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P. Nick Kardulias
pkardulias@wooster.edu

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FITTING IN: Archaeology and Community in Athienou, Cyprus



Figure 1. The Malloura Valley. Sanctuary of Athienou-Malloura in foreground. Photograph by J. M. Gordon.

*Derek B. Counts, Elisabetta Cova,
P. Nick Kardulias, and Michael K. Toumazou*

*And my heart delights
that they came and resurrected you,
like a bride they adorned you,
my ancient Malloura.*

*And my soul delights,
my mind, my body,
you are my dreams,
my ancient Malloura.*

(Kostas Mavrou, *Αρχαία Μάλλουρα* μου
[My Ancient Malloura], transl. M. K. Toumazou.)

With these lyrics, translated from the local Cypriot Greek dialect, Kostas Mavrou has managed to weave the Athienou Archaeological Project (AAP) directly into the very fabric of modern Athienou's culture and history. In fact, the song *Αρχαία Μάλλουρα* μου or *My Ancient Malloura* has become something of an anthem for a local cultural organization aptly named the "Malloura Club," which sponsors public events at which traditional Cypriot dances and music are performed against the backdrop of a massive wooden stage painted with a landscape of the Malloura Valley and its antiquities (fig. 2). Personified as a newly (re)discovered bride in Mavrou's song, the site of Athienou-Malloura—the focus of AAP's investigations—represents an object of mutual

desire for both the archaeologist and the local population; yet, more significantly, she embodies the symbiotic relationship that can exist between archaeology and community. Indeed, while archaeology (and the archaeologist, too) often functions outside of the main streams of political, economic, and socio-cultural life taking place in the modern towns that host field projects, AAP has cultivated a special relationship with the town and people of Athienou, built on a shared sense of purpose and responsibility, but maintained by a remarkable, if not distinctly Cypriot, environment of hospitality.

Where We Live and Where We Work

The modern town of Athienou (population ca. 5000) lies roughly 4 km to the northeast of Malloura, situated halfway between Larnaka, along the southern coast of the island, and the capital Nicosia in the center (fig. 3). The economic livelihood of the modern town—and in many ways its community identity—is based on its rich agropastoral tradition and its national fame as a bread and cheese producer. Archaeologically, the area witnessed some of the earliest systematic activity on the island, including the antiquarian efforts of the infamous Luigi Palma di Cesnola (1878), a contemporary of Heinrich Schliemann, US Civil War colonel, and simultaneously American, Greek, and Russian consul to Cyprus. Cesnola explored the area around ancient Golgoi

to the north and east of the town where he collected antiquities that formed the core collection of the newly opened Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York—an institution Cesnola would serve as the first director (Marangou 2000; Counts 2011). Somewhat earlier, a French mission under Melchior de Vogüé had also excavated in the region, bringing back antiquities from both Golgoi and Malloura to the Louvre in Paris (Counts 2011). Since the Turkish invasion of 1974 and the subsequent establishment of a United Nations-controlled buffer-zone, the town, which lies in the midst of this zone, has remained a political hotspot and today still houses both UN military and civilian police forces.

AAP is a multidisciplinary undertaking that combines field training in archaeological methods (excavation and survey) with analyses of the natural and cultural contexts of ritual and secular use of the ancient and modern landscape (fig. 4). Our primary site, *Athienou-Malloura*, was used for nearly 3000 years (encompassing the Geometric, Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Frankish, Venetian, and Ottoman periods), and our investigations have thrown considerable light on the long-term history and use of this small rural inland site to be compared with larger, urban, usually coastal centers (such as Salamis, Kition, Kourion, Amathous, and Paphos) that have been more intensely investigated (Toumazou et al. 2011). With an emphasis on long-term cultural change, the specific problem that guides our research agenda is the degree to which such rural areas were assimilated into regional and interregional economic, political, social, and religious exchange networks. We see a regional approach as the best way to make sense of both the past and present human activity in the area of Athienou.

Localizing Archaeology: A Working Model

To what extent do archaeologists distance themselves from the modern people in whose communities they reside while they

study the region's past inhabitants? One must be wary in assessing forms of social engagement and levels of community interaction in archaeology to avoid what Michael Fotiades (1995, 74) has characterized as the “sharp distinction between researchers and researched” (see also Hodder 2011, 26). Nevertheless, acknowledging the significant and relevant role of archaeology in modern society allows us to think about our work in the context of the communities in which we interact, which in turn sheds light on the archaeological endeavor itself. AAP has addressed such concerns fully in a recent article (Kardulias et al. 2011) that makes the case for cultural materialism as a fruitful, but also more nuanced, line of inquiry to explore the multiple levels of exchange that we experience in Athienou.

Social identity is inextricably linked to local subsistence patterns, which in turn are reflected in the ties that members of social groups share with each other and with outsiders. For example, an important community value for the people of Athienou is their inextricable tie to the local, rural landscape; archaeology helps to confirm the long-standing nature of this value in this particular area. In our work and daily interactions with the residents, we are able to witness the maintenance of local identity even as Athienou's economy becomes increasingly integrated into regional, national, and international networks (*i.e.*, globalization). Fundamental elements of production still occur at the local level, and family structures remain crucial in the new economic systems that arise by providing important capital outlay and a committed pool of labor; by maintaining a sense of self and place, the people of Athienou take advantage of opportunities as they arise. We view the relationship between AAP and Athienou as the embodiment of multiple points of exchange—points of community engagement that both govern and structure our relationship with the town. Such points of engagement include administrative, economic, social, and cultural activities. The lo-

Figure 2. Mihalīs Agapiou (left) sings *My Ancient Malloura* at a local event sponsored by the “Malloura Club,” against the backdrop of a large panel-painted landscape scene of the Malloura Valley. Photograph by M. K. Toumazou.



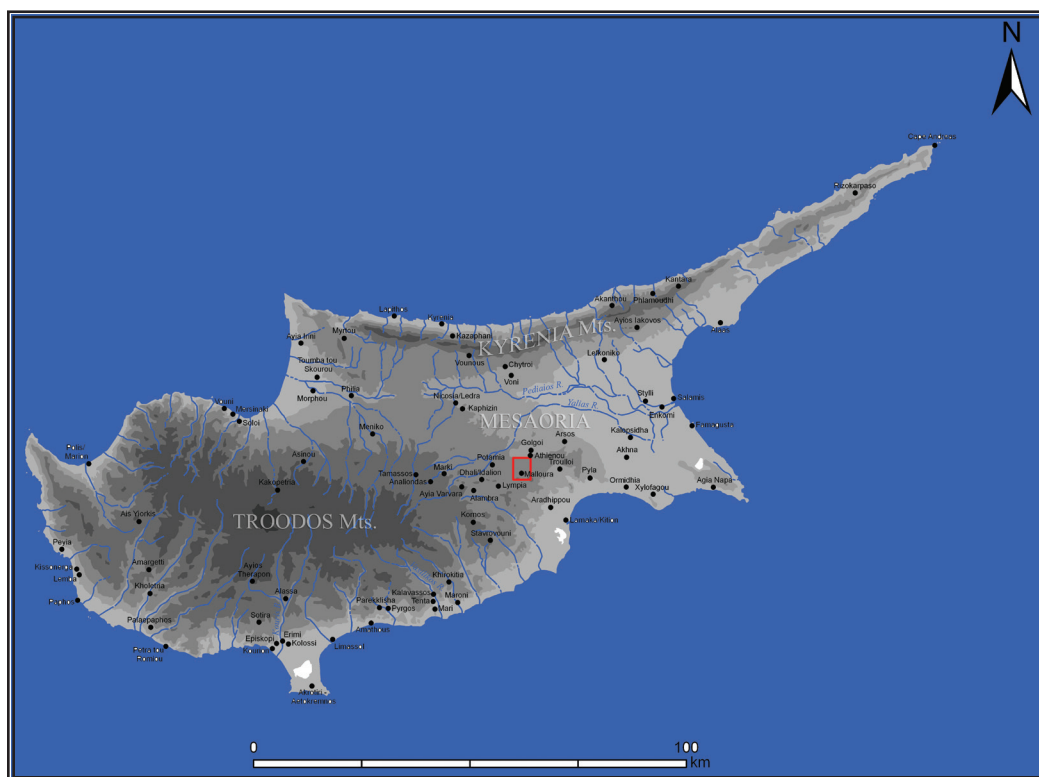


Figure 3. Map of Cyprus (D. Massey).

gistics of running a large project require the typical inventory of services and products (food, housing, transportation) for which AAP provides funds, but also has received significant assistance from the municipality from the outset, establishing a connection between the economic and administrative nodes. Invitations to formal and informal social events cement these links. Archaeological discoveries by the project generate civic pride and enhance the initial relationships.

The connections provide a holistic view of society that allows people to see the world as an ordered place. Our role as archaeologists has been to indicate links to the distant past; this work serves the community in bolstering local identity, and has integrated our project into social, economic, and political relations in the town (Matsuda and Okamura 2011, 2–3). Below we explore how the various facets function to produce a significant melding of our project into the local cultural fabric.

Administrative Structures: From Excavation to Demarcheion (by Way of the Kafeneion!)

Like most archaeological projects overseas, our work in the Athienou region is governed at the national level by the Department of Antiquities, which in the case of the Republic of Cyprus, is overseen by the Minister of Communication and Public Works. On the ground in Athienou, however, the elected *demarchos* (mayor) and town council serve as the immediate administrative contact points and, in many ways, the local conduit to the national level. As a result, while the permits and legislative frameworks that regulate excavation and survey work, as well as the antiquities, remain at the state level, the majority of our logistical

business is waged locally with the mayor, but also other civic leaders, from the principal of the local *Gymnasium* (junior high school), who provides access to classrooms for lectures, to the town's *mukhtar*, a vestigial position of Cyprus's Ottoman past that deals directly with landholdings and cadastral maps, or the president of the Athienou Cooperative Bank (Co-Op) which provides both logistical and financial support in town. It is in this interplay among national and local political figures and institutional structures that we also witness the stresses that can exist between identity-building practices at these two levels. This tension between nationalism and regionalism, where communities and individuals often give priority to their local identity, characterizes significant parts

of the Mediterranean basin from Spain to the Levant.

In this respect, the AAP has enjoyed exceptional local support from its inception. Like most other Cypriot towns, Athienou has vocal political factions, the members of which frequent their respective social clubs and cafés with names that evoke both regional (e.g., “Malloura” and “Golgoi”) and national (“Othello”) cultural traditions. Nevertheless, despite contrasting ideologies that can occur between members of rival political parties, a general agreement on the value of the AAP has forged at least one unifying political platform over our 20-plus year history. While many of our negotiations proceed through highly formalized processes, an equally significant number of requests and fact-finding missions (from finding extra pillows to securing animal feed bags to use for preservation efforts at the site) take place informally at a local café or at a crossroad in the midst of traffic. In many ways these conversations with farmers and field owners, shepherds, local business owners, and neighbors provide the foundation of our success, which is built upon a consensus between the project and the people of Athienou. Our investigations proffer value on multiple levels from the personal and cultural to the economic and political.

One of the major advantages of AAP within this administrative structure (and, arguably, an advantage that strengthens and continuously nourishes our position at all four points of community engagement discussed here) is that its director (Michael K. Toumazou) is a native Cypriot, with many relatives in Athienou. Athienites are proud that “one of their own” is a professor at an American university and has undertaken a major research project in their backyard, but more importantly, this factor infuses

a sense of shared ownership in the project's success at putting the ancient—and modern—environs of Athienou more firmly on the map. Local community leaders see the AAP as the ideal way to convey this message to the outside world, a sentiment that Mavrou so eloquently expresses in his lyrics:

*You beautify the “Two-hill” mount
and shine, and flaunt yourself
so that all are envious*

*All the villages want
to have such beauty,
and everybody praises you.*

Civic pride is a powerful emotional, but also economic and political, motivator. The ideational component strongly reinforces the economic strides that the community has made, especially since 1974 when ca. 80–85 percent of Athienou's agricultural land, primarily north of town, was lost. The town of Athienou has in many ways redefined itself and gained a high level of economic well-being, often described as nothing less than an “economic miracle.” Making a show of the local archaeology is one way to demonstrate this progress as Athienites express their role in Cypriot society as a whole. This confluence of modern political and economic positioning, strengthened by the recognition and promotion of a rich cultural heritage, is perhaps best illustrated in Athienou's municipal emblem, which uses opposing sphinxes from a well-preserved grave stele discovered at Golgoi and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 5a). Such use of ancient motifs is a common feature not just in Cyprus (similar examples are found at Polis, on the western coast, Dhali, to the west of Athienou, and in the capital city of Nicosia), but also in many Mediterranean cultures (one need only be reminded of the ubiquitous SPQR on manhole covers in modern Rome or Athena's owl on the Greek euro). We, too, have expressed our own “civic pride” by adapting the seal of

Athienou for the project's symbol—a meaningful and purposeful act of emulation (fig. 5b).

Because Athienou is located in the UN-controlled buffer zone, between the occupied part of the island to the north and the Republic of Cyprus to the south, the UN maintains a military base at the north end of Athienou and patrols the entire project area in conjunction with the Cypriot National Guard. To conduct our investigations, we thus not only require permission from the government of Cyprus, but also need the cooperation of the UN and Cypriot commands as well. The local Cypriot officials often intercede on our behalf, an action that cements our relationship. The mere presence of the UN in the town is a constant reminder to the locals that they have lost part of their patrimony, particularly the site of Golgoi, Athienou's ancient predecessor, which lies inaccessible less than a kilometer to the north. But it is also something the project members and our students come to understand as part of the geopolitical situation and the larger political and economic context within which AAP exists as we engage directly with the “Cyprus problem” and reinforce the fact that the business of archaeology does not take place in a cultural or geopolitical void (Knapp and Antoniadou 1998, 32–3).

Economic Structures: Blessed are the Cheesemakers

Prior to our arrival in Athienou each summer, the Athienou Dairy Association approves one annual agenda item: agreement by all members that the Association will provide the archaeologists with free locally-produced Halloumi (Cyprus's national cheese, registered as a protected Cypriot product in the U.S.). The decision is essentially *pro forma* (the only point of contention, apparently, is *who gets to provide it!*). At about the same time, albeit without a vote, local business owners Andreas Zorpas and Loukas Hadjiyanakou remind their staff to set

aside unlimited bread and eggs, respectively, for daily transfer to the back seat of our rumbling (and a little shaky) white Mitsubi-



Figure 4 (above). AAP staff and students excavate in the sanctuary of Athienou-Malloura (from left to right in foreground: Virginia Rabjohns, Kirsten Bhattacharyya, Samantha Davidson, Kevin Garstki). Photograph by M. K. Toumazou.

Figures 5a–b (below). Logos for the (a) town of Athienou and (b) the Athienou Archaeological Project. AAP logo design by D. Coslett.



shi van as it makes its rounds in the village picking up supplies for the project. And like that, the staples of a day's meal—cheese, bread, eggs—generously stock the pantries of our project dig house(s). Meanwhile, the town hall has already pre-approved a variety of measures subsidized by the municipality: vehicles, gas, and the insurance for the duration of the summer, housing and associated utilities (and most recently, use of a newly-restored historic house complex complete with individual apartments and a glorious open-air courtyard with lemon trees), subvention for several home-cooked meals prepared by the cook at the municipal retirement home, an annual end-of-the-year banquet at a local tavern for the whole project staff, which coincides with a town lecture given by the director in Greek, and much more. The Athienou Cooperative Bank (Co-Op) has paid for buses to take us on weekend field trips and also paid for the supplies and labor to accomplish a variety of site preservation projects at Malloura. The Co-Op and the Municipality recently provided subvention funds to assist in the publication of an edited volume highlighting the project's investigations (Toumazou et al. 2011). Last year, a locally-owned printing company paid for our project T-shirt (in other years the Co-Op has paid for them).

The level of economic commitment provided to AAP from community, business, and municipal leaders in Athienou is at once overwhelming and humbling. This collective patronage is without comparison in Cyprus and, arguably, not duplicated elsewhere in the Mediterranean. Outside of the “formal economy” the project is constantly assisted in logistical and financial ways by local citizens that are too numerous to list and, in some ways, too ephemeral to quantify (after all, do we expect Davidson College's administration to account for a mudbrick φούρνος [bread oven], which local friends graciously donated and helped

us mud-coat and cure?). The point of contact between the project and community defines the best of what is possible when archaeology and local structures interact...and, yes, sometimes it means fresh, oven-baked pizza!

To the extent that we are able, although admittedly on an imbalanced scale, the project has nurtured a symbiotic and reciprocal economic model. The impact of 30–40 long-term visitors from the U.S. each summer infuses money into both the informal and formal economy of the town. The project's investment in local business is substantial, from purchasing groceries and other supplies on an almost daily basis (not only from several local grocers and fresh markets, but also hardware stores, carpenters, pharmacies, gift shops, cafés, laundromats, and other small businesses) to frequenting local restaurants and prepared meals. *However, it's virtually impossible to pay for a frappé at the café!* In this way, the investments of foreign institutions, such as Davidson College (AAP's sponsoring institution), Dumbarton Oaks, and the National Science Foundation (which has provided over \$800,000 in grants to support our undergraduate field school in Athienou), but also the personal expenditures of staff and students help us maintain a vibrant economic relationship that serves as a mutually beneficial reminder of shared success.

Social Structures: NA ZHSETE!

“What happened? Did we offend someone?” It was thus, with some trepidation and anxiety in his voice one summer several years ago that the director confided in one of his closest relatives in town. “What do you mean?” she asked, her face showing equal concern. “Well, we didn't get an invitation to a wedding for this Saturday night,” Toumazou responded. Smiling, she responded in a comforting tone, “There isn't a wedding tonight,

Figure 6. Opening ceremony for Kallinikeion Megaron, July 2009. Photograph by A. Prins.



Michael.” Since our first summer in 1990 to today, one of the most enjoyable and gracious acts of social engagement offered by the people of Athienou is the wedding invitation. Every Saturday (and sometimes Sunday) evening, from June to August, the town

weds, dance and clap traditional *rembetiko* songs (and a few not-so traditional songs), and share in the memories. In some cases, we have joined the ranks of groomsmen and bridesmaids for young adults who have literally “grown up with the project” over



Figure 7. Museum curator, Noni Papisanti, running an education program for local school children. Photograph courtesy of Athienou Municipality.

of Athienou celebrates the weddings of its sons and daughters. These events, which move from the home to the ceremony at a local church to one of two local wedding centers for an all-inclusive, all-invited reception replete with food, drink, music, and dance, have become the *sine qua non* of town life for the project. So expected and anticipated, in fact, that the mere possibility of a weekend without one escaped Toumazou’s thoughts as he worried that our stellar reputation in town had been tainted! Weddings are town affairs—everyone is invited and AAP is always included. On a community level, it’s a testament to a shared responsibility to care for each other; monetary gifts reflect a tradition that the established generation must work to help its children find success so that they are in a position to care for you—a wonderful support cycle that has often been lost in many places. Significantly, and by invitation, we are integrated into this tradition; project members attend ceremonies and receptions, walk through greeting lines to meet the wedding party and offer our best wishes (να ζήσετε! or “live long and prosper”) to the newly-

the years and built steadfast relationships with permanent project staff. It is a very visual and active manifestation of Athienou’s hospitality, but also the project’s insistence that we cannot simply “go about our business” in the field without acknowledging and breaking bread with our friends (and their friends!) in town.

After the shovels have broken the ground and the logistical hurdles have been (as much as possible) cleared, the biggest fear of the archaeologists is maintaining and honoring the generous hospitality of hosts. This point of social interaction is the lifeline of success for any project operating in someone else’s backyard. Yet, on par with the success we have enjoyed in other aspects of our work in Athienou, the project has been welcomed into the weddings, homes, pick-up soccer matches, and lives of the people. From the purchase of rounds of drinks at local cafes or a round of lemon squash on a front porch, to the plate of pastries that appears on a table in a project house without warning, we have repeatedly witnessed the extraordinary generosity and hospitality of the people of Athienou. These acts are part, of course,



Figure 8. Kallinikeio Municipal Museum, Athienou. Archaeological collections. Photograph by N. Papasianti.

of a reciprocal gift-exchange that has deep roots in Cypriot and Mediterranean culture. Nonetheless, our hosts are under no obligation to us, especially the contingent of students that changes on an annual basis. Numerous friendships have blossomed over the years between the locals and project members, and when given the opportunity, AAP members have acted to repay the generosity we have received when local Athenities visit the US on vacation or, in other cases, attend universities as students.

Cultural Structures: Under One Roof

*In the summertime evenings,
as the sun dips,
you lie down, finally rest.*

*And with the hills as company
and the Archangel's church
you resurrect memories.*

On a clear, warm evening in early July 2009 and in front of a large local crowd of all ages, visiting VIPs, and of course the archaeologists, the municipality officially opened the grandly-named Kallinikeion Megaron (Municipal Town Hall), presided over by the Minister of Communication and Public Works and blessed by a bishop or two (fig. 6). The multi-million euro architectural complex—a flash of modernism in a traditional town without a stoplight—is actually a building of three distinct functions: a town hall with offices and conference rooms, an archaeological laboratory and *apothēke* (storage facility), and a municipal museum housing archaeological, ecclesiastical, and ethnographic collections. Thus, more than any other part of Athienou's built environment, this multi-functional centrally located building

embodies both the physical and metaphorical structure of AAP's relationship with the community where political, economic, social, and cultural entanglements intersect (Watson 2007).

The air-conditioned, fully wired archaeological lab, which occupies more than half of the bottom level of the building, was designed and built—from the start—for this purpose. Both the municipality and the architects provided walk-throughs for the project, but also regularly consulted us for everything from storage options, electrical outlets, and security access to office furniture, a deep double-sink, and even a custom-fit compartment over supervisor workspace to store MacBook laptops. Ample cabinet, filing, and surface space, as well as shelving for books and project archives, are complemented by an open air, shaded atrium with running water and drainage, perfect for pottery washing and large-scale conservation, that by any objective measure is a full 15°F cooler than anywhere else on the island at full noon in the summer. Our lab imbues a sense of permanence—a physical linkage to the town's municipal government, but also its cultural heritage, which in turn is invested in the museum that occupies the two floors above us. In fact, the combination of an archaeological laboratory and museum collection reflects a tradition typical of nineteenth-century European museums where a connection between active research and display defined the institution (Cova, *forthcoming*). We don't simply share a wireless password with the upstairs; we share in the common goal of instilling a connection to the past and reinforcing the memory of the town and the role of its people across the *longue durée*.

Like our lab, the Kallinikeio Municipal Museum (athienou-museum.org.cy/) was part of the original design. The town had long recognized the value of displaying the rich archaeological,



Figure 9. Kallinikeio Municipal Museum, Athienou. Ethnographic collections. Photograph by N. Papasianti.

but also ecclesiastical and ethnographic, material of the region and fought hard, even political, fights to ensure its creation. At issue was the nature of museum organization on the island, which exists on a rather firm hierarchical system: the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia (where the Department of Antiquities resides) stands alone at the top, encompassing all periods of Cypriot archaeological history from the earliest prehistory to the crusaders. Secondly, various district archaeological museums (e.g., in Larnaka, Limassol, Paphos, mirroring the administrative districting system of the country as a whole) exist with department officers and serve as liaisons and object repositories for local projects in their respective regions. Moreover, there are several museums that also function under the direct authority of the Department of Antiquities, such as site museums located at Dhali, Kourion, Palaepaphos or Polis. Within such a system, a self-sustaining museum displaying archaeological artifacts and operating under the aegis of the municipality is essentially novel. Other museums and partnership models indeed exist on the island: ecclesiastical museums such as the Byzantine Museum in Nicosia under the authority of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation or the museum of Kykkos Monastery in the Troodos Mountains, both of which feature church history; likewise, private museums also exist, such as the museum of the Pierides Foundation in Larnaka, which holds a private collection of antiquities from all over the island, as well as maps and some ethnographic collections.

In this respect, the notion of a municipal museum in Cyprus, featuring the depth of history and culture associated with a particular town and operating outside of the direct control of the state is indeed rare. An exception is the Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia, a privately-funded venture of the A. G. Leven-

tis Foundation in cooperation with the municipality of Nicosia, which showcases, through private acquisitions, the complete history of the town from its establishment to the present. Therefore, the presence of a local municipal museum in Athienou is even more extraordinary when one considers the town's relatively modest size and its location versus those of a thriving metropolis like Nicosia or other urban centers on the island. And one cannot overlook the powerful statement of civic pride that Athienou's museum invokes. In her recent study of civic museums in northern Italy, which provide interesting comparanda, Cova has remarked that "service to the public as 'cultural facilitators' and educators, as well as the preservation and promotion of their communities' cultural heritage have taken center stage among the goals of modern museums" (Cova 2010, 285). It is necessary to stress the Athienou Museum's unique position as a museum of the town and for the town, established not only as a repository of local history and a promoter of its modern accomplishments and lifeways, but also as a center of learning and cultural outreach for the community and beyond. In addition to educational programs for schools run by the museum's curator Noni Papasianti (fig. 7), the museum regularly hosts temporary art exhibits, lectures, as well as other cultural events. This past fall, the museum hosted an international conference on modern mosaics with presentations by practitioners of mosaic art from all over the Mediterranean.

Indeed the very layout and visitor flow of the Athienou museum is meant to emphasize repeatedly the connections between local archaeology and both the past and present history of Athienou. Entering the museum from the main reception area of the Town Hall, one passes a small gift shop, before descending

a ramp flanked on the one side by representative artifacts of the region's long history and, on the other side, mounted monitors playing documentary films highlighting local town life and industry (basketry and fine linen weaving, the traditional methods of making bread, cheese, and other local fare); fittingly, at the end of this leg, the visitor is met with a glass-mounted pen-and-ink depiction of AAP excavations at Malloura drawn by a friend of the project, Glynnis Fawkes. At the end of the hall, two monitors display "Athienou Abroad," highlighting antiquities from Athienou currently held in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Louvre in Paris. Turning the corner, state-of-the-art glass cases display archaeological material, on long-term loan by the Department of Antiquities, excavated from the region, including select pieces from our own work at Malloura (fig. 8). A meticulous series of negotiations between the municipality and the Department, and in consultation with AAP, turned this dream into a reality. The highlight of this section includes ceramic vessels representing the region's past from the Late Bronze Age to the Roman and Medieval periods and an impressive array of limestone and terracotta sculptures from Malloura and other local sites. The visitor next encounters the ecclesiastical section, dominated by Byzantine and Renaissance-style icons and personal items donated by Father Kallinikos (whose generous benefaction is reflected in the building's name), a touching memorial to the celebrated Athienou-born hagiographer. An icon-painting and mosaic workshop, established by the well-known brothers and artists Georgios and Alkis Kepolas, serves as a focal point

for educational activities for children and ably fills the transition from the icons to the extensive ethnographic material on display. Donated by Athienites in response to a local call, the latter collection highlights the daily life of the people of Athienou in the twentieth century with thematic displays on traditional professions (muleteering, making of cheese, bread, and lace), entertainment, the history of Athienou as a municipality, sports life and scouting, educational institutions, as well as the participation of Athienou in national struggles (fig. 9).

As the museum's website description makes clear, the role of Athienou's residents in the creation of this gallery represents a "journey of memory and nostalgia" for those who have donated these objects, which have "the ability to narrate their own story to visitors" (athienoumuseum.org.cy/english/collections_ekklisiastiki.shtm). A notable parallel emerges, as the town becomes an agent in the creation of one part of the museum in much the same way AAP has helped form another part of the collection through its excavations at Malloura, which have unearthed artifacts currently displayed in the museum. This active research component of our project and its direct relationship with the town's museum, manifested not only in our field investigations, but also work in the lab, create a space where AAP becomes relevant to the residents of Athienou. The results of research carried out by the project, so generously supported by the town, feed the museum and help it fulfill its role as a repository of local memories and a center of learning, but also as a promoter of civic identity. The construction of a museum in the town has

Figure 10. AAP staff members (Clay Cofer and LeeAnn Gordon) show recently discovered finds from Malloura to local residents during the project's annual town lecture, July 2011. Photograph by J. Gordon.





Figure 11. Grade school students from Athienou visiting the tombs at Mağara Tepeşi during a tour of Malloura. Photograph by M. K. Toumazou.

enhanced our work and profoundly complemented existing outreach endeavors that the project sponsors. Each summer Michael Toumazou presents a public lecture in Greek to a full house of local residents followed by a visual inspection of noteworthy finds (fig. 10). In addition, Toumazou regularly gives grade- and junior high-school students a guided tour of Malloura and, recently, elementary school teachers created a unit on the project and made it a regular part of the curriculum (fig. 11).

Fitting In: AAP and Athienou

*Mesaoria's jewel,
the golden one of the fields,
you linger in my heart.*

*You are for me, from now on,
an ornament in all the world,
that beautifies Creation.*

The final link between AAP and the community we work with has taken place at the site of Malloura itself—arguably the key locus for integrating the preservation of the past into the local memory of Athienites in the present. From the outset in 1990, the preservation of the excavated archaeological remains at Malloura has been a main concern of the AAP. In collaboration with

the municipality, the local Co-Op, and the Department of Antiquities, and with funds, labor, and technical expertise provided by all constituents involved, the site is gradually being developed into an archaeological park. Excavated areas have been fenced off, planted with trees, and, in the area of the Mağara Tepeşi cemetery at the northern periphery of the site, protective shelters, using locally available materials that blend seamlessly with the surrounding landscape, have been constructed over several tombs (Breuker and Breuker 2011). The last five years witnessed: (a) the paving of the road from Athienou to Malloura and the installation of the characteristic brown road signs reserved for historical and archaeological monuments; (b) the construction of a paved walkway—providing access to the covered tombs—and public facilities at Mağara Tepeşi, as well as new signage mounted on tomb shelters; and (c) the construction, in the same area, of a parking lot large enough to accommodate several buses. On several occasions, Michael Toumazou instructed groups of Cypriot tour guides who visited Malloura to learn about the remains in preparation for bringing tourists to the site. Moreover, fliers in both Greek and English available at the Athienou Town Hall and Museum, have been prepared for visitors. As a result, the municipality has something tangible to show for its support of the AAP, both to the tourists and digni-

taries who visit the site and, no less importantly, to the people of Athienou and other Cypriots alike.

The AAP has enjoyed an unparalleled degree of cooperation from the people of Athienou. The project could not operate as productively and efficiently as it does without meeting success at the various points of exchange identified above and without the unfailing support of the various constituencies involved. By acknowledging the need and desire of the Athienites to know about their past, we treat our hosts as active agents in the creation of knowledge and open a dialogue that works to the benefit of all concerned. The work of AAP offers the people of Athienou an opportunity to reinforce their local identity, a vital element in creating and maintaining a sense of place that facilitates the integration of social, economic, political, and religious networks in a community. In doing so, the project simultaneously serves our academic pursuits and the practical and ideological concerns of the people of Athienou.

Originally envisioned as a five-year endeavor, AAP has developed into an investigation of over two decades. There are several reasons for our extended stay. First, the archaeological resources have proved rich and diverse enough to engage the interest of the different members of our team. Second, but equally important, the local residents have both welcomed and encouraged our work. The points of contact discussed above have solidified our status as a local institution that provides both economic and cultural benefits. Nevertheless, while our annual impact on the local economy and especially small businesses each summer is significant, the broader financial stability of Athienou does not depend solely on this relationship. As a result, we do not foresee the end of the project's operation in Athienou jeopardizing the town's economic well-being. However, our hope is that our archaeological work will continue to enhance an already strong local identity into the future through our publications, the final development of the site as an archaeological park, the displays and programming in the museum, as well as the wide range of social connections that have developed with the residents of Athienou.

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Derek B. Counts is Associate Director of the Athienou Archaeological Project and Associate Professor of Classical Art and Archaeology in the Department of Art History at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. He received his Ph.D. in Old World Archaeology and Art from Brown University; he holds additional degrees in Classics from Davidson College (A.B.) and the University of Georgia (M.A.). Most recently, he co-edited (with Toumazou and Kardulias) *Crossroads and Boundaries: The Archaeology of Past and Present in the Malloura Valley, Cyprus* (Boston 2011). His research interests include the archaeology of Iron Age Cyprus and Cypriot limestone votive sculpture and its associated iconography. He is guest co-editor for a special volume of *BASOR* examining the Iron Age politics of Cyprus that will be published in 2013. Counts serves on the editorial boards of the *BASOR* and the *Cahier du Centre d'Études Chypriotes*; he is also co-editor of Book Reviews for the *American Journal of Archaeology*.



Elisabetta Cova is Assistant Professor of Classics in the Department of Foreign Languages and Literature at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. She graduated in *Lettere Classiche* from the University of Bologna (Italy) and received her M.Phil. in Archaeology at the University of Cambridge (United Kingdom). Her research interests include Roman Cyprus, Roman domestic architecture, and the archaeology of Pompeii and the Bay of Naples; she also maintains an interest in museum studies with a particular focus on civic museums and their role in the community. She recently published a study on the role of civic museums in northern Italy in the *European Journal of Archaeology*. She is a senior staff member of Athienou Archaeological Project, charged with the publication of the Late Roman/Early Byzantine settlement as well as the corpus of inscriptions excavated by the project. She serves as co-editor of Book Reviews for the *American Journal of Archaeology*.



P. Nick Kardulias is Associate Director of the Athienou Archaeological Project and Professor of Anthropology and Archaeology at the College of Wooster (Ohio). He received his B.A. (Anthropology and History) and an M.A. (History) from Youngstown State University, an M.A. (Anthropology) from SUNY-Binghamton, and a Ph.D. in Anthropology from The Ohio State University. His most recent books include a monograph, *From Classical to Byzantine: Social Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Fortress at Isthmia, Greece* (2005), and a volume co-edited with Toumazou and Counts, *Crossroads and Boundaries: The Archaeology of Past and Present in the Malloura Valley, Cyprus* (Boston 2011). His research interests include the archaeology and ethnography of the Mediterranean region, the archaeology of North America, world-systems theory, and stone tools in historic and prehistoric periods. He serves on the editorial boards of the *American Journal of Archaeology* and *Ethnoarchaeology*.

Michael K. Toumazou, a native of Cyprus, is Director of the Athienou Archaeological Project and Professor and former chair of Classics at Davidson College. He received his B.A. in Physics and Classics from Franklin and Marshall College, an M.A. in Classics from Loyola University of Chicago, and an M.A. and Ph.D. in Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology from Bryn Mawr College. With Kardulias and Counts, he recently co-edited a volume focusing on the results of his excavations at Athienou-Malloura (Boston 2011). Toumazou's research, which has been funded by grants from Dumbarton Oaks, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the National Science Foundation, centers on the history and prehistory of Cyprus, Greece, and the Levant, mortuary practices, and ancient Greek art.

