



The Australian Archaeological
Institute at Athens

BULLETIN



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Letter from the Director

Dear Members and Friends,

It is with great pleasure that the editors of this volume present it to the public. The Institute, which was founded in 1980, thirty-one years ago, has moved from strength to strength. Its activities in Greece in 2011 included assistance to a 'Summer School' for students of the University of Queensland organised by Dr Amelia Brown, for which the AAIA also granted two scholarships. The Academic Programme included lectures by Associate Professor Tom Hillard from Macquarie University, Professor Jacques Perreault from the University of Montreal and Dr Alastair Blanshard from the University of Sydney. Important fieldwork was also carried out at Amyklai, near Sparta, by Associate Professor Louise Hitchcock of the University of Melbourne.

Eighty five guests, students, university staff and 'Friends' stayed in the Hostel for short or longer periods in 2011.

As is well known, the Institute sponsors the excavations at Nea Paphos in Cyprus co-directed by Dr Craig Barker of the Nicholson Museum. A report of work done there in 2010 is published in this volume of the Bulletin. Feature articles by Tom Hillard, Jennifer Webb and Beatrice McLoughlin, Matthew McCallum and Andrew Wilson are also included.

But the Institute's activities are not confined to Greece. The main event in Australia that occurs every year is the Visiting Professorship, which started in 1987 and has brought to Australia so far twenty three distinguished scholars from Europe, the USA and Canada. The Visiting Professor in 2011 was the Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Professor Jack Davis, who was accompanied by his charming and equally learned wife, Dr Sharon Stocker. Professor Davis lectured at all Universities in Australia that are Institutional Members, from Queensland in the east to Perth in the west.

A new project of the Institute was inaugurated in 2011, the Seminar Project, which will allow the AAIA to invite annually one or two scholars from other Australian Universities to Sydney to lecture or give seminars at the Institute. The first such seminar was conducted by Dr Jennifer Webb who spoke on the excavations in Cyprus carried out by La Trobe University.

I would like to finish this letter with the announcement of the revival in 2012 of the excavations at Zagora under the directorship of Professor Margaret Miller.

My last sentence however is a sad note: the death of the first Institute's Chief Patron, Sir Zelman Cowen, who was a special supporter of its work.



Alexander Cambitoglou

Conference: Zagora in Context

Settlements and Intercommunal Links in the Geometric Period (900–700BC)

20–22 May, 2012. The Athens Archaeological Society, Panepistemiou 22, Athens

The eighth century BC was a pivotal period in the development of urban communities in the Aegean. It witnessed changes in settlement patterns, the intensification of contacts with regions both to the east and the west, an increased use of figural art and the introduction of new technologies, most notably that of the alphabet. The ancient site of Zagora, on the Cycladic island of Andros, is the best known settlement of the period and offers important insights into this time of change and development which laid so many of the foundations of later classical culture.

In the late 1960's and early 1970's a team led by Professor Alexander Cambitoglou excavated a significant part of Zagora, the results of which remain the most comprehensive contribution to our knowledge of any single settlement of this period. The "Zagora in Context" conference, co-organized by the AAIA and the Athens Archaeological Society, is designed to review findings from Zagora in the light of relevant discoveries made in the intervening decades, and to pave the way for the re-opening of excavations at the site, with permission from the Greek government, from 2012.

The conference will bring together twenty-nine speakers from Australia, Europe and North America (listed below) who will present new interpretations on material excavated at Zagora as well as the results of recent excavations at other relevant sites. The conference aims to present the latest research on the way people led their lives in eighth-century Greece and the cultural environment in which they led them, promising to increase our knowledge of this critical period of cultural fermentation in the Aegean.

For further details contact Dr Stavros Paspalas at aaia@otenet.gr



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NEWS IN BRIEF

2011 Hostel Report

by Anthoulla Vassiliades

In 2011 we had over 85 residents stay in the Athens Hostel. The majority of these were of course from Australia, but a number were also students and academics associated with other foreign institutes and universities. A group from the Canberra Friends of the AAIA used the Hostel as a base in April and May to explore Athens, before continuing onto the islands. The British School at Athens and the Swedish Institute at Athens both booked the Hostel to accommodate additional students who were in Athens for courses run by their respective Schools. Assoc. Professor Tom Hillard (Macquarie University), Dr Lea Beness (Macquarie University), Professor Diana Wood-Conroy (University of Wollongong), Dr Alastair Blanshard (University of Sydney), Dr Ilektra Spandagou (University of Sydney) and Dr Peter Londey (Australian National University) were all residents for short periods at the Hostel in 2011. Assistant Professor Steven Ellis (University of Cincinnati), a former student of the University of Sydney and long-time friend of the AAIA, also stayed at the Hostel while in Athens this year.

The Hostel now has air-conditioning available in the three bedrooms, for both summer and winter use, and a ceiling fan was installed in the kitchen, to keep it cool during the summer. Outdoor furniture—a table and two chairs—was bought for the little balcony off the first bedroom and the chairs were replaced on the main balcony facing the Parthenon, allowing for guests to enjoy the views of Athens in greater comfort.

The public areas of the Hostel provided the venue for the Institute's academic

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Deputy Director's Report from Athens

by Stavros A. Paspalas

2011 marked the beginning of the Institute's fourth decade of existence and, happily, saw it in continuing good form. I am pleased to be able to report that the AAIA's Greece-based activities advanced apace, and from both an administrative as well as a research point of view it is gratifying that I can note that we are continually processing an increasing number of requests from Australian academics and graduate students to conduct research and study on material held in Greek museums and at Greek sites.

It is also a great pleasure to report that January 2011 saw the first 'Summer School' organized by the University of Queensland (see pp. 12–13). Of course, the moving force behind this endeavour was Dr Amelia Brown, Lecturer in Greek History and Language at UQ. Dr Brown's demanding itinerary did not thwart the many students who participated on the three-week study tour, and the best indication of its success is that a repeat performance is scheduled for early 2012. There is no doubt that those students who can participate on such tours gain a totally new perspective into the ancient and mediaeval worlds of the Mediterranean generally and the Aegean specifically, views which are only relatively dimly perceived in the lecture room. So it is very gratifying that the Athens office has also been assisting Professor Elizabeth Minchin and Dr Peter Londey to organize a 'Summer School' for students of the Australian National University in 2012. Pleasing also is that two students from both the UQ and ANU Summer Schools are granted financial support through the AAIA Institutional Members' scholarships funds.

It was particularly pleasing to welcome Associate Professor Tom Hillard, a good friend, from Macquarie University, Sydney, to Athens in April/May in order both to participate in the Institute's Athens academic programme and to deliver the keynote address at our 2011 Annual Lecture. Professor Hillard delivered a seminar entitled "Romans in Greek Thrall: Roman Epicureans in Athens," which examined one aspect of the rich Roman-Athenian relationship (see pp. 15–21), and at the Annual Lecture he informed the assembled (and appreciative) audience on the most recent developments regarding Torone's harbour installations in a lecture with the title of "Looking for the Harbour of Ancient Torone." Since Torone is a site at which Australian archaeologists, under the directorship of Professor Alexander Cambitoglou, have long been active it was especially important that Professor Hillard could focus the minds of the Athenian audience on Australian work at the site.

Other seminars delivered in the Institute's 2011 programme included: Professor Jacques Y. Perreault from the Université de Montréal (and well-known to Australian audiences) who spoke on "Domestic Architecture in the Northern Aegean: Ancient Argilos and the Development of the 'Pastas' House"; Dr. Alastair Blanshard from the University of Sydney who kept his audience riveted to their seats as he gave the answer to "Why were there no serial killers in ancient Athens?"; and myself with a seminar entitled "The Cities of the Chalkidic Peninsula: From Archaic to Classical." I was also in

the happy position of being invited to talk on the same topic by the School of Archaeology at the University of Oxford. Late in the year I was invited to participate in a conference organised by the British School at Athens entitled “Interpreting the Seventh Century BC. Tradition, Innovation and Meaning,” and so was able to fly the Australian Institute’s colours once more.

It is also a great pleasure to be able to report that the Institute was able to facilitate the request made by Associate Professor Louise Hitchcock (University of Melbourne) and her collaborators to undertake fieldwork on a Bronze Age quarry at Amyklai, Lakonia. Here, too, it is vital to emphasise the importance of such projects as they not only increase our knowledge of the ancient world but also allow Australian students to be introduced first-hand to the past, and gain real knowledge of what archaeological fieldwork in Greece involves.

Undoubtedly much of the past year’s efforts concerned, with the help of Anthoulla Vassiliades, the Athens Administrative Officer, the maintenance and smooth running of the office and the hostel, and other regular tasks—all necessary in order to ensure the Institute serves Australian academics and students as it should. It is always very gratifying to receive visits from long-term friends and supporters, such as Michael Diamond and Effie and Nicholas Carr who did visit in 2011, and to show them the Institute’s facilities as well as something of Athens itself. And, of course, a report on the past year’s activities would not be complete without a mention of the Athens Friends, the members of which support the Institute’s activities unstintingly. Many thanks to their President, Elizabeth Gandley, and the committee for all their help in organizing the Friends’ programme of events as well as for their financial support.

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programme of seminars and lectures (see adjacent Deputy Director’s report), as well as the meeting place for the Committee of the Athens Friends.

With an exciting programme already crystallizing for 2012, in which the Hostel will, on top of regular activities, play host to the next AAIA Visiting Fellow, Kristen Mann (University of Sydney), and various staff and associates of the AAIA during the Zagora conference in May, we look forward to a busy and productive year. The renovations and improvements of the past few years, coupled with its excellent location, now make the Hostel a truly pleasant and exhilarating place to stay in.

Museums and Exhibitions in Greece

by Stavros A. Paspalas

When most of us think of the archaeology of Crete, the great island that forms the frontier between the Aegean and the Libyan Sea, we naturally first visualize the famous sites and antiquities of the island’s Minoan culture: its palaces, colourful murals, fine pottery, vessels of precious metals and semi-precious stones, and the like. The **Archaeological Museum of Chania** (itself an interesting archaeological monument as it was first built in mediaeval times by the Venetians as a Franciscan church before being converted to an Ottoman mosque) has long had many artefacts on display that take us back to this Bronze Age culture as well as to other periods of western Crete’s past. In 2012, however, the museum added a new important dimension allowing its visitors’ an even greater appreciation of the island’s history. The museum’s numismatic collection was augmented by the addition of a large collection of, specifically, Cretan coins from the island’s many cities which minted their own issues in antiquity, and this collection was made available to the public in May in the guise of the exhibition entitled “**Ancient Cretan Coins Repatriated thanks to a Donation.**” Coins, of course, bear study on a myriad of levels,



Silver coin from Knossos, picturing the labyrinth (obverse) and the Minotaur (reverse), c. 480–450 BC.

from the meaning inherent in the iconographic types their issuers chose to stamp on them to the details of the economy of the day which they reveal. The newly-acquired collection at Chania is both a boon to researchers and to members of the interested public who wish to find out more about some of the (over forty!) mints that issued coins on the island from the fifth to the first century BC.



An Athenian silver tetradrachm picturing Athena's owl, 479–454 BC, and a silver stater of the Arcadian League picturing Zeus, c. 360 BC. Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection.

Coins, too, formed an important component of a major exhibition co-organised in Athens by the **National Archaeological Museum** and the **Numismatic Museum**. Indeed, the two sections of the exhibition were held simultaneously in both museums. The exhibition was entitled “**Myths and Coinage**,” and in each venue a range of coins (from a truly amazing number of mints) with mythological iconographic types were displayed alongside other artefacts which carry related representations. In this way the visitor gained a deeper

understanding of the myths involved and the various roles the stories and figures on which they are based played in the lives of the ancients. We may not be surprised to see a schematic representation of the Labyrinth pictured on the reverse of Knossos' coins, but why did the Corinthians choose Pegasus?

We have become accustomed over the years to expect the **Archaeological Museum of Thessalonike** to organize interesting and challenging temporary exhibitions, in addition to its truly amazing permanent collections. This past year has been no exception. The exhibition “**The Jews of Thessalonike. Indelible Marks in Space**” focused the visitor's attention on the long history of the Jewish inhabitants of the city. While much is known about the large community founded in the late fifteenth century by refugees from Ferdinand and Isabella's Spain, the Jewish presence in the city was much older and dates back to antiquity. There was, after all, a community to members of which St. Paul could address his epistles. This exhibition traced the Jewish presence in Thessalonike both through time and topographically throughout the city.



Ivory mask of Dionysos, from Sepino (Molise, Italy).



The Derveni Krater. Archaeological Museum of Thessalonike.

The second major temporary exhibition organized by the **Archaeological Museum of Thessalonike** was entitled “**The Gift of Dionysos. The Mythology of Wine in Central Italy and Northern Greece**.” Dionysos is central to so much of our appreciation of the ancient world and this exhibition made great strides in promoting our understanding of the similarities and contrasts of his role in the lives of the ancient inhabitants of Molise and Macedonia respectively. Both areas, of course, were (and are) active wine-producing regions, and so Dionysos' gift was indeed a godsend.

Thessalonike, of course, is also home to the truly magnificent **Museum of Byzantine Culture** at which the major temporary exhibition “**Byzantium and the Arabs**” was opened in October. This show is a fascinating exposé of the complex set of relationships between the Byzantine Empire and the Arab world from the seventh century until the Fall of Constantinople in 1453. Characterised both by peaceful relations as well as hostility this relationship saw much cross-fertilisation, which this exhibition so masterfully brought to the fore.

The new permanent display of the **Melos Mining Museum** takes us back to much earlier times. The exhibition entitled “**The Zafeiris Vaos Obsidian Collection**” focuses on the natural resource that made the island of Melos so important in the prehistoric Aegean—its very extensive outcrops of obsidian, a volcanic glass from which the ancients could make (prior to the introduction of more resistant metals) their most effective tools. The Collection consists of a very large number of all manner of tools and tool-making detritus which Zafeiris Vaos collected on the island, and is a good reminder of the important role that this island played in the economy of the Aegean millennia ago.

To return, though, to Athens. At the end of the year the **Museum of Cycladic Art/Nicholas and Dolly Goulandris Foundation** in Athens inaugurated what is planned to be a series of exhibitions to be held over a number of years. The series focuses on the archaeology and history of the Aegean’s many isolated and difficult-to-get-to islands, those which are known in Greek as being (in approximate translation) on the unprofitable shipping lanes (ἀγρονες γραμμές). The first of these exhibitions was entitled “**Islands off the Beaten Track. An Archaeological Journey to the Greek Islands of Kastelorizo, Syme, Halki, Tilos and Nisyros**” and, indeed, opened up for many visitors totally unknown vistas into the ancient world.



Selected objects from the Byzantium and the Arabs exhibition, Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessalonike.



View of Kastelorizio. Panorama by Cristo Vlahos.

Nea Paphos Theatre Excavations 2010

by Craig Barker



Figure 1: The 2010 team (photograph by Bob Miller).

Between October 1 and November 7, 2010, the Australian Archaeological Mission from the University of Sydney conducted its thirteenth season of excavations at the site of the ancient theatre of Nea Paphos. The team consisted of over 60 archaeologists, students and contributing volunteers (fig. 1). The season operated under the direction of Dr Craig Barker, Dr Smadar Gabrieli and Emeritus Professor Richard Green, and proceeded under the auspices of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus. For the second successive year the project enjoyed the financial and logistical support of the AAIA, for which Dr Barker was able to present a lecture in Athens on the team's progress midway through the season.

The primary aims were to complete the recording of finds and architecture for the final excavation report on the first decade of work at the site, and to explore in more detail the relationship between the theatre and the urban layout of the north-eastern quarter of the ancient city of Nea Paphos.



Figure 2: View of the theatre of Nea Paphos (photograph by Geoff Stennett).

Nea Paphos was the Hellenistic and Roman capital of Cyprus, acting as the administrative and political centre of the island from the Ptolemaic takeover in the third century BC until the fourth century AD. The town itself was founded by a local Cypriot king, Nikokles, in the late fourth century to take advantage of a natural harbour. The harbour of Nea Paphos would serve as a major trade emporium for several centuries, its favourable position within prevailing eastern Mediterranean wind patterns and sea currents, and its close proximity to Alexandria, seeing the city grow considerably under the Ptolemies, and further when the Romans controlled the island. The rich archaeological legacy of Nea Paphos in terms of preserved mosaics, extraordinary tomb architecture and other public and domestic structures saw the archaeological reserve gain World Heritage status in 1980. Included in this World Heritage listing was the hill that marked the boundary of the north-eastern quarter of the ancient city; known locally as Fabrika since the Middle Ages. The theatre was constructed into the southern slope of Fabrika, and would serve as a major venue for performance and entertainment for over six and a half centuries (fig. 2).¹



Figure 3: Mosaic in the eastern parodos where it is joined by the southern entranceway (photograph by Bob Miller).

In recent seasons focus has been on the south-eastern section of the theatre and excavations have been conducted under the remains of a former modern road and a number of now demolished farm houses. Over the past four years much of the eastern *parodos* has been revealed, including the southern entranceway (fig. 3), as well as a nymphaeum or fountain-house facing onto a Roman road surface. This work was begun to attempt a greater understanding of the urban context of the theatre precinct of the ancient north-eastern quarter of Nea Paphos, and the nature of the flow of pedestrian traffic to and from the theatre. Although this section of the site was heavily damaged by ancient quarrying and stone robbing and the modern intrusion of service pipes, it is providing us with some interesting new information about the urban layout of the town.

¹ C. Barker, "Nea Paphos Theatre Excavations 2009", *AAIA Bulletin* 7, 2009/10, 16–19, with extended bibliography.

Firstly, the theatre is built facing a south-westerly direction, towards the city's harbour. The paved third century AD road, south of the theatre, runs directly east-west, meaning that we have probably uncovered the northernmost crossroad of the ancient city. It has long been speculated that Paphos was constructed on a Hippodamian grid plan, and this road confirms the idea of an ordered north-eastern quarter, with insula blocks c. 35 x 80 m (fig. 4).

Secondly, the theatre was closer to the road on its eastern side than it was on the western side, meaning there was considerable space for additional public architecture in the western (and as-yet unexcavated) section, but only minimal space on the eastern side, closer to the city's ancient north-eastern gate (yet to be located). The discovery of a long narrow building (5 x 20 m), identified as a nyphaeum or fountain-house, facing directly onto the road confirms this. It would have provided an easy point of access to fresh drinking water from the road itself and, significantly, been one of the first public buildings accessed by travellers entering through the city's north-eastern gate. Small fragments of sculptural items such as a piece of a marble sea-creature indicate it may have been decorated with marine referencing sculpture. The precise chronology of the fountain-house is still unknown, but it likely predates the Antonine expansion of the theatre, when it seems considerable effort was made by the architects to divert the foundations of the Antonine theatre around its rear.

In 2010 eight new trenches were opened at the site. They were located in three main areas: the fountain-house; a section of the major road due south of the theatre; and in the western *parodos* of the theatre.

Trenches 10A, 10C, 10D, and 10G were all located in the area surrounding the fountain-house. Trench 10A was located on its eastern edge where a number of unusual stone structures were revealed in 2009. The excavations this year did little to clarify how this area was used, but a number of bedrock cuts demonstrate drains and foundations for walls. It is likely the drains were outlets, associated with both the theatre and the fountain-house. No eastern entrance to the eastern *parodos* was revealed (it is possible that it was blocked), nor was any relationship between the theatre and any external road.

On the western side of the fountain-house, Trench 10D extended upon the work begun last year. The southern end of this trench has exposed more of the Roman road and the northern end a sloping pathway leading from the road to the southern entrance of the eastern *parodos*. Faint traces of a heavy-duty pedestrian mosaic surface have been revealed, although the area is badly damaged. Better preserved is the geometric mosaic in the previously-excavated eastern *parodos* where the entranceway joins it (fig. 3). If the supposition that the eastern *parodos* was blocked is correct, this would have been one of the main points of entry into the theatre.

Trench 10G was not completed but comprises the baulk of fill in the very centre of the fountain-house. What seem to be the remains of a niche are appearing in the centre of the rear wall, and it is assumed that the mosaic floor will be uncovered when the trench is completed in 2011. Now that the fountain-house is almost completely exposed on all sides, it gives us a remarkable insight into the architecture of this structure. As with the rest of the building it is filled with rubble and debris (fig. 5).

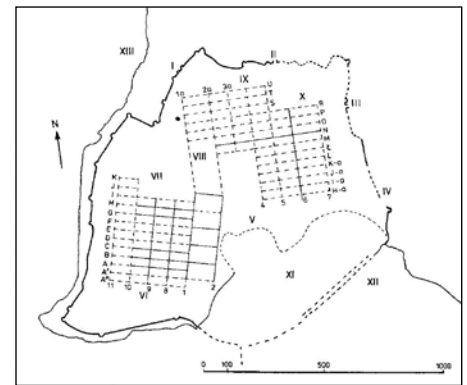


Figure 4a: the proposed Hippodamian grid plan for Hellenistic Nea Paphos, after J. Mlynarczyk, *Nea Paphos III: Nea Paphos in the Hellenistic Period* (Warsaw 1990) p.162. X marks the approximate location of the theatre, and R the road uncovered by the team.

Figure 4b: An aerial photograph from 1993, on which some of the modern roads appear to follow the ancient lines (copyright: Department of Lands and Surveys, Republic of Cyprus).



Figure 5: Trench 10G during early stages of excavation (photograph by Bob Miller).



Figure 6: Trench 10C viewed from the east (photograph by Ivana Vetta).



Figure 7: View across the site from the west during the 2010 excavations. Trench 10B is located in the center, to the south of the western analemma wall (photograph by Bob Miller).



Figure 8: The quarried stone cut in Trench 10B (photograph by Bob Miller).

Trench 10C was located directly south of the fountain-house, and brought the excavators down onto the surface of the Roman road which had been discovered in exploratory trenches in the 1990's, and partially exposed in the 2009 season. The trench was designed to expose the width of the road surface, which was paved with large limestone blocks approximately 100 cm x 50 cm in size (fig. 6). The road acted as a major thoroughfare for the north-eastern quarter of the ancient city and brought pedestrians to the fountain house and to the southern entrance of the theatre. To access the road excavators had to move considerable architectural stone blocks, presumably collapse from walls on its southern side due to the earthquake of 365AD; there does appear to have been some attempt in Late Antiquity to move some of the larger blocks from the northern edge of the road to the southern edge to create a narrow path way. On the original Roman road surface, excavators located two wheel ruts running east-west in direction, and a posthole. It now seems likely there

was a colonnade on the south side of the road as well, with a series of granite columns having fallen at various points along the road. The drain running underneath the road, explored in 1996, was not re-opened this season, but it now seems probable that an outlet from the fountain-house would have run into this system. The road and the buildings to the south of it will be explored more thoroughly in future seasons, as the urban complexities of this section of Nea Paphos are further uncovered.

Trench 10F is a rectangular trench that was extended to both the east and west during excavations. It was located almost due south of the centre of the theatre's orchestra, and west of the Roman road.

As expected the excavations revealed more of the medieval structures and courtyards that had been built over the top of the orchestra and stage building area in the Middle Ages. Deeper, and beneath the modern surface pipes, the excavators found sandstone pavers from the road surface. What was unexpected however, was the discovery of three stepped cuts in the bedrock facing onto the north of the road, in a due east-west direction. They indicate a degree of landscaping in the area between the road and the rear of the stage building, something that will be investigated in future seasons.

Trench 10B was focused around a bedrock cut in the western *parodos* of the theatre, previously explored in 2002 and 2008. It has proved to be one of the most extraordinary areas of the site, and one which is still providing interesting puzzles (fig. 7). A deep cut, several metres into the bedrock, has been revealed by successive seasons of excavations and although its full extent is still not known the eastern edge has now been largely exposed (fig. 8). In 2010, the excavators had to clear through considerable soil deposits and layers of plastered surfaces to get to the cut, which we are now certain is the edge of a quarry. This quarry, located in what would later become the western *parodos* of the theatre, must have provided stone for the original phase or phases of the theatre's architecture. The quarrying seems to have been discontinued once the nature of the stone changed, and was then re-filled. Eventually the fill was to become the basis for the floor (or floors) of the western *parodos*.

Trench 10E was located to the north of the relatively well-preserved western *analemma* wall. Limited excavation cleared the rubble of the western *cavea*

back to the original red soil packing level that provided the height for artificial seating. A portion of two internal retaining walls were revealed, both designed to hold the packing soil in place.

The last trench of the season, 10H, is a small, elongated trench south of the of the barrel-vaulted and plastered western *parodos*. It is an area of the site that remains little understood; the relationship between structures in this section with the theatre still requires additional excavation and research. However Trench 10H revealed the full extent of a geometric mosaic (c. 6.5 x 19 m), probably dating to the fifth century AD (fig. 9). If the dating is accurate, we have a tantalizing glimpse into a further aspect of the post-theatrical activities on the site beyond the quarrying and stone-robbing activity already determined. It is an exciting find too, as it is the first mosaic found in the precinct of the theatre to match in beauty the World Heritage listed mosaics of the domestic quarters of Nea Paphos closer to the harbour.



Figure 9: The mosaic of Trench 10H, facing north (photograph by Bob Miller).

Another aspect of the project in 2010 was the ground penetrating radar (GPR) survey conducted by Samantha Moody and Guy Hazell (fig. 10). This project surveyed a large area of land to the south of the site, in fields and areas of the town that are yet to be built upon, using a Mala X3M system with a monitor and a 500Mhz and 250Mhz antenna. The preliminary results are very encouraging as they clearly show buildings and other features in this area (fig. 10). Unfortunately, however, the sheer scale of building collapse and tumble of walls, most probably dating from the 365 AD earthquake, means that the clear outline of the insula blocks the team hoped to find were not visible. Nevertheless the project has added considerably to our knowledge of the area to the south of the theatre and will assist with the location of future excavation areas.



Figure 10: GPR surveying behind the stage building (photograph by Amanda Dusting).

The excavation team has been collaborating closely with the Science and Technology in Archaeology Research Center (STARC) of the Cyprus Institute, which is working towards the production of a three-dimensional model of the theatre based upon balloon photography and scanning recording conducted in 2008 (fig. 11). The eventual aim is to produce a 3D reconstruction of the theatre over different stages of its use. Outside of the excavations, the project's study team was working on a number of tasks during the season. In 2010 the publication of a medieval well excavated in 2001 was completed. This well was filled with debris from an earthquake of August 1303 AD, and will provide a significant contribution towards the understanding of medieval Paphos. A booklet on the excavations and the site will be published in Greek during 2011, as will a second edition of the English language version of the booklet. Substantial recording work was also completed by members of the study team during the season; work which will contribute to the definitive publication of the theatre, soon to be published.



Figure 11: A photogrammetry image of the Paphos theatre created from various images of the theatre taken in 2009 (copyright: STARC, Cyprus Institute).

*Academy Travel Bronze Age
and Classical Greece Tour
September/October 2011*

by Judy Roberts*

Warm days and balmy evenings were perfect for exploring ancient sites, reviving in shady cafes with coffee and baklava, and rooftop dining by the flood-lit Parthenon. Our group of 17 traced the history of Greece from the frescoed palace complexes of the Minoans on Crete to their Mycenaean contemporaries and their elaborate treasure-filled graves on the Peloponnese. We witnessed Sparta coming alive as participants in the *Spartathlon* ultramarathon tagged the bronze statue of the hero Leonidas in the centre of town. The runners had followed the footsteps of Pheidippides who ran 250 km from Athens to Sparta to seek help in the war against the Persians in 490 BC. We then travelled via Delphi to Athens to admire the magnificent architecture and artwork of the city that Plutarch accused Pericles of 'dressing up like a whore' in his ambitious building programme.



Judy Roberts at Delphi.

Few important decisions or journeys were embarked upon in the ancient world without consulting the oracle at Delphi for advice and approval. Dramatically located on the slopes of Mount Parnassos, Apollo's home was the most highly respected of Greek sanctuaries. It remains a must for visitors to Greece as a place that is spiritual and special.

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Ancient World Study Tour: In the Footsteps of Pausanias

by Amelia R. Brown



Participants of the University of Queensland's Ancient World Study Tour in Athens.

From February 4 to 23, 2011, I led the inaugural University of Queensland Ancient World Study Tour to the major sites and museums of Greece (ANCH2050). Twenty students from the Faculty of Arts enrolled in this second-year course in Ancient History, and were assisted by grants from UQ Advantage and the AAIA. The Tour itinerary followed in the footsteps of the ancient travel writer Pausanias, whose 2nd-century *Hellados Periegesis* (Guide to Greece) formed the main reading material for the course. Under the auspices of UQ's School of History, Philosophy, Religion & Classics and the AAIA, I took the students from Brisbane to Athens, around the Peloponnesos and northern Greece, and back to Brisbane. Though I chose the sites and museums to be visited, presentations on major historical events, figures and monuments were shared every day on-site by the students and philosophy professor William Grey, who also joined the tour. Though Greece was in the midst of winter, we enjoyed mild weather most days, and we were also assisted by our excellent bus driver, Michalis.

The tour began in Athens, capital city of modern Greece, and the major democratic city state of ancient Greece. We visited the temples on the Acropolis, the public buildings of the ancient democracy, and the Theatre of Dionysus, where ancient tragedies and comedies were first performed. The brand-new Acropolis Museum and the National Museum together contain the best collection of archaic and classical sculpture in the world, along with unique artefacts like the golden 'mask of Agamemnon' and the Antikythera mechanism.

From Athens we set out by bus around the Peloponnesos peninsula on the path of Pausanias. We first traveled to the ancient port city of Corinth, site of St Paul's ministry in Greece, where we climbed the Acrocorinth citadel, and visited our first Panhellenic athletic sanctuary, Isthmia. Our next stop was the neighboring Panhellenic athletic sanctuary, Nemea. In the well-preserved ancient stadium at Nemea, we recreated an ancient foot race using the original starting blocks, though with a few concessions to modernity—such as clothing.

We then moved south to the Bronze Age citadel of Mycenae, and ancient Sparta, where we visited the grave of Menelaus and Helen as well as the medieval city of Mystras. A high point was the crossing of Mount Taygetus, between Sparta and Messenia, where snow lay on the ground at about 1500 metres. We saw the well-preserved ancient city of Messene, and the palace of Nestor above the western port of Pylos. The first half of the trip concluded at the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, site of the ancient Olympic games. At the original Olympic stadium Andrew Bloyce successfully defended his Nemean crown by winning the 'stadium' race for a second time.



Visit to the Temple of Zeus, Nemea.

From Olympia we crossed to northern Greece by the new Rio bridge across the Gulf of Corinth, and heard evocative stories of the major naval battles for control of Europe fought on these western Greek waters in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Actium and Lepanto. Here we diverged briefly from Pausanias' itinerary to visit the important museums, cities and sanctuaries of northern Greece. Below further snow-capped mountains, including Mount Olympus, we climbed to the abandoned Classical city of Kassope and visited the oracular oak tree of Zeus at Dodona. Our time in the north concluded in Macedonia, at Greece's second largest city of Thessaloniki, and the royal Hellenistic capitals of Pella and Vergina, where Aristotle once taught Alexander the Great. A highlight was the tumulus at Vergina, where unlooted royal tombs of the family of Alexander and his father King Philip were excavated in 1977.

Finally, we returned to southern Greece at the famous pass of Thermopylae, where the hot springs sent steam up past the statue of Leonidas and the plaque inscribed with the ancient poem marking the last stand of his 300 Spartan warriors. Just south of the pass is Apollo's oracle at Delphi, navel of the ancient world. Though the Pythia was not giving replies, we did enjoy the fine new museum, the ruins of the sanctuary and one final Panhellenic stadium. Then it was time to return to Athens by way of further battlefields of the Persian Wars, waged almost exactly 2500 years ago. The border city of Plataia, where Persian forces were finally defeated, came first, and then the coastal bay of Marathon, where the Athenians and Plataians first drove off Persian invaders of Greece and set up tomb mounds and a marble trophy, recently restored. We traced the route of the original Marathon runner, Pheidippides, 26.2 miles from Marathon to Athens.

We then ended our trip at the Temple of Poseidon, god of the sea, at the southern tip of Attica. This is the very temple where Pausanias starts his guidebook, and it formed a fitting coda to our journey around Greece. Many thanks to my colleagues in the School of History, Philosophy, Religion & Classics, and to the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens, for supporting this life-changing experience for all the students who came along.

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The Persian Wars of the early fifth century BC shaped Athens' rise to prominence and power and arguably set the West on its course of democracy. The burial mound on the Plain of Marathon commands reverence, as do the sites of Thermopylae and Plataea where the Athenians and Spartans, supported by other Greek city states, fought for their freedom and homeland.

Since the modern building programme for the 2004 Olympics, Athens shines, boasting new buildings and facilities like the elegant Acropolis Museum and the Metro. The AAIA's Dr Stavros Paspalas showed another side of the city with an excellent walking tour of Philopappos Hill and environs. The ancient neighbourhood of Plaka is gentrified but lively with shops, bars and restaurants. Not that this group had much time for sipping frappés and people watching: they were diligent travellers, keen to learn and see as much as they could in their two weeks in glorious Greece.

*Judy Roberts holds a BA(hons) in Archaeology from the University of Sydney. She is a much-cherished volunteer at CCANESA, and leads tours for Academy Travel, a Corporate Member of the AAIA.



The tour group with, at right, co-guide Dr Archondia Thanos and guest lecturer Dr Stavros Paspalas.

Who Are You Calling A Philistine?

by Louise A. Hitchcock



The 2010 excavation team, with the Australian Ambassador, Andrea Faulkner (holding the right corner of the flag).



Early Philistine deep bowl of the 12th century with running spiral design, typical of Aegean pottery.



A pebbled Philistine hearth dated to the 10th century by radiocarbon dating and an associated clay sealing.

A team of 26 students led by A. Professor Louise Hitchcock of the University of Melbourne (back row, no. 7) in collaboration with Professor Aren Maeir of Bar Ilan University (back row, no. 6) has been working for the last four years at the site of Tell es-Safi in the Shephelah (low hills) situated between Jerusalem and Ashdod in modern-day Israel. Tell es-Safi is ancient Gath, one of the five cities of the Philistine Pentapolis (the others being Ekron, Ashdod, Ashkelon, and Gaza) and the home of Goliath, according to biblical tradition.

This project represents an important contribution to understanding the legacy of the Minoan and Mycenaean civilizations. It is believed that Philistines were among the “Sea Peoples”, who migrated from various points in the Aegean including Greece, Crete, the Dodecanese, the Anatolian coastline, and Cyprus. These migrations followed a series of cataclysmic events including the destruction of the Mycenaean citadels and the fall of Troy, events that ushered in the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age (c.1180 BC).

The Philistines were quite the opposite of modern connotations of the term. Their culture demonstrates many connections with Cyprus and the Aegean including the appearance of hearths, the consumption of pork, spool-shaped loom weights, locally produced Mycenaean style cooking pots and decorated pottery—particularly wine drinking sets consisting of a krater and deep bowls, notched animal scapulae for divination, animal head cups—and the introduction of iron working technology to the region.

The Melbourne team has excavated, recorded, and documented remains from the earliest Philistine layers on the site, dating from the 12th–10th centuries BC. These remains include architecture, cooking installations (hearths and ovens), feasting debris (cattle, pig, sheep/goat, dog, tortoise, and fish) mixed with ritual objects (an iron blade and figurines), two partially preserved surfaces made of hydraulic cement, and imported and locally produced Mycenaean style pottery.

An archaeological science team from the Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovot conducts on-site materials analysis of sediments and residues and off-site radiocarbon analysis of carbonized olive pips and seeds. Their collaboration has allowed us to confidently date the stratigraphy, and determine the composition of the hydraulic plaster surfaces excavated in 2009, which have their closest parallels in Minoan Crete. The Australian Research Council, the Institute for Aegean Prehistory, and the University Of Melbourne has generously supported the Melbourne team’s fieldwork at Tell es-Safi/Gath.

Romans in Greek Thrall*

by Tom Hillard

I begin where any paper with such a title must.

*Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis
intulit agresti Latio* (Horace *Epistles* 2.1, 156–157)
Captive Greece took captive the captor.

The tag is famous. The paradox was startling, and Horace would have been aware that he had coined a memorable aphorism in the jarring contradiction. He elaborates by way of succinct explanation. Greece, ‘having been conquered by the sword’, overcame by virtue of superior culture, ‘by bringing the arts to rustic Latium’. I am not suggesting for one minute that we ignore the harsh realities of the Greek situation under Roman rule. We need not go past the insights of the learned and worldly Plutarch of Chaeronea. His aim was to educate—and though, in his *Parallel Lives*, he might be seen to dwell in a bygone age, he was well aware of the politics of the ‘nowadays’.¹

Nowadays, when the affairs of cities no longer involve leadership in war nor the overthrow of tyranny nor the forming of alliances, what foundation for a famous and brilliant career could a man have? (Plutarch, *Praecepta gerendae reipublicae* 10 [= *Moralia* 805A])

There is here a nostalgic longing for past grandeur (which his *Lives* seem to feed and satisfy)—but he is absolutely realistic when it comes to giving advice to a young man who is setting out on a public career. Greece has been part of a Roman empire for close to two hundred years. “Both Greek and foreign wars have been banished from us and disappeared — and the people have as much freedom as those in authority deal out—and more is perhaps no better. When Perikles put on his general’s cloak,” Plutarch counsels his young friend, “he reminded himself ‘Watch out, Pericles. You rule free men. You rule Greeks, Athenian citizens.’ The statesman *nowadays* must remind himself: ‘You rule as a subject. You rule a city instructed by the proconsuls.’ You should not pride yourself, nor trust in crowns, when there is always a senator’s boot above your head.” (Plut. *Praecepta* 17 [= *Mor.* 813E])

In private and public discussion the politician must educate others in the weakness of Greek affairs. Under these conditions, wise people take the one advantage on offer, to live in calm and harmony. Fortune has left no prize to compete for. What authority

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* This is an abbreviated version of a seminar paper delivered at the AAIA Hostel in April 2011. I am grateful to Professor Alexander Cambitoglou for the invitation to address the Friends and to those who attended, especially to the Athens Epicurean Society (and in particular, Dr Christos Yapijakis) from whom I learned much. I would like to take this opportunity to thank in particular for their warm hospitality in Athens Ms Anne Hooten (Agora), Dr Bjørn Lovén (Danish Institute), Dr Stavros Paspalas and Ms Anthoulla Vassiliades; and Dr Wayne Mullen for his solicitous attention to administrative details at the Australian end. I thank also Janice Gemmel for bringing the Macmillan item to my attention.

¹ I am here, and in the following paragraph, in the debt of Goldhill, 252–53; cf. J. Oliver, *The Ruling Power* (Philadelphia 1953), 958 n.27. On Plutarch’s attestation “to the untidy complexities ... entailed by being Greek under Rome”, see W. J. Tatum, “Plutarch on being Greek under Rome”, *AAIA Bulletin* 6 (2008/2009), pp. 12–21 (and the works cited therein).

is there for those who win? What power is there when the small order of a proconsul can destroy it or transfer it to someone else? (Plut. *loc.cit.*)

The sense of resignation is understandable—though there were ways forward. In 1943, Harold Macmillan (the future British prime minister) wrote to a friend:

We, my dear Crossman, are Greeks in this American Empire. You will find the Americans much as the Greeks found the Romans—great big, vulgar, bustling people, more vigorous than we are and also more idle, with more unspoiled virtues but also more corrupt. We must run [Allied Forces Headquarters] as the Greek slaves ran the operations of the Emperor Claudius.²



Statue of Hadrian from the Athenian Agora. His cuirass shows Athena standing upon the wolf suckling Rome's twin founders, Romulus and Remus.

Horace, too, having lit upon the memory-catching turn of phrase, knew perfectly well that in this anomalous entry in some imaginary triumphal *fasti* lay a profound paradox demanding an explanation of the nature of the Greek triumph. (Though he may have been able to count the number of his own slaves on the fingers of two hands, one at least, he would have us believe, was Greek.)

Harold Macmillan points the way. The Greeks had been left with something of which to be proud (and they were): cultural capital—their intellect and seductive talents. And their triumph was not a mint product; the groundwork had been well laid. The catchy Horatian tag skews the chronology; it dates the Greek counter attack subsequent to the failure of Greek arms. (Are we to think only of 146 and the sack of Corinth?) Livy may well have had authorities who insisted that in the fourth century BC Roman boys were customarily educated in Etruscan letters, rather than in Greek “as they are *nowadays*” (9.36.4); but Greek cultural influences had long been a force in a Roman world. “There is no time and no place”, declared Arnaldo Momigliano, “in which the Romans were free from Greek influences.”³ He means, of course, that by the conventional date of Rome's foundation the Greeks were well and truly established on Italian shores. The earliest known inscription of Greek (letters on an *ostrakon*)—and that means *anywhere*—is from Gabii, just outside Rome, and dates from the early 8th century. And, according to the traditional story (Plutarch's *Romulus* 6.1), when Romulus and Remus, Rome's founding fathers, learned letters, they learned them at Gabii.

... after the children were weaned they were sent by those who were rearing them to Gabii, a town not far from the Palatine hill, to be instructed in Greek learning (*paideia*); ... being taught letters (*grammata*), music, and the use of Greek arms until they grew to manhood. (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 1.84.5)

No modern reader need believe that—but it remains an interesting cultural ‘memory’. The Romans had long felt outsiders looking in. In dire peril, as suppliant fringe-dwellers, they turned to Delphi. In 216, in the aftermath of the catastrophic battle of Cannae, they reverted to human sacrifice (by Apolline injunction) and consulted the oracle directly (and not for the first time, according to historical tradition).⁴ The leader of that mission, Fabius Pictor, had developed, or would quickly develop, a sense of history, no doubt stimulated (if not generated) by that journey to the centre of the earth. He would *write* History, Rome's history. And he would write that History (Rome's first) in Greek.

² C. Patten, *Not Quite the Diplomat. Home Truths about World Affairs* (London 2005), p. 88.

³ A. Momigliano, *Settimo contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico* (Rome 1984), p. 436.

⁴ Livy 22.57.5; 23.11.1–6; Plutarch, *Fabius* 18.

Within a mere two decades, the Romans, having returned to Greece in force, brought History with them—and one might say that they did so with a vengeance. In 196, Titus Quinctius Flaminius subscribed dedications at Delphi with a stunning message:

Sons of Zeus, who take delight in swift horsemanship, and Tyndaridae, kings of Sparta, Titus of the Aeneadae (that is to say, progeny of the Trojan Aeneas) has brought you the most valuable of gifts. For the sons of the Hellenes, he has fashioned Peace. (Plut. *Flam.* 12.6.)

Now, *there* is an unexpected epilogue to the Trojan War.

Half a century later, the Roman historian Acilius was still writing Roman history in Greek, and apologising to his Greek readership for any solecisms. Romans would be apologizing down into the first century; the urbane Lucius Licinius Lucullus said that he had sprinkled a few barbarisms throughout his work so that readers would be willing to believe that it was written by a Roman! (Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 1.19.10) Such cultural cringe as exhibited by Acilius outraged the crusty Cato, who had, in the same generation, written Rome's first History in Latin. By that stage, however, the impact was more in the nature of a flood—and Cato's own conversation, Plutarch triumphantly records, was peppered with Greek allusions. It was, reading Plutarch's *Life of Cato*, as if there was a struggle for Rome's very soul. Its manifestations in art, architecture and rhetoric are well known.⁵

But it was literature and philosophy that made the deepest inroads. Cato saw the dangers starkly (and Plutarch, despite the veneration involved in the composition of his portrait of the iconic Cato, had difficulty in accepting the point).

Cato declared in the tone of a prophet or a seer, that Rome would lose her empire if she became infected with Greek letters. But time has certainly shown the emptiness of this ill-boding speech of his, for while the city is at the zenith of its empire, she makes every form of Greek learning and culture her own. (Plutarch *Cato maior* 23. 2–3)

The education was direct, with the Roman élite enjoying the services of lifestyle coaches. The education was seductive, sometimes quite literally. And it is salutary to be reminded of how much academic enterprise was undertaken in a quasi-servile mode (that is, when education was not literally conducted by slaves).

I am particularly taken by one example that would have brought a wry smile to the face of Harold MacMillan.

It is said also that [Marcus Licinius Crassus, the associate of Pompey and Caesar]... was something of a philosopher, attaching himself to the doctrines of Aristotle, in which he had [a certain] Alexander as a teacher. [Alexander] gave proof of a remarkable good nature and mildness of disposition in his relationship with Crassus; for it is not easy to say whether he was poorer before or after his relations with his pupil. At any rate he was the only one of the friends of Crassus who always accompanied him when he

⁵ A. Wallace-Hadrill's *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge 2008) illuminates the transformation.

went abroad, and then he would receive a cloak for the journey, which would be reclaimed on his return. (Plutarch *Life of Crassus* 3.3–4)

The word ‘friend’ deserves to be bracketed within inverted commas. It was a euphemism used to soften the realities of social hierarchy with politely obfuscatory language. The man was a client. (I am struck—as Plutarch clearly was—by the image of him handing in his travel-*paenula* to the cloakroom, *post reditum*.) The genuine influence was there, though the intellectuals involved often occupied a merely parasitical position. The Greek ‘victory’ would need to be managed subtly. And yet the role of these advisers was sometimes of great significance. Theophanes of Mytilene became a constant companion of, and counsellor to, Pompey the Great. He also wrote a History glorifying Pompey’s military campaigns against Rome’s great enemy, Mithridates of Pontus. On that account, Pompey, returning from the East as conquering hero, unilaterally gave Mytilene its ‘freedom’. And on that latter account, Mytilene in turn awarded posthumous honours to Theophanes that were equivalent to those accorded the gods. He was identified with *Zeus Eleutherios* (Zeus the Liberator), acclaimed as Saviour and proclaimed “second founder of the fatherland”.⁶

When Octavian (the future Augustus) took the city of Alexandria in 30 BC, he announced to the terrified citizenry that he intended to spare the city because of his respect for Alexander (its founder), for the grandness of the city itself, and for his friend, the Alexandrian Areius Didymus.⁷ Areius had instructed Octavian in philosophy—and his beneficial influence with Augustus was long remembered. Themistius, the Aristotelian scholar and self-proclaimed philosopher who flourished in the fourth century AD, may have had his own reasons for transmitting the tradition, but he asserted that Augustus valued Areius no less than he did his right-hand man, Agrippa.

My particular interest, however, attaches to one Epicurean scholar of the first century: Phaîdros Lysiádou Bereníkides (hereafter in the Latinised form, Phaedrus). He deserves attention, too often slipping through the nets of many books on Hellenistic Athens, and even on occasion studies of Hellenistic philosophy. In his own world, he was not to be found in the shadows. He was for a time the Head of the Epicurean Kepos (or Garden)—from around 75 until 70 BC, well known to the Roman élite (to the members of which he was *philosophus nobilis*), and a prominent man of public affairs in Athens. His father had been an archon in the previous generation, as his son would be in the next.⁸ (It would be a mistake to believe that an Epicurean commitment to a life avoiding unnecessary anxieties precluded public service.)

Let me return to the esteem in which he was held by Roman contemporaries. He visited Rome in the period that Cicero (b. 106) styled his (sc. Cicero’s) ‘boyhood’. The timing is open to debate. We know that Phaedrus was in Athens in 94/3 since he reported a notorious incident of Roman impatience with philosophical subtleties and division. We are told that L. Gellius Publicola, at that time proconsul in Greece (and clearly not under Greek thrall), called together the philosophers in residence, and exhorted them to stop bickering and come to some consensus, ‘lest they waste their life in argument’. To this purpose he even offered his own good offices! Cicero assures us that Publicola

⁶ Plut. *Pomp.* 42; Tacitus, *Annals* 6.18.2; *Syll.*³ 752/4.

⁷ Plutarch’s *Antony* 80; Dio’s *Roman History* 51.16.4.

⁸ Raubitschek 96–103 [= (1991), 337–44].

was joking (*On the Laws* 1.53). All the same, Phaedrus could be confident that he would find more receptive ears in Rome itself, and seems to have visited at some time after that. (To adumbrate the Epicurean impact on Italy would require another paper. The convocation of Epicureans on the Bay of Naples, and in particular the influence of Philodemus of Gadara, resident probably in Herculaneum's famed Villa of the Papyri, has especially received attention.) It is usually assumed that he left Athens during the pro-Mithridatic regime of Athenion/Aristion. There is report of other intellectuals leaving the city at the same time. And Phaedrus may have had reason to think that the desideratum of living 'unnoticed' (as the Epicurean maxim put it) would now be difficult. Putting aside the problem of whether Athenion and Aristion ought to be identified as the one person, philosophy may have been compromised. The sources designate Athenion a Peripatetic and Aristion an Epicurean.⁹ The sources are uniformly hostile, and dwell in dramatic detail on the alleged excesses of the regime. As our Epicurean friends insisted at the seminar in Athens, a degree of scepticism is required when reading 'historical' accounts stemming from those who were philosophically antagonistic. All the same, Phaedrus may have found a lecture tour of the West timely. In Rome, Phaedrus found welcome. Cicero acknowledges that he was deeply impressed (until converted to the Academy shortly after). His friend Titus Pomponius Atticus, however, was struck. He would remain enamoured of Phaedrus, Cicero speaking of his affection for the man as truly passionate,¹⁰ and Cicero remained of the opinion, despite his prejudice against Epicureanism, that Phaedrus was a man of high principle—and a point of reference. In August, 45 BC, when writing his treatise *On the Nature of the Gods*, a work exploring the various philosophical positions on the divine, Cicero wrote to Atticus asking for the loan of Phaedrus' work in that area (*Att.* 13.39.2).

Phaedrus' stay in Rome was not lengthy. On March 1st, 86 BC, Athens was retaken by Roman arms, under the command of one who would etch his name in blood—both in Athens and subsequently in Rome itself: Lucius Cornelius Sulla. After this, both Atticus and Phaedrus are found in Athens. If it is correct to think that Phaedrus quit Athens around 89/88 because he judged the foreign policy of the pro-Mithridatic regime to be ill conceived, Phaedrus may well have offered Atticus a philosophical model. Atticus, we are told by his friend Cornelius Nepos (*Atticus* 2), judged that the situation of civil unrest in Rome was such that a man of his station could not live in a way that his *dignitas* required without giving offence to one side or the other; he judged the time favourable for pursuing his cultural interests. In Athens, however, his profile was a high one.

There he lived in such a manner that he was deservedly very dear to all the Athenians. For ... he often relieved their public necessities by his wealth. For, example, when the state needed to negotiate a loan and could not do so on fair terms, he always came to the rescue ... He added to this service still another act of generosity; for he made a distribution of grain to the entire people. (Nepos, *Atticus* 2.4–6 [Loeb trans.])

The timeliness of his advent must not be underestimated. Athens had grievously suffered. We may put to one side the jaundiced account of suffering under the



*Epicurus. 341–270 BC.
Bronze bust found in the Villa
of the Papyri, Herculaneum.
Naples Museum 5465.*

⁹ For Aristion, see Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 28.

¹⁰ Cicero, *Letters to his Friends* 13.1.2.

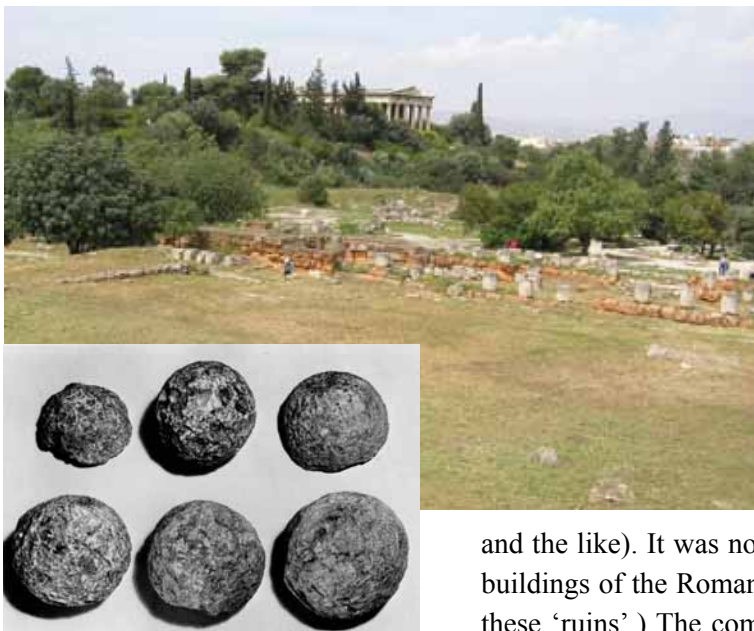
pro-Mithridatic regime (Athenaeus *Deipnosophistai* 5.211D–214E), but the devastation caused by Sulla's siege and subsequent taking of the city was horrendous.¹¹ The harbinger was the fevered destruction of the Academy's grove to supply the requisite timber for siege-engines. (The Lyceum was also destroyed.) Within the walls, the citizenry was reduced to the dreadful expedient of cannibalism (or so it was claimed by the victors).

Sulla 'spared the city', but directed his troops against the inhabitants—the ancient equivalent of a neutron bomb. The Kerameikos, the point at which Sulla had breached the walls, had run with blood.

Sulla himself led his army into the city at midnight. The sight of him was made terrible by blasts of many trumpets and bugles, and by the yelling of the [Roman] soldiery now let loose by him for pillage and killing, as they rushed through the narrow streets with swords drawn. There was, therefore, no counting the slain, but their numbers are to this day determined only by the space that was covered with blood. For without mention of those who were killed elsewhere in the city, the blood that was shed in the Agora covered all the Cerameicus inside the Dipylon Gate; many indeed say that it flowed through the Gate and flooded the suburb. (Plut. *Sull.* 143–4)

The enfeebled defenders were promptly routed ... And a great and merciless slaughter began. The inhabitants were, from lack of food, too weak to flee and Sulla ordered an indiscriminate massacre, not sparing women or children ... Most of the Athenians when they heard the order rushed upon the Roman swords voluntarily ... Sulla forbade the burning of the city, but gave permission that it be plundered. (Appian *Mithr.* 38)

Southwest quarter of the Agora, with (inset) the Roman catapult balls that were discovered in the area (after Thompson and Wycherley, pl. 42c).



The sparing of the city's celebrated public buildings was relative. Its fortifications, of course, were a target. The Long Walls fell, never to rise again. In the figurative stratigraphy of the Agora, Sulla's intrusion provides a destruction layer; the southwest quarter especially suffered. Archaeological evidence shows damage to, *inter alia*, the Tholos, the Southwest Fountain house and the area that was traditionally identified with the Heliaea (or Courts). The area may have seen fighting; Roman catapult balls have been found here. The south side of the Agora, after a period of desolation, was given over to private industrial concerns (potters, metalworkers

and the like). It was not restored until the time of Hadrian. (In the meantime, buildings of the Roman period were constructed from material salvaged from these 'ruins'.) The complex water supply to the Bouleterion and Tholos was destroyed. The damage to this area, then, was not only physical; it destroyed the infrastructure of civic government on which Athens prided itself.

The Odeion was destroyed—collateral damage. Dedicatory shields hanging in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios were pillaged (Pausanias 10.21.5–6). The irony of this desecration of a monument to the preservation of Athenian liberty and to

¹¹ The fullest accounts will be found in Plutarch's *Sulla* 12–14; and Appian, *Mithr.* 28; 30–40.

those who had died for Athens was dark. The enormous columns of the Olympeion did not escape Sulla's attention (Pliny *Natural History* 36.45). They—or their capitals—might serve Jupiter Optimus Maximus in Rome.

Benefaction in a time of post-war restoration was opportune—and appreciated.

The result was that the state confirmed upon [Atticus] all possible honours and wished to make him a citizen of Athens. So long as he was in Athens, he opposed the erection of any statue in his honour; but he could not prevent it after he left. And so they set up several to himself and Phidias in their most sacred places; for they found him an adviser and a help in all the administration of their state (Nepos, *Atticus* 3).

Who was his partner in public acclaim? No Phidias is known at this time. Commentators have suspected a textual error and supplied *Pilia*, Atticus' wife, or various other alternatives. Atticus was, however, unmarried at this point; and remained so until 56, having left Athens in 65. Moreover, the syntax of the Latin sentence suggests that second individual was also a bulwark to public administration. My colleague Lea Beness and I have a longer paper in preparation wherein we elaborate why the reading should be *Phaedrus*. A statue to an Epicurean philosopher seems, at first sight, an unexpected occurrence; but in fact, thanks to the brilliant reconstructions of Raubitschek, we know that *Phaedrus* was the recipient of such honours on the Acropolis and even in, it would seem from one find site, the Eleusinion. A Pentelic marble base found close by indicates that one of the Roman Saufeian brothers, also 'students', dedicated a herm of *Phaedrus* 'their *kathegetes* (teacher)' to the goddesses. The context is anomalous, given Epicurean sentiments—but it is ill advised to straightjacket *Phaedrus*. That he received public honour is not in doubt. (He had not lived 'unnoticed'. Epicureans should not *seek* honour; they might receive it.) The Athenians knew whom they had to thank for their salvation: Atticus' Epicurean guide. In celebrating the generosity of T. Pomponius Atticus, they also celebrated a Greek victory.

Attica capta Atticum cepit



The Olympeion. Detail of the column capitals.



*Above: the site of the Eleusinion, left of the Panathenaic Way leading to the Acropolis. Below: the herm base with dedicatory inscription to *Phaedrus* (after Raubitschek, pl. 3).*

Recent Australian Research on the Early and Middle Bronze Age in Cyprus

by Jennifer M. Webb

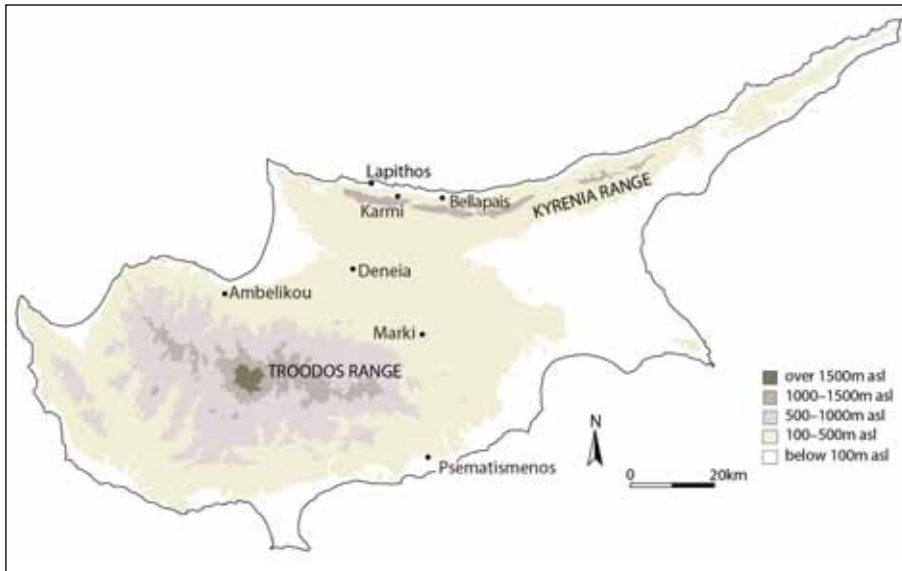


Figure 1. Map of Cyprus showing sites mentioned in the text.

Over the last four years a research team from La Trobe University, led by David Frankel and myself, has completed two major projects in Cyprus and begun work on another. All three involve the Early and/or Middle Bronze Age (c. 2400–1650 BC) and have contributed significantly to our understanding of the island's history. They continue a long tradition of Australian involvement in Cypriot archaeology—which began with the work of Professor James Stewart in the 1930s—and build on our own previous work on the island. This includes

a decade of excavations at the Early and Middle Bronze Age settlement of Marki, survey and excavations at two Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age cemeteries at Deneia and the excavation of a Chalcolithic hunting station at Politiko (fig. 1). All were carried out with funding from the Australian Research Council and the assistance of several generations of students from La Trobe University and elsewhere and all have been fully published.¹ The two more recently completed projects are described below.

¹ Frankel, D. and J.M. Webb, *Marki Alonia. An Early and Middle Bronze Age Town in Cyprus. Excavations 1990–1994. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology CXXIII:1* (Jonsered 1996); *Marki Alonia. An Early and Middle Bronze Age Settlement in Cyprus. Excavations 1995–2000. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology CXXIII:2* (Sävedalen 2006); *The Bronze Age Cemeteries at Deneia in Cyprus. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology CXXXV* (Sävedalen 2007) and J.M. Webb, D. Frankel, P. Croft and C. McCartney, “Excavations at Politiko Kokkinorotsos. A Chalcolithic hunting station in Cyprus”, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 75 (2009), pp. 189–237.

² J.R.B. Stewart, “The Tomb of the Seafarer at Karmi,” *Opuscula Atheniensia* IV (1962), pp. 197–204.

³ Webb, J.M., D. Frankel, K.O. Eriksson and J.B. Hennessy, *The Bronze Age Cemeteries at Karmi Palealona and Lapatsa in Cyprus. Excavations by J.R.B. Stewart, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology CXXXVI* (Sävedalen 2009).

Early and Middle Bronze Age cemeteries at Karmi

Excavations at Karmi Lapatsa and Palealona in northern Cyprus were carried out by James Stewart in 1961 (fig. 2). Stewart, who was then Professor of Middle Eastern Archaeology at the University of Sydney, had previously excavated several Bronze Age cemeteries in Cyprus. In 1961, he was, however, seriously ill, and he died in February 1962 at the age of 48. The finds were brought to Australia, with the exception of those from Lapatsa Tomb 1 and Palealona Tombs 6 and 11, which were retained by the Cyprus Museum. Several tomb groups were later dispersed to museums in Australia, New Zealand, Sweden and the United States. Most of the material, however, is now in the Nicholson Museum. Although a brief report by Stewart on Palealona Tomb 11B appeared in 1962,² the great majority of the Karmi finds remained unpublished at the time of his death.

The task of publishing the Karmi excavations fell initially to Stewart's widow, Mrs. D. E. (Eve) Stewart, who supervised much of the work in the field as well as the mending and documenting of the pottery. Later, Professor J. Basil Hennessy, who succeeded Stewart at the University of Sydney in 1973, assumed responsibility. He brought Dr Kathryn Eriksson into the project and much work was done on the catalogues. In 2008 we were invited to put together the final report on Karmi Lapatsa and Palealona. This was published in 2009.³

The publication of excavations in which one has not been involved is always difficult. One of the greatest challenges in this case arose from the fact that the field notes were lost soon after Stewart returned to Australia. Fortunately, however, one of Stewart's students, Dr Robert Merrillees, who worked at Karmi in 1961, kept a daily record of events and generously provided access to these and to his collection of colour slides. Meticulously drawn tomb plans and black-and-white photographs of the excavations in progress also helped considerably in our task.

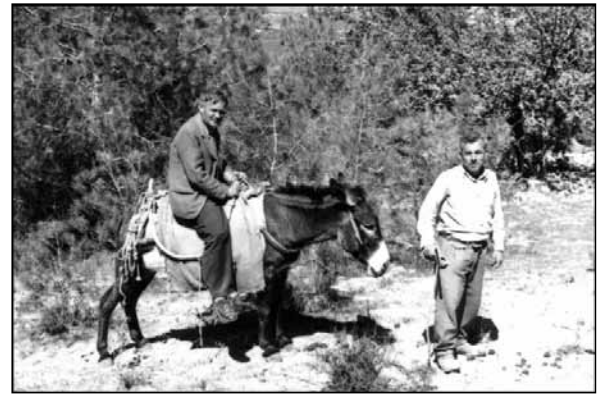


Figure 2. James Stewart at Karmi, 1961.

The sites at Karmi Lapatsa and Palealona lie midway between major contemporary settlements at Lapithos and Bellapais in one of the most densely populated regions of the island during the Early and Middle Bronze Age. Although the settlements associated with the cemeteries were probably quite small, the contents of the tombs are of considerable interest. In total they produced 953 items, including 843 pottery vessels, seven clay figurines, 39 spindle whorls and 39 copper-base artefacts. The value of this assemblage is increased by the fact that it comes from the northern half of Cyprus, which has been inaccessible to Greek Cypriot and foreign archaeologists since the Turkish invasion in 1974.

Stewart excavated 14 tomb chambers at Lapatsa. These produced skeletal remains from at least 19 burials. He then moved operations to the Palealona cemetery, located in a gently sloping field 300m northeast of the modern village. Here the tombs were more closely spaced, often underlying or intersecting each other, over an excavated area of approximately 525m² (fig. 3). Twenty-eight chambers were identified, for the most part more deeply cut and better preserved than those at Lapatsa. The number of individual burials identified is some two dozen, but in many cases no record survives of either the presence or absence of skeletal material. Periodic flooding, roof-collapse, and looting had also affected the survival and distribution of bones and pottery.

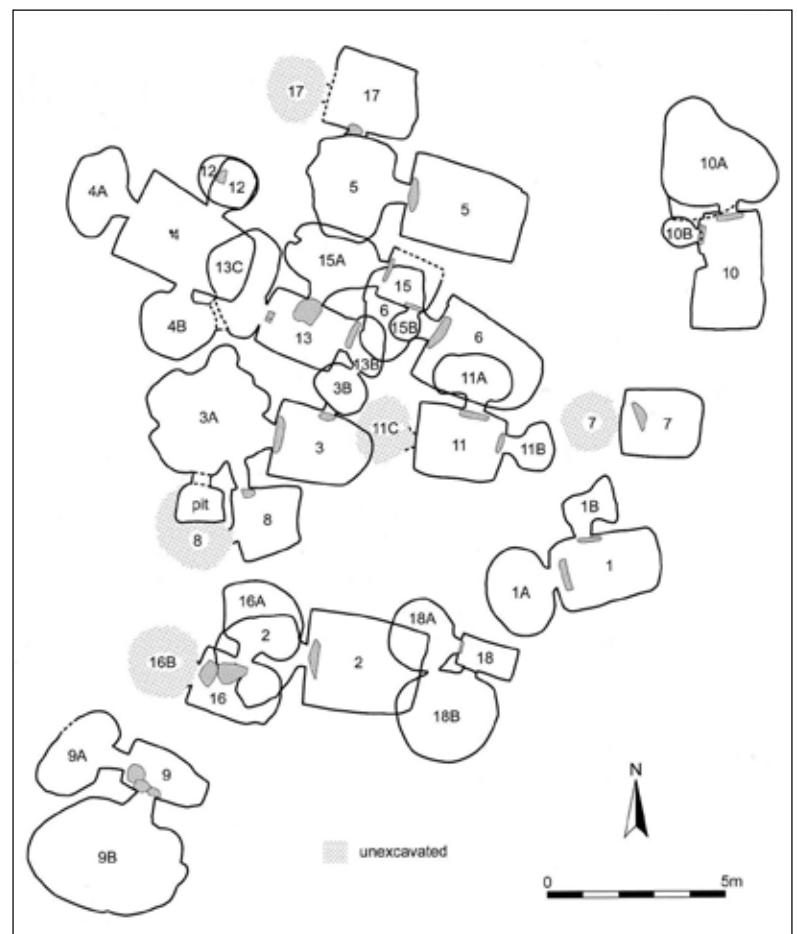


Figure 3. Plan of the excavated tombs at Karmi Palealona.

At both Lapatsa and Palealona tombs typically have rectangular entrance shafts (*dromoi*), measuring about 2m wide and 2 to 3m long, cut into the soft limestone, with sloping floors to a depth of 1 to 2m. At the deepest end, a small oval or rectangular opening was cut into a low oval chamber, about 3m² in area. The topography determined tomb orientation, with the *dromoi* cut parallel to the hill slope in each instance. Given the time it must have taken to make a tomb, it can be assumed that they were cut well before their first use and that the construction of a tomb was an important activity, signalling status, identity, and belonging.

Most tombs were used for a number of successive burials. Both the bones and the grave goods of earlier interments were pushed aside or removed to make room for new occupants. In many cases, the remnant presence of earlier vessels in the chambers suggests a long history of reuse. Several tombs at Palealona, indeed, appear to have been in use for at least 300 years.

The great majority of tomb goods are pottery vessels. Most belong to a handmade red-slipped fabric known as Red Polished ware (fig. 4). Vessels are relatively soft-fired and made from well-levigated, calcium-rich clays with lustrous slips. Small bowls are normally fired black on the interior and in a band below the rim on the exterior while flasks are fired black on the upper body and neck. Incised decoration is relatively common and relief decoration appears in the form of snakes, knobs and horizontal lines on jugs. Vessels are often richly decorated, particularly in the case of conical vessels known as ‘tulip bowls’ which probably served as drinking cups. These may have been produced specifically for use during mortuary ceremonies. They offer clear potential for the marking of individual identity and status.

The large quantities of vessels found in Cypriot Bronze Age tombs have traditionally been viewed as personal possessions of the dead and hence as

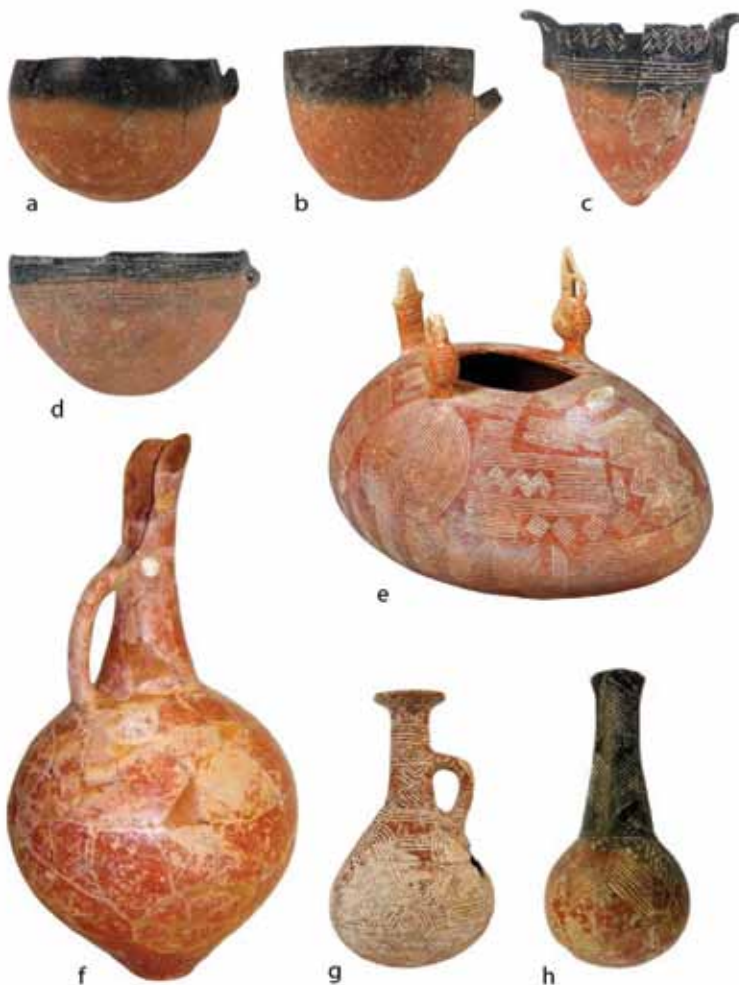


Figure 4. Red Polished ware vessels from Karmi (photographs courtesy of Palgrave Macmillan and the Ian Potter Museum (a–d, g), the University of Canterbury and James Logie Memorial Collection (e), the University of New England Museum of Antiquities (f) and Peter Saad (h).



Figure 5. The anthropomorphic figure in the dromos of Karmi Palealona Tomb 6.

evidence of a belief in a physical afterlife. It is possible to suggest, however, that most grave goods are residues of mortuary feasts held in or near the tomb at the time of burial. The regular presence of animal bones in north coast chambers is also suggestive of feasting. Indeed, funerals are likely to have been significant occasions of social display, reflecting the status of the deceased as well as that of the mourners.

Several dromoi at Karmi have carvings on their walls. Of greatest interest are those in Palealona Tomb 6, where vertical relief panels are found on both sidewalls and on the end wall above the chamber entrance. On the right-hand wall there is in addition a bas-relief human figure, about 1.16m in height, which appears to depict a nude female (fig. 5). Nothing like it is yet known from other sites. The relief panels, however, recall the vertical uprights depicted on several terracotta models, possibly depicting shrines, reinforcing the view that tombs were the site of ritual activity during and perhaps after funerals.

After the body and grave goods were placed in the chamber the doorway was blocked with a large limestone slab. In some cases, a packing of smaller rocks was placed against the slab. The packing stones and slab were removed and replaced during each subsequent use of the tomb.

Not all tombs, however, were reused. One significant example of a single male burial, dating to the Middle Bronze Age, was found in Chamber B of Palealona Tomb 11 (fig. 6). The corpse had been laid on its left side, the skull facing the entrance. The knees were drawn up and the arms bent with the hands near the face. Around the body were seven pottery vessels. These included examples of White Painted ware, characteristic of the Middle Bronze Age, as well as Red Polished ware. Most unusually, there was also a fine decorated cup of Kamares ware—an import from Minoan Crete. Such imports are very rare in Cyprus, which appears to have been largely isolated from the outside world at this time. In addition, a bronze knife was found near the skull, a spearhead near the abdomen and a paste bead under the skull.

In the only publication Stewart was able to prepare on the Karmi excavations before his death he presented Palealona Tomb 11B as the ‘Tomb of the Seafarer’. In this he indulged in a fantasy based on the presence of the paste bead and the Kamares ware cup, suggesting that the occupant of the tomb ‘probably walked down to the sea at Lapithos and took service with one of the vessels trading between the Syrian ports and the Aegean and ... these two objects are mementos of his travels’.⁴

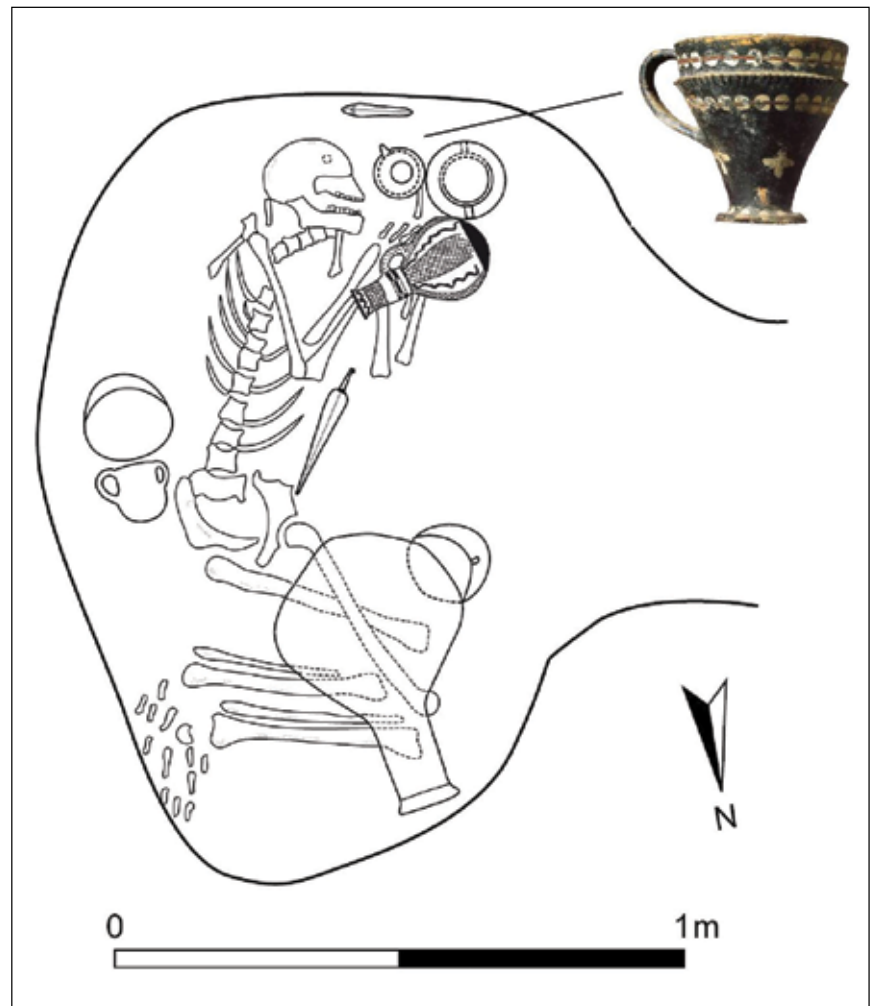


Figure 6. Karmi Palealona Tomb 11B, the ‘Tomb of the Seafarer’, with inset showing the Kamares ware cup.

⁴ J.R.B. Stewart, *art. cit.*, p. 204.

Although precise age estimates are difficult, the occupant of Tomb 11B certainly died an older man, perhaps in his sixties or more. This is well beyond normal life expectancy. Analysis of his skeletal remains identified multiple pathologies and anomalies.⁵ These include severe wear on the teeth, lytic lesions on the right temporo-mandibular joint and right clavicle, a possible compression fracture and a congenital defect to the lower spine. While some of these developed as a response to disease processes during the course of his life, the latter condition would have significantly impeded mobility from birth.

The range of grave goods in Tomb 11B fits with the common array of items placed with the dead at Karmi. There is, however, a high proportion of more unusual objects, including one of only two spearheads recovered at Palealona and the Kamares ware cup which was found upside down near the right hand. The circumstances of burial are also unusual. Tomb 11 differs in its alignment from most excavated tombs at Palealona. Its location and orientation may have been intended to establish a connection to Tomb 6 with its unique *dromos* features, reinforcing a view of the centrality of that tomb and its occupants. Tomb 11 is also the latest of the excavated tombs and the only one newly constructed in the Middle Bronze Age. Other Middle Bronze age burials at Palealona took place in the chambers of existing tombs.

This differential treatment singles out the occupants of all three chambers of Tomb 11. Whether it reflects their relative status within the community or identifies them as newcomers without existing family tombs and possibly with different mortuary traditions is unclear. Given the possibility that those buried in Tomb 11 may have come from elsewhere, the presence of the Kamares ware cup in Chamber B is even more intriguing. While his identity as a ‘seafarer’ appears unlikely, given his limited mobility, the objects buried with this individual suggest that he was a prominent figure at the time of his death. Whether this was due to advanced age, personal achievements or ascribed through birth and family associations, remains an open question.

An Early Bronze Age cemetery at Psematismenos

The second project was undertaken with Dr Giorgos Georgiou from the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus and involved the excavation and publication of an Early Bronze Age cemetery at Treloukkas, near the village of Psematismenos on the south coast. The excavations were conducted in spring 2008 by Georgiou with the assistance of several technicians from the Larnaca District Museum. We were given responsibility for the conservation, documentation and publication of the finds, ably assisted by our team of conservators, draftspersons and photographers from La Trobe University. The unexpected quantity of material and the difficulties of cleaning the compacted lime-plaster fill within and on the surfaces of the vessels meant that only half of the assemblage could be processed in 2008. The remainder was documented in March 2009 and a brief additional study was undertaken in 2010, when the elemental composition of over one third of the ceramic assemblage was assayed using a portable XRF device. A full report on the excavations and finds was published in 2011.⁶

Forty-seven tombs were investigated (fig. 7). Almost all were constructed and used within a relatively short period during Early Cypriot I–II (c. 2300–

⁵ K.O. Lorentz, “Human remains in the Cyprus Museum” in Webb et al., *op. cit.* (Sävedalen 2009), pp. 268–274.

⁶ G. Georgiou, J.M. Webb and D. Frankel, Psematismenos-Treloukkas. *An Early Bronze Age Cemetery in Cyprus* (Nicosia 2011).

2200 BC), providing an unusually tight control on chronology. They produced 657 vessels, four spindle whorls, two copper spearheads, two copper dress pins, a copper needle and over 1600 disc-shaped beads of stone and bone (fig. 8). This is the largest ceramic sample from any site of the Early Cypriot I–II period, with the exception of Bellapais on the north coast. Psematismenos is also one of few unlooted cemeteries to be scientifically investigated. Together with evidence from previous work in the area, the tombs have shed new light on social developments in south Cyprus and on relations between the south, centre and north coast in the first half of the Early Bronze Age.

The excavation was undertaken under rescue conditions, following an application for a building permit. Two tombs had been previously excavated in the same plot. One was discovered in 1982 when an army tank passed over it during manoeuvres causing the collapse of its roof. Subsequently, in 1988, a large part of the plot was levelled by a bulldozer, resulting in the destruction of a number of additional tombs. In 1999 Georgiou excavated another tomb chamber which had been partly cut by the bulldozer. The 47 tombs excavated in 2008 occupied an area measuring 48m from north to south and 34m from east to west. Assuming a distribution of tombs covering partly or entirely the space between the previously excavated tombs and those investigated in 2008, the original number of tombs may be estimated as between 65 and 100. They are broadly aligned along a northwest-southeast axis, following the general slope of the hillside.

Three tomb types were identified. Chamber tombs of large and medium size were the most common. They consisted of an oval chamber with a flat floor, short vertical walls curving up towards a domed roof, a squarish opening set well above the floor and a stone slab which sealed the entrance. Miniature versions comprised the second type. These are of exactly the same form as the larger chambers, only on a smaller scale with a maximum diameter of 1m or less. Another eight features were identified as ‘pit tombs’. These were difficult to define and filled with hard deposits containing artefacts. Human bones were traced in two cases, providing solid evidence that they were in fact tombs.

Typically, the lower part of each chamber was covered by a limestone matrix, encasing most or all of the artefacts on the floor. In some instances, this was of such extreme hardness that groups of vessels were lifted and transferred to the conservation laboratory *en bloc* where small vessels were frequently found stacked inside larger

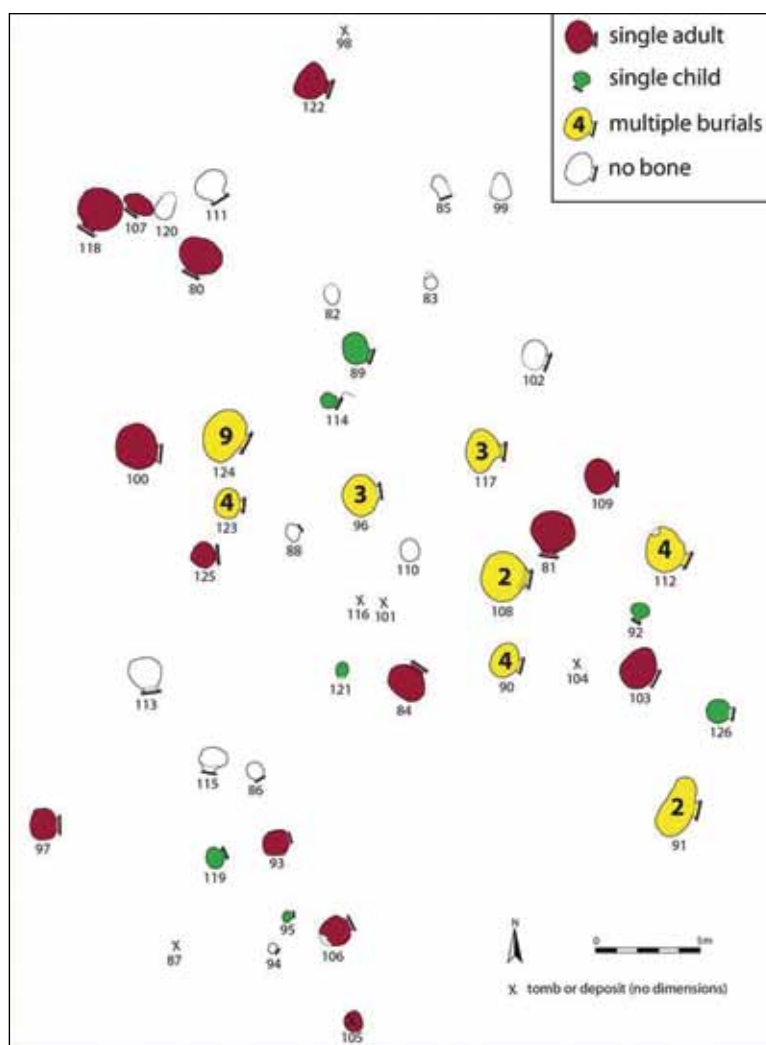


Figure 7. Plan of the tombs excavated in 2008 at Psematismenos, showing the type and number of burials in each tomb.



Figure 8. Two copper spearheads and jasper and basalt beads from Psematismenos (photographs by Rudy Frank).

vessels (fig. 9). These soil conditions also prevented the tracing of the *dromoi* in most instances. The limestone deposits that filled the shafts cut to provide access to the chambers had reconsolidated and blended with the surrounding bedrock and no way of reliably detecting the boundary between the two could be found. These difficulties are no doubt one reason why the cemetery had largely escaped the looting so prevalent elsewhere in Cyprus.

The great majority of vessels recovered belong to a fabric known as Red Polished Mottled ware (figs. 9–10). They are characterised by flat bases and hard-fired,

gritty orange-brown fabrics with an evenly polished slight to medium lustrous slip and patches of medium to distinct mottling. There can be little doubt that mottling was viewed as a form of surface decoration and that conditions were deliberately created during firing to ensure this outcome. Exactly how it was achieved, however, is uncertain. It may have begun as a case of aesthetic serendipity—a lucky accident that became cultivated for its attractive effect and ultimately developed into a distinct style.

Red Polished Mottled ware vessels appear in a limited array of forms and are almost entirely free of traditional forms of decoration. Mottling itself, however, might be seen as the equivalent of the red/black aesthetic expressed on the north coast in the controlled production of black-topped vessels (see fig. 4). It also offers a significant contrast to the incised and modelled decoration on north coast Red Polished. Similarities between Red Polished Mottled and east Cretan Vasiliki wares have often been noted and the possibility of a transmission of the technology of mottled fabrics from Crete to Cyprus (or vice versa) has been discussed by several scholars. While they have much in common, however, there are essential differences between these fabrics which make this unlikely. In particular Red Polished Mottled shows no evidence of the deliberate patterning sometimes achieved by Cretan potters and it would appear that mottling is a result of processes that occurred during firing, while characteristic examples of Vasiliki ware may have been produced by applying a reducing agent to the surface after firing. A fuller understanding of the techniques of Red Polished Mottled ware potters, however, awaits more detailed investigation.

Human remains survived in 29 tombs (see fig. 7). Of these nine held single adults, five single adult or older sub-adults, six single sub-adults and one a single individual of indeterminable age. Another



Figure 9. A cluster of small bowls found inside a large bowl at Psematismenos (photograph by Rudy Frank).



Figure 10. Red Polished Mottled ware vessels from Psematismenos (photographs by Rudy Frank).

three tombs contained the remains of single adults and one, two or three sub-adults and the remaining chambers, variously, two adults, three adults, four adults and five adults and four sub-adults. It is thus clear that single burial was the norm (with 72.4% of tombs holding single interments). The small or miniature chambers were, not surprisingly, exclusively used for sub-adults. Males and females occur in the same tombs. Females occur as single burials and males in tombs containing sub-adults. There is no significant difference in the range of material deposited with men, women and children.

Analysis of the skeletal material suggests that the mortuary population represented by the 2008 tombs includes a minimum of 28 sub-adults, 32 adults and four adults or older sub-adults. If the four adult/older sub-adult individuals whose age could not be precisely determined are removed from the sample, the proportion of sub-adults may be estimated at 46.7%. This is of some importance as Psemmatismenos is the first excavated Early Cypriot cemetery in which sub-adults are represented in numbers which accord with the expected rate of sub-adult mortality in a prehistoric population. Elsewhere infants and children are significantly under-represented (skeletal material from Karmi, for example, included only two sub-adults). Similarly the cutting of tombs for sub-adults is not in evidence on the north coast, suggesting significant regional differences in the mortuary treatment of children at this time.

Dental enamel hypoplasia occurs on the dentitions of at least ten individuals with the number of episodes present on a single tooth ranging from one to three. This suggests that people at Psemmatismenos were subject to health stresses during childhood. Specific causes for enamel hypoplasia include fevers, gut parasites, diarrhoea, rickets and other vitamin deficiencies, whooping cough, pneumonia and general malnutrition.

Our work on the largely contemporary mortuary assemblages from Karmi and Psemmatismenos has provided a clearer picture of developments across the island at this time than was previously possible. It is now apparent that communities in the centre and south produced fabrics and vessel forms which, although related to the Red Polished ware of the north coast, are distinctive at a regional level. It is also clear that these communities were less concerned with mortuary display and the manipulation of ancestral burial spaces. These distinctions in levels of stylistic investment imply variation in the intensity with which burial and the material culture associated with it were used to contest and transform social structures in north and south/central Cyprus—and suggest real differences in the rhythm and nature of material culture evolution across the island in the Early Bronze Age.

I end with a brief note on our current project. This involves the publication of excavations undertaken in 1942 by the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus at the Middle Bronze Age site of Ambelikou Aletri. Known only through brief reports, Aletri produced the earliest direct evidence for the mining of copper in Cyprus as well as a pottery workshop. Our monograph, for which we have received funding from the Shelby White-Leon Levy Program for Archaeological Publications, will appear in 2012. As with our Karmi volume, which was also supported by the Shelby White-Leon Levy Program, we hope it will show the substantial benefits of publishing long neglected sites.

Zagora 3 Publication Project 2011

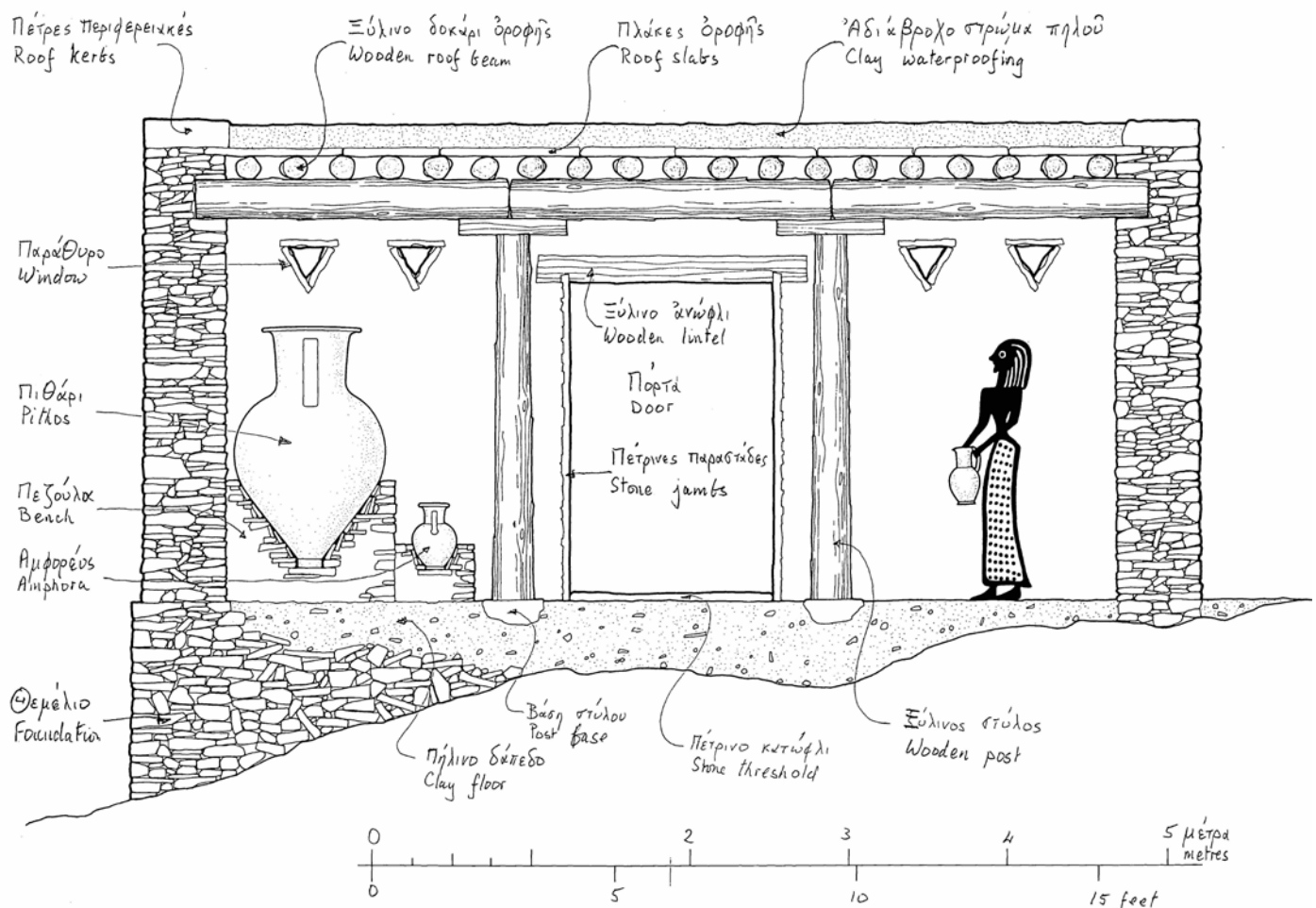
by Beatrice McLoughlin, Matthew McCallum and Andrew Wilson

¹ *AAIA Bulletin* 6 (2008/2009), 10–11; *AAIA Bulletin* 7 (2009/2010), 14–15. The project would like to thank the Shelby White and Leon Levy Publications Program, Harvard University, for their continued sponsorship in 2010–2011. The project is also generously sponsored by the Archaeological Society at Athens, who will publish *Zagora 3* in the monograph series Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας. We would also like to thank the many private donors who have contributed to the *Zagora 3* fundraising appeals in 2010 and 2011.

² <http://www.dictionaryofsydney.org/>

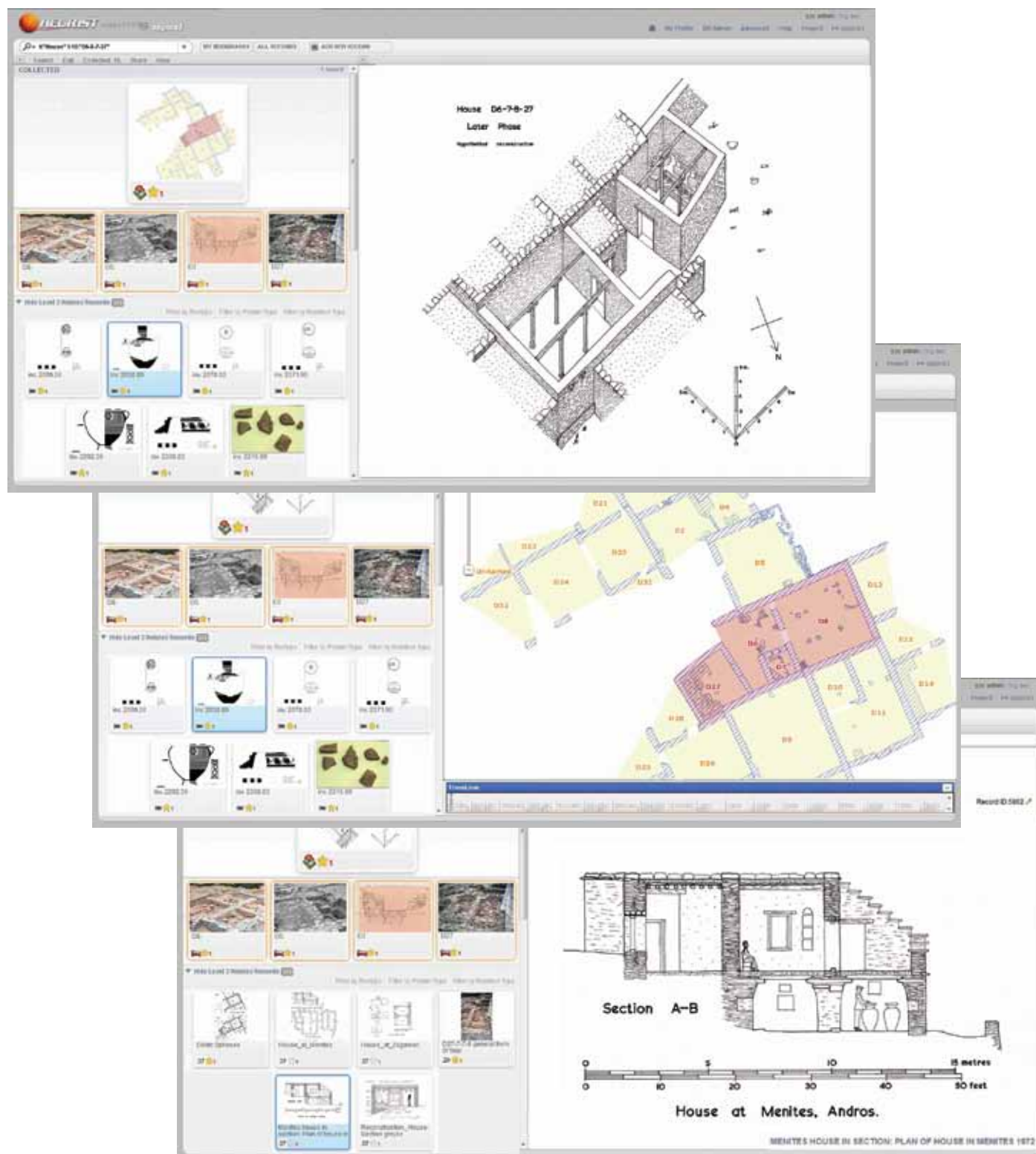
The past year of research for the *Zagora 3* legacy data project, that will publish the final results of the excavations by Professor Alexander Cambitoglou and his team at Zagora in the 1960s and 1970s, has focused primarily on the completion of the design of the project's database system, Heurist, and its web interface.¹

Heurist, which has been developed over the last 10 years by the Arts eResearch team at the University of Sydney (formerly the Archaeological Computing Laboratory), is a very flexible and robust database infrastructure, capable of building relationships between very disparate data types used to such good effect in projects such as the Dictionary of Sydney.² As previously reported in the *AAIA Bulletin* 7, Beatrice McLoughlin and Matthew McCallum have been working with the Arts eResearch team on tailoring Heurist to meet the specific requirements of storing, processing and publishing the full data archives of an archaeological excavation.



J.J. Coulton's original working sketch of an idealised cross-section of structural features common to the houses at Zagora, and the construction techniques employed to build them. The Greek terms in particular show the importance of information recorded from the vernacular architecture of early modern Andros.

Development of this database system has been vital for a full appreciation of the significance of Zagora as a site, and the exemplary sampling strategies, retrieval and recording methods and ethnographic research carried out by the original team, because it is only possible to comprehend the meaning of such a complex interplay of data when similarities and differences between neighbourhoods and homes can be visualized across the site and through time. Zagora continues to be the best preserved Early Iron Age settlement in the central Aegean, undisturbed by later occupation. As such it can provide a window into the day to day lives of everyone living within the town, rich and poor, and the way they interacted with each other.



For the analysis and publication of *Zagora 3*, over 7000 site plans, objects, drawings and photographs have been entered into the Heurist system, along with all the information from the original notebooks and specialist reports. This material is now accessible to the *Zagora 3* publication team on the internet, whether in the offices of the AAIA in Athens or in Sydney, on Andros, or in museums looking at comparable material from sister sites.

J.J. Coulton's site plans have also been layered into ArcGIS, providing us with georeferenced maps. These maps are currently being incorporated into the core Heurist structure, and the final phase of analysis for *Zagora 3* will be to implement and model visually the complex spatial data relationship queries using GIS-based spatio-temporal search and retrieval tools developed for Digital Harlem within the Heurist environment.³

Upon completion in 2012, the Heurist infrastructure will not only allow us to generate the text and illustrations of the print publication for *Zagora 3*, but it will also enable us to create a *Zagora 3* website, with a Google Maps style interface for navigation of the data, allowing everyone from researchers to interested members of the public to explore the excavations and the settlement of Zagora as we have, with all the data at their fingertips. Users will be able to pursue independent lines of inquiry, following the complex network of relationships that exist between the houses, objects and aspects of daily life, as well as examine the ethnographic data that informed the original researchers and continues to do so today.⁴ In the future, new data generated from excavations and further research can be uploaded directly into the Heurist system as it becomes available. This new data can then be immediately integrated with existing data, saving valuable time and providing vital new insights into our understanding of the site.

An example that demonstrates the potential of what can be achieved when the information from this exceptionally important excavation is converted to digital form and made available to a system that will support research and scholarship into the 21st century is the use of Heurist by the ABC for their multi award winning "Gallipoli: The First Day" interactive website.⁵

³ <http://acl.arts.usyd.edu.au/harlem/>

⁴ As an example of the richness of that data, the illustrations chosen for this article showcase the drawings and thoughts of the original *Zagora* architect J.J. Coulton, as one moves between his exemplary stone by stone recording of the architecture exposed at the site which forms the backbone of the GIS data, his 3D reconstructions of the houses—here the house D6-7-8-27, his visual representation of the typical structure of a room at *Zagora*, and his documentation of a traditional house at Menites as it was during the team's stay there in the 1960s and 1970s.

⁵ <http://www.usyd.edu.au/news/84.html?newscategoryId=2&newsstoryid=3294>



*Jim and Mary Coulton and Ian McPhee
exploring Andros, 1969.*

The Visiting Professorship 2011*

Professor Jack Davis,

Carl W. Blegen Professor of Greek Archaeology and
Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens

Professor Jack Davis completed his undergraduate education at the University of Akron in 1972 and his PhD at the University of Cincinnati in 1977. From there he joined the faculty at the University of Illinois in Chicago where he taught until 1993. In 1993 he returned to the University of Cincinnati, where he now holds the post of Carl W. Blegen Professor of Greek Archaeology. Since 2007 he has also been serving as Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.



Professor Davis has directed archaeological projects on the island of Keos, in the Nemea Valley, and in the area of the Palace of Nestor in Messenia, and is an authority in the archaeology of the Aegean islands. His research interests include the history and archaeology of Ottoman and early modern Greece and the history of Classical archaeology, in particular its relationship to nationalist movements in the Balkans. Currently Prof Davis is directing regional studies and excavations in Albania, in the hinterlands of the ancient Greek colonies of Durrachium/Epidamnus and Apollonia. Most recently, while serving as Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Davis's research has been focused on analysis and publication of his fieldwork. He also continues to pursue the study of the institutional history of foreign schools of archaeology in Greece and assists in the publication of the finds from Carl W. Blegen's excavations at the Palace of Nestor.

Davis is the author of "Review of Aegean Prehistory: The Islands of the Aegean" in *Aegean Prehistory: A Review*, a collection of papers edited by Tracey Cullen for the Archaeological Institute of America. He has also contributed to the *Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age* (2008) and to the *Oxford Handbook of Aegean Prehistory* (2010). He is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London and currently serves on advisory boards of the American Journal of Archaeology, *Hesperia*, and *Sheffield Studies in Aegean Prehistory*, among other journals.

Whilst in Australia as the 2011 AAIA Visiting Professor, Prof Davis gave a series of lectures and seminars around the country on topics including Nestor's Palace, Illyrian Apollonia, and the Peloponnese under Ottoman Greece. His visit was a great success on both the academic and social level. All those who had the pleasure to hear him speak and to meet him were greatly impressed.

*The 2011 Visiting Professorship was sponsored by various Governors of the AAIA and the Thyne Reid Foundation

Previous AAIA Visiting Professors

1987	Prof. Sir John Boardman Oxford, UK
1988	†Prof. Lilly Kahil Fribourg, Switzerland
1989	†Prof. Nicolas Coldstream London, UK
1990	Prof. Christos Doumas Athens, Greece
1992	Prof. Brunilde Sismondo-Ridgway Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, USA
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 at 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
2006	Prof. Jacques Perreault The University of Montreal, Canada
2007	Prof. Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier German Archaeological Institute at Athens, Greece
2008	Prof. François Lissarrague Centre Louis Gernet (CNRS/EHESS), Paris, France
2010	Prof. Robert Laffineur University of Liège, Belgium

The Hellenic Club of Canberra

by Michael Kazan and John Kalokerinos



Façade of the Hellenic Club of Canberra

The Hellenic Club of Canberra opened its doors in 1979 as the result of the hard work and support of a small number of Greeks with a vision and a pride and love for their Greek heritage. The idea was to build a club so that people of Greek origin “could meet and hold their dinner dances on the Greek National Days of 25 March and 28 October”.

Since major extensions in 2002, the Club is the biggest and the most elegant Hellenic Club in Australia. Indeed, it may be the biggest Hellenic Club in the world.



Michael Kazan, the Club's Cultural Advisor, in the Cultural Centre

The Hellenic Club's commitment to promoting and encouraging Greek language, culture and heritage is a strong feature of its operations. Every year the Club provides funds and in kind assistance to Greek associations and cultural events such as the Greek Glendi and the Canberra Hellenic Dancers, as well as the Greek Orthodox Community of Canberra and Districts, through which the Club supports the St Nicholas Home for the Aged, the Greek Afternoon School and the St Nicholas Pre-school. The Club has also conducted its own Greek language and culture courses for adults for over 10 years, and these have continued to grow in popularity.

In addition to its outstanding convention and function facilities, the Club takes great pride in its Cultural Centre. The Cultural Centre displays museum copies of Greek artefacts and is a regular point of interest for interstate visitors, and secondary and tertiary students.

The opening of additional premises, the Hellenic Club in the City, in 2009, commenced a new chapter in the history of the Club and has given the Club the opportunity to make its mark in the Canberra City with the unique culture and character of the Hellenic ethos.

The Club also organizes festivals, including its recent “Tribute to Michalis Cacoyannis”, screening eight of the best known films by this internationally renowned Greek film director. It continues to screen contemporary films and films of the golden era of Greek cinematography on the last Sunday of each month.



Canberra Friends enjoying dinner in the Hellenic Club

The Club's strength lies in its strong relationship with its members and its continuing relevance not only to the Greek community, but also to the wider community of Canberra. The Club has had a strategic partnership with the ANU (Canberra) Friends of the AAIA for more than a decade now, hosting the Friends' regular lectures of prominent academics, as well as the popular annual dinner, and generously sponsoring the Friends' scholarship for a local student to travel to Greece. The AAIA is proud to have the Hellenic Club of Canberra as a Corporate Member.

Sir Zelman Cowen PC, AK, GCMG, GCVO, QC, DCL

by Alexander Cambitoglou

Sir Zelman Cowen was born on 7 October 1919 and died on December 8 2011. He was a distinguished academic, a distinguished academic administrator, and between the years 1977 and 1982 a distinguished Governor of the Commonwealth of Australia. As Governor General he was appointed by the Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser to succeed the controversial Sir John Kerr and restored dignity to the position which had been compromised by his predecessor.

He was born in a Jewish family that had migrated to Australia from Russia in 1881 and was educated in Melbourne where he studied law at the University of Melbourne. In 1940 he won a Rhodes scholarship to study at Oxford, which he took after the end of the war in 1945. During the war he served in the Royal Australian Navy and as an intelligence officer in Brisbane. In Oxford he graduated in civil law in 1947 and spent the next four years as a fellow of Oriel College.

He returned to Australia to become, at a very young age, Professor of Law and Dean of the Faculty of Law at Melbourne University. He soon engaged in television work and received a series of teaching engagements in the United States of America. He contributed to the establishment of law schools in Hong Kong and in Ghana, and at a later stage he became Vice Chancellor of the University of New England in Armidale (1967–1970) and at the University of Queensland in Brisbane (1970–1977). He was knighted in 1976.

In 1977 he became Chairman of the Australian Vice Chancellors Committee. In 1982 he resigned from his office in Yarralumla to become Provost of Oriel College at Oxford, a position he held between the years 1983 and 1988. When he returned to Australia he became active in Jewish community affairs in Melbourne and helped to establish the law school at Griffith University and the National Academy of Music in Melbourne. Following his retirement he supported the campaign for Australia to become a republic and in 1997 spoke publicly in favour of it.

One of the great characteristic features he displayed as Dean, Vice Chancellor and Governor General of the Commonwealth of Australia was accessibility. Following the establishment of the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens in 1980, I sought permission to call on him in Canberra and was received hospitably. He made me feel comfortable in his relaxed and self-confident way and invited me to lunch, during which he asked many questions about my plans regarding the Institute, which had been just established. When I asked him if he would accept to become its Chief Patron he accepted without any hesitation not to be the Chief Patron of an already well established prestigious Institution but to help the development of what he obviously thought was a good plan.



*Sir Zelman Cowen 2000
by Wes Walters
oil on canvas*

*Collection: National Portrait Gallery, Canberra
Gift of Marc Besen AO and Dr Joseph Brown AO OBE, 2000*

NEWS IN BRIEF

Athens Summer School

January 5–27, 2013



The Department of Archaeology (University of Sydney) and the AAIA invite your application to join their third Summer School in Athens.

The Summer School is a unique opportunity to study the archaeology and history of ancient Athens first hand. With a particular focus on the Archaic and Classical periods (c. 630–323 BC) and under expert tuition, you will enjoy formal lectures integrated with daily visits to archaeological sites and museums in Athens and Attica. You will also travel further afield to the panhellenic sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi.

The course is open to students of Australian universities and to Australian secondary school teachers. Interested members of the general public are also welcome to apply.

Summer School tutors:

Dr Lesley Beaumont

Senior lecturer in Classical Archaeology, the University of Sydney (formerly Assistant Director of the British School in Athens)

Dr Stavros Paspalas

Deputy Director of the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens

For further information contact:
lesley.beaumont@sydney.edu.au

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Contact Information for Friends of the AAIA Societies

ANU (Canberra) Friends of the AAIA

President: Mr John Kalokerinos J.P.
FAAIA

c/- College of Arts and Social Sciences
Australian National University
Canberra ACT 0200

Athens Friends of the AAIA

President: Mrs Elizabeth Gandley

c/ AAIA Athens Office
Zacharitsa 17, Koukaki
Athens 11741 GREECE
[Ph] (+30 210) 924 3256
Email: aaia@otenet.gr

Queensland Friends of the AAIA

President: Mr Chris Griffiths

5/4 Fraser Tc
Highgate Hill
QLD 4101
Email: grifcam@bigpond.net.au

South Australian Friends of the AAIA

President: Mr Spiros Sarris

SA Friends of the AAIA
PO Box 701
Torrensview Plaza
MILE END SA 5031
[Ph] 0404 145 455
Email: spiross@adam.com.au

The Society of Mediterranean Archaeology

(The University of Sydney Friends of the AAIA)

President: Dr Craig Barker

c/o Nicholson Museum
The University of Sydney
NSW 2006
[Ph] (02) 9036 5409
Email: craig.barker@sydney.edu.au

Sydney Friends of the AAIA (NSW)

President: Mr Angelo Hatsatouris OAM

PO Box 320
Maroubra Junction
Sydney NSW 2035
Email: ahatsatouris@patrickhargraves.com.au

Tasmanian Friends of the AAIA

President: Mr Marcus Laycock

Nunamina
RA 444 Nubeena Road,
Koonya TAS 7187
[Ph] (03) 6250 3589
[Mob] 0418 170 653
Email: marcuslaycock@bigpond.com

Western Australian Friends of the AAIA

President: Professor John Melville-Jones

Classics and Ancient History (M205)
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[Ph] (08) 6488 2164
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The journal
Mediterranean Archaeology

Volume 24 (2011)

As has become characteristic of *Meditarch* volumes, the 24th includes in its first part several important studies that cover a wide geographical and chronological, but also methodological, range. From Fabia Curti's typological and stylistic analysis of the so-called 'Ceramica listata', produced in Canosa and its region between the middle of the 4th and the early 1st centuries BC, to Ted Robinson's paper on the results obtained through a series of PIXE-PIGME analyses carried out on various ceramic classes of South Italian pottery to the iconographic observations put forth by Jamel Hajji on an important Roman mosaic from Neapolis (today's Nabeul in Tunisia) with the unique representation of Chryses and Agamemnon and, last but not least, Hugh Lindsay's socio-historical study of the now lost Tomb of the Arruntii in Rome, based on 18th-century drawings and epigraphical evidence.

As usual, the second part of the volume informs about fieldwork pursued by Australian archaeological expeditions in the Mediterranean: in this issue, a substantial multi-authored paper presents the results obtained by a team directed by Graeme Clarke from the ANU at Jebel Khalid in Syria during the 2009 study season and the 2010 excavation campaign, while Stephen Bourke of the University of Sydney reports on the 2003–2005 campaigns carried out in the Bronze Age Temple Precinct at Pella in Jordan.

Meditarch 24 is currently in editing and will be available later in 2012. Through an exciting new collaboration with Sydney University Press, all *Meditarch* books can now be purchased on-line at:

sydney.edu.au/sup/archaeology

BACK COVER

International Grammar School (IGS)



International Grammar School is a secular, co-educational school consisting of 1,200 students from pre-school to Year 12. The School's living motto is *Concordia per Diversitatem*—Unity through Diversity.

Located in Ultimo, not far from Sydney's CBD, IGS has facilities across four closely-connected campus locations—including the newly-opened and uniquely-designed building in Macarthur Street (pictured on the back cover). IGS is a local school with a global perspective, engaging students from an early age in languages learning. The School specialises in languages—offering six—and celebrates personal achievement across all aspects of school life.

The School also fosters strong connections with its partner schools in China, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, New Caledonia and Spain through a comprehensive international exchange programme.

IGS's teaching builds upon contemporary research which reveals that bilingual students cognitively outstrip their monolingual counterparts. The benefits of learning a language are therefore as much about enhancing learning as about being able to communicate with others.

Languages studies can also help to engage students' curiosity in past cultures. The study of History is extremely popular at IGS with over 30 senior students recently returning from a three-week Classical history tour of key sites in Italy and Greece. Through the School's membership with the AAIA, lecturers and archaeologists in Athens helped guide the travelling students.

Younger students were treated to a lecture at IGS by the AAIA's 2011 Visiting Professor, Jack L. Davis, Cincinnati University's Professor of Greek Archaeology and the Director of the of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Professor Davis gave particular examples of Nestor's Place near Pylos where he and his wife have worked extensively. IGS hopes to host similar visiting experts in the future.

IGS Principal Michael Maniska speaks French and Italian in addition to his parents' native Greek and he is a committed intercultural communicator.

"Our school is preparing its students to be tomorrow's global citizens," Mr Maniska said.

FRONT COVER

Lucanian Red-Figure Amphora
(detail)

400–375 BC

Ht. 57 cm; diam: 37 cm

Attributed to the Palermo Painter

Nicholson Museum, Sydney

Inv. no. NM 82.32

Photograph by Rowan Conroy

This Panathenaic amphora by the Palermo Painter is notable not only for its shape, uncommon in Early Lucanian, but also for the depiction of an Eros painted on its obverse. The scene represents four figures: the young, athletic Eros at left about to be crowned with a wreath by a woman in a chiton and himation, and two naked athletes at right. The Eros is seated on a rocky outcrop facing the viewer in a pensive mood, his wings partly folded, his chin resting on his right palm, reminiscent of Auguste Rodin's "Thinker". The frontal pose and three-dimensional treatment of his body are remarkable.

The entire scene should be situated in the palaestra, with the two athletes referring to everyday life and the Eros and woman lending a religious element. The cult of Eros in the gymnasia is well attested in literary, epigraphic and iconographic sources.

For an extended commentary see Alexander Cambitoglou, "An Early Lucanian Panathenaic Amphora by the Palermo Painter", *Classical Art in the Nicholson Museum*, Mainz 1995, 107–115.

CREDITS

Editors:

Alexander Cambitoglou

Camilla Norman

Wayne Mullen

Layout:

Camilla Norman

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International Grammar School, Sydney

Contact Details

Sydney Offices

Madsen Building (F09) Rm 480
The University of Sydney
NSW 2006
AUSTRALIA
(Ph) (61-02) 9351 4759
(Fax) (61-02) 9351 7693
Email: arts.aaia@sydney.edu.au

Athens Offices

Zacharitsa 17
Koukaki
Athens 11741
GREECE
(Ph) (30-210) 924 3256
(Fax) (30-210) 924 1659
Email: aaia@otenet.gr

Athens Hostel

Promachou 2
Makriyianni
Athens 11742
GREECE
(Ph) (30-210) 923 6225

Professor Alexander Cambitoglou
Director (Sydney and Athens)
alexander.cambitoglou@sydney.edu.au

Dr Wayne Mullen
Chief Operating Officer (Sydney)
wayne.mullen@sydney.edu.au

Ms Beatrice McLoughlin
Research Officer (Sydney)
beatrice.mcloughlin@sydney.edu.au

Ms Camilla Norman
Project Officer (Sydney)
camilla.norman@sydney.edu.au

Dr Bernadette McCall
Finance Officer (Sydney)
bernadette.mccall@sydney.edu.au

Dr Matthew McCallum
Zagora Research (Sydney)
matthew.mccallum@sydney.edu.au

Ms Theodora Gianniotis
Development Officer (Sydney)
theodora.gianniotis@sydney.edu.au

Mr Michael Turner
Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum
Project (Sydney)
michael.turner@sydney.edu.au

Dr Stavros Paspalas
Deputy Director (Athens)
stavros.paspalas@sydney.edu.au

Ms Anthoulla Vassiliades
Administrative Officer (Athens)
anthoulla.vassiliades@sydney.edu.au