

TRIUMPH OVER TIME (1947)



*The American School of Classical Studies at Athens
In Post-War Greece*

NATALIA VOGKOFF-BROGAN

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INTRODUCTION

In 1947 the American School of Classical Studies at Athens produced a color film entitled *Triumph Over Time*. The project was envisioned as a publicity tool to launch the first post-war capital campaign of the American School, the specific aim of which was to support a five-year program of continued excavations at the Agora, ancient civic and cultural center of Athens.¹ The 40-minute film was produced by the numismatist Margaret Thompson (1911–1992) and directed by Swedish-American archaeologist Oscar Broneer (1894–1992). Fox Movietone processed the motion picture in the United States at the request of the founding owner of Fox Studios, Spyros P. Skouras, who served as a Trustee of the American School from 1946 to 1971.

In 2006, a search through the School's administrative records produced a celluloid original and a wealth of information concerning the movie's history. Because of the fragile state of the reels, which were full of splices and broken teeth, it was difficult to find a studio in Athens to handle the material. Finally, Kodak Film Studios in Athens was able to conserve the content and transfer it onto DVD, preserving the original images in vivid color with good sound.

Although *Triumph Over Time* was the first of a number of archaeological films made about Greece, it has largely been forgotten. The film received a brief mention in the second volume of the *History of the American School at Athens*² but was missed by the two most important surveys of existing archaeological films.³ This is surprising when one considers that it was shown for over a decade in the United States,



FILM MAGNATE SPYROS P. SKOURAS AS
A YOUNG MAN.
Courtesy Damaris Skouras



OSCAR BRONEER ON THE NORTH SLOPE
OF THE ACROPOLIS.
From the Oscar Broneer Papers, ASCSA

England, and Greece, and was used as a diplomatic tool by the American State Department until it dropped out of circulation. The reissue of this film, 60 years after its creation, pays testament to its enduring value as a historical document as well as to the high standards of its production.

The movie begins with a brief overview of impressive Greek antiquities such as the citadels of Mycenae and Tiryns and the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion. It then shifts to a presentation of rare ethnographic material that captures Greece's lost rural landscape. The idyllic scenes of women washing clothes in a σκάφη (in this case the laundry tub is a Roman sarcophagus!) and weaving on a primitive horizontal loom belong to a sort of fairy-tale genre of images of traditional Greece, or "to the days of Penelope" in the words of the film's narrator. The reference to Penelope, long-suffering wife of the ancient hero Odysseus, was probably not accidental, since it would have appealed to "The Daughters of Penelope," the women's philanthropic group of AHEPA (the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association). The scenes showing the repair of wooden cart wheels and the manufacture of roof tiles and pottery bring to mind myriad extinct craft practices.



WEAVING ON A LOOM.
Still from
Triumph Over Time



MAKING AND
DRYING ROOF TILES.
Stills from
Triumph Over Time



THE DESTROYED ROOFTOPS OF ATHENS IN 1945.
From the Gladys Davidson Weinberg Papers, ASCSA

The film then moves from the Greek countryside to the buildings of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, presenting images from its first post-war Open Meeting. King Paul and Queen Frederica attended the event and are shown in the movie talking with Acting Director Gorham P. Stevens and the U.S. Ambassador to Greece, Lincoln MacVeagh, a long-standing supporter and Trustee of the School.

The next scene captures Gennadeion librarian Shirley H. Weber with Madame Helene Stathatou, a great friend and benefactor of the library, as the pair guide viewers through the rare book collection.

The film then documents the two most important archaeological projects of the School, the excavations in the ancient Agora of Athens and those at Corinth. It explains all stages of archaeological work from digging, conservation, and drawing to cataloguing, display, and publication. One can catch glimpses of well-known personalities in the history of the sites, including Oscar Broneer, Homer Thompson, architects William Bell Dinsmoor and John Travlos, and artist Piet de Jong. The documentary ends on a hopeful note with the suggestion that the American School's archaeological work will contribute to an increase in tourism to Greece so that such a major source of revenue for Greece's economy can "restore stability and well-being to this simple pastoral land."

Filmed only two years after the end of World War II and in the midst of the Greek Civil War, *Triumph Over Time* includes surprisingly few images of the ravages of conflict. The notable exception is a view of the bombed Corinth canal. There is, moreover, no reference to the on-going civil war, and this may explain why views of cities and civic life are missing, except for those of the American School buildings and a brief panorama of Athens, a city where much was still in ruins. Ugliness and suffering had no place in this post-war promotional documentary.

Although the choice of title echoes Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will* (1935), the flagship of Nazi propaganda, this film shows no consciousness of that unfortunate association. The ASCSA's *Triumph Over Time* is a hymn to the ageless character of Greece clearly targeted at Greek Americans. Its scenes of rural life—the old woman dressed in black, the peasant girls, the old priest—were familiar and beloved images for the many Greeks who had left their impoverished villages to seek their fortune in America.

Moreover, the tragic conditions in Greece had already been the focus of another documentary, this one produced by Spyros Skouras in 1945 while the Greek American head of 20th-Century Fox served as



VIEW OF THE RUINED CORINTH CANAL.
Still from *Triumph Over Time*

president of the Greek War Relief Association (GWRA). In fact, Oscar Broneer had accompanied Skouras on his trip around Greece and had witnessed most of the making of the GWRA film.⁴ The two men were thus already familiar with each other by 1944 when Skouras asked Broneer, who was working for the U.S. Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations (OFRRO), to assume management of the GWRA as executive vice-president, a position he held until 1946.

It is almost certain that two of the black and white scenes in *Triumph Over Time* (the destroyed Corinth canal and a poignant vignette showing some children amongst the ruins of their houses) use footage from the movie made for the Greek War Relief Association. In a letter to Skouras written on October 21, 1947, Broneer asked to include scenes from the GWRA movie in the new film:

You were good enough to promise me a copy of the film made during our excursion. . . . As I told you we are making a documentary 16mm film on the work of the School and should like very much to include some shots from our trip to Corinth. Also if you have any stills from the occasion I would appreciate some copies.

There is an emotional description of the scene of ruined houses in Broneer's autobiography (the author refers to himself in the third person):

The village was totally demolished with only some walls standing up there, and a group of children came out of the ruins to have a look at the strange sight of foreigners visiting their homes. There was one little boy who caught Per's [Broneer's] attention, especially because he looked very pitiful. Per had brought some chocolate with him from England and he broke off a piece and handed it to the little boy, who could not have been more than 3 years old. The boy looked at the dark object in consternation and made no move to eat it. Finally Per realized that the boy had never seen a piece of chocolate, such things being unobtainable during the occupation, so he took the chocolate and put it in the little boy's mouth and was rewarded with a very happy smile as the boy tasted the sweetness.⁵



HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The sixtieth anniversary of the film's release presents an opportunity to reexamine this document of a tumultuous period in Greece's past. The movie also gives an interesting insight into the repositioning of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in the years after World War II as the institution, founded in 1881, entered a period of maturity and self-confidence.

Following the end of the war, Greece found itself in a bitter civil war, which lasted until 1949 and left behind demoralized citizens and a ravaged landscape.⁶ In the midst of these horrible events, America took a bold position in the politics of post-war Europe by launching, in 1947, the huge financial relief program that came to be known as the Marshall Plan. The subsequent pursuit of the so-called Truman Doctrine against Communist expansion in Eastern Europe resulted in additional millions of dollars of aid for the reconstruction of Greece (in no small part to confine the growth of the Soviet Union). This direct intervention also inspired confidence in the leadership of the American School to fully resume its pre-war activities in Greece.

The School had reopened in the summer of 1946 on a trial basis, since the political conditions in Greece remained uncertain. Work at the Agora and Corinth focused only on site cleaning, conservation, and publication, since the Greek State was not in favor of renewed large-scale excavations.⁷ The School's academic program did not resume until the fall of 1947 because the School was still renting its hostel building, Loring Hall, to the American Embassy. The \$8,500 annual rent paid by the Embassy was much-needed income for the School. Most importantly, the Embassy paid its rent in dollars, which



GIRL WITH NEW SHOES PROVIDED THROUGH POST-WAR
FOREIGN AID. ATHENS 1945–1946.
Benaki Museum, Photographic Archive,
Voula Papaioannou Collection



ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST LOAD OF WHEAT AT PIRAEUS, 1945.
Benaki Museum, Photographic Archive,
Voula Papaioannou Collection

enabled the School to exchange the dollars “at the open market rate,” code for the exchange of cash in the black market.⁸ The skyrocketing inflation of post-war Greece left the School gasping for even more funds. In addition, the Greek State was pressing for resumption of pre-war plans for a museum at the Agora. In spring of 1946 the American School received permission to carry out excavations at the Agora to clear a site for the planned building (never, in fact, built because it was superseded by grander designs for the 1953–1956 reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos).

To fulfill these obligations, the School persuaded Rhys Carpenter, who had been director from 1927 to 1932, to accept a further four-year appointment (1946–1950). The failing health of his wife, however, prevented Carpenter from coming to Greece, so the School extended the tenure of Gorham P. Stevens (1946–1947), before appointing Oscar Broneer, Professor of Archaeology at the School since 1940 and unofficial field director of the Corinth excavations, as Acting Director for 1947–1948. Broneer was appointed to the position by the Managing Committee and given the explicit task of organizing a publicity and fundraising campaign with three goals: to construct the Agora museum, to pay for a five-year excavation program at the Agora, and to increase the endowment of the School in order to meet the operating deficit.⁹ Broneer’s experience in the distribution of aid during his service both at the OFFRO and GWRA weighed considerably in his selection as the Acting Director of the School in 1947.

The campaign was envisioned as a two-part project: a large mailing of leaflets containing information about the School’s work, and a fundraising drive to 13 cities with lectures and film shows. To carry out the campaign, Broneer asked for Margaret Thompson’s assistance. Thompson, an archaeologist with a specialty in coins, had worked in the Agora excavations before the war. She later joined the Greek War Relief Association and acquired valuable experience in fundraising. In fact, Broneer and Thompson had both been part of an enormous fundraising effort organized by the AHEPA and GWRA in 1946 that had raised five million dollars.¹⁰ Broneer’s plan was to spend two months in the States in the fall helping Thompson launch the ASCSA campaign and make contact with people he knew from his previous



VIEW FROM THE PANATHENAIC WAY LOOKING SOUTH TOWARD THE ACROPOLIS, 1949.
Courtesy ASCSA Agora Excavations

relief services, mostly prosperous Greek Americans like Spyros Skouras and Tom Pappas.¹¹ Pappas had arranged, through Broneer, for a generous shipment of food supplies to the members of the American School in 1946.



THE MAKING OF THE FILM

The original idea for a film to accompany the fundraising campaign belongs to Margaret Thompson. A letter from Agora Director Homer Thompson (no relation to Margaret) to Louis Lord, Chair of the Managing Committee, makes this clear:

I discussed with Margaret Broneer's drive for funds for the School among the Greek Americans. As one who has been largely responsible for the Greek War Relief drives for some years, she knows the situation well. I was cheered to find that she didn't regard the scheme as mad; indeed she thought it would be well worth doing. She thought that the best possible equipment that Broneer could have on his lecture tour would be a film (about 20 minutes) on the work of the School in Greece, giving it as wide a geographical spread as possible in order to appeal to Greeks from the largest possible number of districts. In addition to shots of the sites she felt that we should film the actual digging in the Agora this summer, also the business of cleaning, mending, cataloguing, etc. . . . One of the Skouras family is now in Athens, so that Broneer might well be able to manage this before his return. If the film can be shot in Greece this summer, I would suggest that it be brought back to be edited by Margaret, who did the editing of the Greek War Relief film on its work in Greece. She is greatly impressed by the success of that film. . . . [A] film of that sort on the work of the School would also be of lasting value. . . . I'll go over all this with Broneer in Athens and if anything comes of it I should be willing to have Margaret Thompson devote several months in the fall to assist in Broneer; they have long worked together and are a good team.¹²



THE GREEK ROYAL FAMILY ATTENDING THE 1947 OPEN MEETING. FOREFRONT: GORHAM P. STEVENS AND QUEEN FREDERICA; KING PAUL BEHIND THE QUEEN; ANNETTE NOTARAS STEVENS IN THE BACKGROUND. ASCSA Archives

With Lord's approval for a film on the School's work, Broneer began experimenting with local cinematographers and filming events he thought might be useful to the project. It was for this reason that he made arrangements to film the participation of the Greek royal family in the Open Meeting of the School on June 16, 1947, using an Athenian cameraman as a way to test local forces for the enterprise he had in mind.

A few days later Broneer used the same cameraman to record a highly attended religious festival taking place at the Bema of St. Paul in Corinth in honor of Apostles Peter and Paul. Wrote Broneer, "This is just the kind of occasion we are looking for, official functions with crowds of people in intimate connection with the excavations."¹³ Both events were included in *Triumph Over Time*.

In the end Broneer and Margaret Thompson opted for an American photographer, Karl Robinson. Although Robinson was coming to Greece for another job, Thompson convinced him to undertake filming for the American School as well. It also appears from the correspondence between Broneer and Lord that the movie-making took place during the first two weeks of August 1947, because Broneer asked Lord to postpone his trip to Greece until the middle of August, "after the photography is over."¹⁴

After the filming was completed in Athens, it was sent to Margaret Thompson in the States for editing and development. At the same time, she was working hard on the second part of the campaign, preparing the itinerary and the brochure to accompany Broneer's lecture tour in America. "She has done an admirable job," wrote Homer Thompson to Broneer in October.¹⁵



DISAPPOINTING BEGINNINGS

The movie premiered in the U.S. at the Christmas 1947 meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) in New Haven. Oscar Broneer was then scheduled to take the film on a tour of 13 American cities. Broneer, however, was facing serious problems back in Athens. The health of his wife, Verna, had deteriorated, and his presence was needed. On January 23, 1948, Broneer wrote to Lord from his hotel in the U.S., worrying about Verna's health, frustrated about not being with her, and concerned about the campaign: "I had hoped against hope that I would be able to finish this job over before returning to Athens, but that now seems doubtful. I just can't stand being over here when I ought to be with her. I took an awful chance when I left her." Verna Anderson Broneer died on January 27, 1948. Fortunately, Oscar had returned to Greece in time to be with her for the last two days of her life. *Triumph Over Time* opened in Princeton as scheduled on January 29, with Homer Thompson addressing the audience in place of Oscar Broneer.

Thompson's speech referred to the School's two missions, teaching and research, without ignoring Greece's post-war situation: "Greece is indeed afire . . . and the future is confused and murky but, with a hopeful glance, we may derive some help in plotting our future course by looking occasionally backwards; it may even be worth while to enlarge our horizon in that direction, for surely the horizon lies to right and left and behind us as well as in front."¹⁶ In fact, Thompson devoted a significant part of his talk to explaining the relationship between Greece and America, drawing from personal experience and recognizing his audience's fear of communism:



HOMER THOMPSON, CA.
1946.
Courtesy ASCSA Agora
Excavations

The Greeks believe the current program of American aid to Greece to be entirely altruistic. . . . Time and again one hears the expression, "Had there been no American aid, there would be no Greece today." As for the future, they realize more keenly than we possibly can, that the alternative to accepting American aid now is a very speedy degeneration into complete anarchy and eventual domination by Communism, than which no form of society could be more abhorrent to the Greek nature.¹⁷

After the loss of his wife, Broneer did not return to the States to resume the campaign. Homer Thompson and Margaret Thompson assumed the responsibilities for the lectures on the East Coast and Louis Lord undertook some of the West Coast lectures. Homer Thompson was very pleased with the attendance in Providence and Boston, and Margaret Thompson reported "an attendance of about 600 at the New York meeting, all paying guests."¹⁸

On April 13, 1948, *Triumph Over Time* was shown at Bryn Mawr College to a packed audience. "We had a large turnout, some 300–400 in the audience—and a very enthusiastic reception. After this try-out, I feel strongly that the film should be shown in every one of the supporting universities and colleges. It furthers both the School and the cause of the Greek classics in general, besides being timely for stirring general interest in Greece. . . . I intend to make an oral appeal to the members of the Managing Committee when they meet in May," wrote Rhys Carpenter, Professor of Archaeology, to Margaret Thompson.¹⁹



VERNA AND OSCAR BRONEER.
ASCSA Archives

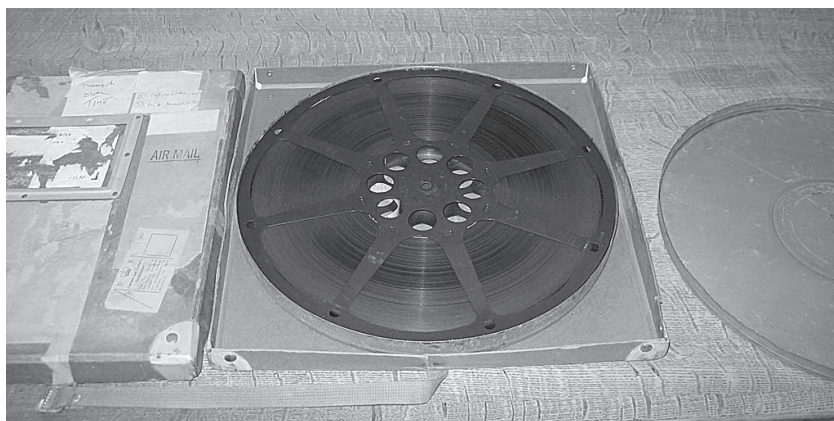


ENTHUSIASM BUT NO FINANCIAL GAINS

Despite the reports of enthusiasm and high attendance during screenings of the film, the fundraising campaign ended with a deficit. When Margaret Thompson submitted her report to Louis Lord in early May of 1948, the net earnings from the film were about \$7,300, while the production and campaign expenses amounted to \$8,000.²⁰ Broneer held the School responsible for not fully backing his fundraising campaign: “I am confident that we could have raised considerable sums, but fundraising is a full time job requiring both organization and know-how.”²¹ According to Broneer, the film was shown in Princeton, Philadelphia, Boston, and Providence without charging any money for attendance, although a \$75 lecture fee had been collected at Princeton. At other places with better organization, such as Saint Louis, where George Mylonas, professor of archaeology at the University of Missouri, took full responsibility, tickets were sold and significant sums were raised. In addition, only two copies of the film were created, thus limiting the number of requests that could be filled and requiring considerable advanced planning.

Certainly, missteps were made. The School had launched a major fundraising drive—probably carried away by the success of other similar enterprises in America—without making any provisions for its expenses. The development of the campaign and its subsequent lack of success suggest that the leadership of the American School neither had clear vision of its goals nor was fully committed to its completion.

The illness and death of Verna Broneer probably also set the program back. The film showings in particular would have produced better results if Oscar Broneer had managed the financial details of each



A COPY OF THE FILM FROM THE ASCSA ARCHIVES

event himself. Although both he and Margaret Thompson intended to target the prosperous Greek American community when organizing the campaign and producing the film, it is uncertain whether the movie finally reached that group. The itinerary for the campaign shows that the film was mostly shown to academic communities through the local societies of the AIA, but not to successful businessmen of Greek descent, as Broneer had originally intended.

Both Broneer and Margaret Thompson wanted to initiate a new publicity campaign using more copies of the film; however, this would involve new expenses since each additional copy cost \$125.²² Lord did not give his consent to make more copies; instead, he accepted Dorothy Burr Thompson's proposal to create a committee on visual instruction, which would supervise the fundraising campaign both for continuing the Agora excavations and enlarging the endowment. Wrote Lord to Broneer, "Just what part the film will have in this [new campaign] I can't say, but it certainly should be extensively used."²³

As late as May 27th, after the spring meeting of the Managing Committee, Broneer was still pursuing the idea of a wider distribution of the film in the States. He had received enthusiastic comments from a showing in Athens to a new group from the American Mission for Aid to Greece (AMAG), which "made several inquiries how the film could be obtained in America." He also planned to show it in Oxford at a conference.²⁴



THE AFTERMATH

There is no record of the film's distribution in the fall of 1948, although institutions and societies must have continued to rent it from Homer Thompson's office in Princeton for the usual fee of \$25. Meanwhile, things had changed at the American School. After Carpenter formally resigned in February of 1948, the Managing Committee appointed John L. Caskey of the University of Cincinnati as the new director of the School (1949–1959). Broneer, who still maintained his position as Professor of Archaeology at the School, accepted a one-year teaching position at the University of Chicago, which eventually led to a long career at that institution. Margaret Thompson returned to her position at the Agora Excavations, which she held for a couple of years before she began a long career at the American Numismatic Society.

References to the film appear again in January 1949. The Visual Instructions Committee, headed by Dorothy Burr Thompson, archaeologist and wife of Homer Thompson, asked Margaret to send the cuttings from *Triumph Over Time* to see if it was possible to produce a new 10-minute short or some sort of a "patch-work quilt for use with School and Archaeological gatherings."²⁵ In a long letter to Homer Thompson, Margaret politely refuted both ideas because the cuttings represented "poor photographic material, duplicate sequences and overweighted footage. . . . As for the 'patchwork quilt,' I don't think it would be worth the production cost—cheaper to continue circulating the existing film which has the best of the footage taken."²⁶

The next reference to the film is found four years later in a letter from the International Information and Educational Exchange Program of the U.S. State Department. The letter requested permission from Charles Morgan, the new chairman of the School's Managing Com-

mittee, to enter into a contract with the American School to reproduce, distribute, and exhibit *Triumph Over Time* throughout the world, with the exception of the United States, its possessions, and Canada. The State Department had screened the film and wanted to add it to its overseas film program “as an example of America’s interest in the cultures of other nations. It should also assist in restoring a feeling of accomplishment in Near Eastern peoples.”²⁷ Two days later Morgan granted permission. Some time after the creation of the movie, the School also made an agreement with the Princeton Film Center to distribute *Triumph Over Time* at a rental cost of \$15, and to provide an additional copy and repairs if needed.

At a meeting held at the house of Homer Thompson in Princeton in October 1954, representatives from both the ASCSA and the AIA gathered to discuss the development of archaeological films as a means of publicity. Both institutions had established film committees, with Dorothy Burr Thompson chairing the ASCSA committee and James Notopoulos at the head of the AIA Visual Aid Committee. Oscar Broneer and Margaret Thompson were also present.

All present at this meeting concluded that although certain parts of *Triumph Over Time* were out of date—such as scenes of the post-war condition of Greece and plans for the superseded Agora museum—the existing film should be distributed until a new one was produced. A proposal for just such a replacement had been made by academic filmmaker Ray Garner. The participants had viewed his movie about Egypt (*Ancient World: Egypt*, 1951) and knew that he was eager to turn his lens on Greece. So, as the minutes of the meeting indicate, “they decided to allow him to cite their approval of his undertaking and offered to get the official sponsorship of the ASCSA and the AIA, so that he could use such backing in application for funds.”²⁸



MARGARET THOMPSON WITH HER NIECE IN TRADITIONAL GREEK COSTUME, LATE 1940S.

Courtesy Archives, American Numismatic Society

A year later there were still talks about cutting out the most antiquated parts of *Triumph Over Time* to “make a two reel film that would rent for less and appeal more to schools. . . . Rather than let it die because of the dead wood in it, we might do a rejuvenation program,” a proposal to which Charles Morgan agreed. After all, *Triumph Over Time*, despite all complaints, remained “a useful work horse.”²⁹ Meanwhile, the new film by Garner (*Ancient World: Greece*) was in preparation, as well as another about the Stoa of Attalos. There were also discussions about switching distributors, from the Princeton Film Center to the New York University Film Library, and about including both *Triumph Over Time* and the Stoa of Attalos film in the AIA film series, since the School could not afford publicity expenses and enough copies for effective circulation.

Seven years later, *Triumph Over Time* was still in the care of the Princeton Film Center, which in the interim had gone into bankruptcy. The Center owed the School \$172.82 from rentals and sales as well as the films themselves, and the School had to go to court in order to claim these funds.³⁰ Alfred Bellinger, Chair of the Managing Committee, was skeptical about going to court: “There is so much chance of spending more than we should get that I very much doubt if it would be worth pursuing.”³¹ The School was only interested in retrieving a copy of the film because it was regarded as a School publication. “It would be a great pity not to acquire possession of the original, which certainly has considerable documentary value if nothing else,” wrote Broneer (prophetically) in 1962, 15 years after the creation of *Triumph Over Time*.³²



DOROTHY BURR [THOMPSON] IN ATHENS, CA. 1933. From the Gladys Davidson Weinberg Papers, ASCSA



EPILOGUE

Even though the film did not produce the financial gains originally envisioned, *Triumph Over Time* certainly made a significant contribution to the School's public presence and in this capacity it bore the fruits for which it was originally intended. In retrospect, what is remarkable and innovative about *Triumph Over Time* is that archaeologists played an active role in all stages of filming and editing. In fact, until the early 1960s the initiative for producing archaeological films lay almost entirely with large educational corporations or with professional filmmakers with an interest in archaeology. Archaeologists contributed only to the scripts and acted as consultants.³³

In featuring scenes of agricultural life and crafts, the movie's creators probably meant to strike a sentimental note, appealing to the generosity of the target audience (especially Greek Americans). However, it is no coincidence that the depictions shown still have considerable ethnographic value. *Triumph Over Time* was also ahead of its time in making a serious attempt to present archaeological methodology in a period when archaeology was still associated with "treasure hunting."

Although it undoubtedly has rough edges, and the tone of the commentary can seem patronizing to modern ears, the film retains much of its freshness. Sixty years after its creation, the movie provides vivid testament to the love of Greece, the land and its people, that still characterizes the work of the American School today.

NOTES

1. Meritt 1984, pp. 34–35.
2. Meritt 1984, p. 34.
3. Kraemer 1958; Beale and Healy 1975.
4. Broneer autobiography, unpublished, pp. 208, 211.
5. Broneer autobiography, unpublished, p. 211.
6. Woodhouse 1976; Clogg 2002.
7. Ministry of Education to ASCSA, December 17, 1945.
8. Informal report for November 1946, Stevens to Lord, December 2, 1946.
9. ASCSA *Annual Report* 67 (1947–1948), p. 21; Lord to Trustees, March 15, 1948.
10. Salouts 1964, p. 364.
11. Broneer to Executive Committee, June 5, 1947.
12. H. Thompson to Lord, May 22, 1947.
13. Broneer to Lord, June 23, 1947.
14. Broneer to Lord, July 11, 1947.
15. Thompson to Broneer, October, 3, 1947.
16. Typescript of Thompson speech, unpublished, p. ?.
17. Typescript of Thompson speech, unpublished, p. ?.
18. H. Thompson to Lord, February 29, 1948.
19. M. Thompson to Broneer, April 27, 1948.
20. Copy of M. Thompson's letter to Lord, May 4, 1948.
21. Broneer to Lord, April 5, 1948.
22. M. Thompson to Lord, May 4, 1948.
23. Lord to Broneer, April 15, 1948.
24. Broneer to M. Thompson, May 27, 1948.
25. H. Thompson to M. Thompson, January 31, 1949.
26. M. Thompson to H. Thompson, February 4, 1949.
27. Department of State to Morgan, June 3, 1953.
28. Minutes of Meeting on Archaeological Films, October 18, 1954.
29. D. B. Thompson to Morgan, October 17, 1955; Morgan to D. B. Thompson, November 10, 1955.
30. D. B. Thompson to A. Bellinger, October 8, 1962.
31. Bellinger to D. B. Thompson [1962].
32. Broneer to Bellinger, November 13, 1962.
33. Beale and Healy 1975, p. 77.

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