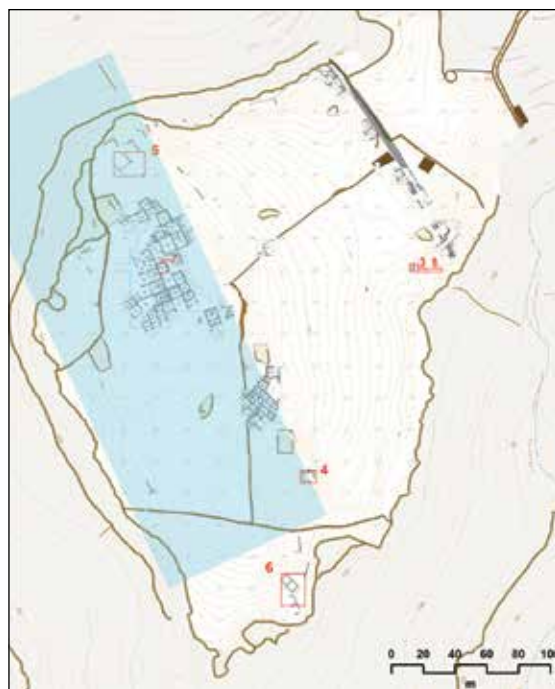
Your Donations in Action

Over the three years that our current fieldwork project on the island of Andros has run, members and supporters of the AAIA have donated generously to support the Zagora Archaeological Project. In addition, as all members know, we have received major funding via an Australian Research Council Grant.

Although competitive academic grants provide substantial funding, such grants cannot cover all the necessities of a large archaeological excavation. Nor are three years a long period to undertake an ambitious programme of study at the site.

Your donations are, therefore, essential to the success and continuation of the project. They have been committed in the first instance to one of the requisites not funded by the grant—the architectural conservation of the site. Conserving the architectural remains so that Zagora can be visited safely by current and future generations is a responsibility that has to be met.

The Institute and its staff are deeply grateful for the commitment that both the government and our donors have shown towards supporting archaeological research in Greece.



The photo mosaic of Zagora at left was made from 17 photographs taken through Kite Photography using a Canon powershot s110, by ZAP team members Hugh Thomas and Adam Carr. It covers an area of approximately 300m by 100m of the Western edge of the site. Trenches 4, 5 and 7 of the 2013 season are visible, along with the previously excavated buildings of D, H and J and the Archaic temple. The photograph was created using the program PTGui, which stitches photographs together using hundreds of overlapping points. When printed out, this mosaic is 1.5m in length.

NEWS IN BRIEF

2013 Hostel Report

by Anthoulla Vassiliades

In 2013 we had over 65 residents stay in the Athens hostel. The majority of residents were of course from Australia, but a number were also students and academics associated with other foreign institutes and universities. Dr David Pritchard (University of Queensland), Dr Graeme Bourke (University of New England), Professor Duncan Ivison (University of Sydney) and Professor Jeffrey Riegel (University of Sydney) were all residents for short periods at the Hostel during the year.

The Hostel was host to the University of Sydney Athens Summer School in January, serving as the base for the lectures and also as residence for some of the students. The Hostel also saw the comings and goings of various team members of the Zagora Archaeological Project (ZAP) on Andros at the end of the year.

In addition, the Hostel was used by Professor Nigel Westlake (University of Western Australia) as the residence and base for a six week "Athens Studio" for 15 architecture students from Australia.

The public areas of the Athens Hostel continue to provide the venue for the Institute's programme of seminars and lectures, as well as the meeting place for the Committee of the Athens Friends.

In 2014 the premises will be undergoing some maintenance and renovation work, which will include repainting and some necessary repairs, due to wear and tear.

Deputy Director's Report from Athens

by Stavros A. Paspalas

The beginning of the year set the tone which was to characterize the rest of 2013 in Athens: busy and, I am pleased to report, productive. January saw the third Summer School programme co-organized by the AAIA and the Department of Archaeology of the University of Sydney, which is conducted by Associate Professor Lesley Beaumont of the Department and myself. As in previous years this "intense" programme of study, that focuses on the Archaic and Classical period archaeology of Athens and Attica (with a foray to Delphi), was well-subscribed with 23 participants, mainly from the University of Sydney but not exclusively so. The formal lectures, field trips and museum visits all combined to make this programme, I am sure, an unforgettable learning experience for all enrolled in it. I should mention with special gratitude the interest that the Australian Ambassador to Greece, H.E. Mrs Jenny Bloomfield, showed in this undertaking, and thank her for the reception she held to welcome the participants to Athens.



Participants of the 2013 Summer School in the Propylaea of the Acropolis during a rare Athenian snowfall. Photo by Anthoulla Vassiliades.

The AAIA was also pleased to aid in the organization and running of the "Athens Studio" organized by Associate Professor Nigel Westbrook of the Department of Architecture of the University of Western Australia. This educational programme, that catered for architecture students from UWA, largely overlapped with the AAIA-University of Sydney Summer School. Whereas the latter concentrated on the ancient past the "Studio's" main point of interest was contemporary Athens and how it functions as a large metropolis. Nonetheless, it is not really possible to understand Athens as a working city without taking its antiquities into

consideration, and I was very happy to introduce the visiting students from Perth to a good number of these by means of on-site lectures.

The Athens Friends of the Institute once more had a very full schedule throughout the year, and the Institute—as always—is very grateful for their assistance and support, particularly so to the President, Ms Elizabeth Gandley, and the Committee members. The highlight for many of the members was the three-day excursion in May to Santorini (Thera) where we visited a number of sites and museums, and enjoyed the great privilege of having the excavator of the Bronze Age town of Akrotiri, Professor Christos Doumas, as our guide at the Bronze Age Museum and at the site itself.



Athens Friends visit to Akrotiri, re-opened to the public in 2012 after completion of a new state of the art roof. Photo by Anthoulla Vassiliades.

As in every year 2013 saw a steady stream of Australian graduate students and researchers apply through the AAIA to the Greek Ministry of Culture and Athletics for study permits and study aids. It is always pleasing to report that this barometer of the state of being of classical studies in Australia is in a very healthy position. The AAIA is always happy to expedite such permits as part of an on-going process aimed at strengthening the position of Greek and classical studies in Australia and at forging further bonds between Australian researchers and their Greek (as well as those from other countries) counterparts.

2013 also saw the second year of the Zagora Archaeological Project, a major undertaking, co-directed by Professor Margaret Miller and Dr Lesley Beaumont (The University of Sydney) and myself, as a collaborative project between the Archaeological Society at Athens and the AAIA. Excavations of this scale require a great deal of organization, both in Sydney and Athens, and the AAIA Athens office was fully engaged in a range of administrative and logistical duties, the successful execution of which ensured that the 2013 season was an unmitigated success (see this *Bulletin*, pp. 10–13).

Report from the 2013 Athens Summer School

by Marayah Robinson

Avila College, Mount Waverley, Victoria

In January this year I fulfilled a lifelong dream of mine to study the art, archaeology, culture and history of Archaic and Classical Greece in Athens. I was lucky enough to attend the 2013 Classical Archaeology Summer School run by the department of Archaeology of the University of Sydney in conjunction with the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens. As a teacher of VCE Classical Studies (Ancient Greece), a subject run in Victoria for year 11 and 12 students, this course greatly enhanced my own university studies.

Returning to study was both exciting and challenging. The lectures provided by Dr Lesley Beaumont and Dr Stavros Paspalas were engaging and rigorous. The range of topics and material covered over the three weeks was extensive and included relevant site and museum visits. Living and studying in Athens provided a unique insight into not only the ancient civilisation one is studying, but its modern context as well. By the end of the course we all gained a real sense of the complex issues facing Greece, particularly after living through a ten day public transport strike and three demonstrations!

I have a real passion for the subject matter I teach, so to visit the sites we study in Classical Studies Units 1–4, to study and see firsthand the pottery and sculpture we explore, to walk down the same roads, sit in the ancient theatres and visit the temples the ancients did every day is something that has brought this world alive to me. The highlights of this experience included being able to access the interior of the Parthenon and see the restoration

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work being done, studying the immense collection of antiquities at the National Archaeological Museum and visiting the breathtaking cliff top site of the temple of Poseidon at Sounion. Exploring the fascinating sites of Delphi and Rhamnous was also a delight.



The 2013 Athens Summer School participants at Eleusis (above) and the Sanctuary of Apollo Zoster at Vouliagmeni (below).

I am sure that the lectures delivered, the many resources I purchased, the photographs I took and the material I was able to access at the British School at Athens where I stayed will enrich my teaching. I would like to extend my thanks to Ms Gina Scheer for her generous assistance and advice and, in particular, Dr Beaumont for a truly memorable experience!

The University of Sydney-AAIA Intensive Summer School in Athens will run again in January 2016.

The AAIA was very pleased that it could, once again, offer its Athens premises as a venue where Australian academics could present their research results to an international audience in a city where leading specialists in the field congregate. In February Associate Professor Nigel Westbrook (University of Western Australia) presented a paper entitled “Reconstructing the Lost Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors at Constantinople”, in which Late Antiquity came to the fore. Kristen Mann, the AAIA Fellow, also delivered a paper in February: “Accessing household behaviour and reassessing settlement data in the digital age, a presentation of preliminary doctoral research on Zagora at Andros”. In March we hosted Dr David Pritchard (University of Queensland) who delivered a lecture on “Festivals, Democracy and War. The Spending Priorities of Democratic Athens”. The AAIA was also honoured to provide a venue for Professor Eva Simantoni-Bournia (University of Athens) who delivered a lecture with the title of “A Cretan Hybrid in the Cyclades” in which she presented to an academic audience for the first time a newly recovered relief pithos of the seventh century BC with important figural scenes that aids our understanding of the iconography of the period—a time which saw great ferment, originality and creativity in the way the Greeks chose to depict figural scenes.

The evening on which the Director’s Report and accompanying Annual Lecture are delivered is the AAIA’s major Athens-based formal event of the year. The report on the AAIA’s activities included presentations of the field work conducted at Zagora, at Vapheio in Laconia by Associate Professor Louise Hitchcock of the University of Melbourne and at Paphos by a University of Sydney team led by Emeritus Professor Richard Green, Dr Craig Barker and Dr Smadar Gabrieli. The lecturer in 2013 was Professor Eric Csapo of the University of Sydney who kept his audience enthralled with his lecture on “The Dionysian Parade in Classical Athens and the Poetics of Plenitude”.



Attic black figure amphora showing a Dionysian Parade, Painter of Berlin 1686, c. 540 BC, Berlin F 1697.

The Athens office can report that 2013 was a successful year in which it continued to facilitate the research of Australian academics and students and, importantly, to project the results of this research to the broader academic community. The staff of the office are grateful to the support received from the Ambassador and the staff of the Australian Embassy in Athens, the Athens Friends, and to the staff of a large number of departments of the Greek Ministry of Culture who all help to make its operations all the more successful.

Museums and Exhibitions in Greece

by Stavros A. Paspalas

A new provincial archaeological museum was added to Greece's extensive network of cultural institutions in 2013, at Pyrgos on the western coast of the Peloponnese, to the west of ancient Olympia. The **Pyrgos Archaeological Museum** is a very welcome addition to the country's impressive list of museums not least because it is housed in the town's restored Old Market that was designed either by the great Neo-classical architect Ernst Ziller himself or one of his students, and built in 1890. It is more than a happy coincidence when such a fine building can be preserved and receive a new lease of life as a public institution that serves such an important role in the local community. The wing in which the Prehistoric and Classical period exhibits are displayed is now open to visitors, and the Byzantine/Post-Byzantine wing is to open in due course.



Above: a stamp from the Prefecture Capitals issue (1990) featuring the Pyrgos Old Market.



Below: as the Archaeological Museum, after restoration.



Constantine P. Cavafy, 1863–1933.

The past year was commemorated throughout Greece, and in a multitude of ways, as the “Year of Constantine Cavafy”, given that it marked the 150th anniversary of his birth. Cavafy undoubtedly ranks amongst the most important Greek, indeed European, poets of the late nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries. Born in Alexandria, Egypt, Cavafy lived the greater part of his life beyond the borders of Greece. Indeed, if one refers to “the Alexandrian” in a literary conversation in Greece there is no doubt that the individual referred to is Cavafy, so closely linked is he with that city. Arguably Cavafy's interest to the readership of the *Bulletin*

Report from the 2013 Olwen Tudor Jones Scholarship recipient

by Kate McAllan

When travelling, there always come those moments when you ask yourself, ‘What am I doing here?’ On my recent trip to Greece, I must admit this question did surface a few times. For instance, when struggling up the stairs at a station in Athens with a suitcase a third of my weight, when trying to work out the various stages involved in catching a bus from Nafplio to Pylos (never made it), and when trying to understand instructions in beginner's Greek class.

Travel can be hard work, but like all work, the rewards are worth it. Without these minor discomforts I would never have experienced the hospitality of so many Greeks, especially my teachers, Hara and Andreas, of the Alexandria Institute in Chios where I took a course in Modern Greek, who responded with good humour to my feeble grappling with their language. I also would have missed countless culinary delights in glorious settings—a lettuce and fresh dill salad in a small estiatorio in Athens, to name just one.

Most importantly for an enthusiast of archaeology, I wouldn't have seen the view along the coast of Chios from the remains of the tiny Temple of Athena at Emborio, watched a pair of golden eagles rise on the thermal above the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, walked over the winding paths at Mycenae and Tiryns, or stood next to the colossal pithoi of Tinos. And I wouldn't have got my hands in the dirt at Zagora. ‘What am I doing here?’ never once crossed my mind while on site. It didn't matter whether the infamous Zagora wind whipped away the deposit I was sieving before it could be bagged, whether

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I couldn't find a place without pointy lumps of limestone to perch on while cleaning a sherd, or whether I was trekking up the hill at the end of the day, the opportunity to be involved in discoveries, large and small, that add up to learning more about the past overrode any physical discomfort. In addition, there were many small on-site delights to savour: the crocus blooms, fabulous packed lunches, my trench supervisor's exclamation of 'Ooh la la' at every interesting discovery, and the distant sound of a tragic Greek song sung by a certain professor as she made her way from trench to trench.



Kate McAllan at Zagora
Photo by Irma Havlicek; © PHM.

Nearly two months after returning to Sydney, I realise how much I learned from my first trip to Greece. Here are a few items from a rather long list: learning Greek is going to be a long haul; take earplugs to get a good night's sleep, as there are bound to be plenty of roosters and other party animals up and about; and, above all, reading about ancient places and objects is a wholly insufficient substitute for seeing them, let alone touching their reality.

The OTJ Scholarship is offered each year by the Sydney University Friends of the AAIA to assist a student of high academic achievement participate in fieldwork in the Mediterranean region. Kate McAllan was the 14th recipient.

resides primarily in his relationship (and, of course, that of his poetry) with antiquity, particularly that of the Hellenistic and Roman periods in the eastern Mediterranean. To mark the 2013 anniversary, where modern Greek letters intersect with the ancient past of the wider Mediterranean world, the **Museum of Cycladic Art** in Athens organized an exhibition entitled “‘**Figures loved and idealized...’. Illustrating poems by C.P. Cavafy**’”. This exhibition was an occasion to juxtapose many of Cavafy's poems with antiquities, collected from a wide range of Greek museums, to which they are thematically linked. Portrait statues, coins, vase-paintings, Romano-Egyptian funerary portraits, inscriptions, icons and ecclesiastical equipment all creatively interact with the texts of the poems to present successfully a view of the extensive past so present in Cavafy's poetry

The **Archaeological Museum of Thessalonike** brought to the attention of its visitors one aspect of the important discoveries that have been made over the last decade or so at the site of ancient Methone on the coast of the Thermaic Gulf, southwest of Thessalonike. The excavations, conducted under the directorship of Manthos Besios, must rate as one of the most important in the northern Aegean in recent years. Most notably the excavations have revealed remains of a significant manufacturing and commercial centre that appears to have flourished in the eighth century BC, and to which material from a wide range of locations throughout the Aegean was imported. More importantly yet, a remarkably large amount of pottery fragments (and some nearly complete vessels) of the period with graffiti have been found. This is one of the most impressive finds of early writing in the Greek world, and the earliest within the confines of Macedonia. The graffiti range from commercial notations to marks of ownership and onto poetry. A selection of these finds were displayed in a temporary exhibition with the title of “**Letters from the ‘Underground’**”.



Upper part of a cup with the graffiti, reading from right to left: *Philionos emi* (“I am [the cup] of Philion”). Late 8th/early 7th century BC. Excavated at Methone. Source: *Letters from the ‘Underground’*. Writing in Methone, Pieria, late 8th early 7th century BC (Thessalonike, 2013). *Hellenic Ministry of Culture-Archaeological Museum of Thessalonike-27th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities*.



'Las Incantadas': Louvre Ma1391; Louvre Ma1393; drawing by E. Cousin  ry, in: *Voyage dans la Mac  doine, Paris, 1831*.

The same museum staged an exhibition entitled **“Las Incantadas”** (“the Enchanted Ones”) after the Roman-period sculptures, now in the Louvre, of figures which adorned a monumental gateway in Thessalonike. They are known by their Ladino (a Spanish dialect) name, granted to them by the Jewish community that settled in that city in the late fifteenth century. The exhibition set large modern artworks by two Spanish artists side-by-side with the prototypes among the museum’s permanent exhibits that inspired them, so creating a dialogue between the ancient monuments and the modern works.

The **Museum of Byzantine Culture** in Thessalonike mounted a major temporary exhibition entitled **“The Veneration of St. Mamas in the Mediterranean: a traveller and a border defender saint”**. The exhibition, which was composed of exhibits from Greek, European and American museums that date from the sixth century AD until the present day, examined the exciting history (and many spheres of activity) of this ‘hero’ saint particularly as he was (and is) venerated in the eastern Mediterranean, and how his cult was spread to western Europe in the mediaeval period.

The commitment of the Greek Ministry of Culture and other cultural bodies to the preservation, study and projection of the rich and varied past of the Greek world, by which all visitors to Greece may benefit, was once again well evident in 2013.



Above: *Saint Mamas, c. 1500 AD. Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, Byzantine Museum and Gallery, originally in the church of Panaghia Chryssaliniotissa, Nicosia, Cyprus. Below: Saints Mamas and Demetrius, 19th century. Church of Saint Barbara, Agia Barbara, Cyprus.*

Nea Paphos Theatre Excavations 2012

by Craig Barker



Fig. 1: 2012 team photo.

Archaeological excavations at the ancient theatre of Nea Paphos were continued in 2012 by a team from the University of Sydney (fig. 1) who unearthed a number of significant finds, including fragments of marble sculptural adornments from the theatre's stage building and a nearby nymphaeum.

The season (24 September-26 October 2012) was the fifteenth season of archaeological investigations of the precinct of the Hellenistic-Roman theatre of Nea Paphos on behalf of

the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus. The team of 34 archaeologists and students worked on the southern slope of Fabrika hill, under the direction of Dr Craig Barker and Dr Smadar Gabrieli. The Australian archaeological excavations in Paphos are supported by the Nicholson Museum and the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens.



Fig. 2: Architect Geoff Stennett and surveyor Guy Hazell taking points on the cavea as a storm approaches.

Nea Paphos served as the capital of Cyprus in the Hellenistic and Roman periods and the archaeological remains of the important trading settlement, including the theatre (fig. 3), are inscribed on the World Heritage List. In keeping with the status of Paphos in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the theatre has proved to be one of the largest in Cyprus.

Investigations have revealed that the theatre of Paphos underwent five phases of renovations between 300 BC and the 4th century AD, each phase representing the evolution of ancient performance and theatre architecture. Many of the architectural features were robbed away in antiquity, and the area of the site was built over in the Middle Ages. The theatre of Paphos is the only ancient theatre of Cyprus not to have undergone modern restoration, and as such is now a unique structure on the island as it is the sole remaining theatre containing visible traces of its architectural development. The study of the theatre has given great insight into the spread of Hellenic cultural identity in the eastern Mediterranean and also of the changes to theatrical architecture over the six and a half centuries the structure was in use, which included phases of Ptolemaic and Roman influence.

Five trenches were opened by the team in 2012 in various locations around the theatre as well as in the nearby Roman nymphaeum and road that have been reported on in previous volumes of the *AAIA Bulletin*.

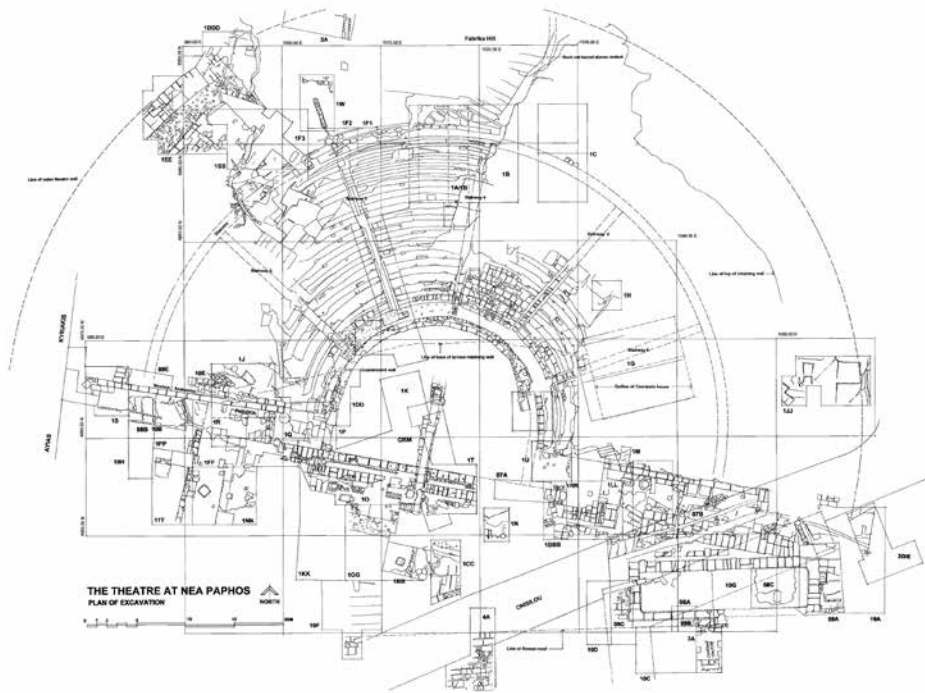


Fig. 3: Plan of the theatre of Nea Paphos (Geoff Stennett).

The main trench, Trench 12A, was on the eastern side of the stage building, and located the bedrock foundations of the eastern end of the Roman stage (fig. 4). This was a significant area of excavation, providing new insight into the dimensions of the earlier phases of the stage building. This trench also identified a new entrance way leading from the south onto the eastern *parodos* of the theatre. This stone entrance-way was located at a lower level than the previously-known Roman one which provides some clues as to the architectural layout of the Hellenistic theatre.

Trench 12B continued work in the area of the Roman road directly to the south of the theatre that began in 2010, clearing more of the road pavements and more of a medieval building located above it. The road is proving to be an important feature in our understanding of the urban layout of the ancient city, and will be further excavated in coming seasons.

Trench 12C on the other hand was located on the upper levels of the *cavea* (seating) and indicates that there were significant buildings with sizable walls constructed on the top of Fabrika hill after the theatre was no longer in use for performance (figs. 5–6). Trench 12D was located in the area of the western *parodos* of the theatre (fig. 7), while Trench 12E explored a post-medieval well located to the south east of the site.

In parallel with the excavation, the team's specialists continued archaeological interpretation of the architecture and finds from the site for final academic publication in the near future. A number of senior team members also participated in a major international conference on the archaeology of Paphos held at the University of Avignon immediately after the excavation.



Fig. 4: Trench 12Aa. Students excavating the foundations of the stage building.



Fig. 5: Trench 12C at the top of the cavea during excavation, with the modern town of Paphos in the background.



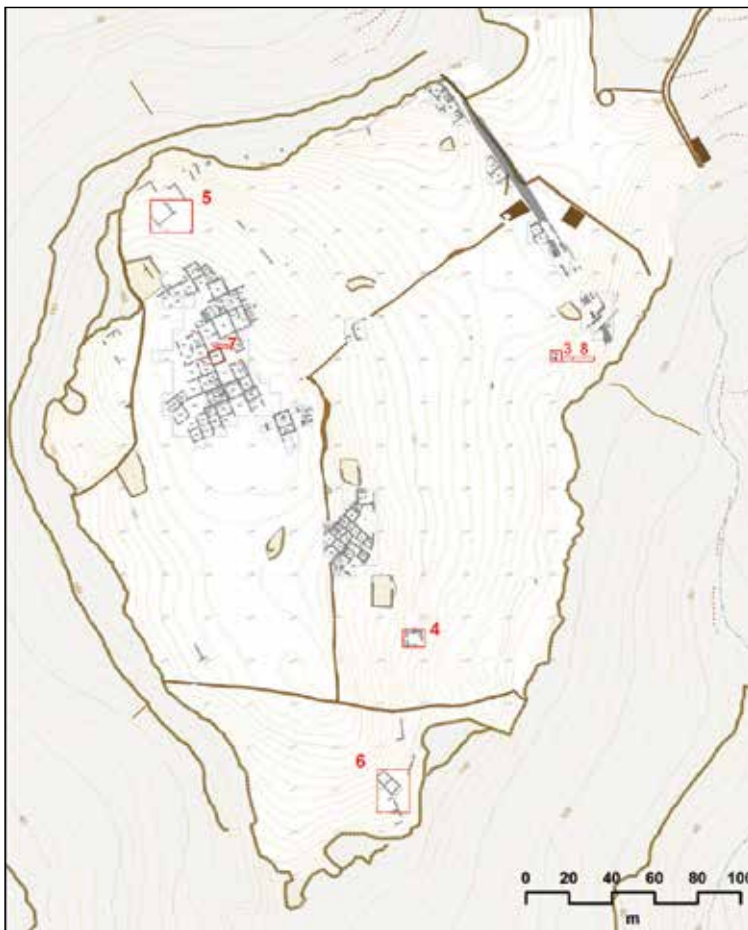
Fig. 6: Students, Jillian Barteaux and Edoardo Bodin, excavating part of a wall in Trench 12C.



Fig. 7: Trench 12Da. The theatre viewed from the west with the team excavating the western *parodos* in the foreground and the road surface in the centre.

Zagora Archaeological Project: 2013 Season

by Stavros A. Paspalas, Lesley A. Beaumont and Margaret C. Miller



Figs. 1–3 (clockwise): Site plan; opening of Trench 6 under the supervision of Paul Donnelly of the PHM; Trench 3 mid season. Photos by Irma Havlicek, © PHM.

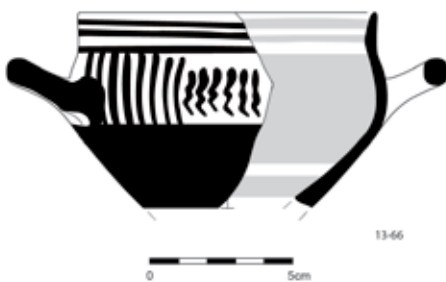


Fig. 4: LG II skyphos from Trench 6. ZAP 13-66. Drawing by Anne Hooton.

It was so hard to wait for September 23, 2013, to come. Though the second of our three years of ARC-funded fieldwork at Zagora, 2013 was going to be our first full excavation season.¹ Indeed, it was to be the first full season since the 1960s and 1970s campaigns led by Alexander Cambitoglou exposed the geometric town, providing an unparalleled opportunity to examine life in the eighth century BC. Even now, almost forty years later, Zagora remains a unique resource for insight into polis formation in this early period. *Bulletin* readers may recall that in the 2012 season attention was focused on a range of reconnaissance and survey strategies devised to broaden our understanding of the site within its terrain.

The plan for 2013 was different: six weeks of excavation, in five zones widely dispersed across this large settlement in a bid to maximise potential information about domestic, industrial, social and political life (fig. 1). For this a much larger team of volunteers and different kinds of specialists were required. New strategies were needed too, from the macroscopic (satellite imaging analysis), through the catascopic (aerial photography by kite; fig. 6, sidebar) to the microscopic (water-sieving and soil sampling; see the Zagora dig blog on the Powerhouse website).

¹ ZAP is a collaborative project between the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens and the Archaeological Society at Athens, together with the Department of Archaeology of the University of Sydney, with the participation of the Powerhouse Museum: <http://www.powerhousemuseum.com/zagora/>

The five excavation areas targeted built structures and external spaces in known as well as unknown sectors. An obvious candidate for an open space was the point where the inhabitants of Zagora arrived through the town gate. Here a test trench was placed in 2012. Excavation of a wider area in 2013 exposed superimposed surfaces belonging to roads or, more likely given the width of some 10 m, a communal open space (Trench 8). Adjacent Trench 3 surprised us with its depth of stratigraphy: elsewhere on the site, soil barely covers the bedrock, but here we found ourselves excavating down two metres through rich deposits of pottery, animal bones, shell, and obsidian flakes! The explanation: it was a cavity in the bedrock, a natural rubbish-bin (fig. 3). The saying ‘one man’s rubbish is another man’s treasure’ held true: here well stratified finds dating to the late ninth and early eighth centuries BC provide a window into the earlier history of Zagora, offering new avenues of research into diet, industries, and commerce.



Fig. 5: Glass bead. ZAP 13-73.
Drawing by Anne Hooton.

To the south-west, a house partly exposed in 2012 beckoned. In 2013 excavation revealed the full extent of an approximately 6 x 5.5 m room (Trench 4; sidebar, lower image); walls continuing to the north and south show that it belonged to a larger complex. Benches for holding storage pithoi lay along the north and eastern walls, with a door centred on the west wall. The associated pottery dates to the Late Geometric II phase, approximately 730 to 700 BC. One find, rare in a domestic context, is a glass bead; as a probable import from the ancient Levant, it represents quite a fashion statement (fig. 5).

Seeking to establish the extent of habitation, we opened Trench 5 at the extreme north of the site (fig. 6). Here in 2012 a concentration of iron slag and pieces of obsidian, suggestive of an industrial installation, was observed. In 2013 careful cleaning of a major wall collapse visible revealed three walls defining a room, as well as a possible exterior space. The pottery throughout dates to the later eighth century. Walls and pottery corroborate the extent of occupation in the town’s later stages.



Fig. 6: Aerial view of Trench 5, by H. Thomas.

Aerial kite photography at Zagora



Above: Hugh Thomas preparing the camera rig for aerial photography;
below: Adam Carr launching the kite.
Photos by Irma Havlicek; © PHM.

The site of Zagora is famous for its howling winds. Although this wind makes excavation difficult, it provides the perfect conditions for kite photography, opening up an exciting avenue of photographic recording. The technique is highly cost-effective and not only allows excavators to see on a regular basis the progression of their trench from a whole new perspective, but also delivers wonderful results! (Below and site montage, p. 3.)



Aerial view of Trench 4, by H. Thomas.



Figs. 7–8: Lion combat motif from an applied-relief pithos from Trench 7. Photo by Vasilis Tsiairis, drawing by Anne Hooton.



Fig. 9: Coiling the 450 m water-sieving hose during end-of-season tidy-up in the newly-restored dig hut.



Fig. 10: Lesley Beaumont conducting a tour of Zagora for local residents. Photo by Irma Havlicek; © PHM.

² Dr Stefania Chlouveraki visited the site in conjunction with her preparation of the Architectural Conservation report and gave some valuable advice about short-term conservation of the recently excavated free-standing walls.

The same picture of dense settlement in the late eighth century emerges also in the south (Trench 6; figs. 2, 4), where visible walls of a structure were plotted on the site plan in the 1960s. Yet here there are interesting nuances. It seems again to be domestic, with a schist bin sunk into the floor, but unlike the agglutinative schist construction elsewhere, this structure stands free, two rooms with walls built entirely of the local grey marble. It is too early to posit an explanation—functional, social, or topographical—for this intriguing local architectural deviation.

A different strategy located Trench 7: it is co-extensive with D26, a hitherto unexcavated room, part of a domestic complex investigated in the 1970s. Below an extensive collapse, fragments of a number of pithoi were found scattered across the whole room, along with other ceramics securely dated to the later eighth century. Pithoi were used to store all manner of agricultural produce. In some parts of Greece (such as the Cyclades, Euboia and Boiotia) they can be extensively decorated with hand-modelled applied relief and so are known as relief pithoi. This class of artefact plays an important role in early Greek art, but most surviving early figural pithoi are only fragmentary. Room D26 will change that: one monumental relief pithos stands out for its complicated imagery, including animal friezes and a scene of a sword-wielding male figure losing out to two lions (figs. 7–8). When all the fragments are collected and it is restored, it will be the first early relief pithos to preserve a substantial part of its complete iconographic programme, as well as to have a secure domestic provenance.

Our fieldwork at Zagora in 2013 produced important data that have led to our better appreciation of this lynchpin site for the understanding of life during the Early Iron Age in Greece. Our season planned for 2014 holds equal promise. We would like to extend our heartfelt thanks to all the team members who worked cheerfully in trying circumstances, as well as to all our supporters in Australia. Thanks too to our colleagues in the Greek Ministry of Culture and Sport, especially to Dr. P. Hatzidakis, Ms. A. Angelopoulou and Mr. P. Koulouris, for their unstinting support.² We are deeply indebted to a good number of Andrians who helped us in so many ways during our period on the island. Highlights of the season included a public lecture on our excavations, delivered at Chora, the main town of the island, and on-site tours given to local residents by the Directors. We conceived these events as a gesture of thanks towards our host community and were very pleased that so many Andrians came to learn about our excavations on their beautiful island (fig. 10).

Philanthropy, the American Red Cross, and Archaeology in Greece in the Wake of the First World War*

by Jack L. Davis, Director of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens (ASCSA), 2007–2012

Foreign schools of archaeology in Athens have long enjoyed a prestigious position in Greece, one that from time to time has allowed older institutions, such as the American School of Classical Studies, to exercise influence in areas outside the cultural sphere. In this paper I examine one particular instance when this was so: namely, in the years following World War I, when American archaeologists participated in humanitarian relief efforts as officers of the Red Cross, in Eastern Macedonia and elsewhere (fig. 1). I argue that, irrespective of formal structures or official policy, the long-time presence of the American School in Greece has in and of itself created conditions that have allowed the institution to convert accumulated social capital into political power. Moreover, the School has been able to bring that power to bear on the promotion of a cultural agenda, particularly its archaeological programmes.

The involvement of the ASCSA in activities of the American Red Cross (ARC) in 1918–1919 led to the strengthening of important personal relationships with significant figures in the party of Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos. Political advantage for the ASCSA was hardly the principal motivation of the philhellenes who served the ARC in 1918–1919, although, as commander of the mission, Edward Capps, Chair of the Managing Committee of ASCSA, did trust that the distribution of emergency relief to Greece would have a positive impact on Greek-American relations, and would strengthen ties between the ASCSA and the American government at the same time. He wrote that “the mission will have failed in one of its objects if, as a result of our sojourn in Greece, the Greek people and the American people are not drawn together in closer bonds of sympathy, understanding and friendship.”

The mission to Greece was part of a much larger initiative in Europe that emerged from ARC activities in World War I. On November 11, 1918, at the Armistice, the ARC had commissions that were providing medical and general relief in England, France, Belgium, Serbia, and Greece. The immediate goal of the ARC then was to close down its activities in Europe as rapidly as possible, and to transfer responsibilities to the nations of western Europe themselves. But at the same time it recognized that in the Balkans the need for aid was only beginning.

Members of the Greek Commission included other prominent American archaeologists and philologists, such as Carl W. Blegen. These classicists had a strong emotional attachment to Greece, and many were as



Fig. 1: Headquarters of the American Red Cross in Kavalla.

* This paper was originally delivered as a lecture for the AAIA in Canberra and is published in an expanded version as a scholarly article: “The American School of Classical Studies and the Politics of Volunteerism”, in *Philhellenism, Philanthropy, or Political Convenience? American Archaeology in Greece*, *Hesperia* 82 (2013), pp. 15–48. Photographs are from H.S. Oakley, G.C. Barry, R.W. Adams, J. Lemon and C.B. Gilmore, *In Macedonia* (Chicago 1920).

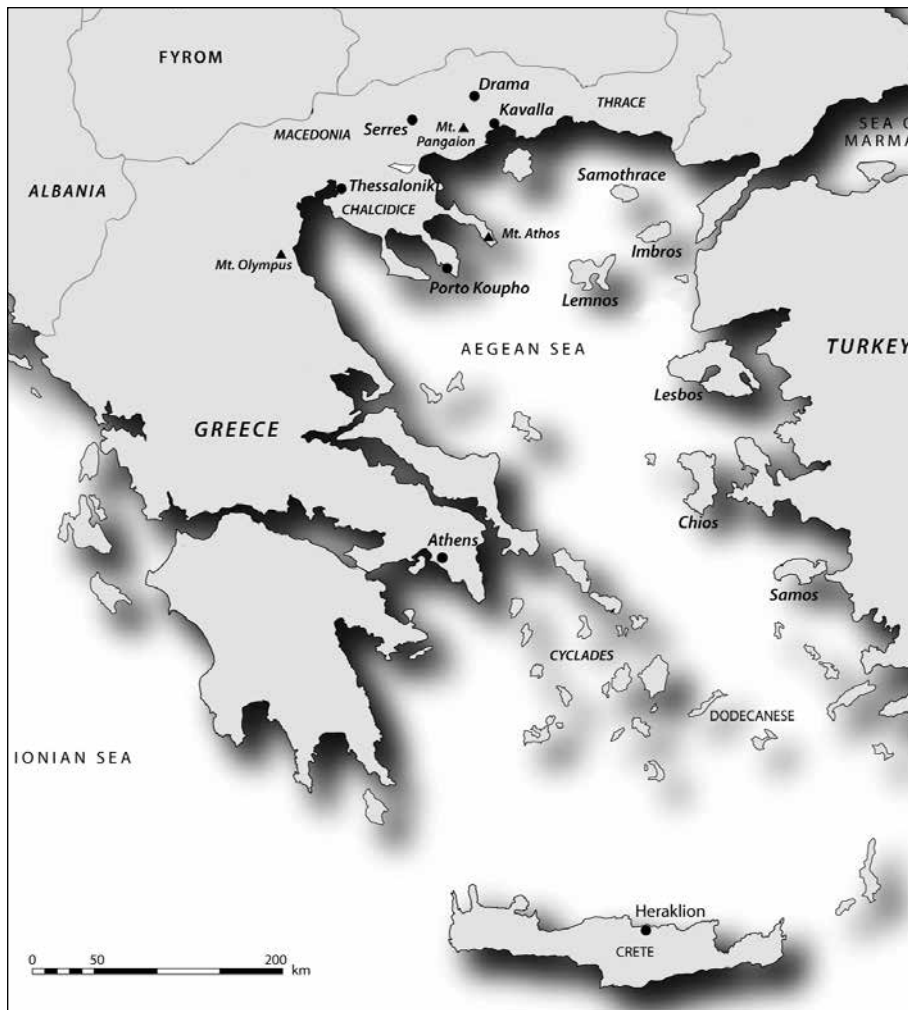


Fig. 2: Map of Greece, showing places mentioned in the article.

committed as Venizelos himself to the ‘Megale Idea’ (the notion that the modern state of Greece should expand to the borders of the Byzantine Empire by “redeeming” territories outside its control).

The American School as Relief Organization (1918–1919)

The year 1918 was a troubled time for Greece, and the arrival of the ARC in Patras must be viewed in its historical context. Greece had stayed out of World War I until the end was near, in large part because of the reticence of King Constantine. In 1916, after a quarrel with the King, Prime Minister Venizelos had agreed to lead a rival government in Thessalonike. Greece had finally been brought to the Allied cause in the summer of 1917, but much of eastern Macedonia had been occupied by the Bulgarian army.

The Greek Commission operated for a period of nine months, its complement consisting of 103 men and women, some sent from America, others culled from the ensemble of American expatriates in Greece. Volunteers were enlisted from all walks of life: academics, businessmen, lawyers, doctors, nurses, bankers, social workers, ministers, mechanics, secretaries, and agricultural experts. The work was often dangerous, and death by disease, particularly typhus, was a threat. The first group of ARC workers instantly learned of the desperate situation of the civilian population of eastern Macedonia in areas recently abandoned by the Bulgarian army (fig. 2). Those who remained were in immediate need of food and shelter.

A group of American relief workers left Athens for Macedonia on November 6, 1918. There they quickly arranged for the Serbian Commission of the ARC to transfer surplus food to them. Relief stations were established in various places east of the Chalkidike peninsula. The Greek Commission encouraged permanent infrastructural development. The provision of sewing machines helped women find employment, clinics reduced infant mortality rates, Greek soldiers were rehabilitated, and drugs were provided to hospitals. Proposals were made to improve agriculture, support orphanages, and provide education for orphans. An American-style nursing programme was also established in the Red Cross hospital of Athens.

The Greek Commission through the Eyes of an Archaeologist

Reports of the Greek Commission describe its accomplishments from an official perspective. The archives of the ASCSA also provide more personal views—especially the diaries of Blegen (Figs. 3, 7). Blegen was first dispatched to Mount Pangaion, a former buffer zone between the British and Greek troops in the valley of the Strymon River and the Bulgarians. There, the need for aid was great. All males between the ages of 15 and 70 had been deported, while women and children were left to fend for themselves, and many starved to death. Evidence of wanton destruction of property and confiscation of livestock was widespread. Blegen investigated firsthand, then established a system for delivering relief that formed the basis for an expanded programme of aid that eventually encompassed 57 villages and three-quarters of the population of the region (figs. 4-5).

Although Blegen examined the landscape with the eye of an archaeologist, he journeyed to the north principally for humanitarian reasons. In addition to distributing supplies of food and medicine, he collected accurate information about socioeconomic conditions in areas where he travelled, and affairs of the villages of Mount Pangaion are particularly well documented. Blegen's journals also show vividly how deeply the activities of the ASCSA were embedded in their Greek political and social milieu: Capps and others drew constantly on personal relationships for support of the ARC, while simultaneously building credit that would profit the ASCSA through the interwar period. Governor-general Adossides's help in Thessaloniki was critical to the successes of the Greek Commission in eastern Macedonia.

There was an exchange of favours. Blegen travelled to Bulgaria at the invitation of General Konstantinos Mazarakis on a matter of considerable importance.

In late October 1918, Mazarakis had been sent to Sofia to establish a military mission; his principal charge was to attend to the plight of those Greek hostages still scattered throughout Bulgaria (fig. 6). He also meant to effect the return of orphans of Greek descent, confiscated livestock, and captured Greek military equipment. War crimes were to be investigated and war criminals prosecuted, and the indigenous Greek population would be protected.

But the movement of Greek officers in Bulgaria had been restricted, even when providing medical relief and distributing aid, and intervention by the ARC must have been welcome. In addition, there were political dimensions to the project. Venizelos was keen to secure a favourable treaty for the exchange of populations between Greece, Turkey, and Bulgaria at the Paris Peace Conference. The larger the size of the Greek minority population and the greater the extent of their property, the more substantial his claim, and Blegen's work helped document this.

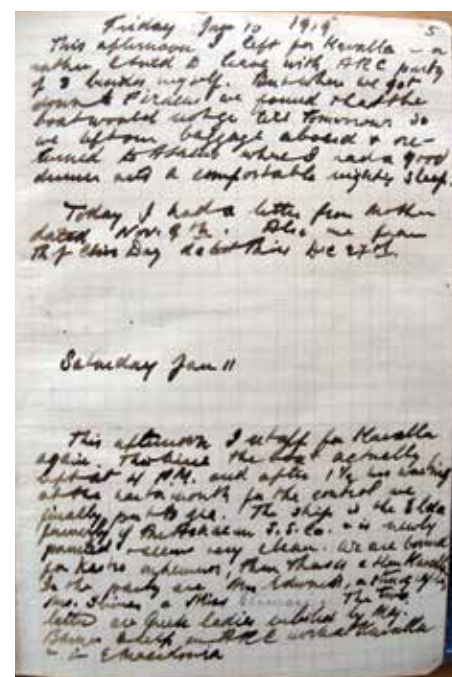


Fig. 3: First page of Carl W. Blegen's 1919 diary. Blegen Library Archives.



Fig. 4: Breadline in Serres.



Fig. 5: Vlach ponies loaded in Kavalla with supplies for Mount Pangaion.



Fig. 6: A group of deported Greeks in a temporary camp near the Drama train station.

Edward Capps, an American Venizelist

Capps allied himself with the Venizelists. Throughout the 1920s he maintained a political and social commitment to the liberal cause. But Capps was also dedicated to Venizelos, the man, and to his personal vision. To take sides in the “Great Schism” between Venizelists and Royalists might be viewed as a bold choice and a risky one for an American institution in Greece, especially considering how polarized the political spectrum of Greece was at this time.

Cooperation in the war effort had brought Greece and the United States closer together, and Capps’s involvement in Greek affairs increased, both in Greece and North America. After the termination of the ARC’s Greek Commission he navigated turbulent political waters as President Wilson’s Minister to Greece in 1920–1921. King Constantine had resigned before Greece entered World War I and was replaced by his son, Prince Alexander. Venizelos served as Prime Minister. But in late 1920 Alexander died from an infected monkey bite, the Liberals lost the election, Venizelos left the country and a plebiscite restored Constantine to the throne—thus rupturing formal diplomatic relations between Greece and the United States on December 6, 1920.

Back at Princeton University, Capps, as President of the American Friends of Greece, continued to support Venizelos, particularly in regard to policies designed to protect the rights of Greek minorities outside Greece. The goal of the group’s first publication was to counteract resentment in the U.S. that Greece had entered late into World War I.

The Athenian Agora and the Venizelists

The ASCSA profited directly and indirectly from its association with the American Red Cross and from Capps’s subsequent activities in the 1920s. A Red Cross Excavation Fund was established by Americans in the Greek Commission. The Red Cross collaborated in providing healthy water for Old Corinth, and it compensated the ASCSA for wear and tear suffered by its buildings.

The most significant benefit that Capps’s work secured for the School was a strengthening of its influence with Venizelos and his associates—men such as Adossides, who became a much-admired figure in the ASCSA community. Such men could exercise their authority on behalf of the School, and they validated the significance, real and imagined,

of the role that Capps could play as a supporter of Greece in the United States; they might also repay his favours in the U.S. with loyalty to the ASCSA and to his efforts in Greece.

It is clear that Adossides' influence was a deciding factor in the success of the School's excavations in the Athenian Agora, through his roles first as an advisor, then as official business manager. These excavations, now a centrepiece of the research programme of the ASCSA, are perhaps the most tangible benefit to the ASCSA of the collaboration between Capps and Adossides in 1918–1919, and one of several enormous favours received from Venizelos, the others being support for the Gennadius Library and his facilitation of the expropriation of land on which the School's student dormitory, Loring Hall, would be built. As "liaison officer", Adossides was charged with the "maintenance of harmonious relations with the Greek government" and handling the delicate negotiations surrounding expropriation of property. In the crucial formative years of the project, Capps and Adossides were in frequent communication.

In 1921 Alexandros Philadelphus, Director of Antiquities, had requested funds from the Third National Assembly to expropriate and excavate an area north of the Acropolis of Athens where the ancient Agora of the city was known to have been located. There was general agreement among Greek archaeologists and politicians that it should be "investigated and promoted as a national site of symbolic value." Lacking the resources for appropriation, the state turned to the foreign schools of archaeology, and the ASCSA responded enthusiastically with an offer to help.

The ASCSA stood to gain enormous symbolic capital in the U.S. and Greece from sponsoring excavations in the heart of Athens: members of the young American democracy, funded by John D. Rockefeller Jr., son of the founder of the Standard Oil Company and the world's richest man, would explore the heart of the world's oldest democracy. In the end, Venizelos himself pushed necessary legislation through Parliament.

Volunteerism and the Provision of Culture in the Longue Durée

Greek antiquity has not only been critical to the politics of nation building in Greece, but also has substantially contributed to the formation of national identity in western Europe and European colonies. In the early 20th century it was self-evident to the political and social elite of Athens and the United States that the ASCSA deserved to be supported by Greeks and Americans, publicly and privately, for its contributions to Greece and to world culture. By the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the ASCSA was already a significant force in archaeology. Its involvement with the ARC in 1918–1919 added a new dimension to its activities. The provision of relief to the general population of Greece was a role that its members and staff would play again and again in following decades, as a culture of volunteerism continued to be nurtured. ASCSA members addressed human problems created by the massive influx of refugees

after 1922, natural disasters, famine during World War II, and the general devastation resulting from the Greek Civil War.

Until recently, however, the only cultural goal of the ASCSA was to retrieve, document, and protect a Western heritage that it viewed as transcending the boundaries of the Greek nation-state. The School did not include education on contemporary Greece in the programmes it offered its members. It did not foreground the presentation of its work to a broader Greek public. It did not train Greek students (other than those who enrolled in graduate programmes in the United States), nor did it organize collaborative fieldwork with Greek archaeologists. That the ASCSA would develop a nationally defined and restricted vision of the scope of its educational mission is not really surprising: the School had, after all, been recognized by the Greek government to serve the interests of Americans. Greeks had their own institutions—universities, the Archaeological Society at Athens, and the Archaeological Service. There is a certain irony in the fact that staff and members of the ASCSA distinguished between their personal commitment to Greek social causes or political views, on the one hand, and their institutional roles in Greece, on the other. For all his service to his adopted homeland, Capps never seems to have been concerned with the development of postgraduate academic or educational programmes that would focus on modern Greece.

Nonetheless, the policy set by Capps and others of his generation benefited the School enormously. It became clear that the ASCSA was politically well situated and had the means to accomplish its ends, and these advantages led the U.S. government after World War I increasingly to invest in it and similar private institutions, not only when its intent was to employ foreign aid to address structural deficiencies in social and economic systems, but also when the purpose was to reinforce American cultural values abroad. The ASCSA was, in fact, so active in providing assistance to Greece in the aftermath of the war that in 1949 the Greek Parliament legislated special privileges for it, along with other American educational institutions in Athens and Thessalonike.

With the passing of Capps's generation, the ASCSA increasingly distanced itself from Greek politics, both during the rule of the junta in the late 1960s and in the turbulent years of the reborn democracy, when anti-Americanism ran rampant. The foreign schools were still being attacked in the early 1980s on the grounds that they were colonial outposts. Thankfully, 130 years after its foundation, the ASCSA's long-standing mission as cultural provider may at last be finding common ground with its commitment to serve Greece and its people, and its doors have been opened to a broader constituency.

New economic and social realities, rather than technological innovations, have, of course, been the force driving such changes. In recent decades,

particularly since the entrance of Greece into the European Community, relations of power between Greece and the United States have become more balanced, and many patron-client relationships that once existed have collapsed or are rapidly becoming irrelevant. Greece does not now depend on the goodwill or mutual interests of the U.S. to defend its borders or, so much as it once did, to build its economy. In great part such concerns powered the networks that bound the ASCSA to Greek politicians and politics. At the same time, world-class archaeological research facilities were established in Greece, in many cases setting Greek archaeologists on an equal or superior footing to their counterparts in North America. It is in this context that genuine academic and intellectual collaborations between scholars from the ASCSA and their Greek counterparts were poised to blossom, before the recent collapse of the Greek economy and the implementation of austerity measures.

The American School continues to redefine its place in the new world systems and global economies that inform 21st-century particularities. It is a strong, diverse institution, which has rich resources to share. Greece has much to gain from supporting it and encouraging it to play a vital role in the intellectual and cultural life of Europe. In the past few years, as the foreign schools have become less and less “schools of archaeology”, the ASCSA has taken steps to position itself as a cultural provider.

Finally, I come full circle to reflect on the following question: Would and could the ASCSA today anticipate that it would accumulate political capital from philanthropic activities of the sort in which its members engaged in 1918–1919? Personally, I have every reason to believe that the same philhellenic spirit that motivated Capps, Blegen, and Hill would still encourage some members of the School to rush to the assistance of Greece in time of national emergency (fig. 7). But would the impact be the same as in 1918–1919, were this to happen? In 1919 Greece was dependent on foreign initiative to summon resources to its aid. The American community was small. Today, on the other hand, the Greek economy is global, as are the social networks used by its people. A host of relief agencies would doubtless bring greater resources to the table than the School could ever hope to do. Would anyone in Greece today even expect humanitarian aid from the ASCSA?

The Ministry of Culture of Greece, however, certainly does still look to the foreign schools idealistically as “bearers and ambassadors of Greek culture and of their own cultures” and more concretely as a source of support in the management of its cultural heritage and the sharing of research facilities, tools, and resources with Greek scholars. Some School members may well imagine that the ASCSA will benefit from such attitudes. Some hope that the School will increasingly be accepted as a natural, contributing member of the community of Greek intellectual institutions and that a benign attitude toward its archaeological activities might become more widespread in Greece.

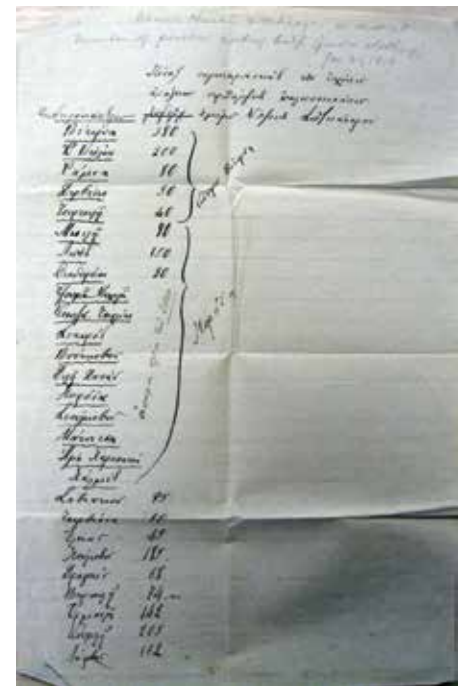


Fig. 7: Catalogue of needs for food and clothing in Demir Hissar and villages in its district. Back pocket of Carl W. Blegen's 1919 diary. Blegen Library Archives.

The Work of the British School at Athens on Ithaca, 1931–2014

by Catherine Morgan, Director of the British School at Athens

*2014 marks the 150th anniversary of the union of the Ionian Islands with Greece. In celebration, 2012 AAIA Visiting Professor Catherine Morgan, who directs the British School's current research on Ithaca, presents an updated synthesis of lectures given on her tour of Australia.**



Fig. 1: Aerial view of Vathy, Ithaca.



Fig. 2: Portrait of Baron James Rennell Rodd, by Frederick Hollyer, c. 1890 (Victoria and Albert Museum 7854-1938, given by Helena Hollyer 1938).

In 1931, James Rennell Rodd sponsored the British School at Athens to undertake an expedition to find Homer's Ithaca (figs. 1–2). A former diplomat who had served in Athens before moving to Rome and East Africa, Rennell Rodd was a prolific author, amateur artist and archaeologist. In 1927, he had published *Homer's Ithaca. A Vindication of Tradition*, to counter Wilhelm Dörpfeld's identification of Leukas as Ithaca, and he wanted further excavation to clinch the argument. His interest in the island of Ithaca followed a long tradition. From William Gell's first visit in 1806, a series of travellers and antiquarians—notably

John Fiott Lee, Carl Haller von Hallerstein and Thomas Burgon—had conducted topographical research and excavation on the island. Research took a more systematic turn with Heinrich Schliemann's excavations at Aetos, Polis bay and Agios Athanasios in 1868 and 1878, followed by the surveys and excavations of Joseph Partsch and Carl Wilhelm Vollgraff. All published academic work of lasting importance, but none found Odysseus' palace: instead, they uncovered largely Classical to Hellenistic remains including rich grave groups. But Homer-mania was firmly established. Rennell Rodd thus followed a well-trodden path, yet the scale and intensity of the work that he supported set his enterprise apart. With his help, the British School provided the first sustained, professional archaeological presence on the island.

For the School too, the offer was irresistible. While it had progressed from its early reliance on public subscription to fund excavations at Knossos, in the Cyclades and at Sparta, its resources were thinly spread (this was a time of major campaigns in Macedonia, at Perachora, and at Thermi on Lesbos). Rennell Rodd's wealth and influence as a Conservative member of Parliament (and from 1933 a member of the House of Lords), promised a high profile project which fitted growing interest in Ithaca within the School, especially on the part of one of its more adventurous members, Sylvia Benton (fig. 3). Having spent ten years as a teacher after graduating in Classics from Cambridge, Benton was admitted to the School in 1927 to develop her field skills on the excavations led by the then Assistant Director, Walter Heurtley, in Macedonia. As a mature lady of independent

* Images by the author, unless otherwise indicated.

mind, she stood out; in fact, she was refused readmission in 1928 because she climbed Mount Taygetos alone, in defiance of the School's Director. In 1929 she rejoined Heurtley in Macedonia, but became increasingly interested in Ithaca, and through the following year made an extended, and still fundamental, exploration of the Ionian Islands and the Akarnanian coast. Major discoveries included the Neolithic and Bronze Age cave site at Astakos, which she then excavated in 1932 (characteristically, she began her account with the tale of how the ladder broke as she made the steep ascent to the entrance, leaving her swinging from a tree). For the new Ithaca expedition, the pairing of the distinguished prehistorian and excavator, Walter Heurtley, with the tenacious and committed Sylvia Benton was near perfect. There was a real affinity between them (fig. 4).

The expedition was on a large scale (fig. 5). In 1930 alone, excavations were made at Agios Athanasios, Stavros, Pilikata and the Polis Cave, and Aetos and Treis Langades soon followed. Publication of the major prehistoric and Iron Age finds (the 'Homeric' story which interested Rennell Rodd) was finished quickly and remains largely sound. A synthetic overview of work from 1930–35, the initial period of Rennell Rodd's sponsorship, was published in the School's *Annual* for 1939–40, and expanded by Helen Waterhouse in 1996. Yet by 1935, the expedition had outgrown its Homeric focus and was starting to build on later discoveries. Heurtley's annual public lectures in Vathy show that as late as 1938–39, the School planned to excavate around the fortification at Aetos, and the harbour wall and cave at Piso Aetos. Ithacians were highly supportive throughout: Stavros Museum, the island's first, was built by the local community at Pilikata largely to house finds from Pilikata and the Polis Cave. So by the time that war halted the expedition, we find a well-established team with strong local connections informally exploring the island, making chance finds, and receiving material from local people (there are many such finds labeled in Benton's and Heurtley's handwriting in both the Stavros and Vathy museums today). Benton returned to Ithaca as soon as she was released from war service in 1947, but by then the team had scattered, and the devastating earthquake of 1953 drew a line under this phase of activity.

Let us briefly review what was achieved. At Aetos in the south, deep excavation revealed the central part of the island's largest settlement (established on the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition) plus its cult centre. Documentation of the fortification in particular revealed the form and extent of the city by Classical and Hellenistic times (noting also rich tombs of this period found in the 19th century), with anchorages to east and west. Evidence from the Early Iron Age and Archaic settlement is mostly published, but the Classical to Roman is not. In the north, two large Bronze Age settlements, Pilikata and Treis Langades, were thoroughly



Fig. 3: Sylvia Benton, first admitted to the BSA in the 1927–28 academic year (BSA Archive, BSAA-7_109).



Fig. 4: "Palace of Odysseus 1930". L to R: Roly Wason, Mr. Emmet, Mr and Mrs Heurtley ("Social Ithaka" photo album, Sylvia Benton Personal Papers, BSA Archive).

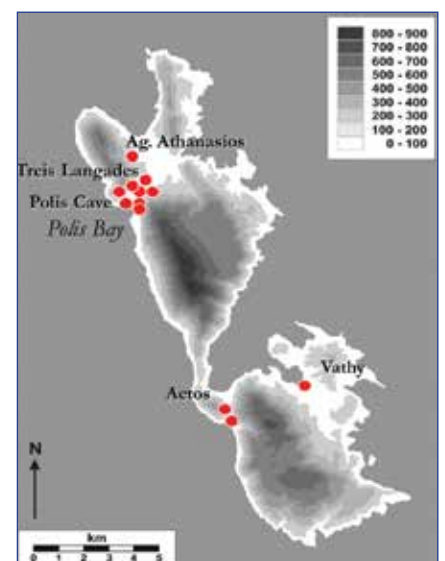


Fig. 5: BSA excavations on Ithaca (1930–39). Map by C.L. Hayward.



Fig. 6: Agios Athanasios, tower.

sampled and published: here too, later activity was traced but not fully published (substantial Hellenistic to Late Roman at Pilikata, and Archaic traces at Treis Langades). On the Stavros ridge, after a post-Mycenaean hiatus, an important settlement was established by the late seventh century, expanded rapidly through the Classical period (it was fortified around 400), and continued, diminished in scale into Hellenistic and then Late Roman. Enough of the cemeteries, settlement deposits and fortification were sampled to reconstruct the site's character and chronological development (and here too, rich antiquarian finds were made). Perhaps the best-known site on Ithaca, the shrine in the so-called Polis Cave with its bronze tripods and second-century BC dedication to Odysseus, was thoroughly cleared and what was for the time a pioneering geological study conducted. But here too, Classical to Late Roman finds of all kinds, from metalwork to cookwares, received at best brief mention in print, and many questions remain about the geological history of the rock-shelter and the coastline. Work at two further sites passed largely unremarked. In Polis Bay, an Early-Middle Roman tile kiln (one of a pair), with a Late Roman dump fill in the chamber, was excavated in 1938. And at Agios Athanasios (fig. 6), where a Hellenistic tower and polygonal retaining wall had already been explored by Schliemann, Vollgraff, and Dörpfeld, excavation in 1930 revealed the extent of the Hellenistic to Middle Roman settlement, and documented a major phase of expansion in the second century BC. In 1937, a further campaign in and around the tower defined this area as the core of a settlement established (or re-established) in the late fourth to early third century BC, with the tower built soon afterwards (a century before the major expansion). A stratified settlement sequence from the Hellenistic to Middle Roman periods is a rare and important discovery in the island group as a whole, although despite Benton's hopes, there are no securely prehistoric finds from the BSA campaigns at Agios Athanasios. To these main sites, we may add smaller excavations, from Roman tombs in Vathy, to Neolithic and Roman settlement at Asprosykia, and the Hellenistic fortification on the Roussano acropolis. In sum, the School's early work produced a substantial body of knowledge about Ithacesian settlement from the third millennium BC at least until the seventh century AD, with contexts ranging from cemeteries to manufacturing facilities.

In 2002, therefore, the British School at Athens initiated a programme to complete the publication of these finds, and reappraise them in the light of current research questions and understanding of the region. This combined reassembly of the archive with targeted excavation and survey in the Stavros area conducted in collaboration with the 35th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities.¹ The survey was a small-scale pilot study, integrating fieldwalking, geophysics and geomorphology across upland and lowland environments and site catchments. It was designed to evaluate the results of extensive prospection in the 1930s against modern expectations, and to assess the impact of geomorphological processes (including seismic activity) on the creation and preservation

¹ Particular thanks are due to Ephoreia Director, Andreas Sotiriou and his staff, as well as to our collaborator in the survey, Tenia Rigakou (then of the 6th Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities, now Director of the combined 8th EPCA and 21st EBA on Corfu).

of the archaeological record. In addition, a combined geological and archaeological study of the Polis Cave shrine was undertaken in order to reconstruct the physical appearance of this rock shelter at the time of excavation (before the 1953 earthquake) and the spatial arrangement of artefacts within it by period and type, as a prelude to tracing the depositional and post-depositional processes operative through antiquity. Analysis of Neolithic to Late Roman coarse and cooking wares from Ithaca and eastern Kephallonia conducted by Areti Pentedeka of the Fitch Laboratory used the Laboratory's established methodology. Pots from well-dated contexts were sampled for petrographic analysis with thin sections and refiring tests, and the fabric recipes characterized and evaluated in relation to vessel shapes and locally available raw materials to establish patterns of choice over time. Following the Laboratory's pioneering work on Kythera, we included samples from what we considered closely datable survey sites to check our assumptions about coarseware dating. Finally, there is an important early modern component to our research. It was necessary to find Heurtley and Benton's Ithaca, before the settlement relocation and social change which followed the 1953 earthquake, in order to understand their field notebooks and to appreciate how certain features of rural life were embedded in their thinking. Thus, for example, Benton's approach to Meganisi, the Echinades and coastal Akarnania almost as Ithaca's hinterland has strong echoes in the seasonal movement for herding and cultivation then of recent memory. Moreover, the inclusion of modern material in the same analytical framework as ancient offers a very long-term perspective on patterns of rural exploitation on and off island, and on the 'ceramicisation' of Ithacesian rural activities, with interesting methodological implications. In the account that follows, I will not discuss this modern work nor will I focus on the fine detail of individual sites. Instead, I will take a broad look at trends in activity on Ithaca, and at the island's place in the central Ionian archipelago, concentrating on the rich and lesser-known late Archaic to Late Roman evidence.

The central Ionian archipelago is a near-perfect laboratory of connectivity both in terms of its location and its composition—different sized islands with contrasting environments, population dynamics, and relations to each other and to the mainland (fig. 7). Framed by Kephallonia and Leukas, it also includes Meganisi, the smaller Atokos, Arkoudi, Kalamos and Kastos, and many tiny islands, including the Echinades running south from Astakos. The Akarnanian coast is part of this maritime world, with a mountain barrier to the interior. This is a compact and distinctive zone. To the south, Zakynthos formed a bridge between the west Peloponnese and southwest Kephallonia. To the north, Corfu, Paxi and Antipaxi formed a separate network with a distinct material culture, connections into Epirus and the Adriatic, and colonial history—there are ceramic exchanges (tending to favour more elaborate vessels) and important trade links, but these islands are at one remove from our core area. A good illustration of this distance is the late Classical and Hellenistic epigraphical evidence for

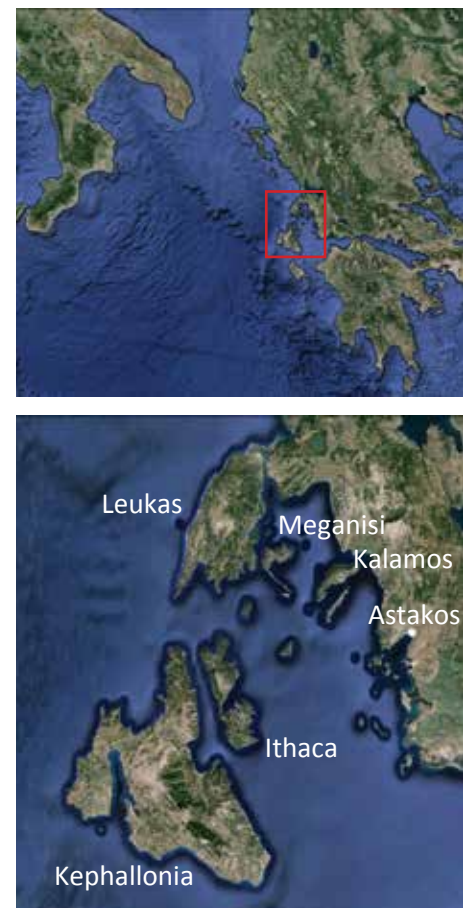


Fig. 7: The Ionian archipelago; location and detail.

intermarriage, where we find Corfiote and Zakynthian women, mostly at Leukas, identified by their city ethnics: they were thus socially close enough to marry yet sufficiently distant to merit ethnic identification. The central archipelago is also a strategically significant node of communication, with islands variously connecting sea routes between the Peloponnese, central and northwestern Greece, and Italy (directly over to Sibaris and the Bay of Naples, plus the Adriatic routes across to Otranto, north to Corfu and Epidamnus, and from the fifth century onwards up to Adria). The process and timing of the opening of the Adriatic, and the formation of long-distance connections is important to our region. Multiple Italian, and in time Roman, perspectives can be seen: in the value placed upon free access to trade and shipping (the official reason for Marcus Fulvius Nobilior's subjugation of Pale, Krane and Sami in 189–8 BC was suppression of Kephallonian piracy); in residence and migration (especially on Leukas and Kephallonia); and in material culture, as we will see.



Fig. 8: Northern Ithaca seen from the Acropolis at Aetos. Roussano and the location of the Polis Cave are visible in the far distance. Photo by Joseph Skinner.

Beneath these overarching processes lay sharp contrasts in local connections and responses over time. On Ithaca, we will consider the role of specific inter- and intra-island connections (across the straits with eastern Kephallonia and with Leukas, as well as exploitation of the smaller islands), and when and why a strong Ithacesian identity became salient, and how it was constructed as political and economic circumstances changed. The island's topography is important, especially the marked north – south divide. Ithaca is physically articulated around an isthmus just north of Aetos (figs. 5, 8), with smaller but visually connected pockets of cultivable land in the north (north of, and around Mt Neriton), while the south has a larger but more confined plain. Arable resources are either restricted or hard to defend: unsurprisingly, Ithaca depended on maritime activity or a large external market to sustain any substantial population. With no significant internal buffer, population levels could fluctuate sharply in response to external changes—a 'small island' phenomenon as recently highlighted under the more extreme circumstances of Antikythera in comparison with Kythera. The west of the island, which combines north-south visibility with defensive positions and access to harbours and cultivable land, was consistently favoured. In the south, only Aetos has good long-distance visibility along the west coast, with a clear sight-line north to Polis bay and across the channel to Sami on Kephallonia. The east coast is more rugged and with fewer sight lines. Of Ithaca's harbours, Vathy had a deep, sheltered anchorage, but a marshy and deeply sedimented coast (fig. 1). Some post Bronze Age (mainly Archaic) activity has recently been traced in the surrounding hills and in rescue excavation in the east of the town, yet at present (allowing for limited research in the historical centre) most evidence is Roman. The community at Aetos used anchorages at Piso Aetos on the west coast, where there are Classical and later harbour works, and Brosta Aetos in the

east (where the BSA team recovered the leg of a Classical or Hellenistic terracotta statue [fig. 9], and roof terracottas have recently been found on the beach). The two northeastern harbours, at modern Kioni and Frikes, while good anchorages, are too exposed to be secure. Kioni takes its name from an ancient column supporting the church altar, the origins of which are unknown (tantalisingly so as we have very little evidence for public building on Ithaca) (fig. 10). The only ancient structure in northeast Ithaca is the fortification at Rouga in the uplands above Kioni, which is probably Hellenistic, but with little evidence to date it (fig. 11). Modern Anogi is a Medieval foundation: 19th-century travellers purchased antiquities here, but there is no reason to assume that these were local finds (in 1878 Schliemann bought coins from Polis here). This is a notoriously poor area, settled in times of insecurity. When William Gell visited in 1806, the move down to Kioni was already underway.

Ancient sources, chiefly Aristotle and Plutarch, refer to just one polis of the Ithacesians. And the Ithacesian response of *c.* 208 BC to an embassy sent by Magnesia on the Maeander to request recognition of the state and her festival of Artemis (*IG IX 1² 1729*), is that of one polis with one set of institutions (the *ekklesia* which issued the decree, and the *patrion hestian* where the ambassadors were invited to dine), and one set of officers (three *damiourgoi*, an *epidamiourgos*, and the *thearodokos*). It was also quite separate from the one surviving Kephallonian response, that of Sami (*IG IX 1² 1582*), which refers implicitly to the other cities of the tetrapolis, so there can be no suggestion that Ithaca was a Kephallonian dependency. Yet throughout our period there were at least two population centres on Ithaca with their own external connections and internal organisation. In the north, the focus of settlement shifted along sight lines within a defined network: favoured sites depended on the balance of interests and connections between Kephallonia, Leukas and Akarnania. Aetos' connections were drawn more towards Sami. It is easy to see how factors like a desire to concentrate land inheritance might have encouraged local intermarriage and the social separation of the two halves of the island. Conversely, there were surely security and economic advantages in close communication both within Ithaca and with the opposite sides of the surrounding straits. Indeed, the most obvious unifying factor is the long coastal connection with Kephallonia. The sources contain tantalising hints of more complex socio-political structures beneath the 'skin' of the polis: both Aristotle and Plutarch took more of an interest in the political organisation of Ithaca in the Classical period than one might expect of the average small island. For example, Aristotle's *Constitution of the Ithakesians* (Fr. 507 = Plut *Quaest. Grec.* 14) names two 'clans' (the Koliadai and the Boukolidai) both with Odysseian ancestry, although we can only guess at their geographical significance. Our research questions therefore addressed both the internal construction of Ithaca, and the impact of external developments—the rise of the Akarnanian *koinon*, the coming of Rome (and the nature of Romanisation), and the creation and dissolution of Nikopolis.



Fig. 9: terracotta leg from Brosta Aetos.



Fig. 10: view of Kioni harbour.



Fig. 11: fortification at Rouga.



Fig. 12: Excavations in the Polis Cave, 1932 (Sylvia Benton Personal Papers #4E9, BSA Archive).



Fig. 13: Bronze tripod from the Polis Cave. S. Benton, 'Excavations at Ithaca, III,' BSA XXXV (1934/35), cat. 6.



Fig. 14: View over ancient Leukas across the narrow to Akarnania.

The start of our period coincides with a renewal of settlement in the north. The Polis Cave is the only site to span the period between LHIIC and the seventh century, and there are both internal and external reasons for its existence. The so-called cave is an open rock shelter oriented towards the Stavros ridge and accessible both by land and sea (fig. 12). It has long been interpreted as a hero shrine to Odysseus and seen from an outsider perspective as frequented chiefly by sailors *en route* via Ithaca. Indeed, the Ithaca channel remained important throughout antiquity not least as an essential alternative when the Leukas channel silted up (as it did more or less frequently). Yet there is also an internal rationale since this is the most northerly point visible from the Aetos acropolis, and so a shrine could mark a ruler's authority in the north and/or be a point of connection. In support of this suggestion, the pre-Archaic record suggests a significant complementarity in the votives offered at Polis and at Aetos, and thus some overall strategy. Personal ornament, figurative iconography and small bronzes are more evident at Aetos, with monumental metal dedications (tripods and armour) largely confined to Polis (fig. 13). Together, the assemblages are typical of general trends in votive behaviour in western Greece, and the famous tripod dedications must be understood in this context rather than as the key to identifying the cult.

From the later seventh century onwards, the picture changed markedly, with settlement in the centre of Stavros and a steady increase in burial evidence. By the second half of the sixth century, the earliest inscription from Polis (*IG IX 1² 1614*) refers to the *peripoloi* of Hera and Athena Polias (Athena's epithet being is the earliest indication of a polis on the island). What caused this shift? A likely factor, and probably the main driver for the longer term intensification of movement of people and commodities across the archipelago, is the growth of the port at Leukas—the only colony inside the network, with a role in consolidating its trading potential analogous to that of Corinth's other foundations in the wider region, Ambracia, which controlled inland river routes, and Anactorium on the entrance to the Ambracian gulf. The newly-created *astu* of Leukas, plus a second centre to the south around Nidri (ancient Ellomenon), focused on the Leukas channel and promoted a strong relationship with coastal Akarnania (fig. 14). The conditions for Leukas to develop as a major commercial centre combining agriculture with mercantile trade were created with the opening of the Leukas canal and the construction of the south harbour mole which secured the commercial dock and protected anchorage (and it is worth recalling the scale of the engineering involved, since the mole is among the largest of any period in Greece). There is a persuasive case for dating these developments soon after colonization: Leukas was a large grid-planned town from the start, the cemetery at Ellomenon hit a peak of prosperity very soon, and a small coastal sanctuary was established early in the sixth century at the head of Nidri bay, beside the channel. There

are also early signs that the colony attracted settlement on the opposite coast of the Playia peninsula, where the earliest post prehistoric site found in survey dates to the late seventh or early sixth century. Through the Classical period, Leukas grew into perhaps the main transshipment port in the northwest (a strong rival to Corcyra), and a major market for agricultural produce (oil and wine, but also perfume, with a huge range of amphorae demonstrating connections from Asia Minor to Italy). Amphora production in the town likely serviced this trade. The port provided an outlet for the mainland coastal zone, in turn creating co-dependence with the *peraia*. The trading economy which took off through the fourth and third centuries drew in produce from an ever-wider area (reflected in the bridging of the straits for wheeled traffic), forming the context for the establishment of poleis along the Akarnanian coast with major associated public building projects. The logical conclusion of this process was Leukas' role as capital of the Akarnanian *koinon* after 230 BC.

This economic pull was rapidly felt on neighbouring islands. Politically, Ithaca remained outside the mainland federations, but her northern settlements were increasingly located to survey key sea routes. By the fourth century, Stavros was substantial, with scattered graves roughly aligned to north and south. The south line, beside the modern road from Polis Bay, dates from the fifth century BC to the Middle Roman period. The north line broadly follows the route between Stavros and Agios Athanasios via Pilikata, with additional graves on the slopes around Platreithias. With the exception of Roman burials excavated at Agios Athanasios, these northern graves are mostly chance finds, although stelai mainly of the late fourth–early first centuries BC were found in the surrounding modern villages (fig. 15). Scattered as this evidence is, it gives a fuller picture than that of contemporary Aetos, where British work in the sanctuary and fortification, while the only excavation to real depth, was in the wrong place to document the city's expansion. Classical and Hellenistic houses on and around the saddle were subsequently excavated by Washington University, but extensive walling visible on the lower slopes of the acropolis remains to be fully investigated. Growth should certainly be expected at Aetos, given the huge growth in contemporary Sami over the straits at least until the Roman sack in 189/8 (though this was followed by rapid reconstruction). But at present, comparison between the north and south of Ithaca is impressionistic.

From the very end of the Classical period, expansion was echoed across all cultivable land. Survey data indicate that the slopes round modern Stavros were heavily used, with extra-urban construction in the Polis valley and a steady extension of the settlement chain north along the Pilikata ridge towards Agios Athanasios. There is no evidence of ancient terracing, but other ancient structures, notably Hellenistic houses set in the middle of the valley slopes, were adapted into modern terrace lines. The fact that these slopes were cultivated without substantial terracing was likely a major contributor to anthropogenic landscape change. An



Fig. 15: IG IX 1² 1589, 3rd-century BC, now built into a house in Exoghi.



Fig. 16: Aetos, lower tower.

important innovation is the chain of towers which linked Leukas visually through Ithaca to northern Kephallonia. On Ithaca, we currently know of five likely tower sites. The best preserved are: those in the upper and lower fortification systems at Aetos (the earliest, dating to the late fourth century; fig. 16); the slightly smaller and later tower in the then recently established settlement at Agios Athanasios (the best Ithacesian candidate for an ‘agricultural’ tower-residence as those on Leukas); and that in the fortification on the Roussano acropolis above Polis, again 50–100

years later than the first settlement in the upland valley behind it (which marked the start of systematic exploitation of these uplands in tandem with lowland cultivation). Roussano forms the critical visual link between Agios Athanasios, the upland plains, Stavros and Aetos.

A further consideration is the likelihood that, as in Venetian and early modern times, Ithaca and Leukas exploited the neighbouring smaller islands from Meganisi to Kalamos and south through the Echinades, via seasonal or longer-term migration. Data from the recent University of Crete survey on Meganisi in particular shows that the Classical-Hellenistic period was a peak of post-Bronze Age activity (with substantial settlement), followed by a phase of abandonment in Early-Middle Roman.² Here too, Benton’s research in the 1930s has been borne out.



Fig. 17: Early 3rd-century BC skyphos from a grave at Pilikata. Front and back views. Stavros Museum 398.

Materially, northern Ithaca drew closer to Leukas through this period, with ceramic styles particularly close. In both areas, Archaic-early Classical shapes of broadly Peloponnesian (especially Corinthian) derivation are retained well down into the Hellenistic period. From the fourth century onwards, northwestern black-glaze and red figure (plus local Leukadian black-glaze) steadily supplanted Attic imports. Some came from the larger workshops experimenting with various Italian forms and techniques (the Agrinion group, pseudo-Campanian from Apollonia, and the Kerch-style products of Corcyra), but experiment especially with applied decoration is also found in smaller productions and remoter areas. Examples from Ithaca include a skyphos from a grave at Pilikata which combines late third-century west slope motifs with double dipping on a shape little changed from the fifth century (fig. 17). At Leukas, the more elaborate and distantly-connected pieces were largely reserved for funerary display, but on Ithaca such material also appears in the settlement at Agios Athanasios. Terracottas (notably dedications at the Polis Cave) also reflect Leukadan and Akarnanian connections (nymph reliefs are a case in point as this cult became ever more popular across the region).

The tie is clear socially too. In the first quarter of the second century BC, when Ithaca first appears in the Delphic catalogue of *theorodokoi*, it is as part of a northwestern Greek route (involving also Corcyra, Leukas and Akarnania) and not as an adjunct to the Kephallonian tetrapolis which is listed, in a separate part of the inscription, as part of a Peloponnesian

² I thank the directors of this project, Nena Galanidou (University of Crete) and Olympia Vikatou (Director, 36th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities): I collaborate in this project with responsibility for Late Mycenaean to Late Roman pottery.

route. Both these routes were already in place by the later fourth-century, so in theory Ithaca could have been added to either: the choice of the north reflects the proximity of contemporary ties.

Against this background of integration into larger market systems, and the different attractions of Sami and Leukas to north and south, we find a strong assertion of Ithacesian political identity, drawing on the symbolic capital of the island's Homeric heritage. Recalling Martin West's persuasive case in his 2013 *The Epic Cycle* that the Trojan cycle was not completed until the early fifth century (with a commentary tradition springing up almost instantly alongside it), Ithaca's invocation of the Odyssey was not an appeal to the past but an assertion of her place within a living tradition. Aristotle's *Constitution of the Ithakesians* refers to an annual 'recompense' of barley, wine, honeycombs, olive oil, salt and adult animals paid to Telemachos by the Ithacesians, although it is unclear how far back this rite may go. The first polis coinage in the late fourth century depicted (uniquely) the head of Odysseus, and the Magnesian decree noted above included the offer of *proedria* at the *Odyseia* (presumably a festival), and the instruction that the response be displayed at the *hieron* of Athena and in the *Odyseion*. The state image is clear: 'the goddess' (whether Athena on Ithaca or Artemis of the Magnesians) was to be paid an *aparche* of 15 *local* drachmae, and the priestly official at the *Odyseion* was sufficiently important to be listed with the eponymous magistrates. The location of the Odyseion is uncertain, but I favour the Polis Cave, where Odysseus' name is securely attested in a dedicatory inscription of the second or first century BC (fig. 18) (with rather earlier partial graffiti on late Classical or early Hellenistic sherds). As we have seen, this shrine is in a pivotal location, relevant to south and north, and linking land and sea. And whereas in the south there are Archaic shrines in and around Aetos, plus the Classical Cave of the Nymphs at Dexia, there is no other secure evidence in the north earlier than a late Hellenistic or Roman shrine at Agios Athanasios. So if we seek a geographical balance in the choice of these two shrines, one must surely be at Polis.

Moving forward, Hellenistic and Roman are difficult terms to apply in this region. As period divisions they are hard to define, not least given the 150-year gap between Rome's final subjugation first of Kephallonia and then of Leukas, nor are they straightforward cultural descriptors. The later fourth to late first century BC saw rapid growth everywhere, albeit on Kephallonia punctuated by the Roman intervention of 189/8 BC, followed by the reconstruction and re-planning of Sami and a general shift in settlement structure from numerous, higher lying sites before the first half of the second century BC, to fewer, lower lying Roman sites. These include the coastal villas of the late Republican and imperial periods; the roots of the rural estate economy which developed over the following centuries. On Ithaca, the most prominent site, Agios Athanasios, was perfectly located to exploit the principal sea routes. Both Aetos and Agios Athanasios have produced rich Hellenistic burials, with luxury imports including



Fig. 18: Inscribed terracotta protome. IX 1² 1615. S. Benton, 'Excavations at Ithaca, III', BSA XXXV (1934/35), fig.7 (image: BSA archive).



Fig. 19: Agios Athanasios: imported glazed skyphos from Mytilene. Stavros Museum 506.

Italian pottery and jewellery. But the ordinary domestic assemblages of Agios Athanasios were on present evidence much more varied, and offer important insights into local integration of ‘Roman’ material culture into a domestic assemblage selected from a wide range of available imports. To judge from cookpots, culinary practices stayed resolutely Greek at least until the late first or second century AD (as they did in southern Epirus). But fine tablewares are especially diverse, including Megarian bowls from Ephesos to Epirus, Italian and Asian Minor grey wares, lead glazed wares from Mytilene (fig. 19), North Italian net beakers and Italian black glaze. This is also the only site on Ithaca to have produced substantial quantities of red slip, especially the earlier ESA and local ERS forms of the first centuries before and after Christ. Plainly, both major settlements prospered through this period, but there was considerable advantage in access to the main northern sea routes.



Fig. 20: Nikopolis.

The foundation of Nikopolis in 31 BC constitutes the real point of departure for ‘Romanisation’ in the islands (fig. 20). In the two centuries that followed, the city of Leukas declined sharply, having lost its political role and much of its population. The port, however, remained a vital stage between Nikopolis and Patras and continued in use to the sixth century AD. On Kephallonia, a series of villas was established or expanded, and the two eastern ports at Sami and the newly settled Panormos became major settlement centres. All have produced rich mosaics (fig. 21), and Panormos in particular a wealthy cemetery, amphitheatre and epigraphical evidence of direct social connections with Nikopolis (fig. 22). Analysis of cookwares shows that compared with Sami, the domestic assemblages of Panormos contained an unusually high proportion of imports (especially from Phocaia and Asia Minor), confirming the cosmopolitan feel of its material culture overall. On Ithaca, only Agios Athanasios and a new, small coastal site at Agios Giorgos, just south of Polis Bay and Panormos, have pottery closely datable to the late first century BC/early first AD (both fine tableware and Campanian amphorae). Agios Athanasios evidently thrived



Fig. 21: Early Roman villa at Skala, Kephallonia (2nd- to 4th-century AD).

into the third century AD, but then shrank to near nothing with the decline of Nikopolis. Finewares from Agios Athanasios include a few examples of Arretine and ESA from Patras workshops, but after the early years, stylistically Roman tablewares were mostly limited to a few plate and platter forms produced somewhere in the coastal zone from Kephallonia to Corcyra and beyond into the Adriatic. This is not an unusual picture in rural Greece, where uptake of sigillata shapes was often limited, but it is surprising at such a previously well-connected site.

The pull towards Panormos was of lasting significance. The survival of the cult in the Polis Cave, in the heart of this area, is also of interest.

Plainly, early Roman visitors were attracted to the shrine: only four years before Actium, in 35 BC, the freedman Epaphroditus, an unguent salesman from the Via Sacra in Rome, commemorated his visit with a dedicatory inscription. Thereafter, there is some evidence of activity in the form of Early Roman tableware and cookpots which, in their range of fabrics, reflect the site's position on a junction of sea routes: the 22 samples analysed divide equally into local wares (including a version of the Epirote fabric recipe), fabrics which could be local to southern Kephallonia or Nikopolis, and more distant imports, over half from Asia Minor and likely Phokaia. The exact date of abandonment of the shrine is unclear, but there is no secure evidence to take it much into the second century. Did awareness of Ithaca's Homeric heritage decline? There is one oblique hint that it may not have done. An inscription (*IG IX 1² 1700*; fig. 23), recorded by William Gell when built into a church in Vathy, is an exact copy of the dedicatory inscription set up by Xenophon, according to his *Anabasis*, in the sanctuary of Artemis at Skyllis near Olympia – a sanctuary which established in thanks for his safe return. Both the date of the Ithaca inscription (second to third century AD or Renaissance) and its original context are problematic. But if this really is a Roman inscription in the milieu of the Second Sophistic, set up on Ithaca (perhaps at a sanctuary in the Vathy area), it adds to our impression of the culture of the island – and the echo of epic return is evocative. After initial discoveries of burials by the British School, second-century and later evidence for a harbour town at Vathy is now growing thanks to the work of our Ephoreia colleagues, and we wait to see how this may compare with the contemporary wealth on Kephallonia.

The decline and contraction of Nikopolis not only had a well-documented centrifugal effect, as the population moved out to the areas just beyond the old political borders, but it became less relevant for Ithakesians to focus settlement on those sea routes that led in that direction. Kephallonia and northern Ithaca in particular together enjoyed a major Late Roman revival, with intensive lowland and upland settlement leading gradually to the development of the complex upland systems that characterised the Medieval and early Venetian record. And in the smaller islands there is a proliferation of small sites with no evident centres or hierarchy. At present, the best evidence of Late Roman settlement comes from the Vathy area, and especially in the north from the Polis Valley (where a rich dump of fifth- to seventh-century tableware and amphorae again shows extensive trading connections) and from the Roussano valley and uplands. Roussano was to become one of the island's important Medieval centres, its name, according to the *Alexiad* of the Byzantine chronicler Anna Komnena, deriving from the vision of Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia and Calabria and conquerer of Kephallonia, who saw the holy city on the mountain over the water as he lay dying in Fiscardo (renamed for him) in 1085.



Fig. 22: View over the Panormos cemetery.

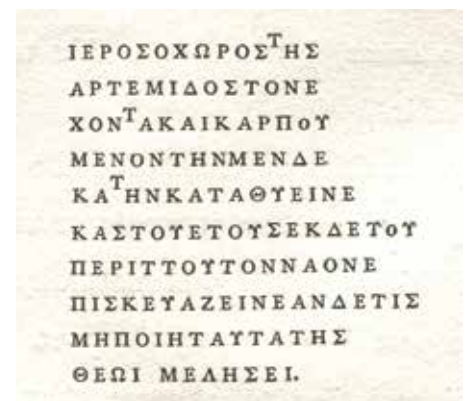


Fig. 23: *IG IX 1² 1700*, recorded by Gell from a church in Vathy.

Further Reading

- C. Morgan, 'From Odysseus to Augustus: Ithaca from the Early Iron Age to Early Roman times', *Pallas* 73 (2007), pp. 71–86.
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- T. Rood, 'Redeeming Xenophon: historiographical reception and the transhistorical', *Classical Receptions Journal* 5 (2013), 199–211.
- M. Steinhart and E. Wirbelauer, *Aus der Heimat des Odysseus* (Mainz 2002).
- H. Waterhouse, 'From Ithaca to the Odyssey', *BSA* 91 (1996), pp. 301–317.
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The Art of Archaeology: Response to Cyprus

by Craig Barker



An exhibition of creative works was displayed in 2013 at the Centre for Classical and Near Eastern Studies of Australia (CCANESA) at the University of Sydney. The exhibition, growing from the University's excavations in Cyprus, explored the ongoing relationship between the visual arts and archaeological research.

Response to Cyprus: Artists at the Paphos Theatre Excavation was the result of a visit by a group of nine artists who visited Nea Paphos in Cyprus in 2010 during an excavation fieldwork season. The display in CCANESA added an exciting aspect to the activities of the AAIA and represented the fruitful collaboration between artists and archaeologists over a long period.



The Paphos excavations have a long tradition of working with visual artists; Emeritus Professor Diana Wood Conroy of the University of Wollongong has served as the project's artist-in-residence since 1995 and has overseen several generations of students who have worked at the site as archaeological illustrators or creative artists. "Including artists was an experiment to widen the parameters of research" wrote the excavation project's founder, Emeritus Professor Richard Green. "Artists", he suggested in 1996, "produce results of a different order". This relationship has continued as the excavations have progressed with exhibitions held in Wollongong, Canberra and Sydney.



The artists who worked on the site in 2010, with backgrounds in design, performance and visual arts, were part of the Senior Artists Research Forum (SARF) at Faculty of Creative Arts, University of Wollongong, co-ordinated by Diana Wood Conroy. The project offered leading artists, some with senior academic positions, the opportunity to develop a doctoral research project that reflected on their existing body of work. The focus of study was to bring together theoretical perspectives, criticism and practice. By working on the excavation SARF members developed contexts for their research in the rich imagery and culture of ancient art and architecture of Cyprus.



Paphos Theatre wall painting, Diana Wood Conroy, gouache, pencil and watercolour, 1997-1999, 36 x 51 cm; SARF artists in the Paphos theatre in 2010; Corinthian capital, from Basilica Chryssopolitissa 2010-2011, Derek Kreckler with Jacky Redgate and assistance from Penny Harris and Bob Miller, digital photography on Baryta paper, 32 cm x 42 cm; Alexander Cambitoglou speaking at the opening of *Response to Cyprus*.

The Sydney exhibition was formally opened on 10 July 2013 by Consul of the High Commission of Cyprus in Canberra, Andreas Hadjithemistos. A wide range of photographic and illustrative works were displayed. Corinthian capitals with their intricate acanthus decoration were taken from the disused Paphos theatre in the 5th century AD and found scattered over the ruins of the nearby Chryssopolitissa basilica. Jacqueline Gothe, Derek Kreckler and Jacky Redgate documented these capitals through photography; Redgate's analogue photographs with the 1977 'Diana' camera capturing an evanescent quality of ruin and loss. Near the theatre, the mosaics of the World Heritage listed Roman Houses of Dionysos and Theseus provided vibrant mythological contexts for visual works. The resonant images of Ganymede, Theseus and Ariadne, the birth of Achilles, and the retinue of Dionysos sprung to life in Derek Kreckler's photographs. The entrances to the ancient Paphos theatre were once vividly and colourfully decorated, shown in gouaches of excavated fresco fragments by Diana Wood Conroy. The coast of Cyprus is famous as the birthplace of the goddess Aphrodite, and the sea around Paphos with its changing colours was the poetic focus for Lawrence Wallen's digital prints. Tim Maddock, a theatre director, provided dramatic glimpses of contemporary Cypriot life in a series of images.

The relationship between archaeologist and artist continues to be explored at Paphos. The old and the new, the ancient and the contemporary, side by side.

The Visiting Professorship 2013*

Professor Angelos Chaniotis

Professor of Ancient History and Classics,
Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton



As the 2013 AAIA Visiting Professor, Professor Angelos Chaniotis toured Australia in August and September and gave a series of seminars and public lectures (listed below).

Professor Chaniotis was born in Athens and educated in Greece and Germany and has held various positions at prestigious institutes in Germany, the United States and England. He possesses a remarkable knowledge and understanding of ancient Greece and is active in wide-ranging research on the social, cultural, religious, legal and economic history of the Hellenistic world and the Roman East. The author of many books and articles and senior editor of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Prof Chaniotis has worked on war, religion, communicative aspects of rituals and strategies of persuasion in the ancient world. His current research focuses on emotions, memory and identity.

In early 2014 Professor Chaniotis was bestowed the Order of the Phoenix (Commander) by the President of the Greek Republic in recognition of his contribution to scholarship. He was also made a Corresponding Member of the Athens Academy.

- *Petrified Voices, Petrified Feelings: Understanding Graffiti in the City of Aphrodite*
- *No Way to Treat a Statue! Interaction with Statues in the Greek World*
- *Hope, Fear, and Gratitude in Ancient Sanctuaries: Healing and Punishment and the Ancient Concept of God*
- *Theatricality and Illusion in Public Life: Hellenistic Paradigms and Modern Experiences*
- *Roman Crete*
- *What is Hellenistic in Hellenistic Religion?*
- *Ancient Greece after Sunset: Histories, Archaeologies, and Perceptions of the Night*

*The 2013 Visiting Professorship was sponsored by various Governors of the AAIA and the Thyne Reid Foundation

Previous AAIA Visiting Professors

1987	Prof. Sir John Boardman Oxford, UK
1988	†Prof. Lilly Kahil Fribourg, Switzerland
1989	†Prof. Nicolas Coldstream London, UK
1990	Prof. Christos Doumas Athens, Greece
1992	Prof. Brunilde Sismondo-Ridgway Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, USA
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1994	†Prof. John Barron Oxford, UK
1995	†Prof. Spyros Iakovidis Athens, Greece
1996	Prof. Erika Simon Würzburg, Germany
1997	Dr. Hermann Kienast DAI, Athens, Greece
1998	Prof. Sarah Morris University of California, Los Angeles, USA and Dr. J. K. Papadopoulos The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, USA
1999	Prof. H. Alan Shapiro Baltimore, USA
2000	Prof. John McKesson Camp II American School of Classical Studies, Athens, Greece
2001	Prof. Andrew Stewart University of California, Berkeley, USA
2002	Prof. Barbara Burrell University of Cincinnati, USA and Prof. Graeme Clarke Australian National University
2004	Prof. Marc Waelkens Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium
2005	Prof. Nota Kourou The University of Athens, Greece
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2008	Prof. François Lissarrague Centre Louis Gernet, Paris, France
2010	Prof. Robert Laffineur University of Liège, Belgium
2011	Prof. Jack Davis American School of Classical Studies, Athens, Greece
2012	Prof. Catherine Morgan British School at Athens, Greece

From the Archives: the "Ladies Committee"



The AAIA archives contain records relating not only to the Institute's excavations in Greece, but a rich array of material pertaining to its own history.

Included in the files are photographs, correspondence, notes and memorabilia regarding the famous 'Nicholson Museum Concerts' held in the Great Hall of the University of Sydney between 1971 and 1991. At the time of their inception, the concerts provided one of the few opportunities for Sydneysiders to attend performances by internationally renowned chamber ensembles. Groups included the Shostakovich Quartet, the Vienna Chamber Ensemble and the Berlin Philharmonic Octet. Notables of Sydney Society came to see and be seen.

Much of the organization for the concerts was done by the "Ladies Committee" of the Association for Classical Archaeology (the forerunner to our Institute). In 2014 the AAIA will be hosting a small exhibition in the foyer of CCANESA celebrating the Concerts and the work of these women.

The Institutional Members, Corporate Members and Governors of the AAIA

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The Australian National University, Canberra	The Classical Association of NSW
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MEDITERRANEAN ARCHAEOLOGY



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After several years of preparation, Dimitri Anson's and Robert Hannah's *Ancient Lamps in New Zealand* came out in 2013 as *Meditarch's* Supplementary vol. 8. Over 500 ancient lamps kept in New Zealand's public collections are here presented for the first time, each piece meticulously described, analysed and illustrated. They cover a wide range in both chronological and geographical terms, dating between c.1000 BC and the early second millennium AD, whilst their proveniences cover the entire Mediterranean basin and beyond, from Cyprus, Palestine, Egypt, and Libya to Greece and Italy, from Turkey and Syria to Iraq and Iran.

The catalogue with its 135 plates will enlighten not only all who study ancient lamps, but everyone interested in the ancient Mediterranean in general. The low price (AU\$ 45.00!) is due to a publication subsidy made available by the University of Otago.

One might have been forgiven to assume that the *Meditarch* team had celebrated the publication of this volume by taking a prolonged holiday in 2013, thus explaining why no regular volume has come out. In reality, the opposite is true, and the editorial committee has been working simultaneously on several volumes, all of which are now about to be published. After the 2013 lull, 2014 promises to be a very productive year!

The studies and reports included in **Volume 25** relate as usual to both the eastern and the western part of the Mediterranean, chronologically spanning from the early Iron Age to the Byzantine period: Lionello Morandi presents 'Early Iron Age Finds from the Villanovan Cemetery of Colle Baroncio', Ted Robinson 'New Pixe-Pigme Analyses for South Italian Pottery', and Margaret O'Hea 'A Lion-Bowl and Other Worked Stone Objects from Jebel Khalid', whilst Mandy Mottram examines 'Emerging Evidence for the Pre-Hellenistic Occupation' of the same site. We return to Italy with Jennifer Ramsay's and R.J.A. Wilson's paper on 'Funerary Dining in Early Byzantine Sicily', before crossing the Adriatic for the final report on the Albano-Swiss excavations carried out between 2007 and 2010 at Orikos in Albania under the direction of *Meditarch's* chief editor.

Volume 26, edited by Stavros Paspalas with the assistance of Jean-Paul Descœudres, contains the Proceedings of the international conference organized by the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens, held on 20–22 May 2012 at the seat of the Archaeological Society at Athens, with the title '**Zagora in Context. Settlement and Intercommunal Links in the Geometric Period (900–700 BC)**'.

At the same time, two supplementary volumes are in preparation. In the **Jebel Khalid** series, vol. 4 (*Meditarch* Suppl. 9), presenting the Housing Insula by Heather Jackson, is in its final stages, followed by Lita Tzortzopoulou-Gregory and Timothy Gregory's lavishly illustrated **Archaeology of Kythera**.



Goats on an oinochoe neck, Delos. After Délos XV, 77
fig. 6. From Susan Langdon in *Meditarch* 26.

All *Meditarch* volumes, regular and supplementary, including back copies, can be purchased on-line at:
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FRONT COVER

Lucanian Bell Krater with Comic Theatre Scene

Ht. 28.5 cm; diam. 29.5 cm

The University of Sydney, Nicholson Museum Inv. no. NM2013.2

Donated by James Ede in honour of Professor J. R. Green, 2013

On the evening of Monday 24 February the Nicholson Museum unveiled (literally) its latest acquisition, a very beautiful Lucanian bell krater of the late 5th – early 4th century BC. The pot has been presented to the museum by Jamie Ede of London in honour of his close friend Emeritus Professor J. Richard Green, former Arthur and Renée George Professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Sydney.

It was a special night as forty friends and colleagues gathered in the museum for a private function to honour Professor Green and to see Jamie Ede, who had flown out from London especially for the occasion, present and unveil the krater. A speech of welcome and thanks



was given by David Ellis, Director of Sydney University Museums, before Professor Margaret Miller, the current Arthur and Renée George Professor of Classical Archaeology, Professor Eric Csapo, Dr Craig Barker, and Michael Turner spoke about, and with very obvious affection for, the guest of honour (all pictured above). Jamie Ede (at left) then recalled Dick's friendship with both he and his late father Charles Ede as being the reason for his generous gift. Charles Ede Limited, of Brook Street in London, remains today one of the finest antiquities dealers in London. After Jamie had unveiled the pot, Dick then spoke in his usual passionate fashion about it and its unique imagery.

The pot, made in Metaponto in South Italy between 410 and 380 BC, shows, in an unparalleled scene, two actors wearing theatre masks in the performance of a comic parody on tragedy. Both actors are playing the part of females—a mistress and a maid. Professor Green has argued in a recent article that the reclining figure is quite possibly Phaedra in an Aristophanic representation of Euripides' *Hippolytos*. Her maid then stands in front of her breaking the news of Hippolytus's death. Green goes on to attribute the krater as close to the Creusa Painter.

The krater is a most welcome addition to the Nicholson Museum's collection of ancient theatre related antiquities which includes the famous Apulian bell krater attributed to the Tarporley Painter, and in the collection of Sir William Hamilton in Naples in the 18th century, that shows three actors in the moments either before or after performance in a satyr play.

In theme with the comic and theatrical nature of the new krater, a competition was held in the week of unveiling asking for a caption to the scene. The winner?

“The washerwoman tore your new chiton, Phaedra, so I told her, ‘Euripides, now Eumenides’.”

by Michael Turner, Senior Curator, Nicholson Museum

BACK COVER

Greek Traditional Costumes

Collection of the Hellenic Lyceum,
Sydney, currently on exhibit at 238
Castlereagh Street, Sydney
(above Alpha Restaurant)

The Hellenic Lyceum - Sydney (*Lykion ton Ellinidon*, Sydney) was founded in 1951. It is a charitable organisation dedicated to the preservation and promotion of Greek culture, and is a corporate member of the AAIA.

The Sydney based branch is part of the international *Lykion ton Ellinidon* organisation which originated in Athens in 1911, and is the first branch to be founded outside of Greece.

The main aim of the Hellenic Lyceum Sydney is to preserve and promote Greek traditions and culture through Greek dance, costumes, jewellery and embroideries. The organisation has one of the largest collections of Greek traditional costumes and jewellery outside of Athens, and has been collecting since its inception in 1951. Greek traditional dress is of ancient origin with varied influences reflecting the history of Greece. Bold colours are used for the components of each costume and most are embroidered in gold, silver, silk or woollen threads. Traditional silver or gold jewellery accompanies each dress and in some cases the elaborate head pieces as well.

“Hellenic Threads - Discovering the Diversity of 18th & 19th Century Hellenic Dress” is the Lyceum's most recent exhibition. It celebrates diversity of the dress and jewellery which thread together the cultural history of Greece and the Greeks who came to Australia.

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Hellenic Lyceum, Sydney. Greek traditional costumes.

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