a Journal for Greek letters

Thinking Diversely:

Hellenism and the Challenge of Globalisation

Guest Editor **Elizabeth Kefallinos**

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Correspondence and payments

Department of Modern Greek A18,
University of Sydney, NSW 2006 Australia
T (+612) 9351 7252
E-mail vrasidas.karalis@sydney.edu.au

Please send submissions in Times New Roman 12pt, 1.5 spacing, single inverted commas for quotes, with endnotes rather than footnotes.

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Department of Modern Greek, University of Sydney NSW 2006 Australia
T (02) 9351 7252 F (02) 9351 3543
vrasidas.karalis@sydney.edu.au

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Elizabeth Kefallinos
Macquarie University 26-11-2012

Introduction*

Aspects of Greek Culture

Over thousands of years Greek culture has spread across the globe to many people – through language, medicine and the sciences, philosophy, art, archaeology, architecture and politics; much of has been bestowed upon the world by Greek civilization. Greek culture has survived from the 3rd millennium BC when the original Hellenes first arrived in the area now known as Greece. Despite many wars, foreign occupations and other threats to its culture, Hellenism has persisted. Today however, we question its future. What do we mean today by the concept of Hellenism? How will Hellenism survive in a globalised world? The trends of speedy explorations, technology and the sciences as well as the minimisation of the concept of time and place, the unprecedented mobilisation of the populations and the rapid diversification of what were once perceived as exclusive national cultures have transformed the Globe into a village. As such, these circumstances have created new avenues by which to understand the world. Globalisation is paradoxical insofar as it restricts the world and at the same time effectuates a global dynamism. New trends construct new identities, and the need of a re-evaluation and redefinition of the Shelf is now paramount to many academic disciplines. The articles included in this publication well - project this attitude, encapsulating the concept of Hellenism in light of the contemporary concerns that relate to global realities.

Whilst exploring past, historical themes, the section entitled *History and Theology* is not without contemporary relevance insofar as it envisions aspect of Hellenism as global phenomena. Thus *Hellenistic Globalization and the Metanarratives of the Logos*, articulates the current contradictions with globalisation in contrast to that of Christian antiquity. The author's argument reveals that despite its claim of cultural and political integration, contemporary globalisation has assisted in the loss of metanarratives such as the Logos; metanarratives which, he suggests should be revived. *Tipping Points: Greek culture in the age of Internationalisation*, explores the theme of Art and its politicisation during the 1970s and beyond, as Greece's position symbolically changed upon the European map. The article, *What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?* discusses the historical and religious connection between Athens and Jerusalem. The author explores the very long relationship of Hellenism with Greek Orthodoxy, both philosophically and historically, giving particular emphasis to the transformation from the pre-Christian to Christian era. *Racing ahead to globalising world: The Ptolemaic Commonwealth and Posidippus' Hippika*, relates the global Greek civilization of the post-Alexandrian world to the foundations of our contemporary globalised world. The author's proposition that Hellenic kingdoms actively sought legitimacy and validation through maintenance and reinforcement of Greek institutions and values is well established through his focus on a selected text from the poet Posidippus' *Hippika*. The author of The *Hellenism of Ammianus Marcellinus* focuses upon the personality of Marcellinus by giving particular emphasis to his love of Hellenism; although a noble Roman, Marcellinus wanted to be remembered as "former soldier of a Greek", a statement that uncovers his admiration of Hellenism during the powerful, Roman era. *Byzantine – Rite Christians (Melkites) in Central Asia in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, presents a comprehensive, historical overview of the presence of Byzantine-rite Christians, in Central Asia, an article which has often been neglected within early Christian studies. In the article, *Ancient Coins for the Colonies: Hellenism and the History of Numismatic Collections in Australia*, the author observes global Hellenism through a history of numismatic collections; he successfully develops a cultural connection between Greece and Australian (the imperial colony) and links it to the concept of Hellenism within the era of contemporary Globalisation. *The Greek – Cypriot Settlement to South*

Australia during the 1950s, concentrates on the contemporary presence of Greek-Cypriots in South Australia, and as such provides a springboard for further investigation into their settlement in that particular state. *Update on the missing persons of Cyprus from the 1974 Turkish invasion*, is an original piece of work that investigates the geo-political and historical position of Cyprus in its globalised dimensions. The inherent ongoing political agendas interwoven within the humanitarian issue of "missing people" is the central theme and it is the basis of a much larger piece of research which investigates the shifting tides of international, political tensions and alliances during the last four decades. *Darwinism and its Impact in the Recent Greek Press*, discusses the concept of Darwinism as depicted in the process of journalism in the daily press.

The second section includes papers whose focus is on *culture and identity*, popular themes that pervade interdisciplinary studies as a means of exploring today's multidimensional identities. *A generation* (Γενιές) presents a number of Greek-Australians, or those of Greek descent, reflecting upon their forebears, and/or their succeeding generations, as well as upon themselves revealing – through cross – comparison - insightive personal, socio-cultural and political layers across time.

The Greek Diaspora in a Globalised World, offers a thorough investigation of the term Diaspora, and in the process discusses the dynamics of Greek diaspora historically and geographically. *Sarantaris and Prometheus, the Idiot and the Thief*, nourishes and develops further understanding of the work and thought of one of Greece's significant, but not very well-known, poets of the early 20th century Greece. *Multiple, Intergenerational Identities: Greek-Australian Women across Generations*, explore the multiplicity of identity in three generations of women in Australia; oral narratives reflect a self-defined process and development of identities that exist within a continues flux of re-evaluation and redefinition; it also reflects the process of transformation from first generation migrant to third generation Australian-born women. The author of *Cosmopolitan orientation & creative resistance in contemporary Athenian culture*, focus on the free press magazine *Lifo* to reveal the dialectic between global and local culture in Athens; it also includes the then-emerging economic crisis in Greece and its effects upon the "cosmopolitan orientation and creative resistance" in Athens. *We are different and the same: Exploring Hellenic culture and identity in Aotearoa- New Zealand*, adds valuably to our understanding of the multidimensional qualities of cultural identities, from the local, to the global; the author explores the dynamic complexities that generate and regenerate cultural identity in both positive and negative light. *Towards a multi-layered construction of identity by the Greek Diaspora: an examination of the films of Nia Vardalos, including "My Big Fat Greek wedding" (2002)* and *"My life in Ruins" (2009)*, presents an attempt to investigate the multiple-layered metamorphic flux of "identity" within the context of Nia Vardalos' films. What this paper offers is of relevance and immediacy to current contemporary thinking on the transformative nature (empowerment /disempowerment) of identity. *Switching Channels between the old and new mentalities: Exploring inter-generational changing expectations faced by Greek Orthodox their ministry in Australia*, deals with a growing – and indeed, often overlooked- area of research into the Greek-Australian experience in the area of the Greek Orthodox Church; it exposes the inter-generational complexities encountered by Greek Orthodox priests and their wives in congregations containing both "old" and "new" outlooks (towards the Church, its priests and their perceived roles and responsibilities).

The last section entitled *Education* incorporates papers that deal with education in regard to the "legacy of Hellenism". Hellenism is often relegated to Ancient History studies in both high school and tertiary education; a reductionist approach which envisages its legacy as part of distant – and for this reason – mystic past, and which is not easy to overcome. *Teaching the legacy of Hellenism in an Australian University – an interdisciplinary adventure*, exposes the process of teaching this "legacy of Hellenism" at the level of tertiary education, particularly within the International Studies Department at Macquarie University. *Greek language in the age of Globalisation: The translator's perspective*, explores translations and their problematic as a mean of communication within the global context.

Special papers for Athens 2004

Athens became a global city during the Olympics of 2004 and beyond; significantly Athens became a global symbol when the Olympic torch passed through the streets of the most important Olympic cities, including Sydney. The relay from Olympia to the stadium of Athens marks, for the "first time ever" the flame's globetrotting around the world, in order to disseminate the message of unity, peace and *ekecheiria* (Olympic Truce). It is in this

framework that some distinguished historians, philosophers and philologists, from Macquarie, Sydney and Charles Sturt Universities came together to celebrate the Olympic city of Athens for one day conference entitled *Athens Day Conference- A day for all things Athenian* (31st of July, 2004) . The event also highlighted the 40th anniversary since the foundation of Macquarie University, and as such, explored the apollonian light of *Olympism*, spiritual *armonia* and noble competition as encapsulated within Greek Studies and at Macquarie University's former emblem, light house – a symbol of knowledge, innovation and distinguished scholarship – (that is, another way to disseminate Hellenism in the era of harsh Globalisation). The one- day conference attracted ten distinguished scholars; a selection of the presented papers, included in this publication: *Images of Greek Goddess in Aneme: Athena and Nausicaä of the Valley of Wind*, examines the formation of Miyazaki's Nausicaä in visual, psychological and cross-cultural contexts whilst at the same time exposing the Japanese appreciation of Greek mythology in both artistic and literary creations. *The Impact of Athens on the Development of the Greek Language and the Ancient Letters* discusses the significance of Athens in antiquity as a centre of knowledge. The paper reveals the remarkable development that took place in Athens in every aspect of human thought; the author gives however emphasis to the role of the Greek language as a mean that transferred the knowledge of the great Greek minds to the rest of the world until today. *Athena, diamond-jewelled, ring of the Earth: A Poem about Athens or Athens as a Poem?* In the light of Athens as an Olympic city that attracted the interest of the globe in the 2004, the author of this paper explores the Greek literary universe in order to sightsee the way that poets create an artistic image of Athens; thus the question that is proposed and discussed in this paper is Palamas' hymn for Athens: is the hymn of Athens one of the national poems created only to enhance the nationalistic conscience of the Greek people, as many scholars believe, or did Palamas create, poetically, a personal image of Athens?

The papers presented in this volume are interactive, diverse, synchronic and diachronic. The contributors redefine Hellenism in the age of globalisation within various disciplines. It seems that Hellenism is no longer a monolithic aspect of scholarship but an ongoing process able to absorb the multiplicity of novel, cultural aspects. Greek studies has emerged from its traditional introversion into the dynamic arena of a globalized extroversion. It has expanded successfully into various other fields making it interdisciplinary in nature and diverse in notion. Interdisciplinary process gives to Greek studies a fresh breath which pushes it forward into new areas of scientific research, as well as teaching and learning. From the contributions of this volume the creative dialogue that Greek studies has initiated with the past, namely between antiquity and early Christianity with the present, has been made evident. Until recently antiquity exclusively belonged to a scholarship which did not permit - or have a place - for a dialogue with the present; which means that a creative dialogue with the past gives a new dimension to Greek studies. Greek studies is not longer a dead past but a living, creative force which enlightens the past and fertilizes the present. Also, a creative dialogue is evident with diverse social and cultural dynamics. Greek scholars in the Diaspora appreciate the scientifically productive dialogue between the past and contemporary scholarship which allows them in turn to engage in an innovative exchange of ideas, develop diversification, and conceptualize an enriched construction of a hybrid Greek-Australian identity that is unique and promising for posterity. Hellenism certainly is not limited to Greeks inherently lends itself to an expansion which encompasses individuals from all over the world. In its renowned Greekness it is not identified with the limited boarders of a place, namely Greece but is amplified, enhanced and fertilized by new elements, new routes, new minds unaffected from distractive constructions. Hellenism constantly re-invents whilst preserving its initial nature and it is this paradoxical stability and flexibility that has allowed it to survive throughout the centuries as a continuous, re-creative process. Hellenism is that notion which is maintained and promulgated by all those individuals – such as the contributors of this volume – who study, research, teach Greek, or even find a personal, existential meaning in its humane values. The various thematic contributions within this volume prove that Hellenism has a bright future in the Diaspora.

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*The articles in the present edition have been selected from peer reviewed papers that were originally presented at the 10th Internation Conference of Modern Greek Studies Association Austrlia and New Zealand, at Macquarie University, in Decemeber 2010.

The Night Boat to Ancona

The red grapes hang heavy
above the Italian lovers' balcony in Nicopolis*,
their dew droplets glisten in the moonlight.
The heat has quenched itself,
mellowing in the arms of the night.
The scent of the night jasmine fused
with the passion and insomnia
of the cicadas,
waking from an eight year slumber,
too long the wait,
the air a frenzy of mating calls.

Further up by the Gates at the Acheron river,
Pluto, silent
but deadly,
keeps his cool, waiting...

The midnight boat to Ancona,
a chandelier all lit up,
sails by silently,
gliding on the Ionian sea,
vanishing into a starry darkness,
leaving behind a vacuum of night,
of emptiness.
A loss.

In the woods the tourists frolic merrily;
shrieks and the breaking of bottles
pierce the night,
punctuating the cicadas' concert.
A night owl startled flies past
crying out in a tone
one might wrongly
interpret as despair.

Despair, is this what Antony felt here, in the hills of Actium,
measuring himself against Octavian and Rome?
Do the hills remember the echoes of his lost battle?
Do the old olive trees still carry the cry in their rings?
Do the shells, the pebbles under my feet,
hide deep inside, the memory
of Cleopatra's ships leaving him?
Do the waves bring it ashore,
whispering it,
again and again?
Do they?

And all along, down south in the African heat
Alexandria –
implacable,
an end waiting-
peering through its windows ,
nonchalant,
languid,
for Antony's return
and his farewell.

© Martha Mylona

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*Nicopolis - an ancient city, north of Actium, founded by the Roman emperor Augustus (Octavian), in 31 BC, to commemorate his victory, in the battle of Actium, over Mark Antony and Queen Cleopatra of Egypt. The ruins are near Preveza in Western Greece.

Paul McKechnie
Macquarie University

Racing ahead to a globalized world: the Ptolemaic commonwealth and Posidippus' Hippika

Abstract

When A.E. Zimmern wrote of the Greek commonwealth, he meant the fifth century Athenian empire; but the expansion of the Greek-speaking world under Alexander the Great makes it better to associate the idea of a Greek commonwealth with the global Greek civilization of the post-Alexander world. The impulse, in the Hellenistic kingdoms to look for validation and legitimacy to long-established Greek institutions and values, is illustrated in this article with reference to Posidippus' Hippika. In the text examined here, a horse-racing victory at Delphi by one of Ptolemy II's most trusted friends is celebrated.

Introduction

Alfred Eckhard Zimmern's *The Greek Commonwealth*, first published in 1911, is about Athens in the fifth century BC, and its program, which culminates with the Peloponnesian War (Zimmern 1931: xi):[1]

> *... a conflict which brought inward unhappiness and outward disaster upon the foremost Greek community at the very height of her greatness and left its mark upon the mind and writings of the men who laid the foundations of European political thought.*

Zimmern engaged with the Greek environment, economics and political thought in the course of his exposition. An internationalist, and a proponent of the idea that war ought to be illegal, Zimmern wrote a Foreign Office

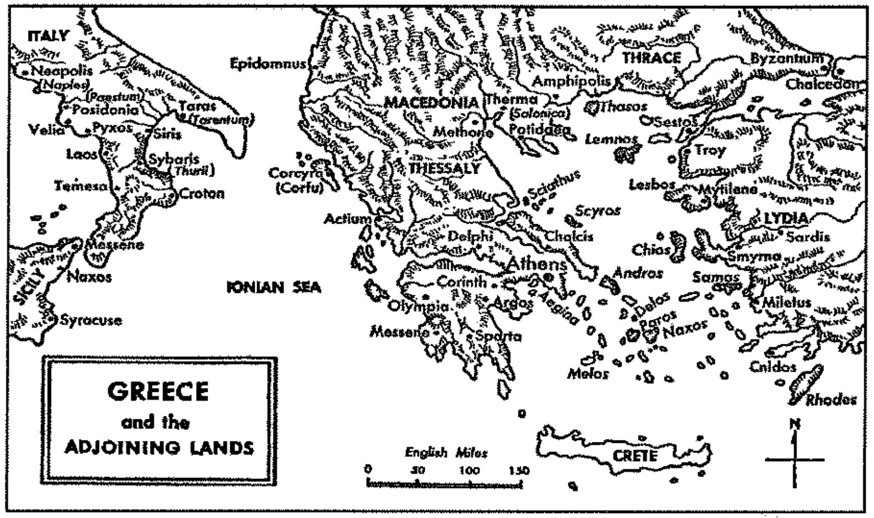
ITALY
Neapolis
(Naples)
(Paestum)
Posidonia
Taras
(Tarentum)
Velia
Pyxos
Siris
Laos
Sybaris
(Thurii)
Temesa
Croton
Messene
SICILY
Naxos
Syracuse
IONIAN SEA
Epidamnus
Corcyra
(Corfu)
Actium
MACEDONIA
Therma
(Salonica)
Methone
Potidaea
THESSALY
Delphi
Chalcis
Athens
Corinth
Olympia
Argos
Aegina
Messene
Sparta
THRACE
Amphipolis
Thasos
Sestos
Lemnos
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Troy
Sciathus
Scyros
Lesbos
Mytilene
LYDIA
Sardis
Chios
Smyrna
Andros
Samos
Delos
Paros
Naxos
Miletus
Melos
Cnidos
Rhodes
GREECE
and the
ADJOINING LANDS
English Miles
0
50
100
150
CRETE
N

Figure 1: Map from Zimmern's The Greek Commonwealth (1931)

memorandum which became the basis of the 'Cecil draft', the document on the organization of the League of Nations which the British took to the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 (Markwell 2004).

Zimmern's conception of the importance of the Greek commonwealth was in important respects broad. Yet by centring on fifth century Athens it remained unengaged with how the ancient Greeks themselves globalized Hellenism. They expanded their world beyond the confines of the lands Zimmern chose to include in the map published at the front of *The Greek Commonwealth*, as shown in Figure 1.

It would be wrong to imply after more than a hundred years that the subject of Zimmern's *The Greek Commonwealth* ought to have been other than it is. In this article, however, it is proposed that in antiquity Hellenism did not only face, but actually created, a globalized world; and that by looking to that world, the world of Greek-ruled and Greek-speaking empires after Alexander the Great, it will be possible to gauge what Hellenism can mean in a globalized context.

As emblematic of that globalized world, consider Ptolemaic Egypt – not merely one of the *disjecta membra* of Alexander's empire, but the realm of the Ptolemaic kings, who as J.G. Manning put it (Manning 2010: 205):

> *are directly responsible for some of the greatest achievements of the ancient world, not least of which is the building of Alexandria – the first 'urban giant' ... of the ancient world, home to the greatest center of learning in Mediterranean antiquity and to the famed lighthouse, among many other significant monuments.*

These kings drew on intellectual and artistic achievements to build their thrones: science, philosophy, jewellery, and other attainments for which this article will not have space; but the focus here will be on poetry and horse racing.

Posidippus and the Hippika

About twenty poems by Posidippus of Pella, depending on where lines are drawn over ambiguous attributions, are preserved in the Palatine Anthology, more in the Planudean Appendix, and some are quoted in Athenaeus. A generation ago, there were a total of twenty-four to include in *Hellenistic Epigrams* (Gow and Page 1965: 166–74). But in 2001, study of mummy cartonnage stored in Milan revealed a manuscript containing 112 poems and fragments of other poems. Two of these 112 were already known (Posidippus 15 and 65),[2] and attributed to Posidippus. On the strength of this it has been inferred by most scholars that all the poems in the Milan papyrus are by Posidippus. Doubters remain, including Franco Ferrari (Ferrari 2007: 331–9), the late Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones (Lloyd-Jones 2003: 613–16), and Stephan Schröder (Schröder 2004); but the purpose of this article is not to re-examine their concerns: the arguments in favour of Posidippus' authorship are strong enough to justify proceeding on the assumption that the scholarly majority has got it right.

Among the new poems are eighteen under the heading of *Hippika*. They celebrate victories in panhellenic athletic contests – at Nemea, Isthmia, Delphi and above all the Olympic Games. Only one reference is made to a contest outside the big four: Etearchus' horse had won at the Ptolemaieia as well as the Nemean and Isthmian Games, before it triumphed at Delphi (Posidippus 76). The eighteen poems celebrate the equestrian victories of Posidippus' patrons, and as M.W. Dickie cautiously observed, some of them were written for 'a person or persons who commissioned epigrams on behalf of the family of Ptolemy Philadelphus' (Dickie 2008: 35). Most of the rest were written for Thessalian racehorse owners, although one Spartan (Posidippus 75: [D]ios son of Lysi[m]a[chos]) and one Messenian (Posidippus 86: Eubotas of Messene) were also celebrated.

Dickie argued persuasively that Posidippus' poems were inscribed on actual monuments: statue-groups featuring horses, their riders or drivers, and their owners – who won the prizes and funded the memorials of victory. Rightly, he has no time for Marco Fantuzzi's idea that 'more probably, Posidippus may have been celebrating the autonomous power of poetry by celebrating a purely fictitious monumental tradition' (Dickie 2008: 14–16 and 21–22; Fantuzzi 2005: 268). Dickie's discussion of the *Hippika* is exemplary also in that it proposes a straightforward principle of ordering on which the eighteen epigrams can be understood as having been arranged in the Milan papyrus (Dickie 2008: 48–52). In brief, the guiding principle (Dickie observed) is that 'poems for Ptolemaic victories should be highlighted' (Dickie 2008: 50). This is a more persuasive suggestion than Fantuzzi's intricate idea of the anthologist having 'broadly adopted as template a structure ... found in Callimachus' *Aetia*' (Fantuzzi 2004: 221), in such a way that the first seven poems, celebrating non-royal winners (Posidippus 71–7) would correspond to *Aetia* Books One and Two, and the 'cluster of coherent epigrams commemorating victories by Ptolemaic queens and kings' (Posidippus 78–82) would correspond to Callimachus' *Victoria Berenices*. The four further epigrams for non-royal winners (Posidippus 83–86) would then 'correspond' to *Aetia* Books Three and some of Four, while the final two poems (Posidippus 87, -88) would 'find [their] parallel' in the apotheosis of Berenice's Lock, at the end of *Aetia* Four.

It must be conceded that if anyone could be unapologetically allusive in a literary way, it would be a Hellenistic poet; but even so, Fantuzzi seems to have drawn a long bow with that explanation. And yet it is clear that there is a metanarrative of Ptolemaic greatness in the Hippika – greatness instantiated in winning prizes in the big four athletic festivals in Greece. It was an embarrassment, as the River Nile himself pointed out in Callimachus' *Victoria Sosibii* (fr. 384 in Pfeiffer 1949), lines 29–34, when the Nile had never won such a prize:

> *... no one had brought a trophy back to the city from these sepulchral festivals (ταφίων τῶνδε πανηγυρίων) [the panhellenic games] and, great though I am, in this one thing alone I was more insignificant than those streams which the white ankles of women cross without difficulty, and children pass over on foot without wetting their knees ...*

The centuries in which the River Nile suffered this embarrassment, however, came to an end soon after the city of Alexandria was founded – since Ptolemy son of Lagus made a fairly prompt start, winning with his *synoris* (pair) of foals at the sixty-ninth Pythian Games in 310 (Pausanias 10.7.8),[3] when he had not yet even become King of Egypt (cf. Fantuzzi 2005: 251).

Another thing a Hellenistic poet could do was to deliver the same message both on the large scale and in microcosm, and therefore the rest of this article will focus on one particular epigram, Posidippus 74.[4]

The poem

ἐν Δελφοῖς ἡ πῶλος ὅτ' ἀντιθέουσα τεθρίπποις
ἄξονι Θεσσαλικῶι κοῦφα συνεξέπεσε

νεύματι νικήσασα, πολὺς τότε θροῦς ἐλατήρων
ἦν ἀμφικτύοσιν, Φοῖβ', ἐν ἀγωνοθέταις·

ῥάβδους δὲ βραχέες χαμάδις βάλον, ὡς διὰ κλήρου
νίκης ἡνιόχων οἰσομένων στέφανον·

ἥδε δὲ δεξιόσειρα χαμαὶ νεύσα[σ' ἀ]κεραίων
ἐ̣[κ σ]τηθ̣έ̣ω̣ν αὐτὴ ῥάβδον ἐφειλκύσα[το,]

ἡ δ̣ε̣ι̣ν̣ὴ θήλεια μετ' ἄρσεσιν· αἱ δ' ἐβόησ[αν]
φ̣θ̣έ̣γ̣μ̣α̣τ̣[ι] π̣α̣ν̣δήμωι σύμμιγα μυριάδ[ες]

κ̣ε̣[ίν]η̣ι κ̣ηρ̣ύ̣ξαι στέφανον μέγαν· ἐν θ̣ο̣ρ̣[ύβωι δὲ]
Καλ[λικ]ράτης δάφνην ἤρατ' ἀνὴρ Σάμιο[ς,]

Θεοῖσι δ' Ἀδ[ε]λφεοῖς εἰκὼ ἐναργέα τῶν τότ' [ἀγώνω]ν̣
ἅρ[μα καὶ ἡνί]ο̣χον χάλκεον ὧδ' ἔθετο.

Competing at Delphi in the four-horse chariot race
the filly nimbly made it neck and neck with a Thessalian carriage

And won by a hair: there was then great uproar from the drivers,
O Phoebus, in front of the Amphictyonic umpires.

[In no time they] A minority of them threw their rods to the ground,
to make the drivers draw lots for the victory crown.

Our right-hand tracer, nodding her head downwards,
in pure innocence herself picked up a rod,

A daring girl among the males. The myriads all together
shouted with unanimous voice

To assign her the great crown. Amid the applause
Callicrates of Samos obtained the laurel

And to the Sibling Gods as a visible sign of that [contest]
he dedicated here a bronze [chariot and] driver.

Στο τέθριππο το δελφικό η σβέλτη φοραδίτσα
μ' άρμα μαζί θεσσαλικό στο τέρμα ίσια πέφτει
και μ' ένα νεύμα μοναχά της κεφαλής νικάει·
υψώθη θόρυβος πολύς απ' τους αρματηλάτες
ω Φοίβε, στους κριτές μπροστά της Αμφικτιονίας·
τα σκήπτρα τους τα ρίξανε οι ηνίοχοι στο χώμα
με κλήρο λέγαν στους κριτές το νικητή να βγάλουν·
κι εκείνη από δεξιά, με το κεφάλι κάτω
ντόμπρα ένα σκήπτρο τράβηξε, σιμά της και το πήρε,
μέσα σε τόσα σερνικά ατρόμητο κορίτσι·
Μυριόστομη τότε φωνή από το πλήθος βγαίνει
πως η φοράδα τον τρανό το στέφανο αξίζει.
Κι ο Καλλικράτης κέρδισε τη δάφνη ο Σαμιώτης
και στους Φιλάδελφους Θεούς τον αγώνα την εικόνα
αρματολάτη χάλκινο μετ' άρμα αφιερώνει.

In this poem, the story is told of a win in the Pythian Games by a four-horse chariot owned by Callicrates of Samos. Callicrates is a well-attested individual. He was an admiral in Ptolemy II's service. Long before the discovery of the Milan papyrus, Callicrates' monumental and literary trail was traced by Hauben 1970. Inscriptions are extant from Crete (Olous) and Cyprus (Old Paphos) as well as Callicrates' home island of Samos; but the most important monument for which he was responsible in Greece was at Olympia, where he set up statues of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II on top of two tall columns. Peter Bing summarizes (Bing 2002/3: 253):[5]

> *The dedication consists of a monumental pedestal 20 m. long by 4 m. wide by 1.12 m. high, in the middle of which was an exedra 2.35 m. long by 1.68 m. wide, articulated with a bench. Bracketing the pedestal on either end a large stylobate block supported an 8.93 m. tall Ionic column, each crowned by a bronze statue resting on a statue base atop the capital. As the texts symmetrically inscribed in four lines at the base of each column reveal, one was of king Ptolemy Philadelphus, the other of his queen Arsinoe.*

A Greek commonwealth

This development at Olympia put the king and queen in a setting which corresponded to and echoed the placement of the temples of Zeus and Hera themselves. Callicrates, who in 272/1 had become the first eponymous priest in the dynastic cult of the Sibling Gods Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II, took a proactive role in publicizing the royal couple's claim to divinity – both in Greece and at Cape Zephyrium, near Canopus on the Egyptian coast, where he built a shrine to Arsinoe as goddess of sailors (Posidippus 39, and cf. Bing 2002/3: 255–62).

In Posidippus 74, Callicrates' chariot wins at Delphi, the centre of the world, in a photo finish – in the days before such a thing was possible. Some of the umpires throw their rods of office on the ground, the action an umpire takes to show that he is ruling the race too close to call, and that the winner has to be selected by lot. Most translators and commentators, including Colin Austin who contributed to the *editio princeps* in 2001 (Bastianini and Gallazzi 2001: 201), have wished to emend βραχέες to βραχέ<ω>ς, effectively meaning 'quickly': the umpires were quick to throw down their rods. Austin, then would read βραχέ<ω>ς as having the force of ἐν βραχεῖ, 'in a short time'. Others have taken a similar view: Bastianini's Italian translation in Austin and Bastianini 2002 gave '*subito questi gettarono a terra le loro verghe*', which is consistent with Austin's English translation. Yannick Durbec in his French translation in Acosta-Hughes et al. 2002 gave '*rapidement ils jetèrent leur baguette au sol*', also agreeing with Austin. Elizabeth Kosmetatou in her translation in Acosta-Hughes et al. 2002 gave 'They cast their short staffs to the ground', relating βραχέες to (accusative) ῥάβδους – which may seem to be a counsel of desperation. Nikos Sarantakos in his modern Greek paraphrase quoted above seems to elide the issue.

But Jean Bingen (Bingen 2002: 188) made a case for reading βραχέες as analogous to βραχεῖς in Polybius 4.19.10:[6]

> *Λακεδαιμόνιοι … βραχεῖς … τινας παντελῶς ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζούς … ἐξέπεμψαν*
>
> *The Spartans sent out … some altogether inadequate number of cavalry and infantry*

Bingen's point would be that a *minority* of umpires ruled the race too close to call, but Callicrates' filly bent down and picked up one of the umpires' rods. While acknowledging that his example from Polybius is of a later date, Bingen also cited Thucydides 1.51.1,[7] where the Athenians had sent out more ships,

> *δείσαντες, οπερ εγένετο, μη νικηθώσιν οι Κερκυραίοι καί αί σφέτεραι δέκα νόες ολίγαι αμύνεινωσιν*
>
> *fearing that the Corcyreans might be defeated [as actually happened], and that their [the Athenians'] ten ships might be too few to defend them*

and Herodotus 6.109,[8] where

> *ὀλίγους γὰρ εἶναι στρατιῇ τῇ Μήδων συμβαλεῖν means*
>
> *[supposing] that they were too few to attack the army of the Persians.*

Bing, however, argued against Bingen's interpretation of the scene: although finding Bingen's grammatical case 'syntactically and lexically possible' (Bing 2002/3: 250 n.17), he objected to the implication that 'the ordinary human decision-making process' would have come down in favour of Callicrates' team even if the filly had not picked the rod up: 'this,' he wrote, 'is to make the sign ... quite pointless.'

Nonetheless, this seems to be a case where grammar ought to be followed in preference to that other source of insight, whose proponents might call, 'common sense'. The story is about an incident at a horse race, in front of a large and noisy crowd. The poet is clear from the outset that Callicrates' team has won: in this epigram's little narrative world, the filly picked up the rod because she was a winner (she did not win because she picked the rod up). Not all the umpires were certain at first – but only overthinking the story can lead to the conclusion that the unusual incident is 'pointless'.

Both in Callicrates' monument at Olympia and in the crowd's delighted reaction to the miracle at Delphi, there is evidence of an official at the pinnacle of the government of Ptolemaic Egypt publicizing his royal master's new and globalized Greek commonwealth. In the Athenian case, Zimmern wrote that the fifth century empire 'was the child of necessity, and its creators did not know what they were doing' (Zimmern 1911: 186); but the empire of the Ptolemies was planned by kings who were ambitious to keep what they held while making their royal power acceptable across the Greek world. Callicrates called himself a 'man of Samos', just as the king is called a 'Macedonian' at the panhellenic games, and not 'the King of Egypt' – the latter a fact striking enough to prompt Pausanias, in the second century AD, to remark on it (Pausanias 6.3.1). The nativity of Greek Egypt had been marked with gymnastic and musical games held at Memphis by Alexander the Great, who in 332/1 brought top performers from Greece to take part (Arrian *Anabasis* 3.2.1). The dialectic evident in the retention of Greek ethnics by king and courtier, and in the simultaneous creation of extravagant monuments to the divine stature of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, points to how there remained, at the heart of the expanded Greek commonwealth after Alexander, a powerful impulse to bring the glory of empire back to the centre of the world.

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Notes

[1] Quotations in this article are from the fifth edition of Zimmern's Greek Commonwealth.

[2] Posidippus' poems are numbered in this article as in Austin and Bastianini (2002).

[3] References to Pausanias in this article use numbering as in Spiro (1903).

[4] English translation by Colin Austin (in Austin and Bastianini 2002), amended in line 5 (*italic*) to follow Jean Bingen's reasoning (Bingen 2002); modern Greek paraphrase by Nikos Sarantakos (in Acosta-Hughes et al. 2002).

[5] Here Bing draws on Hoepfner (1971).

[6] References to Polybius in this article use numbering as in Büttner-Wobst (1889–1905).

[7] References to Thucydides in this article use numbering as in Jones and Powell (1942).

[8] References to Herodotus in this article use numbering as in Legrand (1948).

[9] This reference to Arrian uses numbering as in Roos and Wirth (1967).

Contributors

Mr Mario Baghos
mario.baghos@students@mq.edu.au

Mario Baghos is a PhD candidate in Ancient History at Macquarie University. In 2009, he was awarded both the Rev Dr Brian Murray and Diane Feeney Memorial Prizes for his undergraduate degree in theology. In 2010, he was awarded First Class Honours, sharing the Dr Beth Blackall Memorial Prize for the highest grade in a graduate level thesis. He is associate teacher in Early Byzantine History at St Andrew's Greek Orthodox Theological College

Dr. Mio Bryce
mio.bryce@mq.edu.au

Mio Bruce is the head of Japanese Studies at Macquarie University. Her research interests include historical, sociological and psychological issues depicted in literature. She currently involved in interdisciplinary research into youth cultures, with particular focus on manga and anime, in conjunction with English Department at Macquarie University.

Ms Katherine Cassis
katherine.cassis@sydney.edu.au

Ms Katherine Cassis teaches Modern Greek at the Department of Modern Greek Studies, The University of Sydney. She is currently in the process of completing her doctoral dissertation at the same university. She taught Modern Greek for seven years at Macquarie University, for three years at the Australian National University and has presented a series of lectures at the Open University of Sydney. Ms Cassis has contributed to conferences and regularly participates in the postgraduate seminars organised by the Department of Modern Greek at the University of Sydney. She has published various articles and is in the process of preparing a translation of the poetic and philosophical works of George Sarantaris into English.

Dr Kyriaki Frantzi
kyriaki.frantzi@mq.edu.au

Dr Kyriaki Frantzi is a lecturer in Greek studies seconded by the Greek Ministry of Education in Australian universities since 2003. Her research areas are gender, performance, and Greek language and culture. She holds a Masters in the History and Economy of the Mediterranean and a PhD in the History of Women in Science.

Dr Athena Gavriel
athenas@paradise.net.nz

Athena Gavriel is a New Zealand born Greek and Cypriot. She has 35 years experience as a mental health psychiatric nurse, completed a BA in anthropology and PhD in Nursing, "We are all different and the same. Culture, identity and mental health: Worldviews, wellbeing and health-illness experiences of Hellenes in Aotearoa New Zealand." Her research and clinical practise interests include culture, identity and mental health.

Mr Leonard Janiszewski
leonard.janiszewski@mq.edu.au

Historian, Leonard Janiszewski, and documentary photographer, Effy Alexakis, have been researching the Greek-Australian historical and contemporary presence in Australia, and internationally, since 1982. Their project and archives, In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians, encompasses visual, oral and literary material. Various national and international touring exhibitions, books, articles and a film documentary have been produced. Of their exhibitions the most pronounced have been 'In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians' and 'Selling an American Dream: Australia's Greek Café'; the latter is currently touring.

Dr Vicky Karaiskou
v.karaiskou@ouc.ac.cy

Vicky Karaiskou is Assistant Professor at the Open University of Cyprus, Program 'Studies in Hellenic Culture'. Her research focuses on the relationships between works of visual art and their social environment, along with the ways through which iconographic, or other components contribute to the understanding of the historical and social phenomena. Her current projects extend in two directions: the first focuses on the reasons and processes through which art and culture in Greece during the last thirty years are often understood and consumed as social symbols. The second explores public sculptures in Cyprus.

Prof. George Kanarakis
gkanarak@primusonline.com.au

George Kanaris OAM is Adjunct Professor at Charles Sturt University. He has published extensively on the literature, historiography, press and language of the Greeks in Australia and New Zealand. His books include *Greeks Voices in Australia, The Greek Press in the Antipodes, and Interlanguage Influences on English and the Contribution of the Greek Language*.

Dr Elizabeth Kefallinos
elizabeth.kefallinos@mq.edu.au

Elizabeth Kefallinos coordinates the Greek Studies Program at Macquarie University. She has published on Modern Greek Literature, Education and Greek-Australian women and writers. She currently is working on an oral history about the identity/identities of Greek-Australian women, since the mass migration of the 50s.

Mr Dimitri Kepreotes
sapress@greekorthodox.org.au

Dimitri is currently publishing director of St Andrew's Orthodox Press and since 2002 lecturer in Canon Law, Modern Greek and Christian Education at St Andrew's Greek Orthodox College, Sydney.

Dr Paul McKechnie
paul.mckechnie@mq.edu.au

Paul McKechnie teaches Greek and Roman history at Macquarie University, having moved there from the University of Auckland in 2007. His research interests are in early Christianity, and Hellenistic Egypt. With Philippe Guillaume, he edited Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his World (Leiden, 2008). He and Dr. Elizabeth Kefallinos created Macquarie University's Open Universities Australia unit The Olympic Games, Ancient and Modern.

Dr Blanche Menadier
blanche.menadier@mq.edu.au

Blanche Menadier is currently the convenor of the Bachelor of International Studies at Macquarie University where she is responsible for the delivery of a number of subjects including Citizenship: Past, Present, Global, The European Union and the International Studies Internship. She has extensive experience in archaeological fieldwork, including nine seasons at the Bronze Age site of Troy, and is a frequent guest lecturer in the Department of Ancient History at Macquarie University.

Prof Alanna Nobbs
alanna.nobbs@mq.edu.au

Alanna Nobbs has a backgound in classical languages and is Head of the Department of Ancient History at Macquarie University and Deputy Director of its Ancient Cultures Research Centre.

Dr Ken Parry

ken.parry@mq.edu.au

Dr Parry is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Ancient History at Macquarie University specialising in the teaching and research of Byzantine History (including Art and Architecture), Patristics, Eastern Christianity and Silk Road Studies. He has edited The Blackwell Dictionary of Eastern Christianity (1999) and The Blackwell Companion to Eastern Christianity (2007) and has contributed to numerous other books and journals. He is currently engaged in researching early Christianity in Egypt, India and China.

Ms Sophia Sakellis

s.sakellis@unsw.edu.au

Areas of specialisation: Medical, Legal, Technical, Scientific, Commercial, Communications, Advertising and Marketing. Major projects undertaken include translation of book and exhibition materials for Australia's contribution to the Cultural Olympiad of the Athens 2004 Olympic Games; architectural plans and correspondence between the Office of Australian War Graves and Greek Authorities regarding construction of the Hellenic-Australian Memorial Park in Rethymnon, Crete.

Ms Maria Shialis

maria.shialis@flinders.edu.au

In 2008, Maria completed a Bachelor in International Studies with a Diploma in Language at the University of Adelaide. A year later she completed a degree in Modern Greek with First Class Honours, and was awarded the Greek Orthodox Community of S.A. Inc – Con Marinos AM Prize. She is currently a scholarship recipient undertaking a Ph.D. degree by research at Flinders University, investigating the settlement of the Greek-Cypriot migrants and refugees.

Dr Kenneth Sheedy

Ken.Sheedy@mq.edu.au

Dr Kenneth Sheedy was appointed the founding director of the Australian Centre for Ancient Numismatic Studies in the department of Ancient History at Macquarie University in 2000. He received his doctorate in Classical Archaeology from the University of Sydney in 1987. Between 1988 and 1991 he was a curator at the Powerhouse Museum in Sydney. He was appointed deputy director of the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens in 1991. In 1997 he obtained the position of curator for the Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Project at the British Museum, London. His fields of research and teaching are Greek numismatics, and the art and archaeology of Greece with emphasis on the archaic period. He has a special interest in the archaeology and history of the Cycladic Islands. In addition to his on-going studies in the coinage of the Cyclades, South Italy and Athens, he is interested in Geometric pottery, Protoattic pottery, archaic sculpture and the early history of Delos.

Ms Mersina Tonys-Soulos

mersina.tonys-soulos@mq.edu.au

Mersina presently working on her Ph.D through CRSI (Centre for Research on Social Inclusion),Macquarie University, titled: "Whatever happened to Australia's Multiculturalism, compare and contrast with the E.U." Completed MA through Macquarie, B.A (Hons) UNSW.

Ms Andrea Stylianou

andrea@andreastylianou.com

Andrea, a Macquarie University scholarship recipient, is a freelance journalist who previously working in the Australian mass media as a daily newspaper reporter with News Corporation for about 10 years. Andrea also worked at the UN Headquarters in New York, in the Department of Public Information. Andrea's PhD project - in the fields of political science and international relations - focuses on her knowledge and interest in Cyprus, which is her country of birth and where she was made a refugee at a young age, along with her family.