



The Australian Archaeological
Institute at Athens

BULLETIN



Volume 4, 2006/2007

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A note from the editors: the current issue of the *AAIA Bulletin* marks the change from a calendar year to the European academic year and hence covers the 18-month period from January 1 2006 to June 31 2007.

Letter from the Director

Since the publication of the third issue of the Bulletin a number of interesting developments affecting the Institute have occurred.

Firstly, an intensive Summer School in Athens organized in collaboration with the Department of Archaeology of the University of Sydney took place in January 2007. The course, which was taken by students of the University of Sydney and other Australian Universities that are Institutional Members, proved to be very successful thanks to the efforts of three persons: Dr Lesley Beaumont and Dr Stavros Paspalas, who did the lecturing and guiding of tours, and Ms Gina Scheer, who was responsible for the administrative and financial side of the course.

We are now planning to offer the summer school programme in Athens every two or three years.

Secondly, two monographs on finds from the excavations carried out at Torone in Northern Greece in the 1980s and 1990s are approaching completion. One is authored by Pamela Armstrong, on the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine finds, which may be ready for publication by the end of 2008; the other is authored by Professor Sarah Morris on the Prehistoric material from the promontory known as the "Lekythos".

The third important development is the decision to reopen the excavations on the headland of Zagora on the island of Andros. Some readers of this letter would remember that between the years of 1967 and 1977 excavations—the first by an Australian team in Greece—were carried out at the Geometric settlement site of Zagora (9th–8th centuries BC) by the University of Sydney under the auspices of the Athens Archaeological Society.

During recent negotiations that took place in Athens between Professor Margaret Miller and myself on the one hand and Dr Basil Petrakos (Secretary General of the Athens Archaeological Society) on the other, it was decided that the excavation of the site should be reopened in 2010 as a collaboration (συνεργασία) between the two Institutions under the directorship of Professor Margaret Miller of the University of Sydney.

The fourth important development that occurred was the change of our President. According to our constitution the Chancellor of the University of Sydney is the ex-officio president of the AAIA, and since its inception the presidents of the institute have been: Sir Hermann David Black AC (1981–1990), Air Marshal Sir James Anthony Rowland AC KBE DFC

AFC KStJ (1990–1991), Emeritus Professor Dame Leonie Judith Kramer AC DBE (1991–2001) and The Honourable Justice Kim Santow OAM (2001–2007).

Following the resignation of Justice Kim Santow (31 May 2007), Her Excellency Professor Marie Bashir AC CVO, Governor of NSW, was elected Chancellor of the University and will be the ex-officio President of the Institute. Her Excellency is a great supporter of the Institute, and has presided already in her capacity as Governor of NSW over two most important functions: the launching of the conference in Athens to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Institute in October 2005 and the launching of the Institute's new premises in the Old Teachers' College in February 2006.

The papers read at the Athens conference will be published in volume 19/20 of *Mediterranean Archaeology* which has recently become the official journal of the Institute.

Before closing this letter I might mention that in December 2006 the Athens staff moved to its new offices in Athens, a spacious and pleasant apartment near the Acropolis in which it can work with greater comfort and more efficiency.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading 'Alexander Cambitoglou'. The script is cursive and fluid, with the first name 'Alexander' and the last name 'Cambitoglou' clearly distinguishable.

Alexander Cambitoglou

NEWS IN BRIEF

Jan 2006 – June 2007
Hostel Report

by Anastasia Aligiannis

As this is my first report, I would like to take the opportunity to thank Ms Jan Casson-Medhurst for showing me how to run the hostel.

In 2006 we had over 30 residents including Dr Ken Sheedy, former deputy director of the AAIA, and Dr Janice Crowley, president of the Tasmanian Friends and long time supporter of the Institute. The Fellow for 2006, Emma Strugnell, stayed at the hostel for the nine months she spent in Athens and proved to be a great asset. The Athens Friends donated to the hostel a new computer and copier-scanner-printer unit to allow guests free internet access as well as free use of the wireless network and free local calls.

In January of 2007 the hostel was used for lectures and accommodation by the participants of the Summer School organized by the Department of Classical Archaeology of the University of Sydney and the AAIA. This proved to be a busy time, with the hostel running at capacity, and all seemed to enjoy their time.

In March of 2007 meetings were held with a contractor with a view to undertaking renovations in early 2008. Door frames and windows will be replaced, the whole hostel will be painted and bedrooms will be refurbished; new soft furnishings were purchased in early 2007. The cost of this work will be covered by a donation from a generous anonymous donor. Though these renovations will mean closing the hostel for two months, beginning early in February 2008, we hope that upon re-opening we shall be able to welcome even greater numbers of Australian students, academics and interested travellers to the newly refurbished hostel.

Deputy Director's Report from Athens

by Stavros A. Paspalas

Many developments have taken place since I prepared the last Deputy Director's report for the third volume of the *Bulletin*. Athens, of course, may be rightly termed the focal point of international community of researchers interested in Greek archaeology, history and wider Hellenic studies. As a result of this it is always pleasing to be able to write that the facilities which the AAIA maintains in Athens continue to help Australians who wish to continue their research in Athens as well as elsewhere throughout Greece.

A major development that must be reported is the purchase by the AAIA of a new Athenian office. While still located in the same central area of Athens, Koukaki, the new premises are larger and allow for some growth as well as providing a more conducive environment for work, both for staff members as well as visitors. The move took place, with the utmost minimum disruption to the everyday activities of the office, over a brief period of time in December 2006.

Whereas the new Athens office is an investment for the AAIA in bricks and mortar, a more important development, and an equally important investment in the future of Classical and Greek studies in Australia, that took place in January 2007 was the "Classical Archaeology Intensive Summer School in Athens". The "Summer School" was a collaborative effort between the AAIA and the Department of Archaeology of the University of Sydney, which had the express purpose of providing on site teaching on the subject of the archaeology of fifth-century Athens. With this aim in mind, Dr Lesley Beaumont of the University of Sydney and I conducted, over a three-week period, a series of classroom lectures as well as tours of museums and sites throughout Attica; a two-day study excursion to Delphi was also included in order to examine the relationship between that pan-Hellenic sanctuary and Athens. Happily, the group was able, on a number of occasions, to actually benefit from lecture tours given by the excavators of important sites, such as the Ancient Agora and the Kerameikos, for which I am certain all the participants in the programme were very grateful. It is very encouraging, indeed, to report that the "Summer School" attracted 25 participants: students from a range of Australian universities enrolled in various courses (ancient history, archaeology, fine arts, classics), as well as a number of secondary school teachers. Despite the intensive nature of the programme it was clear that all enjoyed themselves, and left Greece with a



New Athens Offices at 17 Zacharista (level 2).

deeper understanding of its history, art and archaeology. Many of the students actually took the “Summer School” for credit in their University course, and their results showed that their three weeks in Athens was indeed well spent.

The AAIA also provides a forum in which Australian-based researchers can present the results of their work in Greece. To this end it organized in 2006 and 2007 a series of seminars conducted by Emma Strugnell (AAIA 2005–2006 Fellow) “Ventidius’ Parthian War: Rome’s Forgotten Eastern Triumph”; Dr. Dora Constantinidis (Fellow, Centre for Classics and Archaeology, University of Melbourne) “What can digital plans tell us about the Buildings at Akrotiri (Thera)”; Dr Judith Maitland (The University of Western Australia) “The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis and the Beginning of Time: A Myth from the Island State of Aegina” and Professor Eric Csapo (The University of Sydney) “Ancient Greek Theatre Managers”. The Annual Lecture was delivered in 2006 by Professor Harold Tarrant (The University of Newcastle) and was entitled “Ancient Interpreters of the Story of Atlantis” (see pp. 15–19); the Annual Lecture in 2007 was given by Professor Csapo and was on the subject of “Cultural Poetics of the Greek Cockfight” (see pp. 20–37).

These academic activities help bring to the attention of the Athens-based scholarly community the work of Australians. In this vein I presented two papers: the first, “The Achaemenid Lion-Griffin on a Macedonian Tomb-Painting and a Sikyonian Mosaic”, was delivered at the international conference held in Athens “Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran: Cross-Cultural Encounters”; the second, “Old Smyrna: The Testimony of the Simply-decorated Pottery”, was presented at a conference organized by Professor Olga Palagia of the University of Athens in honour of Professor Sir John Boardman.

The Greek Ministry of Culture has undertaken to present the work of the foreign schools in Greece to a far wider public. Most recently, in February 2007, the Ministry organized a photographic and audio-visual exhibition entitled “An Excavation Chronicle of the Foreign Archaeological Schools – The leaves of the Book of Earth Reveal ...”. The exhibition was held at the Museum of Cycladic Art. The AAIA participated in this exhibition by presenting what may be termed the “prehistory” of the Institute: the excavations at the site of Zagora. That archaeological project, on the island of Andros in the 1960s and 1970s, was the first instance of excavations being conducted in Greece by a team largely comprised of Australians and under the directorship of the holder of a chair of Classical Archaeology, Professor Alexander Cambitoglou (The University of Sydney). As such it is an important milestone in the history of Australian classical scholarship. The efforts of the AAIA over the past 27 years were recognized by the Greek Ministry of Culture, and the Ministry presented the Institute a certificate of appreciation and acknowledgement at a specially arranged award ceremony. The ceremony also was the occasion at which a book that commemorated the exhibition organized by the Ministry was launched.

Of course, as in past years, a steady flow of Australian academics and students came through Athens and it is always a pleasure when the Athens staff of the AAIA can offer them their services and so aid them in their research activities.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Report of the 2005–6 AAIA Fellow

Emma Strugnell

The University of Melbourne

My tenure as Fellow of the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens was spent on two projects: conducting research for my PhD dissertation on the diplomatic relations between the Roman and Parthian Empires (92 BC–AD 224); and researching a separate project on the use of Hellenistic motifs on Parthian royal coinage. As my research is of a primarily literary nature, I made extensive use of the excellent facilities of the American, British and French schools at Athens. My research also incorporated travel to key architectural sites within Greece and in Asia Minor.

The Arsacids of Parthia, as heirs to the Seleucid Kingdom, maintained a culture, iconography and outlook that was a mixture both of native Iranian and also Hellenistic forms. I spent some months examining the correlations between Arsacid and Hellenistic coinage, with a focus on the use of imperial epithets, and the selection and development of obverse and reverse types. Many of the honorific titles used by Hellenistic monarchs, such as δίκαιος, εὐεργέτης, φιλάδελφος, and ἐπιφανής, find their place on the Parthian Royal coinage, as do Zeus, Athena, and Apollo. It is my assessment that the balance between Iranian and Hellenistic forms on Parthian Royal coinage reflects shifts in Parthian political ideology, and desire for imperial legitimacy.

The quality of my PhD dissertation has been enhanced immeasurably by my period in Athens, allowing me access to materials and publications simply

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unavailable in Australia. Although remote from the field of battle, the city of Athens played a prominent role in the history between the Roman and Parthian empires. Generals and Emperors necessarily passed through Athens on their way to the east, and the city served as a base for diplomacy and strategic preparation. Athens, Corinth, and key sites in Asia Minor such as Aphrodisias, Ephesus and Antioch were indubitably significant for the architectural memorialisation of Roman victories in the East. Imperial Architecture in Athens often parallels developments in Rome itself, and sought to frame Rome's struggle for Eastern supremacy within a wider context of East/West confrontations.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Professor Cambitoglou, Dr Paspalas and Ms Aligiannis for their unwavering support and advice throughout my stay, and the Athens Numismatic Museum for allowing me to view their (as yet uncatalogued) Parthian collection.

Summer School 2007 Report

Patrick Devery

Senior Studies Coordinator
St Mary's Cathedral College

In January, 2007 I had the pleasure of attending the Classical Archaeology Intensive Summer School in Athens presented by Dr Beaumont (University of Sydney) and Dr Stavros Paspalas (Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens).

I first became aware of the course through the advertising flyer which was sent to my school, St Mary's Cathedral College, during the early part of 2006. The intended course outline detailed on the

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Museums and Exhibitions in Greece

by Stavros A. Paspalas

Since writing the report on museums and exhibitions in Greece for the third issue of the *Bulletin* I can report that the archaeological authorities and museums throughout the country, not only in Athens, have continued their activities which so effectively bring to the attention of the wider public, both Greek and foreign, the archaeological and historical wealth of the country.

The **National Archaeological Museum** has held two major exhibitions over the past year. The first of these was entitled ***Coloured Gods*** and was largely based on the work conducted by German archaeologists in association with the **Glyptothek** in **Munich**. The exhibition presented the results of recent research which used the most up-to-date lighting and photographic methods in order to determine the use of colour on ancient Greek sculptures. While Greek stone statues are often thought of as being pristine white it has long been known that they were originally painted, as were many of the monumental buildings of antiquity. The question, though, is to what extent they were covered in paint, and how vibrant were the hues used. The exhibition provided a view on what may be termed the "maximalist" position on these matters, and surely many unsuspecting visitors were confronted by many of the displays.

The other major exhibition held at the **National Archaeological Museum** was entitled simply ***Praxiteles***. As the title suggests, the show, which followed closely a similar exhibition at the **Louvre**, was dedicated to the 4th-century BC sculptor who was considered by the ancients as one of the foremost artists of Greek antiquity. His reputation is not only testified to in the ancient written sources, but also by the number of ancient replicas of his works, as well as his signature on a number of statue bases. The exhibition carefully examined, against the written tradition, the archaeological evidence for his œuvre, the family milieu in which Praxiteles worked and its continuation by his sons, as well as how his creations inspired a range of later ancient artists, from sculptors to gem-cutters.

Another Athenian exhibition that should be mentioned is one that was held in what must be the least visited museum in Athens. The **Epigraphic Museum** holds an amazingly large collection of inscriptions which illustrate the use and development of writing in the Greek world, and a visit to it also supplies the visitor with a very good impression of the ideological and propaganda uses to which writing was put by the ancients. The exhibition ***'Politically organize the Keians by Cities.' Division as a Means of Political Control*** examined through the texts on preserved inscriptions how the Athenian state in the 4th century aimed to assert its primacy over the island of Kea by a policy of "divide and rule". It also highlighted the Keians' attempts to negotiate the geo-political vicissitudes that engulfed them. The exhibition showed exemplarily how the study of inscribed decrees, treaties and other documents so vividly enlightens our views on ancient political and social history.

Of course, the minds of many Athenians are, arguably, concentrated on the construction of the new **Acropolis Museum**. This vast building, just to the

south of the Acropolis itself, is nearing completion. In conjunction with this development the exhibition *The Museum and the Excavation* was held in a 19th-century building adjacent to the new museum. The exhibition presented the results of the excavation of the site under the new museum, and showed that it had been put to a number of different uses by the Athenians through time: from a cemetery in the prehistoric period to an area occupied by luxurious villas in Roman times. Once the new Acropolis Museum is completed visitors will be able to view sections of the excavation through its glass floor.

Beyond Athens the exhibition *Athens-Sparta: from the Eighth to the Fifth Century B.C.* held at **Sparta** was a fantastic exploration of the similarities and differences, as revealed by archaeological finds, of the two cities which represent foremost in many peoples' minds ancient Greece. Sculpture, ceramics, metalwork and glyptics were all included in this major exhibition.

An important museological development was the re-opening of the permanent exhibition of the **Archaeological Museum of Thessalonike**. After many years' work the museum presented its new galleries to the great benefit of the visiting public. The display focuses on the archaeology of Macedonia from the earliest stages of the Prehistoric period through to Late Antiquity, and presents to great effect the results of the explosion of archaeological activity in northern Greece over the past few decades.

After many years the **Archaeological Museum of Ancient Sikyon** is also now open again. It displays finds, especially the impressive mosaics, from one of the most important cities of the north-eastern Peloponnese. The museum building itself, it should be noted, is an archaeological exhibition for it is a beautifully restored section of an extensive Roman-period bathhouse. New museums and collections have been opened at **Schimatari** in Boiotia and at **Elateia** in central Greece, as well as at **Kissamos** in the far west of Crete. The site of the Minoan town and palace at **Petra Seteias** on Crete has been opened as an archaeological park, while at the very northern end of the country the excavated remains of the Hellenistic-period city at **Florina** have been opened to the public. A section of the 3rd-century AD **Palace of Galerius** in **Thessalonike** has also been made accessible.

Although I have concentrated on museums and exhibitions that deal primarily with the ancient past of Greece it should be noted that the departments and museums of the Greek Ministry of Culture and the other institutions involved in museological undertakings do not restrict themselves to antiquity alone. Here mention may be made of the important exhibition entitled *El Greco and his Workshop* held at the Goulandris Museum of **Cycladic and Ancient Greek Art**, which displays both works of the artist (born Domenikos Theotokopoulos) himself as well as the influence he wrought on his contemporary and later artists. Even more distant from Greek antiquity is the **Museum of Asian Art** on **Kerkyra** (Corfu). It is a little-known fact that the main town of that island holds a very important collection of Far Eastern art, housed in the nineteenth-century **Palace of Saints Michael and George**. In addition to its permanent display the museum organizes temporary exhibitions, the most recent of which was *Korea Through its Landscapes*.

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flyer complemented the options I currently teach in the NSW 2 Unit Ancient History Syllabus (Course No. 15020), those being:

- Personalities and their times (Option G – Greece): Pericles
- Ancient Societies (Option J – Greece): Athenian Society in the Time of Pericles

At the time I was in the process of submitting an application for one of the Premier's History Teachers' Scholarships. I included the course outline as part of my application and was subsequently successful in being awarded the grant. I largely attribute this success to the inclusion of the summer school programme as a significant component of my application.

From the outset I found Dr Beaumont's organisation of the course outstanding. Before deciding on acceptances for the course she took the time to personally interview applicants. I found this a very useful exercise in that it confirmed for me the course's suitability to my needs. Dr Beaumont was understanding enough to appreciate my participation in the course was contingent upon the success of my scholarship application. As such, she agreed to place me on a 'first reserve' basis, with a tacit agreement that my place would be assured should I receive the scholarship. This was of great assistance to me as the scholarship was not confirmed for some months after the interview.

In late 2006 Dr Beaumont also provided course participants with an academic course pack, containing a detailed outline of the lectures and site visits, a recommended course text, a comprehensive bibliography and a series of maps and diagrams which would be incorporated into the course. Again I found this a useful exercise as it gave me a further insight into how the

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course would unfold. It also allowed me to upload some of the information onto my laptop and to supplement the information with my own resources where I thought it would be useful.

As I was not part of the group booking, Dr Beaumont provided useful information regarding securing appropriate accommodation and was of invaluable assistance to me in negotiating the vicissitudes of the Summer School online application/registration process.

From a practical perspective I found this course to be exceptionally well administered. On the first day we were introduced Dr Paspalas, who was of immense assistance and very generous with his advice regarding local knowledge. We also met Ms Gina Scheer who acted as a practical assistant and contact point for the group throughout the three weeks. This was followed by a getting to know Athens tour, culminating in a very enjoyable night at a local taverna.

Throughout the three weeks we were fortunate and privileged to have been given guest lectures from many of the people in charge of the various sites and projects we visited. These included:

- Mr Nikos Toganides, head of the Acropolis Restoration Project, who gave us a guided tour inside the Parthenon and the various workshops where restoration work was being carried out. This was a definite highlight for me.
- Dr Jutta Stroszeck from the German Archaeological Institute who gave us a guided tour of the Kerameikos and detailed the results of her recent research, some of which is still unpublished.
- Professor John Camp (the author of our course text) who gave us a guided tour of the Agora, specifically focusing on the

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Classical Archaeology Intensive Summer School in Athens

by Lesley Beaumont

The first collaborative AAIA–University of Sydney, department of Archaeology Summer School in Athens took place between January 7–27, 2007. Some 45 applications were received for a total of 25 available places. The 25 students selected to participate comprised 3 postgraduates, 18 undergraduates, 3 NSW high school teachers, and 1 Philhellene barrister from QLD. While the majority of the students came from Sydney University, 1 student came from each of the Universities of Melbourne, Queensland, Adelaide and Newcastle. The Summer School lectures and site visits were led and taught mainly by Dr Lesley Beaumont of the University of Sydney and Dr Stavros Paspalas of the AAIA, with guest lectures by Mr Nikos Toganides (Chief architect of the Parthenon Restoration Project), Dr Jutta Stroszeck (Director of the Kerameikos excavations), Mrs Cornelia Hadziaslani-Bouras (Akropolis Studies Centre) and Professor John Camp (Director of the Agora Excavations). Ms Gina Scheer acted as Course Manager, attending to the practical and pastoral needs of the students. The foreign schools were extremely supportive, with the Norwegian, Finnish, Danish and Dutch providing accommodation in their hostels to supplement that available at the AAIA. The British and Norwegian Schools both provided the students with access to their libraries. The Australian Ambassador to Athens



Ascending to the 4th century fort at Eleutherai.

also expressed his keen support of the Summer School and attended the farewell dinner on the final evening in Athens.

All in all the Summer School was a tremendous success. The participants expressed high levels of satisfaction. Reports from two of them are published in this edition of the Bulletin (Patrick Devery, Senior Studies Coordinator at St Mary's Cathedral College, Sydney, pp. 6–9; and Daniel Press, recipient of the QLD Friends AAIA scholarship, pp. 52–55).

It is planned to hold the Summer School every second or third year, so that the next offering will take place in either January 2009 or 2010.



Visiting the trireme Olympias.



*The Temple of Poseidon at Sounion.
Photographs by Patrick Devery.*

The Australian Paliochora Kythera Archaeological Survey (APKAS) 2006

by Timothy E. Gregory and Stavros A. Paspalas

A three week study season was held in late July and the first half of August 2006 on Kythera with the aim of carrying out further research on the finds and information collected during the fieldwork seasons conducted annually from 1999 until 2003. A five-person team, led by Dr S.A. Paspalas and Professor T.E. Gregory refined the classification of many of the finds, primarily ceramic, with a view to including them in the final publication of the survey project.

The focus of the work in 2006 was the pottery of the Roman through the Late Medieval period and this included preliminary description and photography of all the finds. This re-study of the material allowed us to refine chronologies and to identify many pieces that had previously been overlooked. In addition, a small team re-investigated some of the places in the survey area that were difficult to access. One of these sites was the church of Aghios Eleutherios, on the western coast of the island, west of Potamos. This church was built in a cave, on the lower reaches of a deep gorge that runs between Potamos and the sea. We have reasons to believe, from written sources, that this route from the coast into the interior, was one of the main roads used by the pirates in the 15th–18th centuries, and the location of the church, along this route but far from any settlements or arable fields, had a strong connection with the mainland opposite. Finally, Lita Tzortzopoulou-Gregory completed her work on the modern cemeteries of the area and continued gathering material, including oral interviews with local people, about the layout and the functioning of the cemeteries in the recent past.

Torone 2007

by Stavros A. Paspalas

In 2007 a small team of researchers spent a three-week season at the Archaeological Museum of Polygyros in order to advance the study of the material unearthed at Torone during the excavations directed by Professor Alexander Cambitoglou (1975–1990). During this season the main task at hand was the examination of the “context tins” of the 1980 to 1984 excavations in which the pottery not inventoried at the time of excavation was stored. The aim was to extract further diagnostic pieces that would aid us in interpreting the archaeological features found and in reconstructing Torone’s past. I am in the happy position of being able to report that 2007 saw the completion of the examination of the context tins. Now the specialist researchers will have access to the full range of finds on which they can base their studies.

A large number of interesting pieces were extracted from the tins, and they cover a wide chronological range. Indeed, we were in for one particularly major surprise. Until May 2007 it was thought that the only section of the site of Torone on which Bronze Age pottery was found was Promontory 1

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recent and intended areas of excavation. Professor Camp was able to give us a valuable insight into how archaeological and historical sources can combine to further our understanding of the site.

As part of the course Dr Beaumont and Dr Paspalas gave the group guided tours of the various museums and sites in and around Athens. The out of Athens site visits included Piraeus, Eleusis, Eleutherai, Rhamnous, Marathon, Brauron, Oropos, Dekeleia and an overnight visit to Delphi. The site visits, both within and outside of Athens, were preceded by lectures which provided the necessary background information to allow the participants to gain a greater understanding of the site.

Overall I was thoroughly impressed with the quality of the lectures from Dr Beaumont and Dr Paspalas. The level of detail was appropriate for the audience. The lectures were well weighted and thoughtfully presented, incorporating appropriate use of visual images. The links to the site visits were clear and both the lectures and site visits corresponded with my expectations of the course as it was originally advertised.

From a practical perspective I found the running of this course to be outstanding. From the obvious efforts at providing group accommodation, the efficient organisation of the out of Athens excursions, including the provision of lunches, to the detailed delivery of course content in the lectures Dr Beaumont, Dr Paspalas and Ms Scheer are to be commended on their efforts. I would thoroughly recommend this course for any future prospective participants.



The 2007 Torone team outside the Archaeological Museum of Polygyros. Front: Rowan Conroy; Renée Regal. Back: Richard Fletcher; Stavros Paspalas; Beatrice McLoughlin.

(the “Lekythos”), where all the phases of this period are represented, some by very impressive remains. Our work this year clearly indicates that this view needs to be revised as numerous fragments of Bronze Age pottery were found among the sherds excavated in trenches on the mainland at Terrace IV, at a distance of some hundreds of meters from Promontory 1. At the time of its excavation the existence of this material had escaped the excavators’ notice.

This Bronze Age pottery is very fragmentary, and all of it was found in mixed contexts, i.e. we do not know of any exclusively Bronze Age levels at this part of the site. Nonetheless, this result of the 2007 study season has

forced us to re-consider the early phases of Torone’s prehistory. It is as yet too early to offer firm suggestions to explain the presence of this ceramic material that was found so far from Promontory 1, which must have been the main centre of Bronze Age activity. It is not certain if these fragments should be interpreted as representing actual Bronze Age presence on this part of the site or, alternatively, if their appearance on Terrace IV should be seen as evidence of later Toroneans removing material from elsewhere and using it as fill in this area. The very fragmentary nature of the identified Bronze Age finds from Terrace IV may support the latter view. The only identified Mycenaean piece is illustrated here. It is a fragment that preserves the rim and upper wall of a goblet that dates to the Late Helladic IIA period, approximately the first half of the 15th century BC.



Fragment of a Mycenaean goblet from Terrace IV. Torone 84.1337.

During the 2007 season other objects, primarily ceramic (pottery, figurines, tiles, etc.), were identified from many periods. For the purposes of this report, however, I shall only briefly mention another find that enriches our understanding of Torone’s past in a hitherto unknown sphere. The role of the Phoenicians in the Aegean and their relationship with its inhabitants during the 9th, 8th and 7th centuries is one that has attracted increased attention over the past few decades. Nonetheless, a Phoenician presence in the northern Aegean has been difficult to demonstrate in the archaeological record, despite the fact that ancient authors did state that Phoenicians sailed in these waters during the early historical period. Now, however, finds from Torone have been recognised that bear upon this very topic. Dr Richard Fletcher has identified two pottery fragments as all that survive from two Levantine juglets, in all probability unguent containers, that date either to the 8th or 7th century BC. Although these two fragments do not constitute a large body of evidence they may well offer us our first insights into Torone’s participation in a trading network that stretched as far as Cyprus and the cities on the Levantine coast opposite it.

History of the Athens Archaeological Society

by Basil Petrakos

The Athens Archaeological Society is the oldest learned society in Greece. Its fellows come from all the professional classes and scientific and scholarly groups. Its establishment satisfied a longstanding wish of the Greek people going back to the years of the War of Independence in the 1820s. The looting of antiquities during the last decades of the Ottoman occupation urged the Greeks, those living in the country itself and those of the diaspora, to put an end to the activities of tomb robbers and smugglers of antiquities encouraged by ignorance, illiteracy and greed.

The first important domestic problems of independent Greece were related to the economy, the administration of the country and education, which included the protection of antiquities that had been systematically plundered. Since the Archaeological Service, which was, and still is, a government organization, was understaffed and inadequate, in those early days of its existence a group of men of letters and politicians founded on January 6th 1837 the Athens Archaeological Society through the initiative of the wealthy Viennese merchant Constantine Belios. Among the founding fellows were Alexandros Rizos Rangavis and his father, Kyriakos Pittakis, Iakovos Rizos Neroulos, Ioannis Kokkonis, Theoklitos Pharmakidis, Georgios Gennadios, Georgios Stavrou and Andreas Mamoukas.

The first President of the Society was the Minister of Education, Iakovos Rizos Neroulos, and the first Secretary was the famous Alexandros Rizos Rangavis, who was then only 28 years old. Both men were Phanariots (members of the Greek aristocracy that lived in the district of Phanari in Constantinople) and were very different from their colleagues in the heterogeneous Athenian society during the reign of King Otho. They were socially distinguished and well educated.

The activities of the Society began with enthusiasm and without any government assistance. Its only income consisted of the annual subscriptions of its fellows and various small donations. Its very ambitious aims, like the excavation on the Acropolis, the restoration of the Parthenon, the excavation of the Theatre of Dionysos and the Herodes Atticus Odeion, the exposure of the Tower of the Winds, which was almost entirely buried, and the study and publication of these monuments were achieved with very inadequate funds.

At first the work of the Society was very slow and its financial difficulties endangered its existence. The plague of 1854 and its disastrous consequences for Athens brought about its stagnation and it was only in 1858 that the Society revived as a result of efforts made by young scholars and men of letters, especially the efforts of Euthymios Kastorchis. In 1859 Stephanos Koumanoudis became its Secretary; he remains until our own days its most brilliant personality. It is due to his initiative, his knowledge and his systematic energy that the Society started extensive archaeological excavations in Athens.

Basil Petrakos

Secretary General of the Athens
Archaeological Society,
Member of the Athens Academy



Dr Basil Petrakos was born in 1932 in the Peiraeus and studied History and Archaeology in Athens, in Lyon and in Paris. In 1959 he was appointed in the Greek Archaeological Service at first as an "Epimeletes" and later on as an Ephor of Antiquities in Sparta, Euboia, Mytilene, Delphi, Patra, Attica and the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. In 1988 he was elected Secretary General of the Athens Archaeological Society, a position which he still holds. In 1996 he became a Corresponding Member and in 1998 a Foreign Member of the very prestigious *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* of the *Institut de France*. In 1999 he was elected a member of the Athens Academy. He is the author of many books and articles and of an impressive and exhaustive volume on the inscriptions of Oropos titled "Epigraphes Oropou" published by the Athens Archaeological Society in 1997.



The Headquarters of the Athens Archaeological Society.

Looking back from a distance at the activities of the Society before the end of the 19th century we can only admire the research which it carried out and the beneficial influence this had on Athens and indeed the whole of Greece. During this period the Kerameikos was excavated and its superb monuments were discovered, which constitute a perpetual source of inspiration in the history of art. The monuments of the Acropolis were also excavated and studied, including the wonderful sculptures that fill its museum. Innumerable inscriptions were discovered that helped to reconstruct the history of Athens, mainly during the 5th and 4th centuries BC, and Hadrian's Library, which was hidden by structures built during the Ottoman occupation, was examined. The study of the Agora of the Classical period began, the Stoa of Attalos was discovered and the Roman Agora was investigated. A number of other monuments were excavated which were not known from the sources, including small statues, pottery and inscriptions.

The financial and scholarly strengthening of the Society allowed it to extend its activities beyond Athens in Attica. Important religious and residential centres were researched, which changed completely our views about the Athenian city-state. At Rhamnous the temple of Nemesis and the fortress were exposed and so was the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. At the Amphiareion the sanctuary, with hundreds of inscriptions, came to light. Prior to the excavations the sanctuary was known only from Pausanias' description. In the Peiraeus the exploration of the monuments related to the maritime power of Athens began. In Boiotia, thanks to the efforts of the Society, especially those of the indefatigable Panayiotis Stamatakis, the precious offerings (*kterismata*) of the tombs at Tanagra were rescued. But also other sites of Boiotia were explored such as Thebes, Chaironeia and Thespiiai. The inscriptions that were found as a result of this work are innumerable.

The work done in the Peloponnese by Stamatakis and Panayiotis Kavvadias includes the excavation of the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros, which has the most beautiful theatre of the ancient world. This excavation alone justifies the efforts of the Society, which is considered by non-Greek archaeologists to be the most distinguished learned society in Greece. At Mycenae, Panayiotis Stamatakis' supervision of Heinrich Schliemann's excavation carried out under the supervision of the Society was very beneficial. Thanks to him many pieces of evidence were rescued and countless finds from these famous excavations were classified. After Schliemann the Society took over the continuation of the exploration of Mycenae. Thanks to Christos Tsountas' work our knowledge of the site increased considerably. Many houses and hundreds of tombs were excavated outside the citadel, beyond its cyclopean wall. In another area of

the Greek world excavations were carried out in the prehistoric sites of the Cyclades, again by Christos Tsountas, who became the pioneer of their study.

Concurrently, big collections were created by the Society, and housed at first in the University, then in the Varvakeion School and finally in the Polytechnic School where the finds from the excavations at Mycenae were displayed. The collections of these museums are now exhibited in the National Archaeological Museum and the Epigraphical Museum in Athens.

But the excavation and discovery of precious works of art and inscriptions do not complete the Society's activities. If not published archaeological finds become useless for historical research. With their continuous publications in the Society's *Praktika*, the *Archaiologike Ephemeris* and the journals *Philistor* and *Athenaion* Koumanoudis and his collaborators kept informing the international enlightened public about the new discoveries. These publications constitute the foundation of archaeological research even in our own days.

Koumanoudis was succeeded as Secretary of the Society by Panayiotis Kavvadias, who was also concurrently General Ephor of Antiquities (1895–1909, 1912–1920), and who continued the work of his predecessor with excavations in various districts of Greece (Thessaly, Epeiros, Macedonia, Euboia, Kerkyra, Cephallonia, Lesbos, Samos and the Cyclades) and founded many museums in provincial cities. During his tenure as General Ephor of Antiquities the Archaeological Service was strengthened by effective legislation and by the appointment of new Ephors recruited from the staff of the Society.

Kavvadias was succeeded as Secretary by the University Professors Georgios Oikonomos (1924–1951), Anastasios Orlandos (1951–1979) and Georgios Mylonas (1979–1988). During the tenure of these erudites the Society continued its scholarly work, and in the early years after the Second World War carried out many rescue excavations, which the Archaeological Service was unable to undertake. At the same time, and in spite of existing difficulties, the Society carried out the restoration of ancient buildings and the conservation of various monuments, especially through the efforts of the highly gifted Anastasios Orlandos, who was the best specialist in Classical and Byzantine architecture.

Having as its principle the benefit of the country, the Society granted scholarships to members of the staff of the Archaeological Service for study abroad, published the research of Greek archaeologists and supported in various ways the state by undertaking the administration and management of important archaeological projects and excavations in southern Greece and in Macedonia.

In 1988 I was elected Secretary General of the Society having retired from the position of Ephor of Antiquities of Athens. During the last 20 years I have tried to continue the good work of the past through the systematic publication of research done by the Society's fellows and the publication of monographs which consolidated the achievements of the past 170 years.

At present in Greece there is a large and strong Archaeological Service attached to the Ministry of Culture. There are also many universities at which Greek Archaeology is taught and a number of institutions that promote research in the Humanities and in the study of ancient Greek monuments. They all carry



The Library of the Athens Archaeological Society.

out necessary and significant research. The Society, however, enjoys a special position among these institutions since it was the first to have discovered the great monuments on which our knowledge of Hellenic antiquity is based. The Society has the longest scholarly tradition in the country and is one of the oldest archaeological institutions in the world. It continues to be active in fieldwork and supports research also through its archives, its photographic collection, its collection of plans and drawings and its excavators' notebooks. It has a unique library, which can be used by all *bona fide* Greek and foreign students and scholars, and offers lectures and courses for the wider enlightened public.



The Lecture Hall of the Athens Archaeological Society.

The prompt briefing of classical scholars all over the world about the excavations carried out by the Society is done through the annual journal *To Ergon tes en Athenais Archaialogikes Hetaireias*, founded in 1954. Since 1837 detailed reports on the results of field work carried out by the Society are published in the annual journal *Praktika tes en Athenais Archaialogikes Hetaireias*. Essays and systematic reports of excavations and other studies of monuments are published in the annual journal *Archaialogike Ephemeris*, which was also founded in 1837. The

Archaologike Ephemeris is the oldest archaeological journal in the world and continues to appear regularly.

Since the Society believes that the ancient monuments of Greece are a constituent part of its existence, it supports clearly and publicly their rescue and the preservation of the environment beyond short lived political aims and personal interests. This is done through the three-monthly periodical *Ho Mentor* which includes essays about the history of Greek antiquities and people's attitudes towards them.

Interpreting Atlantis: The Ancient Evidence*

by Harold Tarrant

Flood legends abounded in the ancient Mediterranean world, not surprisingly so when the causes of normal floods were still poorly understood and those of the extraordinary inundations that may accompany seismic activity not understood at all. People who lived to describe these floods must in many cases have been totally unsure of what they were witnessing, and the Greeks would naturally have held Poseidon responsible. In the retelling of the stories, events were mutated and magnified, often with the accretion of a moral message. The tales became a vehicle for teaching, for helping to impart to others something about the conditions under which human beings live; not simply those of people attracted to the rich and fertile plains that major rivers such as the Nile regularly wash over, but also those of people who in any way exceed their mark and invite retribution from the forces that control our world. Because the flood tales were didactic, they were something that humans needed to have and would not readily label as fiction.

The topic of Atlantis now generates its own international conferences, and we have recently witnessed the publication of a varied and extensive set of proceedings from one of these.¹ My interest, however, is accidental, deriving from my work on how the ancients read Plato. The story of Atlantis is told by a character in Plato, and tells of a great maritime nation destroyed by a flood. As part of a project funded by the Australian Research Council, I have just published a translation of the first book of Proclus' 5th century AD commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*, of which about two thirds is devoted to interpreting Plato's story.² Almost all that we know about how the ancients read Plato's story comes from here. One obvious point to be made is that informed readers often treated it as some kind of allegory, rather than as a vehicle of any kind of remote historical truth. Why did they do so? And does not such an interpretation call into question the periodic claims of underwater archaeologists to have 'found Atlantis' in one region or another? The name "Atlantis" seems to be Plato's invention, and if Plato's tale were fictional then it would make nonsense to claim that the subject of that tale has been discovered.

The story of Atlantis is told by a character in Plato's dialogues *Timaeus* and *Critias* who bears the name 'Critias', and it would have been very difficult for Plato's readers not to have associated him directly or indirectly with the infamous leader of the oligarchic regime of the Thirty installed in Athens in 404 BC. That alone invites our caution about anything that he tells us. His story has several parts, and involves fascinating questions of oral and written transmission:

1. Solon is told a story by an Egyptian priest, for whom it has been preserved for 9000 years on an *inscribed* stone.
2. It was then passed down *orally* through Critias' family.
3. The story is said to illustrate the success of prehistoric Athens, governed approximately along the lines of the state described in Plato's *Republic*.

*The following paper is an adaptation of the lecture delivered at the AAIA Annual Meeting, Athens, 2006.

¹ S. P. Papamarinopoulos (ed.), *The Atlantis Hypothesis: Searching for a Lost Land* (Santorini 2007).

² H. Tarrant (ed. and trans.), *Proclus: Commentary on Plato's Timaeus 1. I: Proclus on the Socratic State and Atlantis* (Cambridge 2007).

4. Athens' bravery is revealed when it halts the expansionist ambitions of the huge island state of Atlantis, beyond the pillars of Heracles.
5. The whole land of Atlantis, plus the Athenian forces, is eventually wiped out by cataclysmic events.

Critias' Egyptian priest had begun the story with remarks about the way memory of such events is lost by periodic disasters of fire and flood, which have the capacity to wipe out highlanders and lowlanders respectively. He claimed that Egypt was affected less than other lands by these fires and floods, owing to the regular nature of its climatic cycle. As an example of a disaster through fire, the Egyptian priest cites the story of Phaethon, son of the Sun-god Helios, who failed to control the horses of the Sun-chariot and crashed down to earth, causing a conflagration. Coupling the Atlantis story with the Phaethon myth does nothing to convince us that the former is true. However, both conflagrations and disappearing islands have suggested to some that volcanic and seismic activity may somehow be involved in the ancient destruction of a land called Atlantis. That is why it has sometimes been seen as attractive to connect the story of Atlantis with the mighty volcanic eruption that changed forever the shape of Thera and deposited ash huge distances around.³

Some have found subtle linguistic hints that all this is Plato's invention. Others observe that 'Critias' says that the story is true in every way: Παντάπασιν ἀληθές.⁴ Commentators from the period AD 280–440 will make a lot of this phrase. But clearly it was the earliest interpreters of Plato, who had studied with his own school (the Academy), whom we should most expect to have been aware of how he intended his story to be read. However, during the 20th century the orthodox position was that his earlier followers were divided on the issue. A good case can be made that it was Aristotle who first treated the story as a Platonic invention, whereas Crantor, whom Proclus describes as 'the first exegete' (of the *Timaeus*) and had studied in the Academy in the late 4th century BC, was thought to have held that the content was 'pure history'. In a recent article I refer to this understanding of Crantor as the *modern* myth,⁵ since the words it takes as 'pure history' (ψιλή ἱστορία) cannot have that meaning. The latter term does not imply historical *truth*, and the former signifies only the absence of any deeper meaning. Proclus' words have been repeatedly misunderstood, I suggest, not because scholars lack the ability to translate accurately, but because we humans have a psychological need to preserve the *mystery* of the Atlantis story by balancing the evidence on either side.

The following quotation shows us how Proclus himself has tried to resist the tendency to dismiss the Atlantis story as fiction:

"Hence one should not say that the one who obliterated the evidence *undermines* his subject-matter, just like Homer in the case of the Phaeacians (example 1) or of the wall made by the Greeks (example 2). For what has been said has not been *invented*, but is true" (*in Ti.* 1.190. 4–8).

Much the same point about the Atlantis story, using similar terminology (where italicised) but only regarding example 2, had already been made by Posidonius in the early 1st century BC. Other evidence shows that he was

³ J. V. Luce, *The End of Atlantis* (London 1970), following the excavation of Thera by Spyridon Marinatos in 1967; cf. also A. G. Galanopoulos and E. Bacon, *Atlantis: The Truth behind the Legend* (London 1969), and J. W. Mavor, *Voyage to Atlantis* (London 1969).

⁴ There may be a little ambiguity even here, as in our 'true in every detail'; many a tale that is false overall has been composed of details that are true in other contexts.

⁵ H. Tarrant, "Atlantis: Myths, Ancient and Modern," *The European Legacy* 12 (2007), pp. 159–72; the article provides the full argument for much of what is said here.

drawing on Aristotle. The idea is that a story-teller can destroy within his story the expectation that any evidence might have survived. Further, both Homeric examples refer to the destruction of ‘evidence’ through violent waters, and both also involve Poseidon, the god named by Plato as the ancestor of the Atlanteans. So the examples were well chosen to suggest that Plato had *created his own war* between two mythical civilisations, only to tell of their destruction in such a way as to arouse no expectations that evidence might survive.

So it is likely that Plato’s own pupil Aristotle had referred to the collapse of Homer’s Achaean Wall and the destruction of the Phaeacian ships when claiming that Plato had invented both Atlantis and its destruction by cataclysmic events. Why then have scholars hesitated over accepting this indication of Plato’s intentions? Because it is assumed that Crantor, when writing a work of interpretation on the *Timaeus*, claimed that the Atlantis story is ‘history’. As a member of the Plato’s school, the Academy, just one generation later, he too should have been aware of Plato’s intentions. So the ‘modern myth’ assumes that Aristotle and Crantor, both in an ideal position to know Plato’s mind, were of opposite opinions about whether or not Plato thought he was recording history! It looks at first sight as if the evidence is nicely balanced. I offer three reasons why this may be so:

1. We humans seem to need puzzles and mysteries.
2. Proclus himself represented the authorities as deeply divided, partly in order to promote an alleged compromise.
3. The evidence offered by Proclus has been deeply misunderstood, and some of the misunderstanding goes back to Proclus himself.

In order to make progress, it is essential to understand the origin of Proclus’ information. It is now acknowledged that Proclus followed Porphyry’s *Commentary on the Timaeus* for early interpreters (up to Porphyry’s time, the 3rd century AD). These interpreters include Crantor, as a representative of the literalist side, and several representatives of the allegorists. Porphyrian tradition represented the debate as one between those who took the Atlantis story as *historia* (ἱστορία) and those who thought it was *mythos* (μῦθος). The terms *historia* and *mythos* are never explained, but *mythos* clearly referred to a story which is not intended to be taken literally, but should rather be read as an allegory. A *historia* is therefore a story that one reads literally. But does that imply literal *truth*? If *historia* did not imply historical truth, then Crantor may never have been claiming that Plato’s story was historically true.

Proclus’ own evidence confirms that this word had not been understood to imply historical truth. First, Plato had made Atlantis huge, bigger than ‘Libya’ and ‘Asia’ together. Proclus tells us that “One must not doubt [its size], even if one took the tale to be *historia* only” (*in Ti.* 1.182.1–2). This reveals that those who interpreted the story as simple *historia* were quite at liberty to regard it as unhistorical.

Second, Plato introduced cases of catastrophic destruction with a reference to the Phaethon myth. Proclus affirms that the story of Phaethon could be interpreted in three ways: historically (*historikōs ἱστορικῶς*), physically

(*physikōs φυσικῶς*), or philosophically (*philosophōs φιλοσόφως*). He then goes on to say:

“The *historia* asserts that Phaethon, the son of Helios ..., veered off course when driving his father’s chariot, and Zeus, in fear for the universe, struck him with a thunderbolt. When hit, he fell down upon Eridanus, where the fire coming from him, fuelling itself on the ground, set everything alight. Such is the account from *historia*. Upon his fall, his sisters, the Heliades, went into mourning. It is a basic requirement that *the conflagration should have happened* (for that is the reason for the story’s being told), ...” (*in. Ti.* 1.109.9–19).

The Phaethon myth can be seen as a *historia* without any problem, but the only thing that has to have actually happened is the original event that the myth purports to explain, a great conflagration. *The explanation itself does not have to be taken to be true.*

Third, at *in Timaeum* 1.129.11–23 Proclus offers a list of four arguments for taking the story as a *historia*:

1. The allegorical unveiling of this kind of story appears to Plato to be ‘for a hard-working person who is somewhat wide of the mark’.
2. Plato’s communicative method does not use riddles like Pherecydes’, but gives explicit teaching on a host of doctrines....
3. Allegorical unveiling of the story is unnecessary here, as there is an acknowledged reason for the narrative’s presence: seducing the listeners.
4. If we explain away everything, then we shall suffer the same fate as those who waste time with tricky minutiae of Homer.

Note that these arguments do not employ any evidence at all for the story’s having been historical in our sense, only about the pitfalls of allegorical interpretation. They employ Plato’s own discouraging comments on the allegorical interpretation of myths (*Phaedrus* 229d), and show strong interest in the literary presentation of Plato’s ideas. The language shows that the arguments come from Porphyry’s original teacher Longinus—usually a literalist interpreter, and considered by Plotinus as a literary critic rather than a philosopher (φιλόλογος, οὐ φιλόσοφος). In Longinus’ time any literary critic would have known a distinction between history and myth recently discussed by Alan Cameron: *mythos* is a story containing *fantastic* elements, while *historia* contains nothing totally impossible. So much of what we call ‘myth’ was at that time quite naturally called *historia* without assuming its truth.⁶ So the anti-allegorical camp simply treated the Atlantis story as without any deeper meaning. And this is all they would have meant in adopting Crantor as the first exponent of their view.

So the ‘modern myth’ can now be discounted. As far as we may tell Plato’s earlier followers were not after all divided over the intentions of this story. They took it as a simple, uncomplicated story. In the 2nd and third centuries AD several thinkers opted for allegorical interpretation. By late in the 3rd century AD it was argued that the story was to be understood *primarily* as an allegory of opposing

⁶ See A. Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* (Oxford 2004), especially pp. 90–91.

forces in the universe, but that the events *could* nevertheless have happened. Only with Proclus in the 5th century do we find an interpreter willing to affirm that the events depicted were indeed literally *true*. But this is not because of any external evidence, from the geographers or others. He knows some of these sources, many of them unreliable and treated as such by Proclus himself. His position relies only on the Platonic text and the claim by Plato's character Critias that the story was 'true in every way'. No other supporting evidence is thought worth a mention. While believing in the story, even Proclus made little of its supposed historical truth.

The logical conclusion would be that this story is just like other Platonic 'myths': a creative amalgam of traditional elements and philosophic theory. Philosophic theory, however, would have taken account of recent cataclysmic events. Like Aristotle, Plato would have been impressed by the recent devastating destruction of Eliki and Voura on the Corinthian Gulf in 373 BC by a huge wave that followed an earthquake. He would also have known of the massive damage to the island of Atalanta (Talanionisos, in the straits across from Euboea) early in the Peloponnesian War:

"[2] About the same time that these earthquakes were so common, the sea at Orobiae, in Euboea, retiring from the then line of coast, returned in a huge wave and invaded a great part of the town, and retreated leaving some of it still under water; so that what was once land is now sea; such of the inhabitants perishing as could not run up to the higher ground in time. [3] A similar inundation also occurred at Atalanta, the island off the Opuntian-Locrian coast, carrying away part of the Athenian fort and wrecking one of two ships which were drawn up on the beach." (Thuc. 3.89.2–3).

Similarly Plato was aware of the story of Deucalion's flood, and probably of other flood-myths too. It is entirely possible that he had some knowledge of Egyptian (or other) stories of various terrible natural disasters, involving quakes, tsunamis etc. in Thera, the Near East or elsewhere. What we may say with absolute certainty is that no events exactly matching Plato's report ever took place. Atlantis is Plato's name. Its story is Plato's story. Archaeology can reveal the wonder of sunken and lost civilizations, and it performs a huge service by doing so; but naming them 'Atlantis' adds nothing to the value of the finds. Nobody can ever discover 'Atlantis' as Plato described it. Therefore nobody needs to appropriate Plato's name.

The Cultural Poetics of the Greek Cockfight*

by Eric Csapo

In ancient Greek art, myth, or literature chickens are rarely just chickens. Somehow the Greek cultural imagination was never fired up by those aspects of the chicken we find paramount: not the sweet savour of its roasted flesh, nor its capacity to conjure up blissful images of rural life. ‘The Greeks’, as Kretschmer says, ‘were primarily interested in the fighting-cock and not the laying hen’.¹ On the Athenian calyx krater J. Paul Getty Museum Malibu 82.AE.83 (**fig. 1**) the chickens are, as almost always in Greek art, fighting cocks.²

* The following paper is an adaptation of the lecture delivered at the AAIA Annual Meeting, Athens, May 9 2007. In addition to the abbreviations listed in *American Journal of Archaeology* and the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*³ the following are used here:

Hoffmann 1974

H. Hoffmann, “Hahnenkampf in Athen. Zur Ikonologie einer attischen Bildformel,” *RA* 1974, pp. 195–220.

Hoffmann 1988

H. Hoffmann, “Why Did the Greeks Need Imagery? An Anthropological Study of Greek Vase-Painting,” *Hephaistos* 9 (1988), pp. 143–162.

PCG

R. Kassel and G. Austin (eds.), *Poetae Comici Graeci* (Berlin 1983–)

ThesCRA

Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum (Los Angeles 2004–)

¹ P. Kretschmer, “Literaturberichte: Griechische (für das Jahr 1935),” *Glotta* 27 (1939), pp. 1–40, p. 36; P. Bruneau, “Le motif des coqs affrontés dans l’imagerie antique,” *BCH* 89 (1965), pp. 90–121; Hoffmann 1974, pp. 195–220.

² J.R. Green, “A Representation of the Birds from Aristophanes,” *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 2 (1985), pp. 95–118, figs.1–3 and 22; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases, The Classical Period* (London 1989), fig. 314; C.M. Robertson, *The Art of Vase-painting in Classical Athens* (Cambridge 1992), p. 251, fig. 256; O. Taplin, *Comic Angels, and other Approaches to Greek Drama through Vase-Painting* (Oxford, 1993), pl. 24, no. 28; E. Csapo, “Deep Ambivalence: Notes on a Greek Cockfight (Part I),” *Phoenix* 47 (1993), pp. 1–28, pl. 1–2a; idem “Deep Ambivalence: Notes on a Greek Cockfight (Part II–IV),” *Phoenix* 47 (1993), pp. 115–124.

³ Scholiast to Aristophanes *Nub.* 889.



Figure 1: Attic red-figure calyx krater, ca. 420 BC, J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu 82.AE.83, side A.

The anthropomorphism of the chickens here has a special motive. These fighting cocks are men in comic costume. The presence of the piper indicates that we have a theatre scene. The vase was painted not long after the production of Aristophanes’ *Clouds* in 423 BC. The formal debate of that play pits the representative of the Old Education against the New, or the Greater against the Lesser Argument, as they are called in the play. The Hellenistic scholar Aristophanes of Byzantium tells us that in the production of *Clouds* the Greater and Lesser Arguments were dressed as fighting cocks.³ I believe that this vase show us the scene of that debate. The ancient Greek word for debate is *agon*. But the word significantly also means ‘competition’ or ‘struggle’ and in this *agon* we see the comic refraction of a real social struggle: a clash between residual and emergent values in the age of Athens’ new radical democracy.

The Greater Argument, presumably the taller figure on the right, is the champion of the old-fashioned self-control and discipline that defeated the Persians at Marathon. Among other precepts, he stresses the need to teach Athenian boys to resist the advances of their admirers. The Lesser Argument, by contrast, the wriggling twisting figure on the left, is imbued with the new amorality of the sophistic age. He urges self-indulgence and is called names that imply that he is

a passive homosexual. He encourages the adolescent son of the hero Strepsiades to challenge authority, to gratify his appetites, to rationalise and justify, and to enjoy intercourse with his adult male lovers.

In dramatic costume, some anthropomorphism is unavoidable, but here there is little interest in avoiding *unnecessary* anthropomorphism. You cannot help noticing the very non-avian feature of both costumes. The erect phalloi might be explained as a concession to comic costume, which for actors normally included a phallus, but the normal actors' phallus is limp and these are erect. Moreover, there are erect phalloi tied on where the spurs should be. The word 'spur' is in fact used to designate the virile member in Attic comedy. It seems reasonable that the Lesser argument, the champion of sexual licence, should be portrayed this way. But it might strike you as odd that the phallic conception of the chicken should extend to the Greater Argument, champion of modesty, self-control, and old fashioned martial virtues.

If so, it would not take much comparative anthropology to convince you that a confusion of sexual and martial aggression occurs in most human cultures (e.g. **fig. 2**). But the chicken has qualities which permit it to cross these categories, mediate between them, and even symbolise their conjuncture. There is now a small body of literature on the symbolism of cocks and cockfighting. Some authors treat the cock as a transcultural archetype for virile aggression. This may be so, but the symbolism of the cock is nevertheless not 'the same' in ancient Greek culture as in others. In Greece the cock did not just conflate the two distinct realms of love and war. It did so after a pattern that is unique to the social configuration of the Greek polis.



Figure 2: Yali tribesmen, Papua, Indonesia, performing war dance. Photo by Julie Campbell.

The nineteenth century historian Jacob Burckhardt once characterised Greek society as 'agonistic'.⁴ In his view relations between persons or states in Greece generally took the form of a contest. Burckhardt hit upon something truly distinctive in ancient Greek society, though he was thinking primarily of the ethos of the prestige competition of the 'free aristocracy' of Archaic Greece. His own anti-democratic bias caused him to underestimate and denigrate the agonistic spirit that led the Classical democracies to give the form of an *agon* to all the cardinal institutions they created for negotiating power and social relations: the legislative assembly, the law court, and the theatre. The main difference was that these institutions were for verbal, not physical *agones*. In considering how pervasive the *agon* is in Greek drama, for example, you must recall not only that drama in the Classical period was invariably performed in the context of a prize competition, but also that every drama is physically centred on an *agon* or debate. In comedy, the most overtly political of the dramatic genres, the *agon* became a highly formalised structure, sometimes taking up nearly half of the play. It is not so surprising, therefore, that the symbol for dramatic competition was the cockfight.

⁴ The relevant passages are conveniently collected by Oswyn Murray in O. Murray and S. Stern (eds.), *J. Burckhardt, The Greeks and Greek Civilization* (New York 1998), pp. 160–213.



Figure 3: Detail of the month of Poseideon, Calendar Frieze, Little Metropolitan Church, Athens.

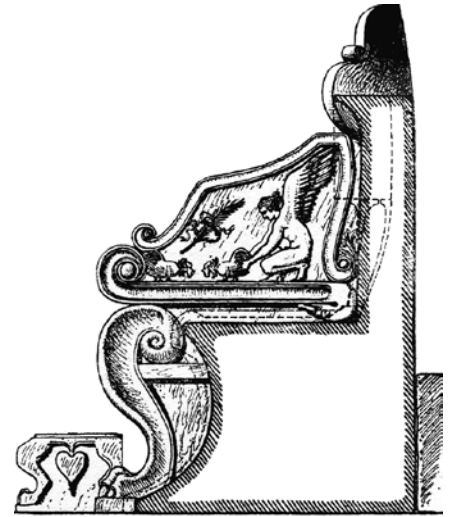


Figure 4: Reconstruction by Sven Risom of the Throne of the Priest of Dionysus, Theatre of Dionysus, Athens.

It is drama that is symbolised by the only two representations of cockfighting in Athenian sculpture. The so called calendar frieze, a Hellenistic sculpture, still visible on the Little Metropolitan Church,⁵ represents the month of Poseideon (**fig. 3**) by showing a scene from the Rural Dionysia: namely the judges' table, beside which a victorious tragedian leads off his prize goat. But in front of the judges, representing the dramatic competition they are vetting, is a cockfight. The other sculpture, probably late Classical, is on the throne of the priest of Dionysus in the Theatre of Dionysus (**fig. 4**).⁶ Each side originally showed a winged boy prodding his cock on to the fight.

I wonder if Burckhardt was influenced by Jean-Léon Gérôme whose *Combat de Coqs* created a sensation in 1847 (**fig. 5**).⁷ Gérôme's Grecian idyll includes a cockfight, but, more interestingly for us, it draws an implicit parallel between combative cocks and an erotic seduction. Another insightful touch is the cemetery background and particularly the mysterious Sphinx-like sculpture at

⁵ E. Simon, *The Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary* (Madison Wis. 1983), p. 101, pl. 3.3.

⁶ S. Risom, "Le siège du prêtre de Dionysos Eleuthereus au théâtre d'Athènes," in *Mélanges Holleaux: Recueil de mémoires concernant l'antiquité grecque offert à Maurice Holleaux* (Paris 1913), pp. 257–263, pls. 9–11; P. Bruneau, «Le motif des coqs affrontés dans l'imagerie antique,» *BCH* 89 (1965), pp. 112–113, no. 74, fig. 21; M. Maass, *Die Prohedrie des Dionysostheaters in Athen* (Vestigia 15; Munich, 1972), pp. 60–76, pl. IIa.

⁷ GEROME. Jean-Léon Gérôme, 1824–1904: peintre, sculpteur et graveur : ses œuvres conservées dans les collections françaises publiques et privées (Vesoul 1981), no. 113, p. 101, and ill. facing p. 4).



Figure 5: Jean-Léon Gérôme, *Combat de Coqs*, 1847, Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

the top centre of the painting. Real sphinxes, with the wings of a bird and the haunches of a lion, are mythical killers, who swoop down upon young men in earliest manhood and tear them apart even as they make love to them (fig. 6).⁸ Sphinxes served as grave markers, especially for those who died young or in battle. Perhaps Gérôme saw some analogy between the cockfight, erotic seduction, and the mortal condition, the ultimate life-and-death struggle, another particular obsession of ancient Greek culture.

In antiquity, the cock, like the sphinx, was a liminal creature. Its habit of crowing at dawn made it a symbol of transition from night to day and darkness to light. As a marker of time and transitions, it is associated with birth, death and rebirth, and thus gains a close association with liminal deities such as Leto, Hermes, Demeter/Persephone and Asclepius. Adolescence was also closely connected to death and rebirth: Artemidorus, the dream interpreter, claims that dreams about adolescence signify marriage for the bachelor and death for the aged (1.54).

In this vein let us note another insightful aspect of Gérôme's painting. Its focal point is an adolescent male, just as, on the throne of the Priest of Dionysus, it is an adolescent boy who urges the cock to combat. The relationship between the fighting cock and the adolescent male at the transition of boyhood to manhood is central to the symbolism of the cock in ancient Greece. It is alluded to by the scene on the reverse of the Athenian calyx-krater with the comic cockfight (fig. 7).⁹ This scene is not quite the typical warrior's departure found so often in Attic vase-painting. The beardlessness of the central figure, the fact that he is shorter even than his mother on the left, and his aged father on the right, show that he is an adolescent. But as in a typical warrior's departure he holds his arms and says his farewell to his family. The focus on the boy's youth, and the absence of a wife or child, strongly suggest that he is about to go to war for the first time.



Figure 6: Attic red-figure lekythos, Bowdoin Painter, ca. 470 BC, Kiel, Antikensammlung 553.



Figure 7: Attic red-figure calyx krater, ca. 420 BC, J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu 82.AE.83, side B.

⁸ Kiel, Antikensammlung, B553: CVA, Kiel 1 [Germany 55], pl. 42.1–5 [2707]; J.-M. Moret, *Oedipe, la sphinx et les Thebains* (Rome 1984), pl.15.1–2; N. Kourou, s.v. *Sphinx*, LIMC VIII, no. 178, p. 1160, pl. no. 805. For the role of the sphinx in funerary art see also E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley 1979), pp. 171–173 and C. Sourvinou Inwood, "Reading" Greek Death to the End of the Classical Period (Oxford 1995), pp. 228–230 and 271–275.

⁹ *op. cit.* n. 2.

¹⁰ Lucian *Gallus* 3. For the myth, see also the scholiast to Aristophanes *Av.* 835; Eustathius, *Ad Odysseam* 1.300; Ausonius, 26.2.27; Libanius, *Progymnasmata* 2.26.

¹¹ Lucian *Gallus* 3; Eustathius, *Ad Odysseam* 1.142.15; cf. Aristophanes, *Av.* 290.

¹² Nicander *Alexipharmaca* 294; cf. Lucian *Gallus* 3; Pliny *HN* 10.47; Columella *Rust.* 8.2.11; Eustathius, *Ad Odysseam* 1.300; Libanius, *Progymnasmata* 2.26.

¹³ Scholiast to Aristophanes, *Av.* 759; Suda, s.v. *Αἶρε πλεῖστον*.

¹⁴ Munich Antikensammlung 1470 (J1295): CVA *Munich* 7, pp. 55–58, pls. 351–352, 353.1–4, 354.1–3; *ABV*, p. 144, no. 6; *Beazley Addenda*², p. 39.

In myth, the cock is closely connected with the war-god, Ares. Originally the cock was a human companion of Ares named Alectryon, which is simply the Greek word for ‘cock’. At first, however, there was nothing martial about Alectryon. Before becoming a cock, Alectryon is said by Lucian to have been ‘an adolescent boy, beloved of Ares, who kept company with the god at drinking parties, caroused with him, and was his companion in lovemaking’.¹⁰ His only soldierly duty was to keep watch while Ares made adulterous love to Aphrodite, so as to prevent the rising sun from seeing them and from reporting the affair to Aphrodite’s husband Hephaestus. Alectryon failed to keep his post even in this lightest of all soldierly duties. He fell asleep and as a result Hephaestus learned of the affair and set the trap, so memorably described in *Odyssey* 8, that led to the public exhibition and humiliation of Ares and Aphrodite caught by invisible bonds in the love embrace. As punishment Ares turned Alectryon into a cock, adding, as penance, an ineluctable impulse to crow at the approach of the sun in eternal compensation for his failure to cry warning on that fateful night.

The features of this new beast were said to demonstrate his affinity with the war god. The bird’s crest resembles a hoplite’s helmet; the same word, *lophos*, is in fact used of the cock’s crest and the helmet’s crest.¹¹ The cock’s wattles are like cheek-pieces on helmets of the Corinthian variety. Its spurs, as the poet Nicander noticed, are like spears.¹² (In ancient cockfights bronze points are said to have been fixed to the tips of the bird’s spurs to make them more lethal.)¹³ In the myth, then, the epicene youth turns hoplite. In losing his humanity, Alectryon, paradoxically, gained ‘manhood’. It may seem odd that a story with the typical format of an initiation myth should be attached to a cautionary tale about illicit love. But there are two strains in the Greek cultural discourse on cocks: one promotes the cock as the ideal model of hoplite virtue. The other is about sexual transgression and loss of self.

The Cock as Ideal Hoplite and ‘Real Man’

Cocks served as ready symbols for that supreme *agon* and most enduring theme of Greek art and poetry: WAR. In Aeschylus the expression ‘hearts of cocks’

stands metaphorically for the spirit of violent confrontation (*Eum.* 861). For this reason, Cocks are a favourite motif on shield blazons. Programmatic decoration on Attic vase-painting frequently draws similes between fighting cocks and mythological combatants or hoplites (see, e.g., **fig. 8**).¹⁴ The great Pheidias sculpted a statue of Athena with a cock on her helmet, because, says Pausanias, ‘cocks are most ready for battle’ (6.26.3). On the amphorae given as prizes for athletic competitions at the Athenian festival of the Panathenaia the goddess Athena regularly appears in a warlike attitude between two columns surmounted by cocks, which Beazley read as ‘symbols



Figure 8: Attic black-figure neck amphora, Exekias, ca. 540 BC, Munich 1470 WAF. Predella: Cockfight; body: Ajax and Achilles.

of the fighting spirit' (fig. 9).¹⁵ Indeed the very name for cock, 'Alectryon', stresses its martial prowess. It means 'the Defender'. Hence the cock's association with Athena Polias, the Defender of the City. In Aristophanes' *Birds* the cock is even chosen in preference to Athena to serve as tutelary deity of Clouduckooland, because the cock 'is reputed everywhere to be the most terrible chick of Ares' (*Birds* 834–5). Indeed, as these last examples suggest, the martial aspect of the bird is also recognised in cult. Cocks were kept at sanctuaries of Heracles and Ares and the Spartans sacrificed cocks as thank-offerings for victory in battle.

To what then does the bird owe its glorious reputation? A dominant discourse held that cocks never yield to their opponents but fight to the death.¹⁶ During the Persian Wars Themistocles and Miltiades are said to have roused the ardour of the troops with the spectacle of a cockfight and later instituted an annual cockfight as an object lesson in military valour.¹⁷ Socrates roused the flagging spirits of the general Iphicrates by pointing to a pair of fighting cocks.¹⁸ Even the philosopher Chrysippus remarked on the utility of cocks 'in inciting soldiers to war and instilling an appetite for valour'.¹⁹ And in Lucian's *Anacharsis* (37) the Athenian legislator Solon asks the Scythian sage:

What would you say, if you saw our quail- and cockfights and the not inconsiderable zeal we devote to them? Or is it likely you would laugh, and especially if you learned that we do it by law and that all men of military age are instructed to attend and watch the birds flail at one another until their very last fall? But it is not ridiculous, for an appetite for danger steals gradually into their spirits so that they might not appear less noble and daring than cocks and give in while they still have life under distress of wounds and exhaustion or some other hardship.

The mandatory cockfight in Athens is perhaps not pure fiction. It is mentioned by a number of authors and, Pliny tells us, inspirational cockfights were regular in Pergamon.²⁰

The cock, as we noted, belongs not only to the realm of Ares, but is also close to Aphrodite. The epigrammatist Meleager took the cock on a grave stele to signal the dead man's devotion to Aphrodite.²¹ Aristotle declares that chickens are 'most given to Aphrodite' (*HA* 488b4). Oppian thinks them sex-crazed beyond all known birds.²² This is partly justified by observation: Aristotle notes that chickens are the only animals, besides humans, whose mating habits are not seasonal or limited. Indeed they are less limited than humans. They have no concept of the right time (of *kairos*). They copulate anywhere, any time of the day or night, any time of year. They also have no concept of propriety: the hens will chase the cocks and throw themselves underneath them, even when the cocks are not in the mood. And no restraint. Their excessive activity leads to



Figure 9: Attic black-figure Panathenaic amphora, Princeton Painter, ca. 540 BC, New York, MMA 1989.281.89.

¹⁵ J.D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure*² (Berkeley 1986), pp. 81, 84. New York, Metropolitan Museum 1989.281.89; E.J. Milleker, "Greek and Roman," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 49.4 (1992), pp. 41–42; J. Neils (ed.), *Goddess and Polis, The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens* (Princeton 1992), no. 18, pp. 43, 63.

¹⁶ I TrGF 19 Ion F 53; Polybius 1.58.8; Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber sit* 133; Pliny HN 10.47; Musonius, *Diatribē* 7.17–21 (C.E. Lutz, "Musonius Rufus 'The Roman Socrates'," YCS 10 [1947], p. 58); Plutarch *Lyc.* 20.6, *Mor.* 191e, 224b–c; Epictetus 2.2.13; Sextus Empiricus *Math.* 11.99, 11.101, 11.103.

¹⁷ Aelian VH 2.28; Eustathius, *Ad Iliadem* 2.675.5; Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber sit* 132–33.

¹⁸ Diogenes Laertius 2.30.

¹⁹ Plutarch *Mor.* 1049a.

²⁰ Aelian VH 2.28; Eustathius, *Ad Iliadem* 2.675.5; Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber sit* 132–33; Pliny HN 10.50.

²¹ *Anthologia Palatina* 7.428.16–17.

²² Oppian in Dionys. Per. *Ixeuticon* 1.26; cf. *Scriptores physiognomonici* 2.142–43; Martial 13.63.



Figure 10: Tondo of Attic white-ground cup, Pistoxenos Painter, ca. 470-460 BC, London, BM D2.



Figure 11: Attic black-figure kyathos, Group of Berlin 2095, ca. 500 BC, Berlin, F 2095.

multiple conception, frequently causing monstrous births, or causes the hens to die exhausted, laying as many as two or three times a day.²³

Now it is true that birds generally were known for their sexual prowess (a sale's pitch for an ancient aphrodisiac promises orgasm 'like a bird').²⁴ This has to do, says Aristotle, with the amount of moisture decocted by the body. The more decoction, the less moist, the hotter you are. The Aristotelian *Problems* points out that birds and hairy men are lecherous for the same reason. Much moisture is decocted in the production of feathers and hair. But cocks, quails, and a few others, that Aristotle classes as 'heavy birds', as opposed to 'taloned' or 'feathery' birds, are especially salacious. This is because the so-called 'residue' left over from the production of flesh and organs, that in other birds is directed to the creation of feathers and talons, is in 'heavy' birds diverted to the surplus production of the sperm and menstrual fluids responsible for fertility.²⁵ The birds most closely connected with Aphrodite and Eros belong to the class of heavy birds: in art one often sees Aphrodite and Eros, or their human analogues, sexy women and beautiful boys, riding or playing with swans, ducks, geese and cocks (**fig. 10**).²⁶ Stumpy legs too play a part in making 'heavy birds' particularly sex-crazed. Less residue is diverted to a shorter leg. This same insight permits Aristotelian science to explain the lechery of lame men, dwarfs and pygmies, and the well-known fact (consistently noted by artists long before Aristotle) that dwarfs and pygmies have disproportionately large genitals.²⁷ Indeed ancient agricultural treatises recommend cocks with 'shaggy' and short legs as particularly good for breeding.²⁸

In art avian lechery is abundantly represented by the motifs of winged phallos and phallos-birds (**fig. 11**).²⁹ Though the species of these phallos-birds is often indistinct, they are generally birds of Aristotle's 'heavy' variety and, amongst recognisable characteristics, those of the cock have pride of place. There are unique physical and behavioural characteristics which account for the cock's particular privilege and, oddly, the physical characteristics which make

²³ Aristotle *HA* 488b4, 544a31 ff., 558b passim, 564b12, 588b22, 637b30 ff., *Gen. an.* 750b27 ff., 769b30 ff., 770a13, *De mirabilibus auscultationibus* 842b31–32. Cf. Xenophon *Mem.* 1.4.12; Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus* 2.10.96.2; Plutarch, *Mor.* 654f; Pliny *HN* 10.146.

²⁴ Athenaeus 18e.

²⁵ Aristotle *Gen. an.* 749b, [*Pr.*] 880a–b, *Phgn.* 812b.

²⁶ Attic white-ground cup London BM D2: ARV², p. 862, no. 22; C.M. Robertson, *The Art of Vase-painting in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 159, fig. 166; J. Boardman, *Greek Art*⁴ (London, 1996), p. 202, fig. 199.

²⁷ Aristotle *HA* 577b27; H.A. Shapiro, "Notes on Greek Dwarfs," *AJA* 88 (1984), pp. 391–392; T. McNiven, "The Unheroic Penis: Otherness Exposed," *Source* 15 (1995), pp. 10–16.

²⁸ Varro *Rust.* 3.9.5; Columella 8.2.10; *Geoponica* 14.16.

²⁹ Berlin, Schloss Charlottenburg, F2095: ABV, no. 1, p. 610; *Paralipomena*, p. 304; *Beazley Addenda*², p. 142. On the phallos-bird see J. Boardman, "The Phallos-Bird in Archaic and Classical Greek Art," *RA* 1992, pp. 228–242.

it a hoplite are precisely those which mark it as phallic. Crests and wattles distinguish the male *gallinae*, even prove, for reasons which are self-evident to Aelian, that nature prefers the male (NA 11.26). Though analogous to the crests of other species, the cock's crest is unique: no mere feathery tuft, says Aristotle, 'in substance it is not flesh, but it is not very different from flesh either'.³⁰ It is in fact most like erectile tissue: according to ancient agricultural handbooks, the flaccidity or rigidity of the cock's comb varies in proportion to the cock's salaciousness.³¹ The phallic conception of the cock is still more systematic in Aristophanes' explanation of its nickname 'Persian bird': the cock is the only bird which 'wears its tiara erect' as the Persian king allegedly did (*Birds* 487). Aristotle and the later agricultural writers advise that the crest of a salacious cock is not only erect but ruddy-coloured and note that castration causes the crest to fall and lose its colour.³² The spurs of the cock show the same tendency to be considered more than merely secondary sex characteristics. The homology between the spur and the genitals, obvious already on the vase showing the Agon from *Clouds* (fig. 1), became sufficiently systematic that Pliny allowed removal of the spurs as an alternative to castration, while the agricultural handbooks of Varro and Columella warn that this is the only means of performing castration.³³ In the feathers too we find a symbolic homology between sex and war. Two long tail-feathers were stereotypically associated with the cock. Columella makes the two long tail-feathers an attribute of the most salacious cocks.³⁴ Two plumes also typically decorated a hoplite helmet (Greek literature repeatedly likens the helmet's plumes to the cock's).³⁵

But it is in battle that the cock's phallic propensities are most evident (fig. 12).³⁶ Ancient writers note that the crests are particularly red and erect when the birds fight.³⁷ In addition cocks have feather erections. In a fight the two long tail-feathers are said to curve upwards in a semicircle, and the feathers around the neck (which cockers call the 'mane') begin to bristle, providing a convenient archetype for descriptions of warriors shaking their plumes in Greek poetry.³⁸ The reverse is also true: Aelian speaks of the cock as 'shaking his crest like a macho hoplite' (fr. 19).



Figure 12: Attic black-figure band cup, Tleson Painter, ca. 550 BC, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1964.621.

The cock's crow is yet another distinctive attribute of male *gallinae*, and its frequency serves as a measure of a cock's sexual prowess.³⁹ So closely linked are the voice and the sexual identity of heavy birds that Aristotle and the agricultural tradition claim that, on the one hand, the sound of the male crowing is sufficient to make the females conceive and that, on the other hand, a castrated cock is no longer capable of crowing.⁴⁰ Not only does the cock crow when sexually excited, but it crows to proclaim its victory in battle. Conceived as another of its military habits, the cock's crow serves Greek poetry as a ready metaphor for trumpet calls.⁴¹ And against the interloper the cock's phallic

³⁰ Aristotle HA 504b11 f. Cf. Pliny HN 11.122.

³¹ Columella 8.2.9. Cf. Pliny HN 10.156; Juvenal 4.70.

³² Aristotle HA 631b28, Col. 799b14; Columella 8.2.9; Varro Rust. 3.9.5; Geoponica 14.16.

³³ Pliny HN 10.50; Varro Rust. 3.9.1; Columella 8.2.3.

³⁴ Lucian Gallus 28; Columella 8.2.10; cf. Varro Rust. 3.9.5.

³⁵ Aristophanes Ach. 1103, 1105, Pax 1214; Av. 279, 1366–7; Heraclides Comicus PCG F 1; Plutarch Artax. 10; Polyaeus Strat. 7.3.

³⁶ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1964.621, Paralipomena, 75.43 bis, Beazley Addenda², 50; Hoffmann 1988, p. 145, fig. 1; M. Vickers, Ancient Greek Pottery (Oxford 1999), p. 24, no. 13.

³⁷ Aristotle, HA 631b10–11; Theocritus 22.72; Augustine De ordine 1.8.25.

³⁸ Aristotle HA 631b11 (cf. Phgn. 806b11–14); Pliny HN 10.47; Columella 8.2.9; Augustine De ordine 1.8.25.

³⁹ Aristotle HA 536a20–33; Pliny HN 11.168; Terence Phormio 708; Alexander of Aphrodisias, Problemata 4.168. Cf. Aristotle Gen. an. 788a; Theophrastus in Aelian De natura animalium 3.38; Varro Rust. 3.9.5.

⁴⁰ Female partridges (closest to chickens: Aristotle Gen. an. 738b27 ff., 746a29–b2) conceive at the sound of male's voice: Aristotle HA 541a 27 ff., Gen. an. 751a15; Pliny HN 10.102; Varro Rust. 3.11.4. Cock's song ceases with castration: Aristotle HA 631b28; Pliny HN 10.50; Alciphron Epist. 3.48 with E.K. Borthwick, "Two Emendations in Alciphron," Classical Review 15 (1965), pp. 261–262; Isidorus Etym. 12.7.50.

⁴¹ Aristophanes Ran. 1380, 1384; Demades fr. 4; cf. Lucian Ocyrops 114.

attributes, like the phallus itself, are magically apotropaic: its crowing, like its crest, was said to strike terror into lions, panthers and basilisks.⁴² Indeed everything distinctive about the cock seems to serve as a simultaneous index of its remarkable accomplishments in both love and war.

If we were to stop our inquiry here we would have the impression that the cock is nothing less than a ‘real man’ as defined by ancient Greek society. An ideal warrior, an assiduous lover, the cock simply emanates virility. So much so that into imperial times magicians, doctors and scholars valued its testicles as an aphrodisiac, a cure for impotence, and a talisman for the production of male children.⁴³ Its fat, smeared liberally about the body, sufficed to repel fierce panthers and lions.⁴⁴ ‘Cock’s milk’ was proverbial for something so unthinkable that whoever lacked it emphatically lacked nothing: for a product so mammalian and female could hardly be expected from this most macho of all birds.⁴⁵

In the Greek ethical firmament the hoplite occupies the highest rung of ideal manhood. The lowest is occupied by the *kinaidos*. The cock in Lucian’s *Cock* protests that ‘you will never see a cock that is a *kinaidos*’.⁴⁶ *Kinaidos* is a derogatory term used to designate a male who prefers the passive role in intercourse. The dominant discourse, the Greater Argument, on cockfighting would compel you to agree with Lucian’s assessment. Pathic homosexuality seems remote from this paradigm of martial valour and masculine fertility. Frequently, however, the cock can be caught off guard, permitting a glimpse of Ares and Aphrodite in awkward and embarrassing combination.

The Cock as Kinaidos and Sub-feminine Slave

Given the cock’s association with both sex and masculinity, it is not surprising that it was the preferred love gift given by mature men to beautiful youths (fig. 13).⁴⁷ In Margaret Visser’s words ‘the cock expressed the sheer maleness of the couple, their virile aggressivity and energy’.⁴⁸ Yet fighting cocks are an odd gift in the context of Greek pederasty. Cocks fight against equals, full grown male against full grown male for the sexual domination of females. In contrast the pederastic

⁴² Lucretius 4.7.10; Pliny *HN* 8.52; Aelian *De natura animalium* 3.31, 5.50, 6.22, 8.28, 14.9; Sextus Empiricus *Pyr.* 1.58.4, 3.1.93; Plutarch *Mor.* 537a11, 537c2, 981e; *Corpus Fabularum Aesopiarum* 292; Solinus 27.20; Alexander of Aphrodisias *de Mixtione* 1.1; etc.

⁴³ Pliny *HN* 30.123, 30.141–42; Aëtius 11.35; *Cyranides* 3.3.3, 3.3.17–18. Cf. Athenaeus 18e.

⁴⁴ Pliny *HN* 29.78.

⁴⁵ Petronius *Sat.* 38.

⁴⁶ Lucian *Gallus* 27. Cf. Plato *Leg.* 836c; Plutarch, *Mor.* 990d.

⁴⁷ Munich, Antikensammlung 8954 (ex Lausanne), ARV², p. 1629, no. 85 bis; *Beazley Addenda*², p. 181; *MűJb* 26 (1975), 211–213, figs 1–3. G. Koch-Harnack, *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke* (Berlin 1983), pp. 63, 97–105.

⁴⁸ M. Visser, *Much Depends on Dinner* (New York 1986), p. 125.



Figure 13: Attic red-figure alabastron, Painter of Berlin 2268, ca. 500 BC, Munich 8954.

situation seems to confuse categories and shift male on male aggression from the realm of Ares to the realm of Aphrodite. Moreover, pederasty is normally represented in ancient literature and art as an asymmetrical bond between a dominant older male and a much younger adolescent. Indeed it might be said that domination was a normal element in all love relations in Classical antiquity whether heterosexual or homosexual, but it is the uneven nature of pederastic relationships that ancient writers problematise. Most oddly, one facet of the cock's behaviour makes this symbol of martial superiority simultaneously a symbol of sexual domination.

In the cock's habit of crowing in triumph over the prostrate body of its defeated rival, its erotic and martial qualities are most inseparable. The victorious cock was perceived as 'phallicity' itself. Ancient writers lovingly describe the way it swells up, flutters its wings, lifts its entire body, rises on tiptoes, stretches head and neck skywards and crows while gathering its wings into a ball.⁴⁹ Greek art leaves no doubt that the cock, at its climactic moment, became a winged phallus (**fig. 14**).⁵⁰

The homology is most explicit in the depiction of crowing phallos-birds. Visible on the skyphos from which the drawing of this crowing phallos-cock was copied are streaks of added red paint to show that he ejaculates as he crows. The other side of the same vase gives the reason for the bird's triumphant outburst. In the 'before' picture, the phallus-bird positions itself to attack a satyr, who obligingly leans forward and braces himself with his arms. The bird crows for its conquest of another male animal.

If the cockfight is itself a common symbol of competition, the crowing cock became a common symbol of victory. The sound of a cock's crow was thought to augur victory for armies marching to battle.⁵¹ The crowing phallos-bird was a still more potent symbol of victory. We see one triumphantly crowing atop a kottabos stand on a red-figured cup (**fig. 15**).⁵² *Kottabos* was a game played



Figure 14: Detail from Attic red-figure skyphos, ca. 470 BC, Boston, MFA08.31C, side B. Drawing by F. Lissarrague.

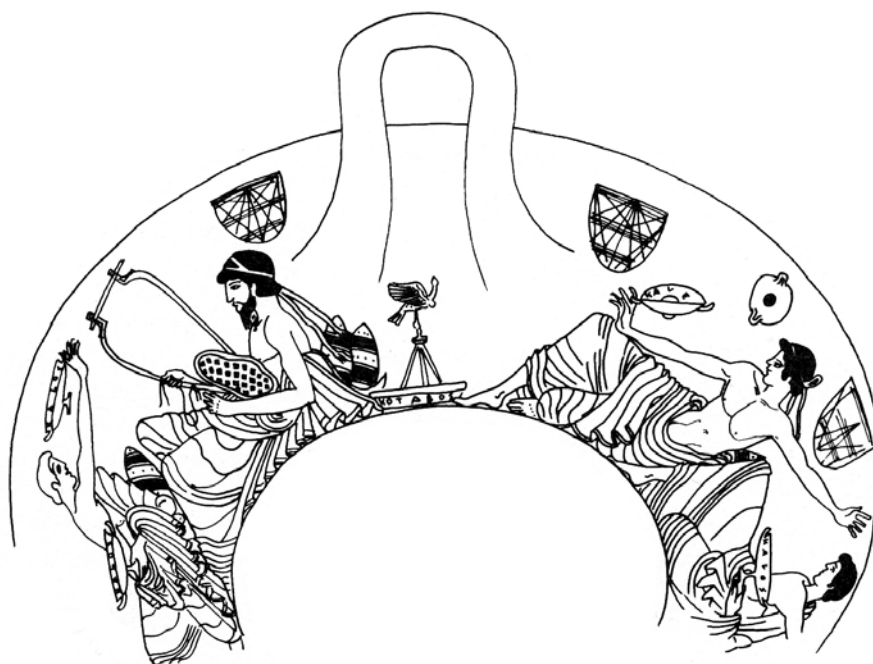


Figure 15: Attic red-figure cup, Apollodoros, ca. 490 BC, Private Collection. Drawing by F. Lissarrague.

⁴⁹ Cratinus *PCG* F 279 (with Hesychius s.v. *holophonos*); Aristophanes *Plut.* 575; Demosthenes 54.7–9; Theocritus 18.57; Heraclides Comicus *PCG* F 1; Lucilius fr. 328–29 (E.H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin* III [Harvard 1938] p. 100); Aelian *De natura animalium* 4.29; Babrius 5.6; scholiast to Aristophanes *Eq.* 1344; scholiast to Aristophanes *Av.* 1344; Augustine *De ordine* 1.8.25; Manuel Philes, *De animalium proprietate*, 340–41 (in F. S. Lehrs and F. Dübner [eds.], *Poetae bucolici et didactici* [Paris 1821]).

⁵⁰ Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 08.31C. Side B, from F. Lissarrague, "The Sexual Life of Satyrs," in D. M. Halperin, J. J. Winkler, and F. I. Zeitlin (eds.), *Before Sexuality* (Princeton 1990), p. 73, fig. 2.12.

⁵¹ Cicero, *De divinatione* 1.34.74, 2.26.56; Pliny *HN* 10.49.

⁵² From F. Lissarrague, *The Aesthetics of the Greek banquet: Images of Wine and Ritual* (Princeton 1990), 81–83, fig. 68.



Figure 17: Choregic monument of Karystios, Delos, ca. 300 BC.

at drinking parties for real or imaginary erotic prizes.⁵³ The victory symbolism of the crowing phallos-bird extends also to non-erotic contests. We see a crowing phallos-bird, for example, on the shield of a hopeful contestant in the race in armour, or *hoplitodromia* (fig. 16).⁵⁴ A crowing phallos-cock on the base of a monument at the entrance to the shrine of Dionysus at Delos commemorates victory in a musical competition (fig. 17).⁵⁵

How then do we explain the use of a crowing cock as a symbol for both an erotic conquest and a triumph in combat or competition? It is not just that cocks fight for sexual domination, though this fact is well known, and it was common practice to hold hens as if a prize to provoke the cock's ardour in combat (figs. 8, 12 and 20). But for the ancient Greek mind the conflation of the erotic and the competitive is more specifically determined: the cock's victory over his rival *IS* both a military and a sexual conquest. Victorious cocks habitually mount the prostrate bodies of their defeated rivals and as they crow – not to put too fine a point upon it – they bugger them.⁵⁶ This little eccentricity of the cock made a very deep impression upon the fiercely competitive Greek mind. The *hybris* of the triumphant cock was proverbial: 'the cock treads upon his victim' was a proverb meaning something like 'rubbing it in'.⁵⁷ The Greek word for 'tread upon' (*epipedao*) conveniently has the same ambiguity as English: used both of violent assault and of cocks mounting hens.



Figure 16: Detail of Attic red-figure cup, Antiphon Painter, 500-450 BC, Berlin, Antikensammlung F2307.

⁵³ For the kottabos 'prize' see E. Csapo and M. C. Miller, "The 'Kottabos-Toast' and an Inscribed Red-Figured Cup," *Hesperia* 60 (1991), pp. 367–382, esp. 379–381.

⁵⁴ Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2307, CVA Berlin, Antikensammlung (Pergamon-museum) 1 [East Germany 3], pl. 11, 1 [122]; ARV², p. 341 no.77 and p. 1646; Beazley *Addenda*², p. 219.

⁵⁵ *ThesCRA* II, 5.ix.2, no. 587, p. 482, pl. 113.

⁵⁶ Aristotle *HA* 536a27, 631b9–10; Pliny *HN* 10.47; *Corpus Fabularum Aesopiarum* 266.

⁵⁷ Apostolius 2.13 (in E.L. Leutsch and F.G. Schneidewin [eds.], *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* II [repr. Hildesheim 1958], p. 267).

⁵⁸ Aristotle *HA* 614a. Cf. Philo *de Animalibus* 66; Pliny *HN* 10.100–1; Aelian *De natura animalium* 3.16, 4.16; *Geoponica* 14.20; Solinus 7.30; Plutarch *Mor.* 990e; Antigonos Carystius *Mirabilia* 39; Origen *Homiliae in Jeremiah* 17.1. (P. Nautin, Origène, *Homélies sur Jérémie* II [Paris 1977], p. 160).

But the cock's behaviour generated more than proverbs. It opened up a whole new field for symbolic discourse, a new stereotype of the cock, a negative paradigm, which we might call 'the Lesser Argument'. In this version of events the cock is diametrically opposed to its former expression of untrammelled virility. The focus of attention shifts from victor to vanquished.

Aristotle notes a peculiar habit of the partridge and quail, but one which is sometimes true, he later says of the cock. Partridges and quails are the closest equivalents to the domesticated chicken; they resemble it in their lust and mating habits, but because of their savagery, they are unusually vicious. They destroy the eggs of their own hens out of pure lust to prevent them from brooding, because brooding distracts them from copulation. This drives the hens into hiding. The males, now called 'widowers', begin to fight among themselves 'and the defeated male follows the victor about, and allows himself to be mounted by the latter alone'. 'Sometimes, however, this behaviour is to be found even among cocks. In sanctuaries, for example, where they are dedicated without females, all the males, quite reasonably, mount the most recently dedicated cock'.⁵⁸ One might infer from Aristotle's words that this behaviour was rather exceptional, but to the popular imagination the obsequiousness of the defeated cock was also proverbial. In ancient cockers'

jargon the loser was called a 'slave'.⁵⁹ In Aristophanes' *Birds*, when the heroes call at the palace in Birdland, the doorkeeper appears describing himself as a 'slave bird'. 'Were you beaten by some cock?', jibes Pisthetairos. The scholiast points out that it is 'natural in cockfights that those which are beaten follow the victors about', an observation abundantly confirmed by modern agro-science.

So the dominant myth of the cock is a lie: the cock, which was supposed to fight to the death, appears here in total surrender, a slave obsequiously following the victor, and, moreover, you *will* see a cock that is a *kinaidos*, since the vanquished cock willingly offers itself for penetration. Like the myth of Alectryon this is a myth of transformation, but in the opposite direction: male is turned to female, free citizen to slave, hoplite to *kinaidos*.

It is the cock's conflation of social and sexual domination which makes its behaviour particularly meaningful. Ancients, particularly the Classical Greeks, frequently represented the social division of power between classes and genders as a form of sexual domination. The distinction between slave and citizen was most clearly expressed in terms of the violability and inviolability of their respective bodies. Seneca, for example, described sexual submission as 'a disgrace for the free, a necessity for the slave, and a duty for the freedman'.⁶⁰

Classical Athenian rhetoric frequently represented the struggle within the citizen class between rich and poor, or oligarch and democrat, in terms of the attempt by the former to convert economic into sexual domination. Hence the sexual and social dimensions of the crime of *hybris*, which can mean both 'moral outrage', and 'sexual assault', and which David Halperin rightly called 'the anti-democratic crime *par excellence*'.⁶¹ It was as a form of sexual violence, symbolic buggery, that the Athenian democracy imagined the oligarchic program to disenfranchise the lower classes and reduce them to servile status. The habits of the cock served as an archetypal expression of this fear. In mid-fourth century BC Athens, when Ariston prosecuted Konon for *hybris* after being beaten, stripped naked and trampled in the mud by the defendant's sons, he needed to show, in accordance with the law, that he was not only beaten, but beaten with an intent to dishonour the status of a free male citizen of Athens. He did so by adducing, as 'a sign of the defendant's *hybris* and proof that the whole affair was orchestrated by him', the fact that Konon stood over his prostrate body and 'crowed in imitation of victorious cocks, and the others thought it alright for him to flap his elbows against his sides in imitation of wings'.⁶² Konon's behaviour was readily perceived as a symbolic thrust at Ariston's masculinity and his freedom, but it is far more than this: the speaker is careful to give maximum plausibility to his argument by associating the violent behaviour of Konon and his sons with aristocratic youth gangs sporting aggressive phallic names like *Ithyphalloi* and *Triballoi* and making the political teleology of Konon's chicken impersonation explicit by characterising his associates as 'supercilious and Lakonising' oligarchs.⁶³

Despite its contradictory nature, the myth of the cock as slave and *kinaidos* could be read as a supplement to the virility myth, a warning that defeat in battle leads to loss of manhood. Both myths might then appear to express a unified injunction to the citizen soldier to resist to the bitter end. But like the cock's distinctive features which may be read either as military or sexual

⁵⁹ Aristophanes *Av.* 70; 1 *TrGF* 3 Phrynichus F 17; 2 *TrGF* Adesp. F 408a; Theocritus 22.72; Pliny *HN* 10.47.

⁶⁰ Seneca *Controv.* 4 *praef.* 10; cf. Horace *Sat.* 1.2.116–19.

⁶¹ D.M. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (London, 1990), p. 96.

⁶² Demosthenes 54.7–9.

⁶³ Demosthenes 54.14, 39. For the connotations of *Triballoi*, see J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse*² (New York 1991), pp. 120–1, 170.

characteristics, the total ambiguity of this complex of myths invites an inverse reading taking the military metaphors merely as an allegorical supplement to the threat of sexual invasion and enslavement.

In most parts of the world cockfighting is a sport practised exclusively by adult males, but in Greece the sport was ideally represented as a pastime for adolescent boys, and particularly young aristocrats. We have seen that in Greek art the human figures associated with fighting cocks are boys, and mostly adolescent boys. Language also encouraged a close identification between the adolescent and the cock. Cocks were, like their owners, ‘aristocrats’; fighting cocks were termed ‘noble’, those unfit for sport ‘ignoble’ or ‘vulgar’.⁶⁴ The harsh sounds made by an adolescent whose voice is breaking are referred to as crowing, *kokkusmos* (*gallulare* in Latin).⁶⁵ And while words for ‘cock’ and ‘penis’ are homonymous in the vernacular of a great many languages, the Greek equivalent, *koko*, is only ever used as a ‘pet name’ for the puerile member.⁶⁶ The close almost exclusive identification of fighting cocks with élite adolescents is hard to square with a tale about martial valour, an express concern of all Greek males. Rather, it reflects the particular configuration of male homosexuality in Classical Greece with its emphasis on pederasty and its predominantly aristocratic milieu.

The evidence suggests that culture conspired to make the chief focus of identification less the bird’s strengths than its weakness, its uncertain, even volatile, sexual identity. From the fourth century onwards young boys depicted in scenes of cockfighting have distinctly hermaphroditic qualities. From ca. 420 BC some achieve still closer identification by sprouting wings and becoming Erotes (figs. 4 and 18).⁶⁷ The moralising symbolism of the cock seems less directed towards the military than towards impressionable adolescent males. It is the very ambivalence of the cock that makes it an effective tool for simultaneously promoting and mediating anxieties about sexual roles and their socio-political analogues, the hyper-masculine role of leader of men, and the sub-feminine role of slave. The ambivalence of the symbol is rooted in Greek

⁶⁴ Plato *Tht.* 164c; Aristotle, *HA* 558b15, *Gen. an.* 749b31; Heraclides Comicus fr. 1 PCG V; Menander *Theophrumene* fr. 1.12–13 (F.H. Sandbach [ed.], *Menandri Reliquiae selectae*² [Oxford 1990] = 223 K); Athenaeus 655c; Epictetus 2.2.13; Lucian *Anach.* 37; Aelian fr. 69, 98; Suda, s.v. *Ἀλεκτρονόνα ἀθλητὴν Ταναγραῖον* and *Ταναγραῖοι ἀλεκτορίσκοι*.

⁶⁵ Quintilian 11.3.51; Novius 21 in Nonius Marcellus *De compendiosa doctrina* 116 M.

⁶⁶ *Anthologia Palatina* 12.7 (Straton). Cf. L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l’Asie-mineure gréco-romaine* (Paris 1963), pp. 312–20.

⁶⁷ Athens NM 12597: A.D. Ure, “The Argos Painter and the Painter of the Dancing Pan,” *AJA* 62 (1958), pp. 392–395, pl. 107.



Figure 18: Boeotian red-figure krater, Painter of the Dancing Pan, ca. 400 BC, Athens, NM 12597.

social ambivalence about homosexuality; an ambivalence, I would claim, which was most felt in the Classical democracies. The symbolic dynamism of the cock derives not from its association with war, or with love, but from the contiguity of the realms of Ares and Aphrodite: it suggested that homosexuality was like love in uniting two bodies in an erotic embrace, but it was also like war in that from two males of equal status it could produce a winner and a loser, a triumph and an enslavement.

Greek sexuality, whether hetero- or homo-, was, as we said, asymmetrical. It involved relations not between partners of equal status but between social superior and social inferior. The ideal marriage, as described by Xenophon, for example, united a man of thirty-five with a girl of fourteen (*Oeconomicus* 7.5). But women were agreed to be inferior by nature. This made homosexual relations still more asymmetrical. Textual and iconographic evidence indicates a belief that women enjoyed sexual relations with men, but that normal, healthy passive male partners felt none.⁶⁸ Aggression and pleasure in the act of love were entirely on the side of the dominant older male; the passive younger male, on the contrary, knew no natural urge to submit and gained no pleasure by it. For this reason the stakes of victory and defeat are represented as preternaturally great. Women were by nature submissive to men, so the cultural logic ran, but the male who conquers a male has more of what it takes and gains thereby a hypermasculine aura (fig. 19).⁶⁹

For the passive object of erotic attention, however, submission to penetration was projected as something decisive and final, like death or enslavement. Nothing less than one's nature was at stake: the cost of submission was prefigured as a descent in social and sexual status to the level of the slave and the subfeminine. When voicing his opinion on the matter, Plutarch employs the language of the cockfight (*Mor.* 768d):

Intercourse of male with male [he writes] is rather a loss of control and a treading upon one's victim. On reflection one would say 'this is *hybris* and not Love'. For this reason we place those who enjoy being penetrated into the lowest category of the base and do not attribute the smallest portion of faith, shame or friendship to them.

In this sense too, love is like war, which, according to Aristotle, Providence designed to separate natural masters from natural slaves (*Pol.* 1256b20 ff.).

Much that is projected on the behaviour of the cock can be explained as a representation of 'losing one's nature'. In the first instance, male castration fear (for 'nature', *physis*, in Greek slang, also means 'genitals'): the Greeks were keenly conscious of the fact that the symbolic phalloi were the prime targets of rival cocks. The crest, in particular, when torn or bitten off, is said to bleed profusely, blinding and weakening the animal and usually bringing the contest to an early conclusion. Surgical removal of the crest and wattles before placing the cock in the ring is a universal modern practice among cockers. In antiquity, however, the fight began with whole males: perhaps they sacrificed sport to preserve the cockfight's cultural meaning. '[The cocks] strike at each other,' says Polybius, 'until one grabs hold of a vital part and defeats the other'.⁷⁰ For this reason, before the *agon* in Aristophanes' *Knights* (595–97), Demos



Figure 19: Top of Attic black-figure stand, ca. 530 BC, Boston, MFA Res. 08.30d. The inscription reads A(P)PEN (E)MI ΔΟΥ (E)MI: 'I am male, behold male!'.

⁶⁸ K.J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, New York, 1980, pp. 52–53, 90; Halperin, *op. cit.* n. 61, pp. 47, 55, 93, 130–37.

⁶⁹ E. Vermeule, "Some Erotica in Boston," *AntK* 12 (1969), pl. 6.4; Hoffmann 1974, fig. 12; Hoffmann 1988, p. 148, fig. 10.

⁷⁰ Polybius 1.58.8 with M. Trédé, *Kairos* (Paris, 1992), p. 35.

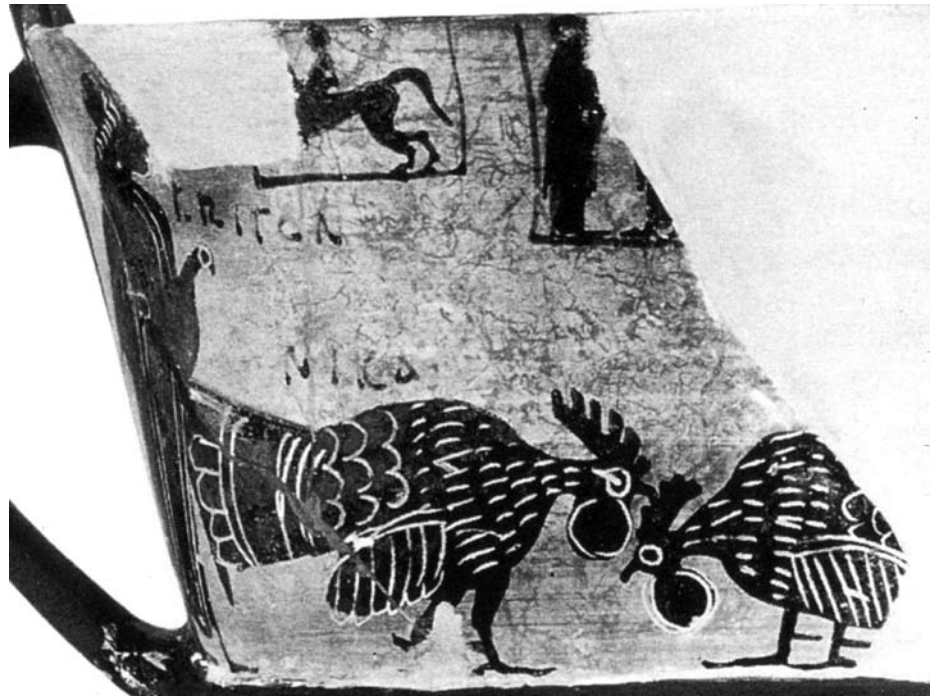


Figure 20: Boeotian black-figure kantharos, ca. 500 BC, Würzburg, H 4886.

advises the Sausage-Seller to chew off his rival's crests and bite off his wattles. A Boeotian kantharos commemorates the victory of a cock belonging to a boy named Kriton: it depicts the decisive moment when Kriton's cock took its rival's crest firmly in his beak; the inscription above the cock reads *nika*, 'he wins' (fig. 20).⁷¹ The verb *koptein*, 'to chop', is ancient cocker's jargon for one cock defeating another; it is also Greek slang for 'bugger'.⁷² The mythic logic which projects defeat as symbolic castration was no doubt confirmed by the loser's subsequent behaviour: its submission, its crestfallen state, and the fact that the loser was said never to crow again.⁷³

The zoological literature contains frequent reference to chickens not merely losing their sexual identity, but crossing biological boundaries and adopting the role of the opposite sex. Some cocks are effeminate from birth, 'so much so', notes Aristotle, 'that they endure being mounted by others' (HA 631b17–18). Other cocks willingly succumb through acculturation. Should the hen die, the cock will take over the task of brooding over the nest and raising the chicks. This is tantamount to castration since the housework makes the cock cease to crow and mount the hens (HA 631b13ff.). Aelian claims that the cock does not sing while brooding over the nest because 'he appears to realise that he is doing women's not men's work' (NA 4.29). By contrast many hens are born naturally butch, even have small spurs on their legs. Unlike their ambivalent male counterparts, notes Columella, 'these hens rebel against coitus, scorn to admit the male' and remain infertile or destroy their own eggs by breaking them with their spurs.⁷⁴ To make the threat complete we are told that such hens frequently fight with males and defeat them. Aristotle reports that 'whenever hens defeat males in battle, they crow and attempt to mount them like males. Their crests and tailfeathers grow erect, so that you could not easily tell that they are female'. Aelian adds: 'when the female defeats a male in battle, she swells up with joy and grows wattles, not as long as those of a cock, but grows them nevertheless, and she becomes pompous and takes longer steps'.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Würzburg H 4886: CVA, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum i [Germany 39], p. 42, pl. 36 [1918].

⁷² Anaxandrides PCG F 46; Heraclides Comicus PCG F 1; Plutarch Mor. 762f; Corpus Fabularum Aesopiarum 23.ii–iii; Henderson, *op. cit.* n. 63, p. 180.

⁷³ Aelian *De natura animalium* 4.29; Cicero *Div.* 1.34.74, 2.26.56; Pliny *HN* 10.49.

⁷⁴ Aristotle HA 631b12–13 (cf. 637b7–8); Columella 8.2.8; *Geponica* 14.7.17.

⁷⁵ Aristotle HA 631b8 ff.; Aelian *De natura animalium* 5.5; cf. Columella 8.5.24.

The Cockfight as a Symbol of Social Relations

The homology between the defeated cock, the slave, the castrato and the *kinaidos* is something specific to ancient Greek culture. By tracing the deep structure of the cockfight we begin to see how the Greeks conceived of social relations as a form of zero-sum *agon*. In Jack Winkler's words: 'the cultural understanding of competition was not simply that winners gained rewards and honour, but that losers were stigmatised with shame and penalties in proportionate amounts, or to put it another way, winners won at the direct expense of losers'.⁷⁶ In Greece sex was a form of status competition due to the common conception of sexual penetration as the ultimate expression of social dominance. Thus the construction of sexual identity reveals a particularly paranoid configuration. In Winkler's words again:

This odd belief in the reversibility of the male person, always in peril of slipping into the servile or the feminine, has been noted by Stephen Greenblatt, who observes that for the ancient world the two sexes are not simply opposite but stand at poles of a continuum which can be traversed. Thus 'woman' is not only the opposite of man; she is also a potentially threatening 'internal émigré' of masculine identity. The contrast between the hoplite and *kinaidos* is a contrast between manly male and womanly male, and therefore rests on a more fundamental polarity between men and women. The cultural polarity between the genders is made internal to one gender, creating a set of infra-masculine polarities between the hoplite and the *kinaidos*.⁷⁷

Greek chicken thus has its own distinctive recipe, totally steeped in cultural meaning. Yet the construct of the Greek chicken is not for that reason divorced from 'reality' whether zoological or social. There is something of the real cock here, but it is selected and distorted for what it has to say about social relations: particularly the unequal distribution of power between free and slave, male and female, old and young. Moreover cockfighting contains ethical contents particularly directed at the Greek youth. The contradiction in the modes of perceiving and representing the cock, the two Arguments, is in part determined by the Greek youth's own ambivalent and contradictory status: he stands in a state of transition from a subordinate to a superordinate status, passing specifically from the quality of one who is both socially slavish as a *pais* (both 'boy' and 'slave' in Greek) and sexually effeminised as the object of male desire, to the quality of one who is a full member of the dominant caste, a free citizen and soldier.

Nonetheless, the contradiction represents even narrower divisions of power: cockfighting, like pederasty, had pragmatic and symbolic connections with the leisure class. Practical considerations excluded the lower class from full active participation, since cockfighting, like pederasty, was an expensive and time-consuming enterprise. Moreover, raising fighting cocks was a matter of breeding and genetically engineering birds with a superior 'nature' to be tested and guaranteed in competitive action. Cocks served, together with dogs and horses, as a primary mechanism for inscribing aristocratic privilege upon the order of nature. Only 'noble' cocks fought and won. For self-styled élites the law of the cockfight imbued the chicken-yard with utopic glammers. They admired

⁷⁶ J.J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire* (London 1990), p. 47.

⁷⁷ Winkler, *ibid.*, p. 50.

its rigid hierarchy, the brilliant pomp of its suzerain and the obsequiousness of his subjects. Here was a pellucid and conspicuous natural order in which inferiors knew (or quickly learned) their place and never questioned the right of superior natures to rise to theirs. The symbolic content of the aristocratic and oligarchic discourse on cocks was well enough known that Ariston needed but mention Konon's indiscrete little chicken-mime to excite some of his democratic jury's deepest anxieties. In their eyes cockfights dramatised the conversion of free competition between equals into vivid demonstrations of domination and enslavement.

But chickens furnished rich food for democrats as well. Already in the sophistic discourse of the early fifth century BC, the cock emblemized the moral unscrupulousness of individualistic ambition. 'Of all beasts this belligerent bird will not spare its own kin out of piety' claims an anonymous writer. In Pindar it is a symbol of nasty 'in-fighting' and of civil war in Aeschylus.⁷⁸ The cock's internecine aggression was not to be emulated in civilised society, still less within the family, a social sphere where even a power-hungry aristocrat must feel the bond of piety: Plutarch warns that siblings who indulge in cockfighting in childhood will grow up to wrangle as adults; and indeed Herodian blames childhood disputes over cockfighting for the murderous relationship of the imperial brothers Caracalla and Geta.⁷⁹ Diogenes the Cynic (in a style of argument that goes back to the sophist Antiphon) is portrayed as ridiculing the 'drama' Oedipus makes of his strained family relations by pointing to the blithe indifference with which cocks have sex with their mothers and beat (even bugger) their fathers.⁸⁰ It is in travesty of this discourse that Aristophanes has Pheidippides, after he has learned sophistry from the Lesser Argument, rationalise the beating he gives his father with the words 'consider how cocks, and other beasts of this sort, attack their fathers – and yet is there any difference between them and us?' (*Clouds* 1427–29). 'To strangle and bite one's father' declares the 'father-beater' in *Birds* 'is considered noble among the birds' (1347–48). It was perhaps Democritus (the first 'democratic' theorist among the Greeks) who ultimately singled out the cock, along with bulls and boars, as a paradigm of the kind of savage *Faustrecht* whose extirpation was prerequisite to humanity's passage from the primeval slime to civilisation.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Pindar *Ol.* 12.14–15; Aeschylus *Eum.* 861, 866 and scholiast *ad loc.* (μάχιμον γὰρ τὸ ὄρνεον, τῶν τε ἄλλων ζώων τὸ συγενὲς αἰδομένων μόνον οὐ φείδεται); *Corpus Fabularum Aesopiarum* 16, 23.

⁷⁹ Plutarch *Mor.* 487e–f; Herodian 3.10.3. See K. Bradley, "The Sentimental Education of the Roman Child," *Latomus* 57 (1998), pp. 545–46.

⁸⁰ Dio Chrysostom *Or.* 10.29.30. Cf. Antiphon *On Truth* (*Oxyrhynchus Papyrus* 1364.135–39).

⁸¹ Polybius 6.5.7–8 and Posidonius in Seneca *Ep.* 90.4.5 with T. Cole, *Democritus and the Sources of Greek Anthropology* (Atlanta 1990), pp. 95–96.

A different tack stressed not the savage amorality of the cock, but its capacity to demonstate nature's mutability and volatility, despite the pretensions of the elites (and with the reassuring corollary that no position was quite as slippery and uninsurable as the top of any dunghill). Aristophanes portrays Callias, a great breeder of birds, and the richest aristocrat in Athens, as a 'noble cock' felled and plucked by sycophants 'and even the females pluck out his feathers' (*Birds* 286). Indeed the lesson that even females could dominate a cock offered rich comic possibilities: in Anaxandrides' *Tereus*, the noble, brutal (and incidentally incestuous) Thracian king is told that he will be called a cock 'because you, a male, will be cut up/buggered by females' (*PCG* F 46). The lessons that comedy applied to gender relations, popular anecdotes applied to class. Iphicrates, the first Classical Athenian to boast that he rose from humble origins to high office, is a fitting subject for an anecdote about fighting cocks who teach precisely how little breeding really matters. Iphicrates was, so the story goes, crippled by

self-doubt until Socrates (another of the glorious low) showed him how even the barber's cocks flapped defiantly at Callias' purebreds.⁸²

Cockfighting is one of the most passionate spectator sports of all time. Although chickens were rather remote from the mechanisms of real power in Greece, they were transformed by the cultural imagination into a kind of blueprint of the social power structure. Greek culture 'cooked' chickens, to use the structuralist term, so that they could be consumed by the mind. In Greece, especially in Athens, they were consumed with relish: they were 'good to think' precisely because they addressed the important topic of relations of power between the classes and the sexes.

In this sense it was not cocks that fought in the ring, but men, and not just men but the entire order of Greek society: male and female, old and young, rich and poor, free and enslaved. They used the cockfight to express their relations to one another and their feelings about those relations. If Greece made the cock the supreme symbol of the *agon*, it was in part because the cock gave eloquent expression to its most basic social struggles.⁸³

⁸² Diogenes Laertius 2.30; Plutarch *Mor.* 186f; Suda s.v. *Ἰφικράτης*. On Iphicrates' boast: Aristotle *Rh.* 1365a28–29, cf. 1398a17–22.

⁸³ I am grateful to Alexander Cambitoglou for inviting me to give this lecture at the Annual Meeting of the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens, and to Stavros Paspalas for arranging a profitable and extremely pleasant stay in Athens. I am especially grateful to Beatrice McLoughlin and Camilla Norman for the meticulous care with which they converted my typescript into printable form. For the acquisition of photographs or drawings and permission to reproduce them I thank: François Lissarrague; the Antikensammlung, Berlin; the Antikensammlung, Kunsthalle zu Kiel; Michael Vickers and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; C. Arnold and V. Ennor and the British Museum; D. Mulliez and the Ecole Française d'Archéologie, Athènes; J. Riley and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; the J. Paul Getty Museum; I. Wehgartner and the Martin-von-Wagner Museum of the University of Würzburg; the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Nikolaos Kaltsas and the National Archaeological Museum in Athens; and Bert Kaeser and the Staatliche Antikensammlung und Glyptothek in Munich.

Argilos: A Greek Colony in Thracian Territory

by Jacques Perreault and Zisis Bonias

Since 1992, a team of Greek and Canadian archaeologists have been excavating one of the earliest Greek colonies on the Northern shores of the Aegean, east of the Chalkidike peninsula. This Greek-Canadian archaeological endeavour is a vast collaboration project between the Ephoria of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Kavala and the University of Montreal. The main objective of our research programme is to better understand the establishment and organization of the Greek colonies in this area of the Aegean sea. Some very important aspects of Greek colonization in the 7th century BC in this region have yet to be studied. The exceptional quality of the remains brought to light at Argilos up to now give us the opportunity to study fundamental aspects linked to the cultural relations between Greeks and Thracians and the development of colonial urbanism. How does a city, founded on a territory which was probably not hostile but surely very different from its homeland, take birth? What is the rhythm of its development and what conditioned it? In order to answer these questions and others, each year, some 20 students from many North American and European universities participate in the excavations of Ancient Argilos, slowly uncovering the rich past of this well preserved city. They are assisted by qualified workers and scholars specialized in various areas of Greek archaeology (architecture, pottery, numismatics, etc.). The results are regularly brought to the attention of a wider public by articles in Greek and foreign scientific periodicals and by public lectures, like those recently given by myself across the beautiful country of Australia.



Figure 1: Aerial view of the site of Argilos.

Situated along the coast (**fig. 1**), about 4km west of the Strymon delta, the ancient city of Argilos occupies a hill called “Palaiokastros”. This hill, culminating in an acropolis at an altitude of 80m, is naturally protected by ravines on its western and northern sides, while its south-eastern side gently slopes down towards the sea. The identification with Argilos, first proposed by P. Perdrizet in 1894, was based on the writings of Herodotus who says that when the Persians crossed the Strymon on their way towards Athens, which they wished to conquer, the first city they encountered was Argilos. This identification has been confirmed by a graffito on a large lekane, inscribed before it was fired, that was found by our team in one of the trenches excavated

on the acropolis. As almost always on sherds, the text is fragmentary. It reads as]EN APKIAIO[but can be completed as ANEΘEK]EN APKIAIO[Σ, which means that the vase was dedicated by someone from Argilos. In 1930, the site was revisited by P. Collart and P. Devambez, but no excavation took place. At the end of the 70’s, a few tombs belonging to the necropolis of Argilos were uncovered by the Greek archaeological service. Systematic research only began in 1992 by the joint Greek-Canadian team.

Greek Colonization in the Northern Aegean

During the 8th and 7th centuries BC, many regions around the Mediterranean sea witnessed a wave of Greek colonization. Along the Macedonian and Thracian coasts (fig. 2), Greek colonies were founded at the Pieria (Methone), on the Chalkidike peninsula (Mende, Skione, Sane, Neapolis, Aphytis, Potidaia, Torone, Semyle, Akanthos and Stageira), the Strymon (Argilos) and on the island of Thasos, where colonists quickly founded other smaller colonies (Galepsos, Apollonia, Oisyme and Neapolis) on the coast in front of the island between the Strymon and Nestos rivers.

The foundation of colonies in the Northern Aegean had been preceded by a period of exploration, contact and trade with the indigenous populations. The first to travel to this region were apparently the Euboeans. In fact, they founded the majority of the colonies of the Chalkidike peninsula. Colonists from two Cycladic islands also participated in the colonization movement. Inhabitants from Paros established themselves on the island of Thasos, while others originating from the island of Andros founded four colonies, three (Sane, Akanthos and Stageira) on the easternmost prong of the Chalkidike peninsula, and the fourth (Argilos) close to the Strymon river.

Unfortunately, we do not know the exact date of the foundation of Argilos, but we can reasonably assume that it was founded at the same time as its sister colonies, for which the 3rd century AD ecclesiastical writer, Eusebius, tells us that both Akanthos and Stageira were founded during the 31st Olympiad, in 655/654 BC. If this literary tradition is right (and it seems so, as we shall see below), Argilos would be the earliest Greek colony on the Thracian coast east of the Chalkidike. Argilos occupied a privileged spot, benefitting from the trading activities along the Strymon river and from the gold and silver mines in the area. Ancient authors rarely mentioned the site, but nevertheless shed some light on the important periods of its history, seeming to indicate that the city enjoyed economic prosperity, at least until the foundation of Amphipolis in 437 BC. During the second half of the 6th century BC, Argilos founded two smaller colonies; Tragilos, in the thracian heartland, and Kerdylion, a few kilometers to the north of the city. Herodotus says that in 480, after crossing the Strymon, the Persian king Xerxes stopped at Argilos and forced its inhabitants into his army. After the Persian defeat, Argilos became a member of the first Athenian Alliance, paying in 454/453 BC the amount of 10½ talents, a considerable sum that proves that it was a rich city. But the foundation of Amphipolis, which took *de facto* control of the trade along the Strymon, brought an end to this. Thucydides tells us that some Argilians took part in this foundation, but that the relations between the two cities quickly deteriorated and, during the



Figures 2: Map of the Macedonian Coast.

Peloponnesian war, the Argilians joined with the Spartiate general Brasidas to attack Amphipolis. An inscription from the temple of Asklepios in Epidauros attests that Argilos was still an independant city during the 4th century. Like other colonies in the area, the city was conquered by the Macedonian king Philip II in 357 BC. Historians thought that the city was then abandoned, but our excavations have brought to light an important agricultural settlement on the acropolis which dates to the years 350–200 BC. No Roman or Byzantine ruins have been uncovered.



Figure 3: General plan of the site.

Greek-Canadian excavations at Argilos

Since the beginning of our excavations we have concentrated our efforts in three areas of the hill (**fig. 3**): along the sea coast, where excavations have brought to light the earliest occupation levels of the town; on the south-eastern slope, an area in which important public and domestic dwellings were uncovered, informing us about the architectural and urban development of the city; and, finally, on the acropolis, where the buildings unearthed cover all periods of the city's existence, and notably those of the Hellenistic period, built after the destruction caused by Philip II in 357 BC.

“Pre” and “Para” Colonial Activities

Excavations on the acropolis and along the seashore brought to light extremely rich and diversified material dating at least up to the second half of the 7th century BC, the period which corresponds to the arrival of the Greeks at the site. The Greeks apparently first established themselves in these two areas: along

the coast, in order to profit from the sea resources and to facilitate trading; and on the acropolis, which offered a natural defense in case of hostile attacks. The early material from the acropolis comes from disturbed contexts, but along the coast vases and metal objects were found in well-stratified levels. Here some deep trenches, down to 6.5m, have yielded various types of pottery which show the intensity of the contacts between the Greek and local populations and the diversity of trade relations not only with the main production centres of Southern Greece, but also with major cities of Asia Minor.

Most interesting, however, is the fact that in the deepest levels we found exclusively pottery of Thracian origin or vases which come from the Chalkidike peninsula. Even though these levels have only been uncovered in a small area, the nature of the finds suggest that the site of Argilos was already occupied before the arrival of the Greeks. Since there is no trace of a violent destruction of this local habitat, it seems that Greeks and Thracians cohabitated on the site, probably for three or four generations. These findings give us the opportunity to question some passages of ancient Greek literature that tend to present Greek colonists as brutal and not hesitant to chase off local inhabitants by force.

The pottery pertaining to the period 650–600 BC can be divided into four distinct groups, of which two are of local or regional styles. The first group consists of vases of Thraco-Macedonian type. They are, for the greater part, cooking vases, all handmade and decorated with incised motifs or with a finger

pinched cordon placed on the upper part of the vase. Many of these seem to have been locally produced. The second group consists of storage vases, essentially transport amphoras and storage bins, but also of a few drinking-vessels. These vases are wheel-made and decorated with geometric motifs, many of which are derived from Greek designs of the Protogeometric and Geometric periods (concentric circles, groups of diagonals or zigzags and hatched motifs), all painted with a characteristic purple glaze. Beyond doubt, these wares were the products of regional centres, the locations of which we still do not know but which must presumably be sought in the Chalkidike peninsula and around the Thermaic gulf.

As for the regional and local pottery, the Greek vessels found in 7th century BC levels in Argilos can be divided into two groups: vases originating from Greek cities along the Asia Minor coast and vases produced in the Cycladic islands. In both cases the shapes are mainly drinking vessels: cups, bowls, and skyphoi, but there is also a considerable number of transport amphoras. Most of the drinking vases from the Eastern Greek cities are of the “bird bowl” type, a shape characteristic of this period on which painters represented waterbirds placed between hatched lozenges and groups of vertical lines. These bowls were widely distributed in the Mediterranean by East Greek merchants. The Cycladic vases consist mainly of skyphoi, mugs and lekanai. The skyphoi show a particular shape: they have a deep body with a peculiar concave/convex curve. On 7th century examples, the lip is small and flares out, whereas it is straight and, therefore, higher on those belonging to the 6th century. All three shapes have the same fabric: a greyish clay with somewhat soapy surface, which can be orange in colour. Scholars thought that these vases were made on the island of Siphnos as many specimens were found amongst the offerings of an Archaic temple excavated there. However, given the fact that Greek colonists maintained, at least during the first years of the colony, close links with their mother-city, the great quantity of these vases found at Argilos now suggests another area, the island of Andros, as the production centre.

Unfortunately, very little by way of architectural remains corresponding to this early phase have been uncovered. A small kiln, most probably used for the working of metal, dating to the end of the first quarter of the 6th century BC was found. To the south of it a series of post holes may indicate that at least some of the early dwellings were simple huts.

6th–4th Centuries BC Urbanism and Economy

The city of Argilos profited greatly from an important economic growth during the 6th and 5th centuries BC. The citizens of Argilos exploited a region abundant in natural resources, which brought wealth to the city and its inhabitants and led to a conspicuous urban development. The Argilians most surely profited from the exploitation of the gold and silver mines, of forest resources, of slave trading and of trade with other Greek colonies and the Thracian hinterland. The population grew and led the city to establish two new colonies, Tragilos, in the Thracian heartland and Kerdylion, at the eastern margin of the city’s territory. The colony of Kerdylion held a key position since it was situated on a hill overlooking the Strymon and its inhabitants could thus monitor the trading activities along this major river.



Figure 4: Main street of the south-east sector.

The systematic excavations carried out on the south-eastern slope of the hill of Argilos have uncovered many architectural structures, clarifying the urban development of the city during this period. Here excavations brought to light a large street, 5m wide, which must have led from the port to the acropolis (**fig. 4**). Buildings, serving public or domestic needs, lined this street. Stone is used for the construction of the exterior walls, whereas the interior ones are built with successive layers of clay placed on a stone foundation. Some of these buildings are extremely well preserved, with walls up to 4m high. This state of preservation helps us understand the way they were built and thus enables us to propose realistic reconstructions of the main buildings.

The first house to be excavated, House “A”, is a very good example of Greek domestic architecture of the 6th and 5th centuries BC (**figs. 5 and 7**). Meticulous excavation showed that this house had known three construction phases. In its first phase, the house consisted of one small room measuring about 4 x 5m. It was destroyed at the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 5th century BC but immediately rebuilt, with the addition of two back rooms supporting an upper floor. These new features can be deduced from close examination of the remains. The openings in the walls and overlapping stones indicate where



Figure 5: View of House A.

the beams and planks were placed, and the flat stones on the floor show where the supports for the balcony and staircase leading to the upper rooms were placed. The only problem left is the roof-top. Greek builders often put a layer of clay between the upper part of the exterior walls and the roof. This clay layer has disappeared. Therefore, the shape and inclination of the roof can only be determined in conjunction with the surrounding buildings. House A was partially destroyed a second time, during the last quarter of the 5th century BC. The southern and western walls were repaired and the owner added a balcony along the western wall and moved the main door from the centre of the southern wall to its south-eastern corner.



Figure 6: View of Building E.

Another building, the largest uncovered, lies west of House A bordering the main road to the north. Building “E” is very large, measuring about 10m² (**figs. 6 and 7**). It consists of a large rectangular space in the front that gives access to two rooms at the back. This type of room division is typical of Greek houses of the Archaic period (as are the second and third phases of House A). Compared with the surrounding dwellings, Building E is very well constructed, the architects having used finely cut rectangular stones for the walls. The main room contained a large rectangular stone hearth in the centre, on which we found a clay cooking stand. In one of the corners, a complete bathtub was also discovered. A very nice attic red-figured skyphos

and a beaded necklace were found on the floor along with three hydriai, a type of vase used to transport water. Moreover, we discovered six silver coins placed as an offering in the foundation of one of the walls. Finally, on the street in front of the building, we found two clay antefixes representing ram heads (**fig. 8**), one of which was still attached to a roof tile. These may have been placed on either side of the main entrance, at the extremity of the roof. The excellent quality of the building material used in the construction and the particular nature of the findings indicate that this was not an ordinary house but instead a public building, the exact function of which remains unclear.

These are just a few examples of the various types of architecture that have been uncovered up till now. Work done in our three areas of excavation and a general survey of the hill show that from the end of the 6th century onwards most of it was covered with buildings. Indeed, the city of Argilos enjoyed great prosperity until the foundation of Amphipolis in 437 BC, but experienced a net decline in the city's architecture and various economic activities thereafter. The city suffered a second destruction towards the last quarter of the 5th century BC, which may have to do with the Peloponnesian war, during which Argilos sided with Sparta against Athens and participated in the attack on Amphipolis. Once Amphipolis regained its independance at the end of the war it may have decided to take revenge by attacking Argilos, destroying many of its buildings. Most were rebuilt, but the ashlar masonry and the quality of the walls are often much inferior to those used earlier and only some of the previous buildings were reoccupied. It is possible that many inhabitants decided to move to Amphipolis, which had already become one of the biggest Greek colonies in the region. It is clear that Amphipolis had the upper hand in the regional economy, forcing Argilos to turn to more traditional ways of supporting its economy, mainly farming and fishing activities. The city's life came to an end under the rule of the Macedonian King Philip II. In 357 BC he conquered the whole region, destroying for a last time the buildings of Argilos and forcing those who had stayed to move to Amphipolis, which became the Macedonian empire's main city in the region.

The ups and downs of the city's economic life is reflected in the history of its coinage. Argilos minted its first coins during the last twenty years of the 6th century BC, suggesting that it was a politically and economically independent city at the time. The coins show Pegasus on the obverse and a *quadratum incusum* on the reverse. All bear the abbreviation of the city's name, ARKI[LION] as a legend. The city minted coins until the second quarter of the 5th century BC and then stopped for about one century, resuming production during the second quarter of the 4th century BC. Many political and economic events during that time may explain this interruption, two of which most surely affected the economic life of the city: the mines of Bisaltia fell under Macedonian control around 460 BC and Athens founded Amphipolis in 437 BC, taking a *de facto* control of trading activities along the Strymon

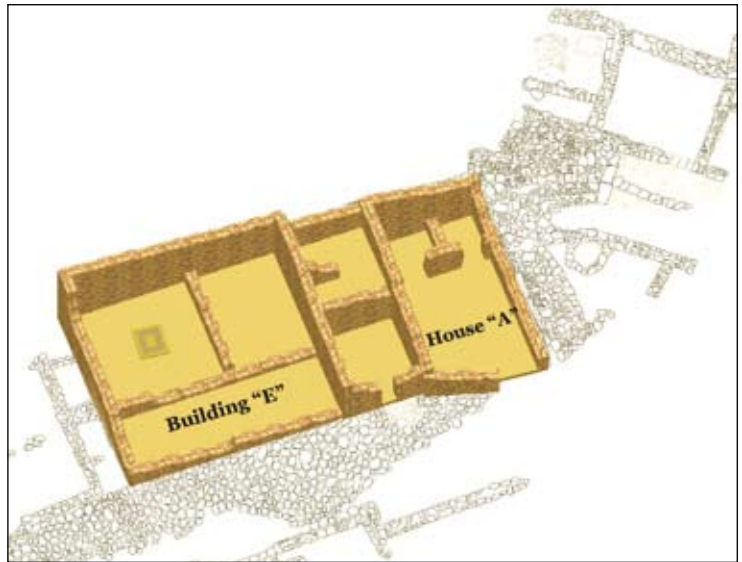


Figure 7: Axonometric view of House A and Building E.



Figure 8: One of two clay ram heads found in front of Building E.

river. The new coins retain the old abbreviation of the city's name but the iconography is changed. We now find the god Apollo on the obverse and a bow and arrow, the weapons of the god, on the reverse. Argilos was now only minting bronze coins of small denominations, intended to meet the local needs of its citizens but of little use for large scale trading activities. Since these coins were insufficient for such activities, the citizens of Argilos made use of foreign denominations, mostly those of Amphipolis.

Variations in pottery imports help us to understand the economic development of the city and its relations with its neighbours, and also with the major economic centres in contact with the north-east Aegean. Between 600 and 550, the most important imported vases found in any quantity on the site come from Corinth. Many different shapes are present, including drinking vessels, perfume vases, jugs and a surprising number of kraters (in fact, no other site has revealed as many Corinthian kraters as Argilos!) Imports from Athens start arriving around 580 BC. The earlier vases are mainly kraters and cups, but quite soon all the usual shapes of Attic pottery are found. The majority are simply covered with a black glaze, but many are decorated in the black-figured and red-figured styles. Attic pottery constitutes the main category of imports from the second half of the 6th century onwards (**fig. 9**). Thracian pottery disappears soon after 550, which may indicate that the Thracians living along side the Greeks adopted the "Greek way of life" or that they moved elsewhere, maybe to Tragilos which, according to some ancient authors, was a mixed Greek-Thracian colony founded by Argilos during the second half of the 6th century BC. The pottery from the Chalkidike peninsula is still present, albeit changed: new shapes and decorations make their appearance around 540 BC and imitate vases and styles found in Eastern Greece. It has been recently proposed that this change in pottery production may have been the result of a migration of East Greek craftsmen fleeing the Persian occupation of their homeland. Original East Greek wares continue to arrive at Argilos but become less numerous during the second half of the 6th century. Regional pottery styles which developed in other Greek colonies along the coast are also being traded during this period. They come, for the most part, from the island of Thasos or from Thasian colonies, some established just a few kilometers east of Argilos. Local pottery production, of course, also increases, which may explain why we find far fewer Cycladic imports from the third quarter of the 6th century onwards. During the 5th and 4th centuries the quality of pottery slowly declines and long distance pottery imports rapidly become limited mainly to those from Athens (as is the case for most of the Greek colonies in the region). A decline can also be noted in the quality of regional vases. Local production continues but seems limited to cooking and kitchen ware.



Figure 9: Attic cup of the end of the 6th century BC by the Pithos Painter.

Apart from the pottery, the excavations have revealed many other objects of everyday life. A large number of figurines, mostly dating to the 5th and 4th centuries and locally made, give us an idea of the religious practices of the inhabitants of Argilos. The excavations also brought to light a great number of metal objects, ranging from fishing hooks, nails, and fibulae to arrowheads. Unfortunately, only one stone inscription was found, dating to the Hellenistic period. However many graffiti have been found on sherds. On one of them an Argilian wrote his name, "Sikakos".

The Hellenistic Settlement of the Acropolis and the end of Argilos

The army of Philip II destroyed Argilos in 357 BC and its land was incorporated into the Macedonian kingdom. The city was abandoned, its inhabitants were probably forcefully moved to Amphipolis, and many of its buildings were destroyed. This series of events has been observed in our excavations along the sea coast and on the south-eastern slope of the hill. The situation is different on the acropolis. Although here an important destruction level can also be dated to the activities of Phillip II in the region, part of the area was immediately reoccupied. Some of the new buildings reuse earlier walls as foundations and, therefore, follow the orientation of the previous city. A few small houses with courtyards were built around two more impressive buildings. One, a rectangular structure of about 10 x 6m with an entrance on its eastern side, is divided into three rooms. The room closest to the entrance contained two large circular hearths. These were found full of ashes and the floor contained many broken vases. The exact function of the building remains unclear.

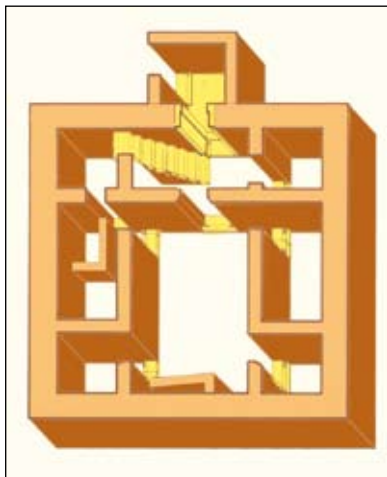


Figure 10: Plan of the Hellenistic mansion.

The most impressive building is a large square mansion of 14 x 14m built in the middle of the area (**fig.10**). Its exterior walls are very thick and a small porch leads to a narrow door, giving the impression of a small fortress. It had two stories, of which the upper floor served as residence, while the ground floor was used for the production of olive oil. The plan of the building is typical of Greek houses of the Hellenistic period. The narrow door leads to a small vestibule with, on the western side, a small room in which water was heated for use in the processing of olives. On the eastern side a stone staircase, entirely preserved,

led to the upper floor (**fig. 11**). From the vestibule one could also gain access to the central courtyard which was boarded by two rooms on the eastern and western sides, with a small cistern along its northern side. Most of these rooms served storage purposes but in one we uncovered a large mill (*trapetum*) used to crush olives (**fig. 12**) still standing in its original position. It is clear that the owner of this mansion oversaw the production of olive oil. Residents of the small dwellings around the mansion most probably cultivated the olive trees and collected the olives which were then pressed. But this last operation was done *in* the mansion, a well guarded and secure area.

We know nothing of the owner of this mansion but can assume that he was close to Phillip II. Ancient authors tell us that having conquered the region around Argilos, the Macedonian king divided the land between his *hetairoi*, a group of influential families and army generals. It seems that one of these received at least part of the land of Argilos and built his residence on the acropolis. The mansion was occupied for three or four generations before being abandoned, putting an end to three and a half centuries of occupation at Argilos. From then on, the site remained abandoned, not even to be occupied during the Roman and Byzantine periods.

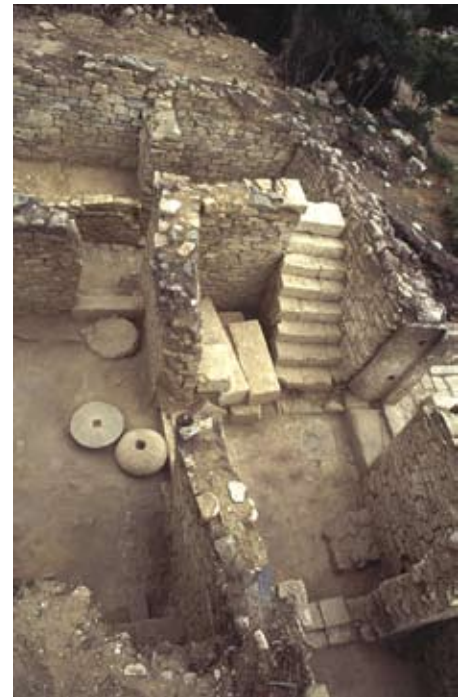


Figure 11: View of the vestibule and staircase.



Figure 12: View of the mill or trapetum used to crush olives.

NEWS IN BRIEF

New Institutional Member

St Spyridon College
Maroubra & Kingsford, Sydney

In 2006 the AAIA was delighted to welcome a new Institutional Member, St Spyridon College. The College is a co-educational school, established in 1982 by the St Spyridon Parish of South East Sydney under the auspices of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia, and currently provides education to some 700 students.

St Spyridon students come from twenty different cultural backgrounds and share a caring environment that, as suggested by their motto "AIEN APISTEYEIN", promotes educational excellence. A Greek Orthodox School, St Spyridon's College respects the most distinctive aspect of Hellenic thought: the desire to solve the mysteries of the universe through a logical and innovative search for knowledge. As such it encourages its students to think independently. At the same time there is an endeavour to develop the whole person; strong in mind, healthy in body, endowed with love, faith and compassion.



At the invitation of the Head of College, Mrs Efrosini Stefanou-Haag, Professor Alexander Cambitoglou and Dr Wayne Mullen enjoyed a tour of the school with His Eminence Stylianos, Archbishop of Australia. The occasion was a happy one and it is foreseen that the relationship between St Spyridon College and the AAIA will be enduring and beneficial to all.

Opening of the New Sydney Offices

by Wayne Mullen



H. E. Professor Marie Bashir and the Hon. Justice Kim Santow at the opening of the new AAIA Sydney offices.



The Kemp Auditorium, Old Teachers' College.

As is well known to many of our members, between 1989 and 2005, the AAIA operated out of a terrace house in Darlington. By 2000, however, it had become clear that the increase in the size of both the Institute's library and number of staff meant that this well-liked office space was no longer adequate for the Institute's needs. Plans were, therefore, proposed to either extend the terrace or relocate the Institute within the University. With the strong support of the then Pro-Vice-Chancellor (College of Humanities and Social Sciences), Professor Sinclair, the AAIA was eventually granted permission to move into purpose-refurbished accommodation in the Old Teachers' College in the Main Campus.

On 2 May 2007 the Institute was proud to launch its new and prestigious premises with a gala event held in The Kemp Auditorium of the Old Teachers College in the presence of Her Excellency Professor Marie Bashir AC, CVO, Governor of NSW. As part of proceedings Professor Antonio Sagona from the University of Melbourne presented a lecture entitled "The Land of the Golden Fleece and Beyond" on his excavations at Mtskheta (Georgia), on Caucasus, the isthmus between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, which the ancient Greeks considered to be the edge of the known world. The lecture was well received by the audience, before Her Excellency officially declared the new offices "launched". At the end of the official part of the evening the Governor also unveiled a portrait of Professor Cambitoglou painted by the artist Neil Moore that has now been hung in the Institute's conference room. Guided tours were given of the new suite of offices and a reception held in one of the building's courtyards.

The festivities proved popular with supporters of the Institute with many current members as well as old friends being present to celebrate the significant achievements of the Institute over the past quarter century.



Portrait of Professor Alexander Cambitoglou by Neil Moore.

The Institute is deeply appreciative for the generous financial support given by a number of its Governors, including Professor John Chalmers, Mr Michael Diamond, Mr Timothy Harding, Dr Robert Harper and Dr Monica Jackson, without whose help the launch could not have taken place.

Significant Donations for 2006

General Donations:

Estate of the late Professor J.A. Young	\$275, 000
Mr Spiros Arvanitakis	\$10,000
Anonymous	\$7,500
Ms Patricia McNamara	\$2,000
The Arthur T. George Foundation	\$2,000
The QLD Friends of the AAIA	\$1,500
Mr Nicholas and Mrs Effie Carr	\$1,000
Ms Gail Comino	\$1,000
Mr Peter Comino	\$1,000
Mr Angelo Hatsatouris	\$1,000
Laiki Bank Australia	\$1,000

Donations received for the purchase of the new Athens Office:

Anonymous	\$400,000
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Donations received for the Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum Project:

Mr Spiros Arvanitakis	\$10,000
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Donations received for the Visiting Professorship fund:

The Thyne Reid Educational Trust	
Anonymous	\$2,000
Mr Robert Harper	\$1,000

Donations received for fieldwork in Greece:

The Aroney Trust	\$13,000
Mr Timothy and Mrs Pauline Harding	\$7,500
The Sydney Friends	\$5,000

NEWS IN BRIEF

New Governors

The Institute is proud to announce that four long-term supporters joined as Governors in 2006.

Mr Angelo Hatsatouris has long been involved with the Institute and its activities. As President of the Sydney



Friends, Mr Hatsatouris has been central to fundraising efforts within the Australian Greek community on behalf of the AAIA and was a generous donor to the Institute's 25th anniversary Symposium in Athens. A solicitor and an alumnus of Sydney University, he was awarded a Medal of the Order of Australia in 1992 for services rendered to the Greek community and remains deeply connected to the University of Sydney through his involvement with both St Paul's College and the AAIA.

Dr Valme Rundle has shown great support to the AAIA over the years, as well as to the study of Ancient History and Egyptian Archaeology through her involvement with Macquarie University and the Rundle Foundation for Egyptian Archaeology. A donor to the 25th anniversary symposium hosted by the AAIA in Athens, Dr Rundle took the trouble to travel to Greece to attend the conference and its public programme. She was awarded a Medal of the Order of

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Australia in 1993 for services to Egyptian Archaeology and the Community.

The Hon. Justice David Levine studied archaeology at the University of Sydney prior to embarking on a career in law. He was called to the bar in 1971 before being appointed to the District Court of NSW in 1987 and the Supreme Court of NSW in 1992 and eventually retired from the bench in 2005. Justice Levine was also a generous donor to the Institute's 25th Anniversary Symposium.

Mr Stan Halkeas has been involved with the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens for a number of years, particularly through the publication of its *Bulletin*. It is only through the good services of Mr Halkeas' business, Halkeas Printing, that the Institute has been able to upgrade its well-regarded annual Newsletter into a full-colour, expanded Bulletin.

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The Visiting Professorship 2006*

Professor Jacques Perreault, the University of Montreal



The 2006 Visiting Professor of the AAIA was Professor Jacques Perreault (*Professeur Titulaire*) of Greek Archaeology at the University of Montreal in Canada.

Professor Perreault is a highly distinguished scholar who has held many important academic positions, including the directorship of the Centre for Classical Studies at the University of Montreal and the directorship of the Canadian Archaeological Institute in Greece. He was a member of the French Archaeological School in Athens, the first Canadian to hold such a position, is an Honorary Fellow of

the Athens Archaeological Society and President of the Montreal Chapter of the American Institute of Archaeology.

Professor Perreault is a keen field archaeologist and has participated in excavations at many sites in Greece and the Near East, as well as in France and Russia. Since 1992 he has been Co-Director of the Greek-Canadian excavations at Argilos in northern Greece (see pp. 38–45) and Director of the Canadian Excavations at Ras el Bassit in Syria. He is the author of many articles and books and has given lectures by invitation at many conferences and universities, including the University of Nice, the University of Lille, and the Free University of Brussels.

Whilst in Australia, Professor Perreault gave lectures and seminars at all universities and schools that are Institutional Members of the AAIA on the following topics:

Argilos, a Greek Colony in Thracian Territory

The Kilns of Thasos: an Island Potter's Workshop in Ancient Greece

Ras el Bassit, a Port of Trade on the North Syrian Coast

City Planning in Greek Colonies: the Case of Argilos

Floral cups: an Athenian Black-Figured Pottery Style

Old and New Interpretations on the Greeks in the East

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)
- 1993 Prof. Helmut Kyrieleis
(Berlin, Germany)
- 1994 Prof. John Barron
(Oxford, UK)
- 1995 Prof. Spyros Iakovidis
(Athens, Greece)
- 1996 Prof. Erika Simon
(Würzburg, Germany)
- 1997 Dr. Hermann Kienast
(German Archaeological Institute, 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)

*The 2006 Visiting Professorship was sponsored by various Governors of the AAIA and the Thyne Reid Foundation

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Reports from the “Friends”

THE SYDNEY FRIENDS

A letter from Mr Angelo Hatsatouris, President

This year the Sydney Friends have continued their support to the Torone study season. The \$5,000 donation to the Torone excavations made possible the inclusion of a professional illustrator, Rowan Conroy, in the Torone 2007 team. Mr Conroy produced publication quality drawings for the forthcoming volume *Torone 2*, and also completed the inking of over 300 drawings for the publication of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Torone by Pamela Armstrong, which will be going to press in the near future.

On 16 August 2006 we hosted the first of the public lectures given by Professor Jacques Perreault (The University of Montreal) at the University of Sydney on the topic “Argilos, a Greek Colony in Thracian Territory”. In a fascinating and enthusiastic discussion Professor Perreault outlined the findings of Greek and Canadian Archaeologists who since 1992 have been excavating this site and its relationship to other Greek cities. Founded in 655/654 BC, Argilos, one of the earliest Greek colonies in the Northern Aegean, quickly became a flourishing city, benefiting from its trading activities in the region. At the reception held at the Nicholson Museum after the lecture those present had the opportunity to meet Professor Perreault and to discuss aspects of his lecture, including the discovery of well preserved houses and public buildings.

The Sydney Friends were also involved in the organization of a public lecture in May 2006, presented in conjunction with the Department of Modern Greek at the University of Sydney and AHEPA, by the esteemed Professor George Babinotis. Professor Babinotis is President of the Hellenic Foundation for Culture, a member of the council of the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation and Emeritus Rector of the University of Athens. In a stunning event in the Great Hall at the University of Sydney he spoke on “The Greek Language: its contribution to the basic concepts of European civilization”.

2007 marks almost 25 years of support by our Society for the AAIA, during which time we have been able not only to purchase the hostel in Athens but also to donate over a significant period substantial funds made available to assist in further property acquisition in Greece and towards the work of the Institute generally.

THE TASMANIAN FRIENDS

A letter from Dr Janice Crowley, President

For the Tasmanian Friends this has been a period of growth and accomplishment, in which the Governor of Tasmania, the Hon William J. E. Cox AC, RFD, ED, kindly consented to be Patron of the TFAAIA. This renews the Vice-Regal links established in the inaugural years of the Tasmanian Friends. We welcome His Excellency in this role and look forward to his involvement in our activities.

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Professor Daryl Le Grew, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Tasmania (on the right), with Dr Janice Crowley and Mr Robert Clark at the TFAAIA Welcome to Students.

At the beginning of the 2006 University year, the TFAAIA Executive hosted a “Welcome to Students” in the John Elliott Classics Museum. The Vice-Chancellor, Professor Daryl Le Grew, spoke of the strong links between the University and the AAIA and announced the 2007 AAIA Scholarship, open to students from the University of Tasmania, for Study in Greece.

On Monday 25 September at 8 pm in the University Centre of the University of Tasmania, the 2006 AAIA Visiting Professor, Professor Jacques Perreault, presented a public lecture on his excavations at Argilos in northern Greece. The Lecture was very well attended and the audience was treated to a superb exposition of the site and then enjoyed supper with Professor Perreault in the John Elliott Classics Museum.

In 2006 the Tasmanian Friends were 20 years old, having held their Inaugural Meeting on 23 April 1986. A Celebration Lunch to mark 20 years of the Tasmanian Friends was held at Mezethes Restaurant in Salamanca Square on Sunday 22 October 2006. The AAIA Director, Professor Alexander Cambitoglou, who was in Athens at the time, sent a congratulatory letter. Our Patron, The Governor of Tasmania, and Mrs Cox joined us for this happy event and the Patron proposed the toast to the Tasmanian Friends. In all, it was a most satisfactory marker of our 20th birthday!

Each year in March, the Greek Community of Hobart celebrates their ESTIA Festival with a Street Festival followed by a month of varied events and the TFAAIA joins in these celebrations. In 2007 we arranged for a public lecture to be given by Associate Professor Tom Hillard of Macquarie University, Sydney entitled “The Great Harbour of Ancient Torone”. Underwater archaeology is always a favourite and the audience was treated to a masterful account of the investigations. The second major event for us was the joint sponsorship, with the Greek Community, of the Greek Film Festival. Four films, one classic and three contemporary, were screened across two weeks at a venue provided

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NEWS IN BRIEF

SCHOLARSHIP REPORTS

Daniel Press

The University of Queensland

On the 6th of January this year, I had the good fortune to meet many of my fellows and our tour co-ordinator, Ms Gina Sheer, at our Departure Gate of Sydney Airport. I myself had already flown from Brisbane earlier that day to become 1 of 25 participants and 3 staff involved in the first 'Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens and Sydney University Classical Archaeology Summer School in Athens.'

I found myself a part of this Australian contingent, representative of many Australian cities and universities, thanks to a scholarship kindly granted by the Queensland Friends of the AAIA. Though usually a Roman historian, and whilst then engaged in Latin Honours at the University of Queensland, the sight of the Acropolis illuminated at night (barely two blocks from the AAIA Hostel) could never have failed to awaken a dormant Philhellene, and my new found friends and I quickly grew accustomed to the city we would call home for the duration of the 3-week course.

If studying in Athens can be considered thus, our 'work' began with a lecture by Dr Lesley Beaumont on the Urban topography of Athens and the news from Dr Stavros Paspalas that he had arranged for us to visit the head architect of the Acropolis project and organised a tour inside the Parthenon itself. The remainder of the day found us climbing the Lykabettos Hill, the highest point in Athens with views over the Acropolis, the Agora and Pnyx, the Port of Piraeus and the straights of Salamis beyond. We returned to the AAIA hostel in time for another lecture, on the

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by the University of Tasmania. In every way the Film Festival was a great success; in attendance numbers, for fundraising and, most importantly, for the happy shared social occasions.

In April 2007 the Director, Professor Cambitoglou, visited Hobart and was warmly welcomed by members at a gathering at Mezethes Restaurant. While in Hobart the Director called upon the TFAAIA Patron, the Governor of Tasmania, and the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Tasmania.

THE QUEENSLAND FRIENDS

A letter from Emeritus Professor Bob Milns, President

The Queensland Friends have had an active and interesting time since the last Bulletin.

At the 2006 Annual General Meeting, held in March, former President, Pat McNamara, gave an interesting and informative talk on her recent visit to Georgia. In May, Con O'Brien, Executive Member and resident expert in Greek mythology, delivered a witty and fascinating talk on the topic of "Art and Eroticism in Greek Mythology", illustrated by works from artists such as Praxiteles, Rubens, Klimt and Norman Lindsay.

In August we celebrated the 20th anniversary of our existence with a most delightful lunch at the Greek Club, where we first began. All four Presidents hitherto were present (Sam Mellick, Nick Girdis, Pat McNamara and myself). We had, in addition to the delicious food prepared by members of the Committee, entertainment in the form of a quiz, musical items played by Lyn Milns and songs sung by Con O'Brien. We also took the opportunity to farewell Dorothy Watts, who retired at the end of July, and thank her for her enormous contributions to both the Department and the Queensland Friends.

The visit in September of the 2006 AAIA Visiting Professor, Jacques Perreault, was a resounding success. I was unable to meet Professor Perreault as I was overseas at the time, but reports were uniformly very positive. As our Newsletter editor, Chris Griffiths, says in his article on the visit, Professor Perreault "delighted Brisbane audiences with his enthusiasm and charm".

Following long established tradition, our last function of the year, held in November, was the annual dramatic performance presented by Jacquie Noyes and myself. In 2006 the dramatic duo decided to take a trip "down memory lane" and entertain the audience with extracts from our previous twelve presentations. The audience was both gratifyingly appreciative and gratifyingly large.

We held our first function of 2007 on Sunday March 11, when Con O'Brien again held the audience gripped with his brilliant story-telling technique. He relayed the story of King Minos of Crete, with the accompaniment of beautiful paintings by artists including Bruegel and Matisse. In May the Friends were addressed by Dorothy Watts and myself on the subject of "The Greeks in the Roman World", with Dorothy examining the history of the contacts and

relations between the two peoples and me looking at the impact of Greek culture and civilization on the Romans.

We have a full programme for the rest of the year, which we hope will please our members. All in all, the Queensland Friends are in good shape and continuing to work (and play) enthusiastically for the Institute.

THE ANU (CANBERRA) FRIENDS

A letter from Mr John Kalokerinos, President

2006 was the 25th year since the inception of the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens and the 15th year of operation of the ANU (Canberra) Friends of the AAIA. It was another successful year for the ANU (Canberra) Friends. Our programme for the year comprised a series of four lectures and the annual November dinner for Friends and their guests.

The Friends were privileged to have another group of very high-quality speakers in 2006. The lectures were as follows: Professor Richard Seaford (University of Exeter) gave a lecture entitled "Sacred Sex and Tragic Space" on 23 February; Mr Kevin O'Toole (Barrister, Perth) spoke on "The Art of the Parthenon, Lord Elgin and the New Acropolis Museum, Athens" on 4 May; on 24 August Professor Jacques Perreault (University of Montreal and the AAIA Visiting Professor for 2006) gave a splendid lecture entitled "Argilos, a Greek Colony in Thracian Territory"; and on 18 October Samantha Hamilton (our scholarship winner for 2005) spoke on her experiences in Greece in her lecture "A Conservation Experience at the Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki, Greece, 21 March–20 May 2005". All lectures were held at the Hellenic Club, which has proved to be an excellent venue for our events, and were attended by between 60 and 100 members and their invited guests.



The 2006 Annual Dinner of the ANU (Canberra) Friends.

The Hellenic Club was also the venue for our annual dinner, held on 10 November. We were delighted with the response. We had 125 Friends and their guests in attendance, including the new Ambassador for Greece, Mr Georgios Zois, the High Commissioner for Cyprus, Mr Achilleas Antoniadis, the Chancellor of the University of Canberra, Professor Ingrid Moses, and no fewer than 3 former Australian Ambassadors to Greece: Mr Hugh

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Participants of the Summer School inside the Parthenon. Photo: Patrick Devery.

origins of Athenian Architecture, and an orientation of the Nordic and British Libraries, open to us for study purposes.

Days continued in a similar vein for the next two weeks of our trip with lectures and visits to various places of archaeological and historical significance, accompanied by the guidance and enthusiasm of our lecturers. The feeling of exuberance when entering the Acropolis for the first time cannot easily be rendered in writing and I am sure any who have experienced the thrill of seeing the Parthenon or spent hours gazing at the unique details of the Erechtheion can well imagine the sheer exhilaration felt by all 25 history students as we explored the interior of the Parthenon, walked on the Southern Slopes of the Acropolis, visited the Philopappos Monument, the Temple of Olympian Zeus, Lysikrates' Choregic Monument and many others places of interest. Thanks to Dr Stavros Paspalas and his network of contacts, we were able to tour the Kerameikos with archaeologist Jutta Stroszeck, the Agora with Professor John Camp, the author of our course's textbook, and gain entry to all the museums, libraries and ancient sites that Greece has to offer.

As an audit student (and hence not involved in the assessment side of the course), I was able to utilise my spare time to indulge my interests in other

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periods of Greek history with visits to the Roman Agora, the Library of Hadrian, the Byzantine and Benaki Museums, and various churches, all products of the rich and vibrant history celebrated by one of the world's most influential cities. We attended various guest lectures hosted by foreign institutes and made valuable links within the archaeological community. Many of us used this time to revisit our favourite sites or museums, soak up some local culture in the tavernas of Plaka, or explore literary tastes ranging from Homer to Lord Byron. Weekends presented a chance to explore a wider field. Some took the opportunity to visit Mycenae or Epidauros, while others, myself included, took a train ride to Ancient Corinth to see its beautiful ruins and the remaining columns of the Doric Temple of Apollo in the shadow of the powerful visage of the Acrocorinth. Our second weekend found us variously at the Temple of Aphaia on Aegina, on Poros sleeping in villas overlooking the blue-green waters of the Saronic Gulf and exploring the Temple of Poseidon (where the orator Demosthenes suicided rather than be captured by Philip II) or in the Peloponnese at the Birthplace of Theseus at Troizen.

Our final week allowed us more scope to explore the diversity and span of influence enjoyed by ancient Athens in regional Attic centres and beyond. We visited the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion,



*The Temple of Poseidon at Sounion.
Photo: Patrick Devery.*

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Gilchrist, OAM, Mr Alan Edwards and Mr Stuart Hume. The after-dinner speaker was Professor Michael Osborne (La Trobe University), who delivered an excellent illustrated presentation entitled "The Resurrection of the Parthenon" with much wit and aplomb. There are many people to thank for making this such a happy and successful event: the committee of the Friends; the Friends themselves who supported it; and their guests.

In 2006 we again advertised the biennial scholarship for a scholar from the Canberra region for travel to Greece for study purposes. The scholarship is offered every second year, to assist students from the Canberra region whose archaeological or other research requires a prolonged stay in Greece. This is the eighth such scholarship that we have been able to offer, thanks to the interest and support of the Friends and, in recent years, the generous support of the Hellenic Club, enabling the Canberra Friends to provide the scholar with a substantial allowance towards living and research expenses. The winner of the scholarship for 2007, Ms Sonia Dimitriadis, a PhD candidate at the ANU, was announced at the annual dinner.

On 22 February 2007, immediately following the AGM of the Friends, Professor Meg Miller of the Department of Classical Archaeology at the University of Sydney delivered an engaging lecture at the Haydon-Allen ('Tank') Theatre at the ANU entitled 'Magic and the East: Medea and Circe in Greek Art and Thought'.

The next event of the Friends was a well-attended lecture on 17 May 2007 delivered by Dr Alastair Blanshard of the Department of Classics and Ancient History of the University of Sydney entitled "Some Radishes and a Chicken Dance: Towards a Criminology of Ancient Athens". The Friends enjoyed receiving insights from Dr Blanshard on crime and criminology in ancient Athens in his lively style.

I thank the Hellenic Club, which has for several years now provided a venue for our lectures and enabled us to continue to offer the scholarship. I would like to thank all the members of the committee of the Friends, and particularly acknowledge Dr Colleen Chaston and Dr Christine O'Hare, two valued members who stepped down from the committee in 2006 and had served it with great dedication over a number of years.

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF VICTORIA & THE MELBOURNE FRIENDS

Jan 2006–June 2007 Lectures

Tuesday, 21 March 2006

The Invention of Money by the Greeks: How it Happened and the Difference it Made

Professor Richard Seaford (University of Exeter, U.K.)

Wednesday, 5 April 2006

The Pearl of Ionia: Excavations and Research at Miletos

Dr Alan Greaves (University of Liverpool, U.K.)

Thursday, 6 April 2006

Saving Herculaneum

Professor Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (University of Reading, U.K.;
Director of the British School at Rome)

Tuesday, 19 September 2006

The Annual H. W. Allen Memorial Lecture

Shakespeare's Iliad: Homeric themes in Troilus and Cressida

Mr John Penwill (LaTrobe University; President of the Australasian
Society for Classical Studies)

19–23 September 2006

Close Relations: the 'Spaces' of Greek and Roman Theatre

An international, multi-disciplinary conference linking theatre and
performance studies, archaeology, classical studies and reception
studies.

The conference was a joint initiative by the University of Melbourne
and Monash University, supported by the Classical Association of
Victoria and the Melbourne Friends of the AAIA.

Thursday, 3 May 2007

Lead Pipes and Lavatories in Pompeii

Professor Frank Sear (University of Melbourne)

Thursday, 17 May 2007

What An Historian Knows

Professor Emeritus Ronald Ridley (University of Melbourne)

Thursday, 31 May 2007

Scythians: from Nomads to Sedentary

A. Professor Gocha Tsetskhladze (University of Melbourne)

THE WEST AUSTRALIAN FRIENDS

A letter from Professor John Melville-Jones, President

Two lectures by visiting scholars were arranged during 2006. Richard Seaford (Exeter) lectured on Greek Tragedy, and Ross Burns, formerly Australia's Ambassador to Greece, lectured on ancient Damascus.

The 2006 AAIA Visiting Professor, Jacques Perreault, gave a public lecture on Thursday 7 September for the WA Friends, in association with the University of Western Australia. He spoke on "Argilos, a Greek Colony in Thracian Territory".

In October the Friends sponsored a visit to Greece by Steven Hughes, a postgraduate student at UWA. He has written a report on his work for the Director, which appears alongside this letter (pp. 56–59), and is due to give a public lecture on the subject.

Planning has begun for a Byzantine Afternoon in the second half of 2008.

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the Theatre and Mines of Thorikos, the Sanctuaries of Eleusis, Brauron and Oropos, had a beach-side lunch near the Temple of Apollo Zoster, and a very windy picnic at the Border-Fort of Eleutherai.

I think all would agree that the highlight of our adventures was our Australia Day, spent overnight at the majestic and world-heritage listed site of the Panhellenic Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. The site needs no explanation as to its splendour, and needless to say, one day or even one lifetime would never be enough to diminish the view of the site from the Theatre, or the power of the massive columns of the Temple. It was with a touch of sadness that we left the site, where many of us would have happily spent many more days, knowing that our time in Greece was drawing to a close.

All that now remains is for me to thank Professor Alexander Cambitoglou, the AAIA and the University of Sydney Department of Archaeology, who made such a successful programme possible. My thanks also to Professor Bob Milns, the Queensland Friends of the AAIA and the University of Queensland Department of History, Philosophy, Religion and Classics for their work in securing my place in the course by granting me a scholarship, and to Professor Tim Parkin for encouraging my application.

Special thanks must go to those people directly responsible for the organization and implementation of the Summer School, who also made it such a valuable and enjoyable enterprise: Dr Stavros Paspalas, Dr Lesley Beaumont and Gina Sheer.

Lastly, may I offer my sincerest thanks to my fellow students, each and every one I now count as a friend.

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Steven Hughes

The University of Western Australia

In October 2006 I was fortunate to be able to travel to Athens and Samos in order to undertake research related to my doctoral thesis. This trip was made possible because of the generous funding received from the West Australian Friends of the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens.

I am currently completing the final year of my doctoral thesis. The title of my dissertation is 'After the Democracy: Athens under Phocion (322/1–319/8 BC)'. Given that my work centres on life in the city of Athens at a most critical period of its history, I hoped that a tour of its archaeological sites, its museums and all its other relevant institutions would further my knowledge and understanding of life in Athens in the second half of the 4th century BC. I am happy to write that the trip lived up to all expectations.

I arrived in Athens on Tuesday the 16th of October. Due to relatively recent extensions of the railway line I was able to catch the Metro from the airport to my accommodation at the AAIA Hostel. This trip gave me my first glimpse of Athens. I was immediately struck by the mountainous terrain that surrounded me on all sides. I knew at once these mountains could be both friend and foe to the settlers of the land. As friend they protected the Athenians from invasion. However, as foe, the ranges made communication with neighbouring cities difficult and established a permanent division between different peoples. Further, they inhibited growth of the city and severely reduced the amount of fertile land available for cultivation.

This new appreciation of the landscape was important. My thesis examines life in Athens after the death of Alexander the

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THE ATHENS FRIENDS**A letter from Mrs Helen Tzortzopoulos, President**

The Athens Friends held its AGM in May 2007, at which Ms Maria Barbouttis, President for several consecutive years, stepped down and I was elected to the position. The present committee would like to take this opportunity to thank Maria for her splendid efforts over that period of time.

Our full schedule of diverse activities has been well patronized throughout 2006 and 2007 by our regular members and we also had the pleasure of welcoming a number of new faces.

Visits to archaeological sites are usually full day trips by coach but the Attica area also provides wonderful venues for half day walks. We consider that the social aspects of our outings are equally important so, needless to say, and in keeping with good Greek tradition, eating and drinking at local tavernas is also an important factor contributing to the success of the day. In 2007 we managed to visit the following sites:

- The Sanctuaries and Settlement at Sounion (Dr Stavros Paspalas)
- Korphos (Prof Timothy Gregory)
- The Byzantine Monuments of Central Athens (Dr Stavros Paspalas)
- The Temple of Aphaia on Aigina (Dr Stavros Paspalas)

Our museum excursions included two separate visits in February and March (due to the large number of participants!) to the "Coloured Gods" exhibition at the National Archaeological Museum, which examined the use of colour on ancient Greek statues, as well as a guided tour to the Pottery Galleries at the same museum.

For the first time, the Friends organized a trip to the Ancient Theatre of Epidauros where we viewed an outstanding performance of Jean Racine's "Andromache", part of the Hellenic Festival's cultural programme for the summer of 2007. The ancient setting, the magic and drama of the evening was, to say the least, inspirational.

The Director's Annual Report and the Annual Lecture were presented on May 9 2007. The Athens Friends were once again happy to provide the catering for the reception which followed at the Swedish Institute.

At the forefront of our activities is the Deputy Director of the Institute, Dr Stavros Paspalas, whose dedication and enthusiasm is certainly a big plus for the Friends. Together with his colleagues of international academic standing, who often accompany us on our tours, we are guided through some fascinating eras of Greek history and archaeology. Their excitement over a stone slab, a groove or a marking opens up a new meaning for some, whilst others of us at times struggle to comprehend their scholarly interpretations. Nevertheless, at the end of the day we come away wiser for our stroll into the past.

Our programme for early spring 2008 includes a 3-day trip to the island of Kythera to view the archaeological sites of Palaeochora and Aghios Georgios Kolokythias which were part of the Australia Paliochora Kythera

Archaeological Survey project carried out over the past few years under the AAIA. A number of other interesting sites will also be covered. Members have already expressed a great deal of interest in the prospect of this excursion.

However small our ultimate input may be, we, the Athens Friends, are proud to know that in conjunction with all the other Friends in Australia we are contributing to the Institute's intensive programme of research and studies in Greece. We take particular interest in the maintenance of the Institute's hostel in Makriyianni, and were able to donate to it a new washer/dryer in early 2007. The hostel, apart from providing a base in Athens for overseas students and scholars, also provides us with a venue for our meetings, presentations and social functions. We hope and trust that the next few months of our term will prove beneficial to the Institute.

THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN FRIENDS

A letter from Mr Spiros Sarris, President

In 2006 the SA Friends were again represented at the Glendi Festival and for the first time we had our own marquee, adjacent to the Cultural Marquee. There were many visitors and the SA Friends who manned the booth, volunteering on a rotating roster, promoted the aims and objectives of the AAIA to all those making enquiries.

The 2006 "Quiz Night" was a great success, with nearly 100 participants. Quiz Master Aris Moustakas kept the participants on their toes with a lively array of activities and some serious questions!

Eminent archaeologist Professor Jacques Perreault (Montreal), the AAIA 2006 Visiting Professor, visited Adelaide in early September. Professor Perreault made two public presentations on behalf of the SA Friends: "Ras el Bassit, a Port of Trade on the North Syrian Coast" and (at very short notice!) "Argilos, a Greek Colony in Thracian Territory". Both lectures were very well attended. Professor Perreault was also able to accompany Spiros Sarris to



Professor Jacques Perreault, Mr Theodore Kassimis, Deputy Foreign Minister of the Hellenic Republic, and Mr Spiros Sarris.

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Great. In particular, I am looking at the role the Athenian general Phocion played during the years 322/1 to 319/8. It was in these years that participation in political life was restricted by a property qualification imposed by the Macedonian Antipater. Of course any examination of life in Athens under Phocion requires an understanding of what went on in the city before Alexander's death. More specifically, I am interested in the level of participation by the 'ordinary' or poorer elements of Athenian society in the political process. The mountains and hills would have proven substantial barriers for ordinary citizens keen to attend assemblies, to be appointed to political office or to be selected as jury members.



View of the Acropolis from Lycabettus Hill.

During my 16-day stay in Greece I walked all the sites. I visited the Pnyx, where I sat just behind the bema and looked out over the Agora and the Acropolis. I sat on the Hill of the Areopagus where the city's elders once sat in judgment. I climbed Filopapou Hill and looked over the surrounding territory. From here you could see (even through the ever present smog) the Piraeus and, most importantly for me, Munichia Hill, where once a Macedonian garrison was placed to watch over the Athenian people and guard against uprisings. I spent many hours at the Kerameikos examining the grave reliefs and inscriptions. I was also able to examine carefully the Theatre of Dionysos

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where, especially in the latter part of the 4th century, many important meetings of the Athenian assembly were held.

In the first week I walked around the Agora (with compass in hand) and its surrounding sites, taking countless pictures of almost every inch of accessible land. My numerous visits to the Agora gave me a much more thorough understanding of the layout of the ancient city.

At the beginning of my second week I spent two and a half days on the island of Samos where, once again, I saw how the hills dominated the surrounding landscape. Samos played a pivotal role in Athenian history just before and after Alexander the Great's death. The island is thought to have housed some 50,000 Athenian cleruchs who had moved to the island after the Athenians captured it in 365 BC. Further, the ancient sources write that all the Samian residents on the island were expelled to accommodate these new arrivals. I had been somewhat suspicious of some of the arguments I had read concerning the above and my trip to the island helped clear up a number of issues. Primarily, I learned that, yes, it would have been possible to house some forty to fifty thousand Athenians on the island. Conversely, I realised how impossible it would have been for an occupying force to ferret out and expel every Samian on the island.

During my short stay I visited the Samos Museum and saw the important finds from the Sanctuary of Hera as well as the inscriptions made by the Samian exiles. From Samos I travelled by bus through the countryside to the site of the ancient city (modern day Pythagoria). I travelled from there to the small town of Ireon and from there walked the 1½ km to the Sanctuary of Hera, an important site where many

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the diplomatic reception hosted by the Consul-General for Greece, on the occasion of the visit to Adelaide by Deputy Foreign Minister of the Hellenic Republic, Mr Theodore Kassimis.

In March 2007, in collaboration with Festival Hellenika, and using material generously provided by Professor Perreault and the AAIA, the SA Friends organised an illustrated presentation (presented by Spiros Sarris) on "the Olive and Olive Oil". An impromptu olive tasting was set up for attendees to sample the varieties of olives and olive oils, kindly donated by a number of producers. The event proved highly popular and there were many requests for it to be held again in the future. At the request of the Convenor of the Cultural Marquee, Spiros Sarris repeated the illustrated presentation at Glendi 2007.

In a collaborative venture with the SAE Oceania Pan-Hellenic Games, Glendi 2007 was rescheduled for 21–22 April (instead of March). The SA Friends were again allocated a booth within the Cultural Marquee. Special thanks are extended to Danny and Pat Warren, Lambia Angelakos and Lilo Stadler for their valuable contribution over the two days. In addition, a special thanks also to Anastasia Potiris for facilitating our presence within the Cultural Marquee.

Spiros Sarris, representing the SA Friends, in May 2007 attended the Parliamentary Luncheon in Canberra hosted by Prime Minister John Howard, in honour of the Prime Minister of the Hellenic Republic, Mr Costas Karamanlis, and his entourage. In the evening Spiros also attended the diplomatic reception for Prime Minister Karamanlis at the Hellenic Embassy.

The Office bearers of the SA Friends following the 2006 and 2007 AGMs were as follows: Spiros Sarris, President; Danny Warren, Vice President; Lambia Angelakos, Secretary; and Anastasia Potiris, Treasurer.



SA Friend, Lilo Stadler, promoting the activities of the AAIA at Glendi 2007.

THE SOCIETY OF MEDITERRANEAN ARCHAEOLOGY (UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY FRIENDS)

A letter from Dr Craig Barker, President

The Society of Mediterranean Archaeology (SoMA) was established as a student body association of the AAIA, with the aims of promoting the work of the Institute and the wider study of Mediterranean archaeology to the students of the University of Sydney and the general University community. SoMA hosts events to promote archaeological research and to raise money for a travel scholarship awarded to undergraduate students named in honour of Olwen Tudor Jones.

After a relatively quiet period, 2006 and 2007 provided some busy months for the hardworking SoMA committee. The end results rewarded all the effort, as we were able to offer two scholarships in 2007 for the first time ever, and build stronger financial grounds for the future of the prize.

Events began in 2006 with our annual wine and cheese welcome to the students held under the Jacaranda tree in the Main Quadrangle of the University of Sydney. This relaxed informal function is always a great way to meet lecturers and to welcome in the new academic year. A similar event was also held in the beginning of 2007.

Relationships with the wider student body were improved as SoMA joined forces with the student club known as The Archaeology Society in August 2006 to hold a trivia night, a chance for students of all branches of archaeology to come together and relax from their studies.

SoMA provided its usual support to the AAIA Visiting Professor lecture series, by contributing the catering and organising the second function following the public lecture by Professor Jacques Perreault in September. The lecture was well attended, and the function was a celebration of the works of this respected scholar.

In November 2006, SoMA hosted its annual Christmas Party. As in past years, the wine flowed freely, the raffle prizes were much sort-after, and all enjoyed themselves in the quiet afternoon in the grounds of the University of Sydney. The evening raised considerable funds for the travel scholarship.



Drawing the raffle at the 2006 SoMA Christmas Party.

April 2007 saw SoMA establish two new endeavours, both of which were massive successes. The first was to join forces with Sydney University Museums to host a number of events on the calendar of the annual Greek Festival of Sydney. This enabled SoMA to promote the work of the AAIA to a wider audience, and provide some ancient perspectives to the program of the 25th annual Greek Festival.

The first event was a lecture by Dr Julia Kindt on “The Forgotten Oracles of Delphi”, which attracted an audience of 70. A week later I was joined by Dr Elizabeth Bollen and Renée Regal to give a joint lecture titled “Food, Wine and Dining in Ancient Greece: the Symposium Experience”. It was a light-hearted talk on the important role of food and wine in antiquity, and the crowd of 160 enjoyed the talks, and then celebrated with food and wine!

The second new initiative was an idea that SoMA has been pursuing for some years, and so we were very excited to see it come to fruition. On Tuesday 24 April, in the Nicholson Museum, SoMA presented the first Alexander

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significant Samian inscriptions have been found.

On my return to Athens I spent two days at the Piraeus. I walked to the top of Munychia Hill and looked over the harbours. This was a formidable base for a foreign force to occupy. Within a fortress an army would be difficult to attack and defeat. Further, it would take little effort for this force to march down the hill and take control of the Piraeus and neighbouring harbours.

My stay in Athens and Samos was very productive and educational. I have gained a greater appreciation of what life was like in Athens and on the island of Samos all those years ago. I would like to thank the West Australian Friends of the AAIA for the funding I received.

NEWS IN BRIEF

The journal *Mediterranean Archaeology*

Report from the Production Manager,
Camilla Norman

2006 saw the launch of two highly anticipated volumes for *Meditarch*: *Egyptian Art in the Nicholson Museum*, edited by Karin Sowada and Boyo Ockinga, and *Meditarch 17* (2004), *Festschrift in honour of J. Richard Green*, edited by Lesley Beaumont, Craig Barker and Elizabeth Bollen. Both volumes are fine additions to the *Meditarch* stable and have been very well received by the public and scholarly community alike.

Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates, Volume 2: the Terracotta Figurines by Heather Jackson was released in early 2007 and, with its well illustrated catalogue and in-depth discussion, is already establishing itself as a standard text for scholars interested in Hellenistic terracottas.

Also released in 2007 was *Meditarch 18* (2005), containing contributions from various Australian and international scholars, including the 2004 AAIA Visiting Professor Marc Waelkens.

Work is now completed on the double volume 19/20 which presents the Proceedings of the Symposium held in Athens in October 2005 on the occasion of the AAIA's 25th Anniversary (see facing page for contents). It will be available before the middle of 2008, in time to mark *Meditarch*'s 20th birthday.

After a busy couple of decades, *Meditarch* intends to maintain its pace of publication: the next regular volume (21, 2008) is in preparation, as are the third volume of the *Jebel Khalid* series (with Heather Jackson's and John Tidmarsh's presentation of the pottery finds from this extraordinary

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Cambitoglou Lecture. We intend for this lecture to become an annual event; presenting a talk on some aspect of classical iconographic studies and recognising Professor Cambitoglou's contribution to Australian Classical studies. The inaugural lecture was given by Michael Turner, senior curator of the Nicholson Museum, and was titled "The Portland Vase: Adonis in the Underworld". 110 people attended the lecture and following reception.

As a result of the increased fundraising activities, and in part because of the generosity of Professor Cambitoglou, in 2007, for the first time ever, SoMA was able to offer two Olwen Tudor Jones scholarships to the value of \$1500 each. The selection committee was unable to separate two of the applicants, so it was a pleasure to be able to offer both students assistance with their travels. Louisa di Bartolomeo used her Olwen Tudor Jones scholarship to join the Porta Stabia Project at Pompeii (Stanford University/University of Cincinnati), while Kristen Mann participated in the excavations at Paphos in Cyprus (University of Sydney) in July and the Southern Euboea Exploration Project (Canadian Archaeological Institute in Athens) in August.

One of the most exciting recent developments for SoMA has been the birth of a relationship with the Centre for Continuing Education at the University of Sydney, and the offering of tours co-sponsored by SoMA. Led by tour-leader, Helen Nicholson, these tours allow their participants to explore ancient cultures, plus raise donations for the Olwen Tudor Jones Scholarship Trust. Helen has worked extremely hard to get the tour programme off the ground, and kicked it off with "Highlights of Antiquity: Greece and Italy" in April 2007, followed by "Classical and Ottoman Turkey" in September. Helen's next SoMA sponsored tour will take place in May-June of 2008, and will travel to Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes and Alexandria. Bookings can be made through the Centre for Continuing Education.

I would like to thank all the members of the SoMA committee, many of whom have been working tirelessly for over a decade. We look forward to many more years of academic and social events promoting the work of the AAIA and raising funds for future generations of archaeology students to get involved in practical archaeological investigations.



Participants of the "Highlights of Antiquity" tour at, above, the Roman Forum (with Helen Nicholson at front left) and, below, Hattusas.

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site) and the first fascicule of the Nicholson Museum *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, by Alexander Cambitoglou and Michael Turner.

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Meditarch 19/20 (2007)

Proceedings of the Symposium held in Athens in October 2005 on the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the AAIA

Editors: Jean-Paul Descœudres and Stavros A. Paspalas

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Harold Tarrant

Piecing together Polemo

Robert D. Milns

*Callisthenes on Alexander***FRONT COVER**

Apulian calyx krater fragment

The Darius Painter

c. 350–325 BC

height: 7.3 cm, width: 8 cm

Nicholson Museum,

The University of Sydney

NM 97.182

RVAp II, 505, 18/102, pl. 181.5

A bearded Poseidon with headband and trident; he is seated and looks right towards a second figure of whom only the right hand, open in a gesture of speech, remains. To the left, behind Poseidon, is part of the head of a horse of which one ear, the decorated topknot of its mane, and the halter remain.

Poseidon is linked with two myths involving horses that are depicted by the Darius Painter and those associated with him, the Death of Hippolytos and Bellerophon and Pegasus. The contest between Poseidon and Athena should perhaps also be considered for the subject matter.

Photograph by Will Heap.

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BACK COVER

Newington College

Newington College had its genesis in a desire from the Methodist community that the Church should establish a Collegiate Institute. The Rev John Manton successfully put a motion before the Methodist Conference of 1862. At the Conference it was decided that the institution should be "decidedly Wesleyan in character" and at the very start it was expected to "be open to the sons of parents of all religious denominations" – a philosophy which remains an essential ethos of the College 145 years on.

First established in 1863 at 'Newington House' in Silverwater on the Parramatta River, expanding numbers saw the move to more extensive premises closer to the city on the Stanmore Estate, which also gives its name to the surrounding suburb. A young colonial architect named Thomas Rowe was selected through a competition to design the new premises. By 1880, the now heritage-listed sandstone building, known today as the Founders' Wing, was completed.

From 70 boys at the time of the move, Newington College now teaches about 1600 students, and has established an additional Preparatory School at Lindfield on the North Shore. The College has a strong reputation in teaching the Classics, with Latin being taught to a large number of boys each year in the Secondary School and has been a member of the AAIA since 1998.

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