



The Australian Archaeological
Institute at Athens

BULLETIN



Volume 12, 2016

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Letter from the Director

Dear colleagues, Members and Friends of the Institute,

because of my fast approaching retirement this will be my last letter in the Bulletin of the AAIA (volume 12, 2016). I may therefore be excused if I remind you of some of the Institute's achievements since its creation thirty six years ago and the achievements that preceded it and led to its foundation in 1980.

The University of Sydney was lucky to have had important classical scholars in its teaching staff like Charles Badham (see p. 33) and A.D. Trendall (1909–1995) and Vice Chancellors like Bruce Williams and John Manning Ward who assisted them. Without their support Classical Studies and more especially Classical Archaeology would not have achieved the standards they did.

The first Australian Archaeological excavations in Greece began in 1967 with fieldwork carried out at Zagora on the island of Andros and the endowed Arthur and Renée George Chair of Classical Archaeology was established in 1978. In 1964 J.R. Green was appointed as senior lecturer and in 1973 J.-P. Descœudres; both proved to be distinguished scholars of international reputation.

The Institute, which had its first office in Greece in a small room of the Australian Embassy in Athens, has now a decent office and a hostel for students in the Greek capital. The official journal of the Institute 'Mediterranean Archaeology', created by Professor Jean-Paul Descœudres, enjoys a very good reputation internationally (p. 38). Academic programmes were and still are organised both in Athens and in the major Australian universities. The Institute shares with the department of Classics and with the Near Eastern Archaeology Foundation an important library and keeps in touch with the Australian Universities that are institutional members through its project of the annual Visiting Professorship and its students' fellowship.

One of its major achievements is that it has reached the wider educated public in Australia, which became culturally and financially very supportive.

The institute owes for its achievements a lot to the good work done by its staff. There is no doubt that it will continue to do so after my retirement.



Alexander Cambitoglou



The Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens

Travel



AAIA Tour

Art and Archaeology of Athens

Tour Leaders: Dr Lita Tzortzopoulou Gregory, Professor Timothy Gregory,
Ms Cindy Davis and Professor Bob Davis

May 3 to May 13, 2016

In May 2016, the AAIA will sponsor an exciting new tour dedicated to sketching while exploring ancient, medieval, and modern Athens. During this ten-day programme both novice and experienced artists will find wonderful opportunities to more deeply understand the aesthetic and historical pleasures of Greece. Non-artists can also enjoy an “inside view” of this unique and enchanting culture, as offered by the lecturers and guides who will lead the group. The variety of activities provided here will especially give couples a shared, rewarding experience.

During the programme, guests will be conducted over sites selected for their beauty, cultural, and historical importance. All our destinations are within a short drive from our hotel, located near the Acropolis in Athens. Art instruction includes individual coaching, demonstrations, technical explanation, and group discussions. Exclusive tours of archaeological sites not open to the general public will be conducted by host archaeologists, who are personally involved in the excavations. Most evenings will include an informal talk by one of our three academic hosts at the AAIA Hostel, where participants will be able to share their views and ask questions of the 3 professors accompanying us.

TOUR HIGHLIGHTS:

- Day trip to the island of Aegina.
- Visits to Athens Museums, including the Cycladic, Byzantine, and Benaki Museums.
- Walking and sketching tours of archaeological and cultural sites in Athens.
- Evening trip to the Psiri district of Athens to sample nightlife and local music.
- Scenic coach trip to Sounion and its spectacular temple.
- Visit to the ancient Kerameikos cemetery.
- Day trip via train to Korinth and Isthmia for exclusive tour of its important archaeological sites and museums.
- Morning excursion to the 11th-century Kesariani Monastery complex on wooded slopes of Mt Hymmetus.
- An evening wine tasting with the Athens Friends of the AAIA.

AU\$3339 land only
(single supplement AU\$600)
For further information and
bookings please contact:
arts.aiaa@sydney.edu.au
+61 (2) 9351 4759

NEWS IN BRIEF

Athens Hostel

by Lita Tzortzopoulou-Gregory

We've had an interesting array of events take place in the Hostel in the past six months. While the general pace in Autumn was much slower, with most guests staying at the Hostel connected with the Zagora study season, the arrival of the AAIA Friends Tour in September, led by Helen Nicholson and Archondia Thanos, brought a new air of excitement. A special Wine Tasting Event hosted by the Athens Friends on 28 September was an opportunity for our Athens-based Friends to meet and interact socially with the Australian Friends on tour. Participants enjoyed an educational lecture on the history of wine making in Greece, presented eloquently by Lambros Papadimitriou, while tasting some exceptional wines from the Kyr-Yiannis Estate. All wines and the lecture were generously donated by Kyr Yiannis Estate (see photo facing page).

The transition from Autumn to winter was quite gradual, and for the early part of winter, we enjoyed beautiful weather. Our hostel saw a few PhD students come and go, including Meg Dains (University of Sydney), who specialises in the Early Iron Age in Greece, Kyle Shimoda (the Ohio State University), specialising in Greek medieval fortifications, and Rebeca Rodriguez (University of Basque Country-northern Spain), specialising in forensic archaeology. The AAIA 2015/2016 Research Fellow, Dr Jelle Stoop, and the 2015 Artist in Residence Fellow, Jena Woodhouse, were also highlight guests during December and January (see reports pp. 9–10).

Our first Hostel event in 2016 was a fascinating lecture given by Dr Alexandra Villing of the British Museum on recent excavations at Naukratis in Egypt, on 26 January (Australia Day). Attendance was at a record high!

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Co-Director's Report from Athens

by Stavros A. Paspalas

The Co-Director's duties are many and varied, and in 2015 they were even more so as I spent, uncharacteristically, a greater period of time in Sydney than has been the case in the past. Athens, though, remained the nucleus of my activities and it is pleasing to be able to report that the Institute's endeavours are progressing well and that the Athens office welcomed numerous Australian students and academics to Greece over the past twelve-month period.

The year began with the Athens Studio of the University of Western Australia's Architectural School, led by Associate Professor Nigel Westbrook. The great success of this programme is evidenced by the fact that UWA deems it worth repeating on an annual basis, clearly to the benefit of the students who gain such rich experiences and knowledge by studying Athens' architecture and present-day urban planning. I had the pleasure of guiding the group over some of the city's antiquities and introducing it to aspects of the Athenian past.

As regular readers of the *Bulletin* will know 2014 saw the inauguration of the Institute's Artist-in-Residence programme. The programme continued in 2015, and late in the year the second awardee, the poet and author Jena Woodhouse, spent a month at the Hostel and made the most of the inspiration that Athens has to offer (see p. 10). It is very gratifying to see that the Institute's newly instituted programme has been received with such enthusiasm.

It was also very pleasing to welcome back to Athens the good friend of the Institute, and former Australian ambassador to Greece and a historian of the Near East, Dr Ross Burns, who delivered to a very appreciative audience a seminar entitled "Hellenistic Damascus". As the Director, Professor Alexander Cambitoglou, was not in Athens in May the task of delivering the Director's Report fell to me, and I also delivered the Annual Lecture in which I spoke on "Of Beasts and Men. The Iconography of the New Relief Pithos from Zagora, Andros".

Certainly the highlight of the months I spent in Sydney, where I attended to a varied range of Institute duties, was the Zagora Archaeological Project workshop held in April. On this occasion Professor Margaret Miller, Associate Professor Lesley Beaumont, Beatrice McLoughlin and I presented aspects of the research undertaken at Zagora in the 2012 through to 2014 field seasons. This was a very effective way of informing the interested public in Australia on the latest finds of the current project, and to outline ways in which it may develop.

To return to Greece: throughout the life of ZAP its co-directors have considered it very important to interact with the local community

on Andros, and at the end of each field season a public lecture was delivered (in Greek) to all those interested, as were a number of tours of the Zagora. This year, of course, we did not excavate, and so did not present a lecture. Nonetheless, during the 2015 study season on the island (see pp. 11–13) the local community did ask me, and I—along with Beatrice McLoughlin—happily agreed, to take a party of visiting foreign dignitaries through the extensive museum display on Zagora.

I was also very happy to welcome to Andros the AAIA's inaugural travel group to Greece, led by Helen Nicholson and Dr Archondia Thanos. Again, Beatrice McLoughlin and I guided its members through the museum display on Zagora, and I took them on a walking tour through the old town of Chora and so introduced them to the mediaeval and early modern history of Andros. Finally, I guided over the site of Zagora itself those few hardy souls who felt that they could hike out to the site. The tour as a whole was a great success, and it is hoped that more will follow as they will allow Australians to visit Greek sites that have been excavated by teams from Australia in the company of individuals who have actually participated in their excavation.

Last year, Ohio State University became the Institute's first "International Institutional Member". This is a promising development that will see strong links forged with this US educational institution. I was very happy to contribute in a minor way to this process by guiding a student group from OSU over some of Athens' many antiquities.

I close with a word regarding the Athens Friends of the Institute. Under the guiding hand of their Committee, with Elizabeth Gandley at the helm as President, the Athens Friends have gone from strength to strength. Their busy 2015 programme included guided tours to sites such as Eretria, the Amphiareion and Perachora. I'd like to extend warm thanks to all the Committee and members, and especially to Dr Lita Tzortzopoulou-Gregroy who, during my absence in Sydney, took on extra duties in the office including liaising with the Friends.



The AAIA Travel Group on Andros, and at the wine tasting in the Hostel.



Athens Friends at the Amphiareion.

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There have been two very important additions in our living/dining room: a much needed audio/visual system—including a large permanent pull-down screen, a new Dell laptop computer and the ceiling installation of our projector—and two new bookcases for our library. These items were donated by the Canberra Friends of the AAIA, to whom we are most grateful.

If anyone is contemplating a visit to Greece, we would be more than happy to accommodate you. White is the new colour theme, with brand-new crisp linen in all rooms. Also, as the introduction of breakfast items in 2015 proved popular, we will continue to supply these to our guests. Look below for our current rates. We look forward to seeing you in Athens!

Hostel Rates 2016

Single room rates

non-student: AU \$78

student: AU \$62

Bed in twin room rates

non-student: AU \$39

student: AU \$31

Apartment rate

AU \$175 per night* for reservation of the whole apartment (sleeping 5 persons), living areas and kitchen.

*apartment rate is approximate only and subject to availability.

Conference rate

AU \$175 per half day.

Inclusive of set-up time, projection facilities and lecture equipment as well as use of the public areas for seminars and/or reception.

Visit the AAIA website for special offers and to reserve on-line.

<http://sydney.edu.au/arts/aaia/athens-hostel.shtml>

Or contact the Athens Office

Museums and Exhibitions in Greece

by Stavros A. Paspalas

If there is one constant in the cultural landscape of Greece it is the fact that every year both visitors and locals will have the opportunity to visit new exhibitions that cover a wide array of the country's heritage, and very often new museums are opened as well. It may be noted that the **Diachronic Museum of Larisa** opened its doors late in 2015. This is a major development that brings to life the history of the most important of Thessalian cities.

Arguably the most innovative temporary exhibition in 2015 (which will run until 31 May 2016) is the one organized by the Archaeological Museum of Thessalonike, entitled **Ancient DNA. A Window to the Past and Future**. The exhibition provides a very accessible explanation of the processes involved in as well as the aims of palaeogenetic research, and presents various conclusions on the basis of skeletal material from northern Greece. This, more 'scientific,' approach is augmented with artefacts from the contexts from which the skeletal material examined was excavated, and so very successfully marries the more traditional aspects of archaeological research with ground-breaking research.

The National Archaeological Museum in Athens examined the very roots of the traditional approach to studying the past in the exhibition **'A dream among splendid ruins ...' Strolling through the Athens of Travelers, 17th-19th century**. As the title clearly indicates the focus of



View of the Acropolis (1819): Louis Dupré, Voyage à Athènes et à Constantinople, Paris, 1825. Note the Ottoman funerary monuments still extant in the mid ground.

the exhibition (which runs until October 2016) rests on the western European travellers who made the, often dangerous, journey to Greece, and specifically Athens. It unravels their intentions in doing so, their impressions once they arrived, and the writings and paintings that they produced as a result of their encounter with the antiquities of Athens. Of course, the impact of these accounts on the travellers' own societies is also presented, as are the impressions of the locals on their exotic visitors.

Athens also saw another major temporary exhibition in 2015, one which presented finds from one of the most important, but little known, ancient 'international' sanctuaries, that of the Great Gods on Samothrace, in the northern Aegean. The exhibition, housed at the Acropolis Museum, was appropriately entitled **Samothrace. The Mysteries of the Great Gods**. It was the first in a series planned by the museum which will bring holdings from remote sites and museums to Greece's largest city. The Sanctuary of the Great Gods reached its peak in the fourth and third centuries BC, and it was patronized by individuals of no lesser stature than Philip II of Macedonia and other members of the royal family, as well as the Ptolemies, the ruling house of Hellenistic Egypt. The nature of the 'mysteries' conducted at the sanctuary remains enigmatic, but the finds presented clearly indicate that they held their sway over many believers for centuries.

The archaeological museums of **Dion** (western Macedonia) and of **Lamia** (Phthiotis, central Greece) housed exhibitions that presented finds from the very extensive excavations undertaken in both regions so that major public work projects (such as highway construction) could proceed. Thanks to these salvage excavations undertaken, very often under difficult conditions, by the archaeologists of the Greek Archaeological Service whole new chapters have been written in the history of regional Greece, and both these exhibitions illustrated very effectively the gains made. In the south-eastern Aegean the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes housed the exhibition **Rhodes, A Greek Island at the Gateway to the East, 15th–5th century BC** that examined diachronically the nature and extent of the links between eastern lands and this island, and how Rhodes often played an intermediary role between centres further west and the Levant.

All those interested in coinage in the ancient world would have been riveted by the Numismatic Museum's exhibition, organized in collaboration with Alpha Bank, **Where Silver was Born, Athenian Archaic Coinage: Mines, Metals and Coins**. We all know and appreciate the great examples of ancient Greek coinage; this exhibition, however, introduced its visitors to the processes that were involved in



Samothrace, Sanctuary of the Great Gods. View of the "Hieron".



Athenian Silver tetradrachm, c. 454–404 BC.

Report from the 2015 Olwen Tudor Jones Scholarship recipient

by Sareeta Zaid

In June of this year I travelled from Sydney to Madrid to participate in an archaeological excavation at Pintia, an Iron Age necropolis of the Celto-Iberian Vaccean culture that was in use from the 4th to 1st centuries BC.

The rich past of the northern Spanish province of Castilla y Leon was evident on the first day of the program, during a field walking session that was intended to familiarise us with the geography of the area surrounding Pintia. As we roamed through the fields, a large array of ceramic sherds was visible amongst the grass. Upon inquiring about them, we were told that this pottery dated from the period of Roman occupation of the Iberian Peninsula. This occurrence of Roman ceramics at ground level made apparent the great intermingling of various stages of occupation within the region through the direct interaction of antiquity with the present, which we had now become a part of.

Working at Pintia was a particularly interesting experience due to the nature of the site. Individual burials that we excavated within the necropolis comprised of up to sixteen intact ceramic vessels, of which one contained human remains and the rest ceremonial offerings. As a result, a variety of excavation methods were employed, ranging from the use of larger earth-moving tools (pick axes and hoes) to the intricate excavation of burial vessels using dental picks to carefully remove the dirt that had collected in the crevices between ceramics. One distinctive burial within the site consisted of a series of vessels, of



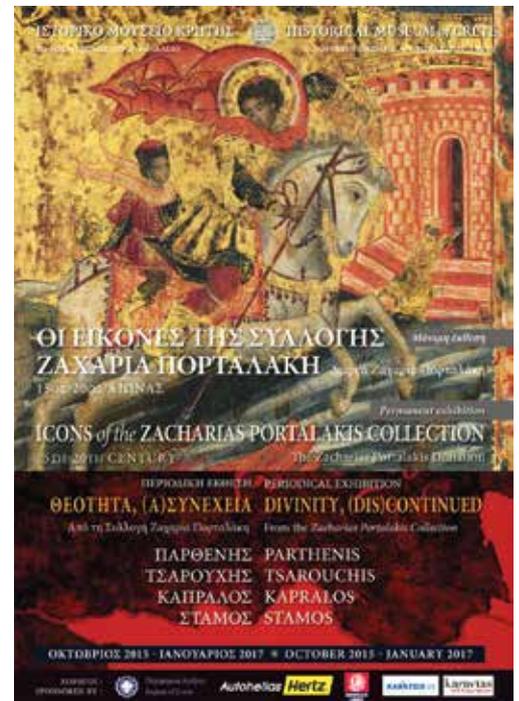
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extracting the necessary silver in the Lavrion region in Attica and on the Cycladic island of Siphnos. As well as presenting this ‘background’ to minting many fine coins of the sixth and fifth centuries were also on display.

The Archaeological Museum of Patras presented to the public an exhibition that centred on the relationship of **Patras and the Apostle Andrew**, the patron saint of the city. The exhibition, a collaborative project between the local Archaeological Directorate and the Diocese of Patras, examined the history of Patras during the Roman period, when it was an important urban centre, and from that starting point focused on St. Andrew’s presence in the city and the memory of it through the centuries until the present. It is noteworthy that all the Roman and Byzantine period artefacts on display were presented to the public for the first time.

Of great note is the major donation made in October 2015 to the Historical Museum of Crete, Herakleion—a donation that adds a new cultural dimension which is worthy of exploration by all who visit Crete. The **Zacharias Portalakis Icon Collection** was gifted to the museum by its collector-owner and is now on display so its masterpieces can be appreciated by the public. The nucleus of the collection consists of Cretan icons that date from the 15th to the 20th centuries, though icons from other Greek lands, and some from the Balkans and Russia, are also included thus providing a wider panorama centred on the Cretan works.

I shall close with what must simply be one of the most remarkable archaeological developments in Greece of the past year—the reopening of Thessalonike’s only remaining **Byzantine bathhouse**. Built in the late 12th or early 13th century the bathhouse, in the lower reaches of the Upper City, was in continual use until 1940! Its restoration and conservation took four years to complete, and it will now serve as a venue for exhibitions and cultural events.



AAIA 2015–2016 Fellow

by Jelle Stoop

I wish to thank the AAIA for awarding the Fellowship for Research in Greece, which afforded me research time in Greece between semesters teaching Greek history at the University of Sydney. It allowed for the extension of my current research project on honorific statues, which had so far concentrated on the ‘Hellenistic’ centuries, into the first three centuries of the ‘Roman’ era. The aim of the project is to chart the long socio-economic history of a material as well as political habit, to award lifelike statues to individuals and present them in centres of civic attention. The chronological extension also involves a geographical shift—thus the material remains and inscriptions in mainland Greece became as important as those in Asia Minor had already been.

I divided my time overseas in roughly two halves. The first half I spent in the libraries of foreign Schools in Athens, especially the Blegen Library of the Americans with its excellent holdings in epigraphy. To tally the statue bases and honorific decrees to some extent (where possible, exhaustively), a complete and up to date set of collections was indispensable. Then it was a matter of determining worthwhile comparisons between different cities, over several centuries—not, due to the interrupted state of the evidence, a straightforward matter.



Relief atop a stele with decree, illustrating honorific award. 350–375 BC. Acropolis Museum, NM2947.

Athens also provided hands-on access to material evidence. The Epigraphical Museum was characteristically helpful, even if it was in a state of renovation. And the recently refurbished museum in Piraeus offered a rare chance to inspect three large bronzes of divinities (two pictured over page). They were certainly not the kind of statues awarded to mortals but nevertheless a sample of the artistic technologies at the time, such as casting, joining limbs, and repairing cracks—which was, moreover, a responsibility occasionally disputed in a court of law!

The second half of the research time I spent travelling to sites where the topography of statue awards can be reconstructed. The most rewarding were, in addition to Athens, Delphi, Nicopolis, and especially Oropos. But also Aegina proved to be a surprise. In all of these, it was important to determine the intensity of ‘invasive monumentality’ of statues awarded to Romans and, after a while, most interestingly, to Greeks who preferred to be remembered as Romans once they had traded in their polis identity for empire-wide citizenship.

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which two held human remains. This tomb was believed to belong to a mother and her child who had passed away in labour, its occupants becoming perceptible to us during the delicate extraction process.

In addition, the Pintia program also involved a variety of educational seminars that complemented our discoveries in the field. These covered topics that ranged from archaeological drawing, to osteology and the treatment of human remains. The seminars also provided a comprehensive overview of the Vaccean culture, which enabled us to visualise the individuals that we were unearthing on site.



Participation in the Pintia necropolis program exposed me to a strong sense of community, both in Padilla de Duero, the small town in which we resided, and within our team of volunteers. On our first night in Padilla we were invited by the locals to participate in the San Antonio festival, an event that honoured the saint and involved a ritual jump over a burning fire in order to spiritually renew oneself by leaving behind demons from the past year. Sharing in such activities helped me bond with the other students, who came from all around the world. These chance happenings and the friendships I made further enhanced my time at Pintia, making it one of my most memorable life experiences.

The OTJ Scholarship is offered each year by the Sydney University Friends of the AAIA to assist a student of high academic achievement to participate in fieldwork in the Mediterranean region. Sareeta Zaid was the 16th recipient.

Due to the exceptional standard of the 2015 applicants, two “OTJ Awards” of \$250 each were also granted, to Miranda Evans and Amanda Gaston.



This was in fact one important hypothesis that needed confirmation, that there is indeed a link between the award of statues in the Greek city-state, on the one hand, and an interest of social integration on behalf of Romans (into the city-state) and Greeks (into the empire), on the other hand. To reach this conclusion with an appropriate level of confidence the AAIA offered me most invaluable support.

Bronze statues of Artemis (left) and Athena (right). c. 350 BC. Piraeus Museum.

Leaving Athens

Θεοφάνεια (Epiphany) 2016

On January the sixth, the Blessing of the Waters,
Athens lapses gently into reverie,
like someone who has lived so many lives,
she craves forgetfulness and undisturbed repose,
respite from consciousness.

Beneath a formless, neutral coverlet, diaphanous
and vague, the hills' intensity dissolves to glaucous
amethyst, as if they might peel off the sky,
embrace the void and float away...

Epimenidou, named for a philosopher of Crete,
has lured me to where it joins Thespidou Street
in the shadow of the walls that buttress the Acropolis,
meeting in a triangle above; the heads that line
the parapet appearing bodiless.

The courtyard where I sit is framed by mulberry
trees, leaves yellowing as if diseased, not wanting
to be shed; clinging fast, resisting the inevitable
separation; stirring listlessly in fitful draughts.

After many years have passed, infatuation fades;
after many years have passed, only love remains.
I cannot disdain your shabby, ill-maintained facades;
I discern a muted beauty, even in your shards.
Here, the mustard pigment on the vacant houses jars,
yet seems to evince kinship with the dying foliage.

Melina's last words, leaving for New York,
to the Athenians: "I'll see you again";
but she returned only for burial.
Every time I leave, I hear
the echo of her breaking heart.

"I'll see you again", I whisper, adding:
"Keep a place for me, a niche in Makriyianni
with a balcony, a pane of glass..."

– Jena Woodhouse

AAIA 2015 Artist-in-Residence

by Jena Woodhouse

Being awarded the AAIA Creative Residency for 2015 gave me the opportunity to work close to the source, and subsequently *in situ*, on a poetry project that focuses on the idea, the nature and the ramifications—metaphorical and actual—of the labyrinth, beginning with the mythological creation of Daedalus at the Palace of Knossos and traversing other interpretations of this concept in different times and contexts.

In Athens, while based at the congenial and ideally-sited AAIA Hostel, I attended presentations on topics coinciding with my research interests at the BSA, ASCSA, the Swedish Institute and the Archaeological Society at Athens. I was also able to do preparatory reading at the splendid library of the BSA, as well as accessing the collection of the AAIA Hostel. To reorientate my sense of time, I visited a number of archaeological museums in Athens, in particular the New Acropolis Museum, which, in the glimpses it affords of earlier incarnations of the city, preserved *in situ* under reinforced glass, offers compelling images of deep time in the archaeological context.

Thanks to connections facilitated by the AAIA residency, I was able to extend my activities to Knossos (Crete), where I began to elaborate my ideas of developing a creative interface involving poetics/praxis, mythology, archaeology and contemporary life, invoking also an expanded consciousness of time, physical evidence for which I encountered daily in my surroundings.

For me as a creative practitioner, these developments represent a new and exciting threshold of awareness in the exploration of poetic possibility: a point of departure rather than a point of arrival. For this enrichment and enhancement of my creative vision and practice, I am profoundly grateful for the timely and providential support of the AAIA.

Zagora Archaeological Project: 2015 Study Season

by Stavros A. Paspalas

After three very productive field seasons on Andros (2012–2014), funded by the Australian Research Council, the Zagora Archaeological Project (ZAP) has reached the full study phase, and a major part of this undertaking took place from mid-September through mid-November 2015. A small team, of no more than 10 individuals at any one time, was occupied in the work areas and storerooms of the Archaeological Museum at Chora processing the excavated finds (see p. 13).

Zagora, as is known to regular readers of this *Bulletin*, is located on the west coast of the island of Andros, and it offers unrivalled evidence for the nature and organization of an Early Iron Age Greek settlement. In any attempt to understand community life in the ninth- and eighth-century BC Aegean, a pivotal period in Mediterranean history, Zagora stands alone. This is why so many scholars eagerly await the publication of our new investigations and the successful 2015 study season has now laid the foundation for the publication of our work.

Australian involvement at Zagora began in the 1960s, when Professor Alexander Cambitoglou led the first Australian expedition to the site, which he excavated through to 1974. In 2012 a new Australian project began at the site, directed by Professor Margaret Miller, Associate Professor Lesley Beaumont and the current author, as a collaborative undertaking of the AAIA with the University of Sydney, the Archaeological Society at Athens and the Powerhouse Museum, Sydney. It was material from these new Australian campaigns that was at the heart of the 2015 study season. With the help of volunteers the washing of the finds (mainly pottery) was completed (**fig. 1**), and then the finds were fully recorded with the aid of tablets that enabled every day's collected information (including images) to be downloaded onto the project's database in the afternoon, and so archived. Those artefacts that required conservation were conserved, and numerous finds photographed and drawn for publication. Progress was made on the faunal analysis, testimony to the Zagorean diet and husbandary practices, while the ceramics selected for residue analysis and the archaeobotanical remains are now ready to be sent to their respective researchers.

A number of finds that the study team worked on in 2015 stand out as exceptional. Foremost of these is the relief pithos (a large storage vessel;



Fig. 1: 2015 ZAP team members washing finds in the Chora Archaeological Museum.



Fig. 2: Details of the large eighth-century BC relief pithos from Zagora. Above: newly positioned fragments; below: linear motifs. Photos by Bob Miller.

see the 2014 *Bulletin*) with the remarkable figured imagery that includes, among other themes, goat herds with hovering snakes above and a central scene in which a swordsman combats a lion, as another threatens him from behind. More fragments of this vessel were identified and subsequently placed within its decorative scheme thus allowing a fuller appreciation of the vessel's imagery and iconographical messages (fig. 2). This is an important gain as this category of large storage jars offered what was probably one of the major fields for figural imagery available to the Zagoreans, and the more that can be retrieved of it results in securer interpretations of its message-laden scenes.

Similarly, we are now in a better position to understand the phases prior to Zagora's final period of occupation at the end of the eighth century, thanks to the fill of a large natural cavity in the bedrock which included a great amount of pottery (in addition to many animal bones, obsidian tools and a few bronze finds). The fine ware pottery from this fill finds parallels that may date as early as the beginning of the ninth century, if not

even earlier. Notable within this material is the predominant presence of many drinking (and possibly dining) vessels, along with a smaller number of serving vessels such as kraters and jugs. The further study of these finds, alongside that of the cooking wares and the animal bones from the cavity, will supply important information as to social practices which generated the material deposited within it.

The 2015 study season also clearly established the spread of early material in other areas of the site, which was normally found in lower levels below structures or other features. This was the case in the house excavated in Trench 4, as well as in the area of an enigmatic unfired clay installation, associated with an ash deposit, in Trench 11. Thanks to ZAP's endeavours, Zagora has a deeper and richer history, a history that is further augmented by the important finds that date to the very end of the settlement's existence, c. 700 BC.

A major component of ZAP's work undertaken in 2015 was the continuation of the conservation of the architectural remains uncovered in the Australian campaigns of the 1960's and 1970's. This is a long-term project, undertaken at the Greek Ministry of Culture's request, which is now in its second year. We have the very good fortune to have Dr Stephania Chlouveraki, Greece's foremost architectural conservator, direct this arm of ZAP. In 2014 she and her team (including a student from the University of Sydney) completed the conservation of the remains of the sixth-century temple built on the site long after the settlement had



Fig. 3: Rehan Scharenguivel, Thodoris Marinis and Stefania Chlouveraki consulting during the conservation of the revealed buildings at Zagora.

been abandoned (fig. 3). This year saw the conservation work move to the excavated architecture in Area J that consists of a conglomeration of rooms that would have comprised a number of domestic units. The remains were cleaned, fallen stones restored to their rightful place (and this was only possible thanks to the exemplary documentation from the early Australian excavations), and—where required—new mortar (based on the precise type that would have been used by the ancients) reinserted between the stones. Furthermore, a sympathetic *cordon sanitaire* was established against the lower course of the walls thus providing them with protection against renewed damage caused by plant growth. The resulting clarity of the remains makes these ancient houses more readily intelligible to the modern visitor.

The architectural conservation programme is a time-consuming and expensive challenge. However, it is certain that when complete (and there are a number of years to go yet) the work now being undertaken at Zagora will be considered truly worthy of emulation—our site is setting the standards to be followed. ZAP was fortunate to receive a grant for this work in 2015 from the Institute for Aegean Prehistory/Kaplan Fund. In effect, Zagora competed with a large number of other sites within Greece, and was one of a small number considered worthy of support; the Project is very grateful to this American funding body as well as to the private donations from Australians that enabled completion of the season. Even so, much remains still to be done and financed before the architectural conservation programme is completed.

Of course, none of the above work could have been undertaken without the support of the Greek Ministry of Culture—especially the staff of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Cyclades, and in particular those based on Andros. Finally, the 2015 team members are owed a big vote of thanks. They persevered, often under taxing conditions, at the job at hand and ensured that the tasks that needed to be done were completed.

The 2015 ZAP Team

The project was most fortunate to have the enthusiastic help of the 2015 team members. The Institute's Research Officer, Beatrice McLoughlin, was instrumental in the organisation of the season and, most importantly, in the field of ceramic studies, where she received especial help from Antonio Bianco and Julia MacMahon. Annette Dukes courageously volunteered to oversee the logistics of the season so as to ensure that our planned campaign of work was achieved, and succeeded in doing so. Anne Hooton brought, once again, her much sought-after skills as an archaeological illustrator to Andros and clearly documented a range of finds. Bob Miller, assisted by Lee Miller, produced great photographs of a significant amount of the material uncovered in 2012, 2013 and 2014. Dr Wendy Reade returned to Andros to conserve our pots, and under her excellent tutelage, she was assisted by Lee Miller, and Rehan Scharenguivel (once his period with the on-site architectural conservation with Dr Stephania Chlouveraki had come to an end). Lea Alexopoulos dedicated her time primarily to the processing of the animal bones so that Dr Melanie Fillios could study them, while Susan Wrigley and Hannah Gwyther worked relentlessly, along with Annette Dukes, in processing all manner of material, though mainly ceramics.

All these friends of Zagora are returnees to the project. Their good natured dedication and commitment to the archaeology of this important site is what allowed so much progress to be made. Thanks to all.

Nea Paphos Theatre: 2015 Season

by Craig Barker



Fig. 1: Surveying equipment against the backdrop of the theatre.

Between the 11th and 19th of September 2015, the Australian Archaeological Mission to the site of the ancient theatre of Nea Paphos (**fig. 1**) from the University of Sydney, working under the auspices of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus, conducted a geo-mapping survey of the ruins of the town's Roman colonnades. The project, celebrating its 20th anniversary, is supported by the AAIA and the Nicholson Museum.

In the time the Australian team has been excavating at the site we have uncovered the oldest theatre in Cyprus, carved into the southern slope of a hill known as *Fabrika*. The theatre was used as a venue for performance and spectacle for over six and a half centuries from *c.* 300 BC until its final destruction in the earthquakes of AD 365, undergoing several architectural modifications throughout the Hellenistic and Roman eras. More recent excavations have attempted to position the theatre within its ancient urban context, by understanding the surrounding landscape and ancient structures including a nymphaeum (water fountain).

Excavations to the south of the theatre by the Australian Mission have revealed a Roman paved road, approximately 8.4 m wide, which acted as the main traffic thoroughfare to access to the theatre (which would have seated over 8500 spectators in the 2nd century AD) and the nymphaeum. We speculate that this road represented a, if not *the*, major internal thoroughfare for the Roman city of Nea Paphos leading to the nearby North-East city gate. It would have acted also as the processional route to the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaepaphos from the city. The existence of this road confirms the long-speculated city design for Nea Paphos: that of a typically 'Milesian' Hellenistic city (i.e. a grid with several distinctive parts of the town laid out to take advantage of the topography of the ancient city). The importance of the road in antiquity is further suggested by the discovery of numerous fragments of granite columns on the site (over thirty fragments to date), which we suggest were used in the construction of colonnades along the main Roman roads of the city.



Fig. 2: Troad granite column fragments originally from a Roman colonnade but abandoned on the eastern parodos of the theatre of Nea Paphos in late antiquity.

The granite columns had previously been proven by Olwen Williams-Thorpe, in a scientific examination of the stone, to have been imported to Paphos from granite quarries in Troad in Turkey (**fig. 2**); part of a massive Roman trade across the eastern Mediterranean in architectural elements.

Troad granite columns are known from colonnades in locations as diverse as Jerusalem, Leptis Magna and Rome itself. As both the capital city of Cyprus and a major trading emporium with the East, it is not surprising that Nea Paphos was adorned with this symbol Roman civic order.

The survey of the visually identifiable granite column fragments of Nea Paphos located some 167 individual column fragments; all in secondary or subsequent usage. Many were reused, for example, in the construction of the Crusader-period fort called Saranda Kolones (indeed they have given the building its modern name—forty columns), and others in the Early Christian basilica at Chrysopolitissa. Others still are incorporated into 19th and 20th century walls or street furniture, or are used in modern parks and gardens. Each column fragment was recorded in detail: its precise position was recorded using Total Station and survey grade GPS and then plotted out on maps of Paphos (both modern maps and proposed plans of the layout of the ancient city) (**fig. 3**). With the locations mapped it is possible to demonstrate that the majority of the column fragments visible at surface level are from two distinct axes through the ancient town, or that those columns that have been moved from these two main zones have been done so for a precise and provable purpose, such as the construction of Saranda Kolones.

As a result of this mapping, it can now be suggested that the modern road called Odos Ayias Kyriakis, which runs north-south from the harbour to the theatre, traces the route of the ancient colonnaded main

*Fig. 3: Map showing precise locations of visible granite columns from the colonnade in red—predominantly around the road leading from the harbour which may shadow the ancient Roman *cardo maximus* and near the theatre which may represent the ancient Roman *decumanus maximus*, with significant reuse of the columns at Chrysopolitissa and Saranda.*

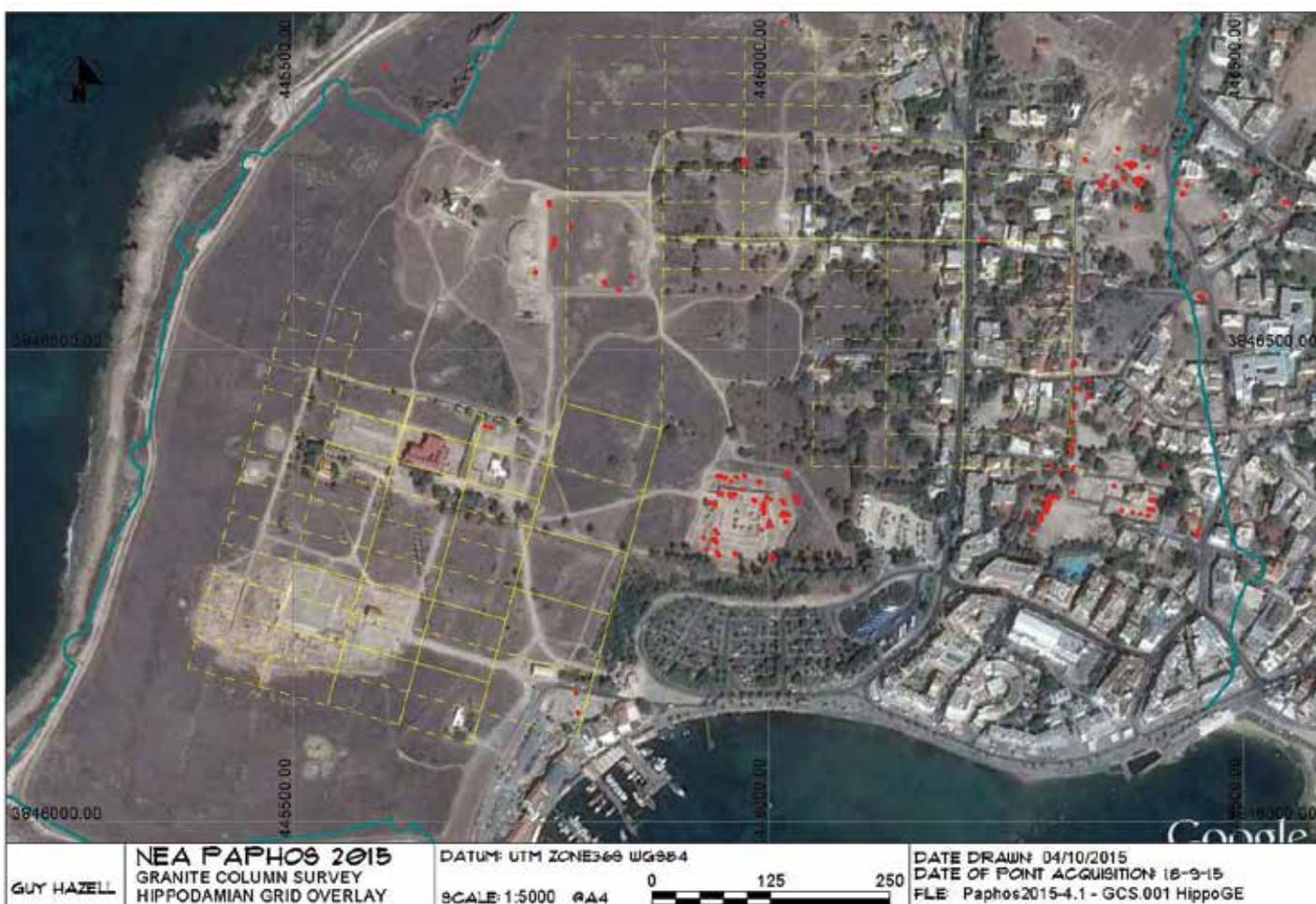




Fig. 4: Surveyor Guy Hazell conducting a pole photograph survey on the site of the ancient theatre.

south-north orientated road (the *cardo maximus*) of Roman Nea Paphos. The ancient road running on the east-west orientation excavated by the Australian team just south of the ancient theatre (the *decumanus maximus*) was likewise colonnaded and running from the ancient North-East city gate all the way to the acropolis on *Farani*, the eastern hill of the ancient city, near the ancient agora. Both of these roads were part of the urban structure, and both represented the two major thoroughfares of the ancient city, although other sizable roads must have existed. Scattered granite column fragments across the Paphos archaeological park are the remains of the *decumanus* colonnade in this area; the excavations at the theatre have revealed colonnade fragments from the eastern section of the thoroughfare.

It is hoped that future excavation of the road south of the theatre may reveal more of the granite columns, hopefully *in situ* so as to give an indication as to the spacing of the colonnade.

Analysis of the Troad granite columns recorded is currently underway. The largest but least common type of columns are those found reused in the central nave of the basilica of Chrysopolitissa that measure 24 Roman feet (over 7 m). However, these large columns are exceptional. The majority of the other columns are of 12 Roman feet, 14 Roman feet and predominantly 16 Roman feet (approximately 4.6 m). This is indicative of a trend in size differentiation across the city.

The precise positioning of each column group within the ancient town is not yet known as no *in situ* column has been located thus far. Nor do we yet know the date of the construction of the colonnades, although it seems likely to have occurred during the 2nd century AD, a period of profound wealth for the citizens of Nea Paphos and of Imperial architectural dominance across the eastern Mediterranean.

In addition to the colonnade survey, the ancient theatre site was recorded for the first time using pole photography (**fig. 4**) and photogrammetric programs (Agisoft PhotoScan) to stitch together over two thousand individual images. The resulting orthographically-correct 3D image of the ancient theatre and surrounding areas of *Fabrika* hill (**fig. 5**) will provide a valuable visual perspective of the site and will assist with future planning of location of trenches and in the understanding of the urban layout of the Roman period of the town in the area around the ancient theatre. With the high resolution of the image, measurements can be taken from any position within the photograph with an accuracy of +/- 10 mm.

Considerable planning for future seasons was also undertaken in this year without excavation, including the development of new finds storage and processing strategies to be implemented in the planned 2016 excavation season.



Fig. 5: The photogrammetric image of the ancient theatre and Fabrika taken during the pole photography project.

Posters and other Propaganda: winning elections in ancient Rome

by W. Jeffrey Tatum
Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand

‘That deformed and abortive offspring of perennial political fornication’.¹ This was how Edward Bulwer-Lytton described the British constitution of his day, in an expression infinitely more interesting than his father’s far more famous, ‘it was a dark and stormy night’. What Bulwer-Lytton was getting at was not simply that the British constitution was an untidy hodge-podge of custom, convention and law, but rather how it was shaped and in his view disfigured by the reality that the ambitions of its leadership must be tempered by the demands of social consensus: even a great man, as the snarling Bulwer-Lytton conceived himself to be, must sometimes yield to popular pressure.

The Roman constitution was also animated by a robust dynamic that strained to combine and contain the energies of the people and its aristocracy. The Roman senate, the body of ex-magistrates who formulated and debated all public policies, boasted irresistible esteem and prestige: these were the great men of Rome, whose collective wisdom commanded public deference. At the same time, the majesty of the people was a sovereign reality, for only the people could carry legislation—all lawmaking in Rome was by way of referendum—and only the people could elect the magistrates who commanded armies and enforced laws. These were the men who became lifetime senators when their magistracies expired. Hence the Roman republic’s routine identification of itself as *Senatus Populusque Romanus*—the senate and the Roman people: SPQR was a useful shorthand for the complex and sometimes uneasy cooperation between the popular principle of the Roman constitution and its aristocratic one.

Elections in Rome took place annually (**fig. 1**), which meant that ambitious men and their supporters were almost constantly soliciting popular favour.² And they did so through promises and pageants, activities which *mutatis mutandis* resembled electioneering in any modern liberal democracy. But what was at stake in Roman elections was something profoundly different. The Roman senate was not a legislative body. It was instead a venue for sophisticated and intelligent political deliberation by men deeply informed about Roman and international affairs. Nor were Roman magistrates the people’s representatives in any modern sense. In selecting their magistrates, the Roman people chose their *leaders*, men who merited public confidence, who could command in the field and ably govern at home. They were singling out the best of their superiors, not rallying round some bloke they liked and wouldn’t mind sharing a beer with. There was not a hint of egalitarianism in republican Rome, a world in which equality was in

¹ Lytton to Cranbrook, 27 May 1878 (LP 518/3).

² On elections in republican Rome, see W. J. Tatum, ‘Campaign Rhetoric’, in C. Steel and H. van der Blom (eds.), *Community and Communication: Oratory and Politics in Republican Rome* (Oxford 2013), pp. 133–50, and R. Feig Vishnia, *Roman Elections in the Age of Cicero: Society, Government, and Voting* (London 2012), each with further references.

fact deemed inequitable and unfair (Cic. *Rep.* 1.53). A magistrate had to be, in every sense of the expression, masterful. And these were the men who populated the senate.

Rome's senators were rich, derived from families of recognised eminence, and enjoyed their society's highest social status. They were also always highly cultured. In short, Roman senators were the category of men one can reasonably denominate aristocratic, and it is a striking and important aspect of Roman society that its aristocracy was fundamentally political in its origin and nature—and that Rome's aristocracy was selected by its masses. In the Roman republic we have, then, not an aristocracy of birth, but of office.³

The ranks of the senate were accessible, in principle at least, to Romans who possessed the right stuff. That stuff amounted to wealth, high culture, and public accomplishment, not least in oratory or warfare, but, notwithstanding the meritocratic nature of the Roman aristocracy, birth always played a significant part in anyone's reputation. The Romans tended to believe that excellence, *virtus*, ran in families, which meant that subsequent generations could bask in the reflected glory of their predecessors. Some families were so famous that they were designated *nobiles*, nobles, a Latin word that simply means 'well known'. And it is true that noble families enjoyed a special grandeur, which was enhanced by the reality that most nobles inherited abundant assets in wealth and connections as well as in fame. Roman voters turned to the nobility again and again, so regularly in fact that, during the last two centuries of the republic, the vast majority of consulships went to nobles. For this reason, jealous rivals sometimes painted a portrait of the nobility as an inert class whose abundant legacies rendered its predominance inevitable. This, however, was less than entirely fair: Roman history is littered with noble failures, and there was no shortage of fresh names in the Roman senate (even if few of them attained to a consulship). Nevertheless, a great name, and the resources in patronage and property which a great name implied, constituted a strong claim on the people's esteem.⁴

Families and friends and dependents—not political parties—defined the spheres of Roman canvassing. In Rome, there were no political parties. This was largely because there was little in the way of ideological conflict over the future of Rome or the responsibilities of Rome's government, the principal duties of which were to preserve private property, sustain social stability and, if the opportunity arose, subjugate a few foreigners. Candidates did not offer the public programmes or policy statements, nor were elections ordinarily viewed as contests of conflicting political philosophies. Instead, each election was a competition in and for prestige, a *contentio dignitatis*, in which the public made a judgment about the excellence, the *virtus*, of rival candidates. Success was a glorious *personal* achievement, in which an individual sought help from his personal connections.



Fig. 1: Coins illustrating Roman elections. Denarius of L. Cassius Longinus (63 BC), RRC 413 (above); denarius of P. Nerva (113 or 112 BC), RRC 292 (below).

³ K.-J. Hölkeskamp, *Reconstructing the Roman Republic: An Ancient Political Culture and Modern Research* (Princeton 2010), pp. 89–95.

⁴ On the various sources of aristocratic power in Rome, see W. J. Tatum, 'The Practice of Politics and the Unpredictable Dynamics of Clout in the Roman Republic', in D. Hammer (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Democracy and the Roman Republic* (Oxford 2015), pp. 257–74.

The main currency of Roman elections, and of Roman culture generally, was gratitude—*gratia*—the very real indebtedness created by favours, be they personal or collective. Which is why the advantages of the great were so frequently described less in terms of riches than in terms of their resources for aiding others. Rich Romans helped their friends—and they supplied the poor with the assistance they needed to survive in a world without public welfare. Men like this, by doing good to others, were able to shackle them with debts of gratitude. And, in Rome, *gratia* was the essential ingredient in influence, *gratia* being no mere abstraction but a mighty moral and therefore practical force. Few lapses in character were more shameful or destructive to one's reputation than ingratitude. As Cicero put it, 'everyone hates a man who ignores a favour' (*Off.* 2.63). And this value operated as powerfully amongst the poor as the rich.

Now the acquisition of *gratia* was a lifelong effort, and it started early. A future leader of Rome exhibited his superior qualities by way of voluntary military service, often as a cavalry commander putting himself in mortal peril, or as a public and unpaid prosecutor, risking his reputation at an early age inasmuch as trials in Rome were entirely public events, attended by crowds who were free to cheer and jeer. To take only a single if perhaps glamorous example, before he stood for his first important magistracy, that is, before he was thirty, Julius Caesar had served as a diplomatic envoy and as a military officer, won a civic crown for valour, gained appointment to a priesthood, conducted public prosecutions in Rome, and won election as military tribune. Admittedly Caesar's energies and talents were exceptional, but his early accumulation of military and civilian service was far from unique and almost typical for men of his class: because these services were at once beneficial and freely given, the whole of the republic could be expected to be grateful.

Even after years of preparation, however, a candidate's smallest gaffe could scupper everything. A notorious instance came in the second century BC. Publius Scipio Nasica, brilliant scion of a brilliant house, was circulating the forum, glad-handing potential voters. When he gripped the rough hand of a farmer, Scipio asked the man, as a little joke, if it was his habit to walk on his hands. Now it is possible Scipio hoped to ingratiate himself by way of commenting on the farmer's ruggedness. But the man took Scipio's inquiry as an insult, and soon Rome was abuzz with the incident, proof of Scipio's arrogance or at the very least his ineptitude as a candidate. Consequently, this frontrunner was soon left behind by his competitors (*Val. Max.* 7.5.2). Notwithstanding high birth and a career of public service, Scipio blundered during the crucial final weeks before the elections took place, the very moments when all eyes were on every candidate, when rivals for office were engaged in what we may call *canvassing* but which they called *petitio*, or begging.

Rome's has rightly been described as a culture of spectacle.⁵ What this means is that Roman public life centred around the performance

⁵ H. I. Flower, 'Spectacle and Political Culture in the Roman Republic', in H. I. Flower (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge 2014), pp. 377–98.

of conspicuous social rituals, the pageantry of which was not merely symbolic but instead constituted social, and therefore political, reality. This was clearly the case during the final phases of Roman canvassing, the moment when Scipio came a cropper. During the last weeks before an election, candidates occupied themselves in three traditional, highly visible, and indispensable daily rituals: the morning greeting at a candidate's house (*salutatio*), his descent to the forum (*deductio*), and his circulation throughout the forum during the day, seeing and being seen by the public (*adsectatio*).

Now a great man's house, his *domus*, was far more than a personal residence. It was his stage. Its scale and lavishness advertised his wealth, and, in the furnishings of his atrium, he displayed the images of his distinguished ancestors and the trophies of their great achievements. Here, too, the aristocrat met his clients and friends, and carried out his public business: there were no offices in ancient Rome. In its combination of symbolism and practicality, then, the *domus* was, for the aristocrat, a projection of his personality: 'his house', as Andrew Wallace-Hadrill has put it, 'was a powerhouse'.⁶ Every morning the candidate must be greeted by a crowded house, and in fact it was a popular habit, during canvassing, to look in on each candidate's atrium in order to gauge his success in filling it. This was a setting for glad-handing, recalling past favours and communicating to supporters how their support should be shaped. Candidates for office in Rome did not give stump speeches—what, after all, was there to say in the absence of political programmes?—but every morning they rallied their supporters.

Next was the parade to the forum. The candidate, dressed in a bright white toga, called a *toga candida* (hence our word 'candidate'), led a procession of attendants, perhaps in the hundreds, from his mansion on one of Rome's hills down to the city centre. This parade was meant to be conspicuous. And for this exercise the candidate craved the company of famous men, young nobles or ex-consuls, who were willing to exhibit their goodwill. Then, having arrived in the forum, the candidate strolled around, meeting and greeting and being seen, again with a mob of supporters in tow. And the size of his retinue was closely observed. Crowded morning sessions, dignified processions to the forum, and attendance throughout the day by a bulky retinue made it unmistakable, to Romans of every rank, that any candidate so equipped was an important and influential figure and worthy of the honour of office. And, unsurprisingly, Romans of all classes preferred voting for a winner. Consequently every visible proof of popularity was crucial.

This brings us to the ample supply of political posters from Pompeii, which modern historians call *programmata*: these were affixed, in the form of paintings, to the exteriors of shops and houses.⁷ Our illustration (**fig. 2**) is a typical public wall exhibiting a palimpsest of ads (no one was responsible for removing them and so most remained in place until covered by a later poster). Aimed at an audience possessing limited literacy,

⁶ A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum* (Princeton 1994), p. 12.

⁷ See R. Biundo, 'La propaganda elettorale a Pompei: la funzione e il valore dei programmata nell'organizzazione della campagna', *Athenaeum* 91 (2003), pp. 53–119 (with further references).



Fig. 2: Political posters painted on the exterior wall of the Thermopolium of Asellina, Pompeii.

Pompeian posters tended to be concise and abbreviated. Here you can spy an ad for Gaius Iulius Polybius (abbreviated *C-I-P*), a candidate for the office of *duovir iure dicundi*, indicated by the numeral two (II) plus the word *vir*, followed by *d-r-p*, which means *dignus rei publicae*, ‘he is worthy of his place in our republic’. Below Polybius’ ad one can detect a notice on behalf of Gaius Lollius Fuscus, who sought an aedileship: he, too, was *d-r*, worthy of election. In Pompeian politics, like their Roman counterpart, *dignitas* was central to elections. Pompeian ads reveal a good deal of variety: some underline a candidate’s popularity with his neighbours (e.g. *CIL* 4.443), or with professional organisations or clubs (e.g. *CIL* 4.149, 221, 470). Remarkably, women, who could neither vote nor stand for office, are well represented in *programmata* endorsing a favoured candidate (e.g. *CIL* 4.368).⁸ Predictably, ads were posted along the main thoroughfares of the city, which made them unavoidable. We also find posters decorating the inside of one Pompeian house, the house of the aforementioned Gaius Iulius Polybius (fig. 3).⁹

Now we know Romans also used posters, although, ironically, our sources for this practice consist only in a series of post-no-bills notices, all on tombs or mausoleums along the Appian Way, a vital road into town (*CIL* 6.14313, 29942; Mus. Naz. Rom. delle Terme, inv. 115217). That is to say, we have the remains of posters put up to discourage political posters, the menacing tone of which makes it obvious how entirely useless they must have been. And yet posters of any sort go undiscussed in any of our ancient sources on electioneering in Rome.

⁸ On women in Pompeian *programmata*, see L. Savunen, *Women in the Urban Texture of Pompeii* (Helsinki 1997).

⁹ C. Giordano, ‘Iscrizioni graffite e dipinte nella casa di C. Giuglio Polibio’, *Rendiconti della Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti* 49 (1974), pp. 21–8.

We hear much more about candidates doling out gifts, such as places at banquets or seats at gladiatorial contests, to members of their own tribes or about similar exertions on the part of surrogate candidates, men willing to canvass their friends and neighbours and fellow tribesmen on a candidate's behalf. Even the emperor Augustus, who hardly needed to be bothered with glad-handing the public, did so in support of his preferred candidates (Suet. *Aug.* 40.1). Sometimes, however, the legitimate limits of this generosity could be transgressed: during a campaign, a candidate was prohibited from showering presents on voters from outside his tribe and, if he did so or provided funds allowing his surrogates to do so, he committed the crime of illegal electioneering (*ambitus*). More than one candidate was tried and condemned for *ambitus*, but guilt was hard to prove. By the end of the republic, the practice was pervasive. Naturally all Romans deprecated *ambitus*, and yet nearly every candidate, and certainly most voters, were implicated in this illicit activity. Indeed, it was almost a necessity, during the final weeks of a political race, to strain every resource in order to remind voters of one's name and goodwill.

In the cacophony of competing pleas and the blur of competitive pageantry, how could a candidate stand out? A man was fortunate if he had just celebrated a triumph, or if he could excite public attention by way of a sensational prosecution. Stunts were also a possibility. Lucius Hostilius Mancinus, for instance, exhibited a painting of himself engaged in acts of derring-do during the Romans' assault on the city of Carthage in the Third Punic War. He even stood beside it, telling his own stirring saga. Hostilius' account of his accomplishments diverged from the truth of the matter in important ways. Nonetheless, it persuaded the public to elect him consul for 145 BC (Plin. *HN* 35.23; cf. App. *Pun.* 113-24; Zon. 9.29).

It was also vital for every candidate to go negative, to employ the language of modern electioneering. Vituperation of one's rivals was crucial: nearly all campaigns in Rome were negative campaigns. Now invective was a prominent feature of Roman society. As Ronald Syme put it long ago: 'The best of all arguments was personal abuse. In the allegation of disgusting immorality, degrading pursuits and ignoble origin the Roman politician knew no compunction or limit'.¹⁰ This was true even in Pompeii, a reality we can discern in its *programmata*, many of which are parodies employing humour for the purpose of undermining

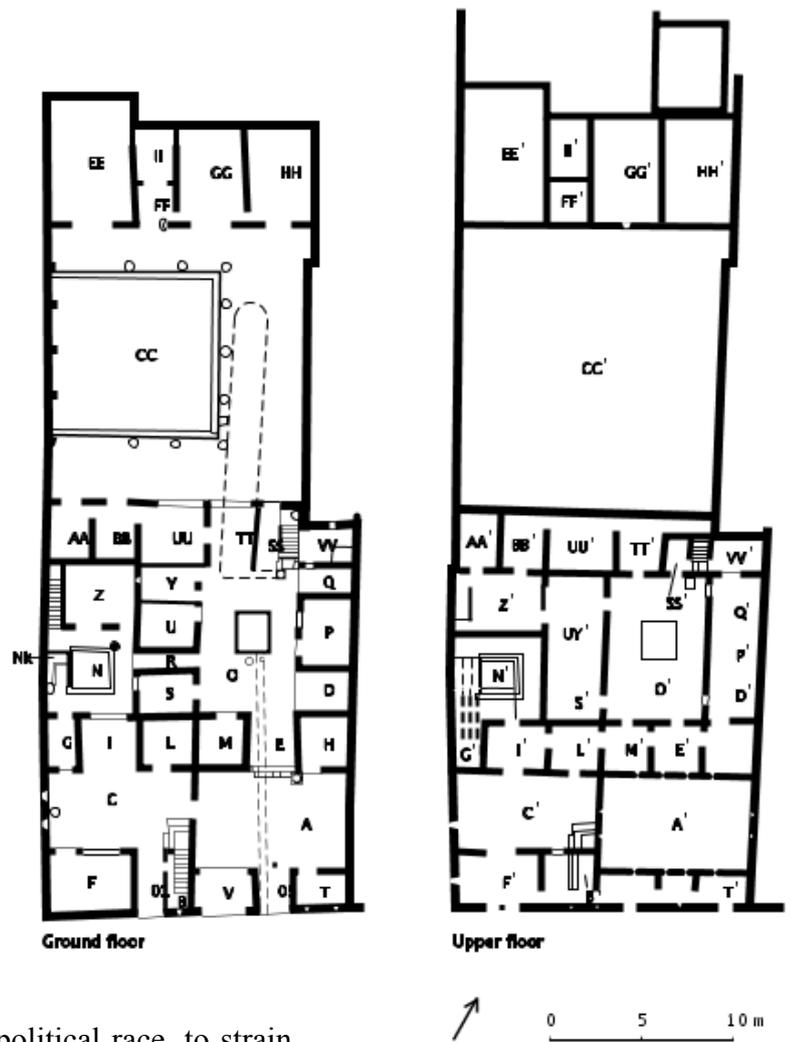


Fig. 3: Inscriptions in the House of Gaius Iulius Polybius:

C IULIUM AED

Gaius Iulius [for] aedile (located near the entrance – 0);

C IULIUM D VIR D.. O V F

I ask you to elect Gaius Iulius duovir, he is worthy (located above the roof of Nk).

¹⁰ R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939), p. 149.

a rival's *dignitas*. A few specimens will suffice. One poster claims that 'the gamblers' endorse Gnaeus Helvius Sabinus (*CIL* 4.3885), another that 'the pickpockets' support Marcus Cerrinius Vatia (*CIL* 4.581). Vatia also gets the votes of 'the late-night drinkers' (*CIL* 4.7787)—and 'the assassins' (*CIL* 4.246)!

In Rome, candidates were denounced by way of public letters and public utterances, in blunt and sometimes obscene terms. In a speech before the senate, only days before the election that made him consul, Cicero could vilify his chief competitor, Catiline, in this way: 'he besmirched himself with all manner of sexual misconduct and disgraceful acts, then bloodied himself in criminal slaughter' (Asc. 86C).

Not to be outdone, and proof that these calumnies operated as talking points meant to be repeated by Cicero's surrogates, Cicero's younger brother Quintus circulated the following aspersions against the same Catiline:

Born into his father's poverty, reared in debauchery with his sister, grown to manhood in the thick of citizen slaughter, he first made his way into public life by murdering Roman knights (*Comm. Pet.* 6).

He goes on in much the same vein, accusing Catiline of various murders, luridly and graphically described, until he concludes with this:

He has such brazenness, such wickedness, such facility and skill in acts of lewdness that he has violated children when they were virtually in the laps of their parents (*Comm. Pet.* 10).

Now it was expected that a good candidate should be an aggressive one (e.g. Liv. 4.25.12). Furthermore, such extreme rhetoric did not merely advertise the moral deficiencies of rivals, it underscored how the calumniating candidate shared the values of the Roman people. And it was darkly entertaining. All of which invited voters to rally round a candidate of proven virtue, longstanding public service, ample *gratia* and *dignitas*—and enough fierceness to stand out in the thick and ungentle competition of canvassing in Rome.

The collapse of the republic did not bring the end of elections. Nor, at first, did it result in the end of canvassing. Even the emperor Augustus, as we have noted, trudged the forum talking up the merits of his favourites. It was Tiberius who removed canvassing from the forum to confines of the Curia, one aristocrat soliciting another, an innovation that was greeted with jubilation by Rome's senators, who were no longer obliged to beg their inferiors for their honours. But by then, canvassing no longer mattered at all. Emperors chose the magistrates, and, with the emperor in charge, the rituals of canvassing exerted little in the way of social utility. Although in Rome popular sovereignty and aristocratic prestige had persisted in sustained and dynamic tension for nearly half a millennium, each ceased to matter in an age of autocracy.

Pheidias' Zeus at Olympia: how to read a statue

by Diana Burton

Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand

Pheidias' statue of Zeus at Olympia was one of the wonders of the ancient world (**figs. 1-2**). Built in the 430s BC, it was over twelve metres in height. It was chryselephantine: the god's skin was ivory, his clothes gold; the throne upon which he sat was inlaid wood. He held a statue of Nike, Victory, on one hand, and his sceptre in the other, with his eagle seated on it. The Graces and Seasons danced on the throne behind his shoulders, and his garments, the throne, and even the footstool beneath his feet were adorned with a range of myths testifying to his power and justice, themes that were echoed on the painted panels surrounding the base. The statue was greatly admired in antiquity, both for its technical achievement and for the powerful new presentation it offered of the god for his major cult site. Pheidias was influenced, so ancient critics tell us, from the passage in the *Iliad* where Zeus nods in affirmation of his oath to Thetis to help Achilles:

He spoke, the son of Kronos, and nodded his head with the dark brows,
and the immortally anointed hair of the great god
swept from his divine head, and all Olympos was shaken.¹

Whether this was actually Pheidias' motivation or not we have no way of knowing. But it tells us something about the authority, dignity, and power which the statue conveyed. And we need this evidence, for the statue was removed to Constantinople and perished in fire in the 5th century AD. There are few copies, and none of any size. Our evidence comes primarily from coins minted in Elis (**fig. 3**), which administered the sanctuary, and—more importantly—from a long and detailed account by Pausanias (5.11.1-8), from which many of the details I will discuss are drawn.²



Fig. 3: Drawings of coins from Elis, showing the head of Zeus, and the whole statue.

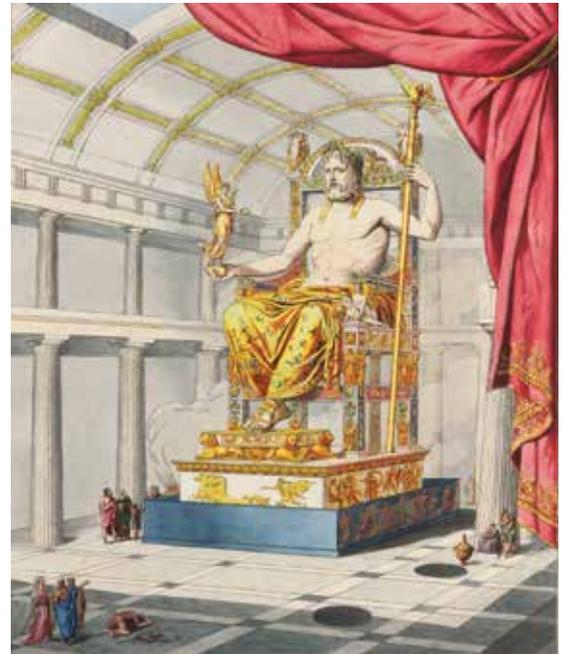


Fig. 1: Quatremère de Quincy's rather fanciful reconstruction of Pheidias' Zeus (1815): the pose is based on Pausanias' description, but the temple architecture is distinctly inauthentic.

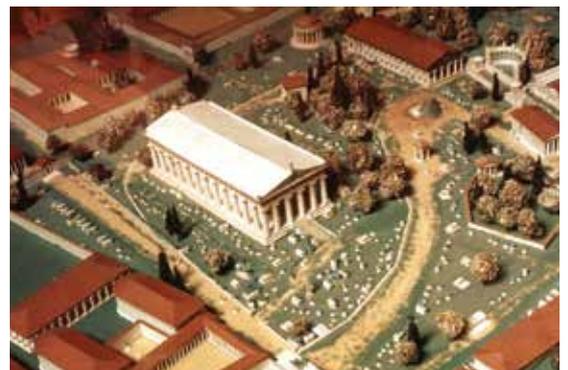


Fig. 2: Model of Olympia, with the Temple of Zeus at the centre.

¹ *Iliad* 1.528-30, trans. R. Lattimore (Chicago 1951).

² On the sources see C. C. Davison, *Pheidias. The Sculptures and Ancient Sources* (London 2009).

The functions that Zeus exercised at Olympia were many and varied. Zeus' role as ruler of the gods, the world, and everything in it, meant that he was responsible for justice (*dike*) and sovereignty, and hence for oaths, hospitality, and victory, all of which were reflected in the Olympic Games held in his honour. As well as the massive ash altar, which was the focus of his cult, Zeus was worshipped at several other altars and represented by numerous other statues: Pausanias lists over twenty. Pheidias' statue needed to stand out from all of these, and to encompass all Zeus' most important functions; it needed to be relevant to locals who used the sanctuary frequently, and to the crowds from elsewhere who came for the Games; it needed to impress at first sight, and provoke thought on further examination; and above all it needed to provide a profound religious experience for the viewer.



Fig. 4: Olympia, Temple of Zeus, pediments. At the centre of the east pediment (above) are Sterope, Oinomaos, Zeus, Pelops, and Hippodameia. Photo: H. R. Goette.



Fig. 5: Olympia, Temple of Zeus. Metope showing Herakles cleaning the Augean Stables with Athena's help.

For the ancient viewer, the way was prepared by the myths on the exterior of the temple.³ Pheidias' statue was built some thirty years after the temple; in fact the temple floor had to be remodelled to accommodate the statue and a pool of water added in to keep the air humid enough for the ivory not to crack. But the statue was conceived to complement its envelope. The west (rear) pediment (**fig. 4b**) showed the battle between the Lapiths and Centaurs—a favourite for temples, with its overtones of civilised Greeks winning out over wild and savage hybrid beasts. Apollo stood in the centre, ensuring the right outcome. The east (front) pediment (**fig. 4a**) showed a local myth, the chariot race in which Pelops defeated the violent and arrogant King of Pisa, Oinomaos (whose delightful practice it was to run a spear through the back of his daughter's suitors in mid-race) and thus won the hand of Hippodameia. (Pelops was a founder-hero at Olympia, and his tomb and hero-cult were just to the north of the Temple of Zeus.) Zeus himself was shown at the centre of this pediment. In contrast to the violent struggle on the west, the east was quiet, with an air of impending doom: Oinomaos would die in the race—and Pelops' descendants would be cursed. Finally, twelve metopes—six at each end—showed the labours of Herakles, sometimes with Athena's assistance (**fig. 5**). These were all myths in which mortals strove to attain victory and to punish *hybris*, and in which the gods assisted them. The sculptures contrasted mortal exertion with the ease of divine power:

³ For the sculpture see J. Barringer, 'The Temple of Zeus at Olympia: heroes and athletes', *Hesperia* 74 (2005), pp. 211–31.

Herakles strained every muscle while Athena needed only lift a finger. But they also asserted the heroic dignity of the human figures, even as they depicted the dominance of the gods. The combination of *nike* (victory) and *dike* (justice) was perfectly evoked in the figure of Zeus in the east pediment, who held a *taenia* (victory ribbon) in one hand and his thunderbolt in the other (**fig. 6**).

It is worth saying a further word about *dike*. The Greek word did not mean justice in the modern sense; rather, it referred to Zeus' divine order, the hierarchy he imposed upon the world, with gods at the top, men below, and beasts (and centaurs) at the bottom. *Hybris* is the act of trying to break out of one's assigned place (thus creating disorder), and is regularly punished. *Nike* lifts a man above his place, with the consent of the god, like a brief taste of divinity. The temple sculptures both inspire men to excel, and warn them against excess.

At first sight, it appeared that, on Pheidias' Zeus, *nike* was far more prominent than *dike*. As well as the *Nike* personified who stood in Zeus' hand, six more danced around each leg of his throne. Zeus himself wore an olive wreath, in reference to the olive wreaths presented to victorious athletes, who were represented on the front crossbar of his throne. His sovereignty, too, was clearly referenced, not only with the sceptre, which was common to many gods, but also with the eagle, which was an attribute of Zeus alone. Contrary, perhaps, to our expectations, the eagle was never shown attacking: it was Zeus' bird because of its dignity and strength, not because of its fierceness. So the kingship that was referenced here was a beneficent one, with no sign of punishment. The extent of Zeus' sovereignty was borne out by the depictions of lilies and 'living things' (*zoidia*: animals, humans?) on Zeus' robes: he was king over the world and all its flora and fauna. (And why lilies? Coins from Elis show Hera crowned with lilies, so perhaps this was shared iconography with his wife.) The throne itself, of course, added greatly to this effect. It enabled Pheidias to make Zeus so tall that, Strabo says, if he stood up he would go through the roof (8.3.30). Strabo meant this as a criticism, but no doubt the greater size Pheidias could achieve added considerably to the majesty of the god, all the more so since, at this time, Zeus was rarely shown seated.

The immense size of the god, and the gold and ivory of which he was made, had another effect: epiphany. When gods appear to humans in literature, they are larger than life, shining with light. Zeus manifested in the huge figure, the shine of ivory, the worked robes glimmering in the dim light, reflected in the dark pool of water on the floor—the impact of this experience must have been extraordinary. Dio Chrysostom said of it, 'I think that a man, full of weariness in his soul, who has suffered from many misfortunes and pains and cannot even find pleasant sleep, if he stood suddenly in front of the image, would forget all the awful and grievous things to be experienced in human life' (*Orations* 12.51).



Fig. 6: Olympia, Temple of Zeus, east pediment: Zeus. Photo: H. R. Goette.

The chryselephantine statues of the fifth century BC were an effort to represent the ineffable and to present divine epiphany through human skill. The paradoxical nature of this craft was widely recognised. On the one hand, these statues were the products of remarkable skill and innovation. For example, for Zeus' clothing, as Kenneth Lapatin has shown, Pheidias developed a new technique of backing gold leaf in patterns onto glass, so that the result shimmered like silk.⁴ On the other hand, this human skill was put to work in presenting something that was fundamentally impossible to depict: the full majesty of the divine in the moment of its appearance. Pheidias himself may have been referring to this paradox through the statues of the Horai and Charites on the back of the throne: they signified the fostering of growth and beauty, the Horai in nature, the Charites through human arts and actions—like this statue itself.



Fig. 7: Attic red figure amphora. Detail of Zeus with a thunderbolt and a rather unlikely eagle. Berlin Painter. c. 470–460 BC. Paris, Louvre G204.

Pheidias did not include Zeus' most common and distinctive attribute: the thunderbolt (fig. 7). It was a symbol of Zeus' raw power, instantly and devastatingly effective. The importance of the thunderbolt as a part of the god's identity is shown by the persistence with which later coins added it to their depictions of Pheidias' statue. The thunderbolt worked its way even into Pausanias' narrative: he was shown a spot on the floor which Zeus had smote with a thunderbolt in approbation of the statue. Why, then, didn't the statue hold it? It is often argued that Pheidias missed it out in order to make his god seem

more peaceable: Ken Dowden describes the switch as 'a modernising change... *Nike* is somehow more sophisticated than a thunderbolt and more suited to this static pose'.⁵ In effect, the *Nike* is seen as a 'transition from might to right' as A. B. Cook puts it; *nike* for the violence of archaic *dike*.⁶ But *nike* and *dike* are two different things, and victory is not really an apt replacement for justice. Moreover, as we will see, *dike* of a violent and arbitrary kind was not absent from the statue. To explain the missing thunderbolt, I would like to come back to the idea of epiphany, and the importance of the worshipper's first sight of the god. From the front, Zeus appeared as the gloriously benign ruler and giver of victory; placing a massive thunderbolt in plain sight would have undermined this characterisation. As it was, the viewer had to walk around to the side and only by way of this further exploration did he (or she) adjust his first impression of the god.

On the arms of the throne were two myths which served to make the viewer rethink his view of the god. Along the arms themselves, in relief, was the myth of the Niobids: the twelve children of Niobe, on account of whom she boasted that she was more fortunate than Leto, since Leto had only two children and each was less beautiful than any of Niobe's twelve. Since Leto's children were Apollo and Artemis, this

⁴ K. D. S. Lapatin, *Chryselephantine Statuary in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford 2001), pp. 81–3.

⁵ K. Dowden, *Zeus* (London 2006), p. 26.

⁶ A. B. Cook, *Zeus: a study in ancient religion* (Cambridge 1914–1940) vol. 2, p. 737.



speech was somewhat rash and was promptly punished by the deaths of all twelve of the Niobids (**fig. 8**). It seems likely that Apollo was at the front end of one arm, and Artemis at the front end of the other, so that the viewer would have perceived the dead and dying Niobids to be trapped between them. In the context of the statue, Artemis and Apollo were not just taking revenge: they were restoring Zeus' order, after Niobe had attempted to rise above her mortal station by equating herself to the gods. The punishment of *hybris* echoed the same theme on the temple exterior, where the centaurs and Oinomaos were punished for their savage and arrogant acts. But this was a particularly chilling example of *dike*: whereas the centaurs and Oinomaos were depicted as fully culpable (and also able to fight), the Niobids were in effect guiltless and helpless, paying the price for their mother's *hybris*. Some comforted each other. Niobe herself held up her dying youngest son. The Niobid frieze elicited a sympathy from the viewer that the exterior sculptures did not—a 'new feeling of pity for the human predicament', as Brian Shefton describes it.⁷

Below the Niobid frieze, the support for the armrest was in the form of a sphinx with a youth. This is not the myth of Oedipus and the Theban sphinx, but a different, older tale, which survives only in art. A series of vases show us a sphinx pursuing, seducing, and carrying off young men, who try to flee her (**fig. 9**); the end of the tale is unclear, but likely resulted in the death of the youth. No sure copies of Pheidias' sphinx-youth pair survive, but it is likely that the group showed as innocuous from the front, and only revealed the deadly nature of the union from the side. The sphinx is hard to pin down, but she had a close affinity with death and fate, in which roles she reinforced the myth of the Niobids just above her. The theme of *dike* was also present in the Amazonomachy on the crossbars at the side of the throne, counterbalancing the victorious young athletes across the front.



Fig. 9: Attic black figure Siana cup. Detail showing a Sphinx carrying off a young male. Heidelberg Painter. c. 560 BC. LIMC Sphinx add.15.

⁷ B. A. Shefton, 'The krater from Baksy', in D. Kurtz and B. Sparkes (ed.) *The Eye of Greece* (Cambridge 1982), p. 164.



Fig. 10: Roman fresco from the House of Menander, Pompeii, showing Ajax dragging Cassandra from a statue of Athena (the Palladium). Late 1st cent. BC.

In addition to the statue itself, a series of painted panels running around it explored these themes further. They were painted by Panainos, and were erected when the Zeus was built. The ones at the front were plain blue, so as not to distract from Pheidias' embodied epiphany. But the ones at the sides showed a selection of mythical pairs. Some were from the outside of the temple: Hippodameia and Sterope (Oinomaos' daughter and wife), Herakles and Atlas, two Hesperides (presumably from the same Labour), Herakles and the Nemean lion. As for the statue, Theseus and Peirithoos probably appeared together on Zeus' footstool, where Theseus' Amazonomachy was depicted. But some echo the themes of the temple and statue rather than copying their myths. Ajax's rape of Cassandra probably included the statue of Athena at which Cassandra took refuge (fig. 10); Cassandra paid the price for being Trojan, implicated in the city's necessary fall, but the implicit presence of Athena foreshadowed the punishment of Ajax

for his sacrilege. One panel, showing Prometheus and Herakles, offered a particularly interesting exploration of *dike*. Prometheus was punished by Zeus for his *hybris* in bringing fire to mankind. But it was also Zeus who sanctioned the end of his punishment, and allowed Herakles to set him free.

Both on the temple and on the statue, then, *nike* and *dike* were explored as essential to Zeus' persona. Victory necessarily entails defeat: the darker scenes in the shadows to the side of the throne offer counterbalance to the bright vision at the front. The *dike* of Zeus kept mankind (and everything else) in its place, harshly if need be, thus maintaining the order of the cosmos. But the aspiration towards *nike*, which was bestowed by Zeus upon the most deserving of mortals, lifted mankind up for a fleeting moment towards the level of the gods. It was this glorious, evanescent moment that was the primary focus of the statue, the viewer's first reaction to the god.⁸

⁸ For a more extensive examination of Pheidias' Zeus, see D. Burton, 'The Iconography of Pheidias' Zeus: Cult and Context', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 130 (2015), pp. 75–115.

Address by the Hon. David Levine AO RFD QC

delivered on the occasion of the launch of the
David Levine Book Acquisition Fund

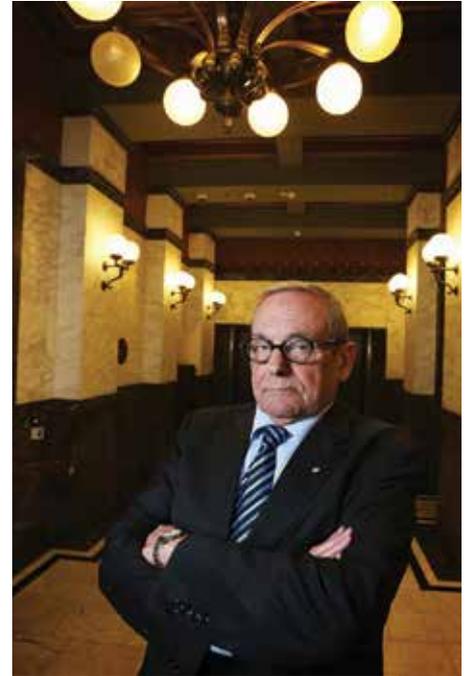
Professor Alexander Cambitoglou, Professor Garton, Professor Caine,
Members of the Council, ladies and gentlemen,

it was 53 years ago that the then Dr Alexander Cambitoglou and I first crossed paths. He had recently arrived from Bryn Mawr College as Senior Lecturer in Classical Archaeology. I was a 17-year old first year Arts Law student. It is extraordinary that we are both here tonight. That that is so is attributable to several factors. One which we have in common I shall mention in passing—the wonders of modern cardiology.

The other factors: in Alexander's case a dedication to the discipline, science, art, beauty, adventure, romance, achievement and the teaching of Classical Archaeology that has made him, in my view, one of the greatest contributors to the humanities in this country and to Archaeology since the Second World War. He has been aided in his endeavours by his life partner of respected memory, by his students and staff, by the support of this University, and the respect of international scholars and institutions. He thus has the finest reputation and highly deserved recognition for academic achievement of the utmost integrity and unstinting labour for the triumph of scholarship.

In my case I am here this evening also because of that other profession to which I have referred. More to the point, however, I was a student in the sixties. I had won a Commonwealth scholarship and my career path was planned. I would become a lawyer, my father was then a member of the Judiciary, but beforehand I would be given the opportunity to further my studies in the Classics in which I matriculated with Honours and to enjoy what I now recognise to have been the two years of the utmost freedom I have ever had in my life. I did not have to worry about anything more than attaining a Commonwealth scholarship and graduating; my articles of clerkship were in place. I would be a litigation solicitor for three years and then go to the Bar, all of which happened with that remarkable ease available to my generation.

But turning this evening around, if I may, I wish to make it an occasion for paying my tribute to Professor Cambitoglou. He was the finest teacher I ever had in any discipline; I can think of no one during the dreary years at law school who equalled him. I remember the dignified authority with which he both delighted and often cowed his classes at the University. But the inheritance has been in the end breathtaking in its impact. It is something that I hope to pass on to my children and their children not only in the physical form of a modest library but in an appreciation of history, duty, hard work, reward, loss, triumph and in the end a feeling that one has been so privileged to be a beneficiary.



The Hon. David Levine AO RFD QC
© The Australian

I also pay tribute of course to the tolerance of the partner I chose, even if she thinks the number of books at home is getting a bit out of hand, and whom Alexander has known almost from the time of our marriage 46 years ago and to whom he has extended that personal hospitality for which he is held in such affection.

I have not expressly chosen it as a duty, as an obligation, as a debt to be repaid, but as a pleasure whether commensurate with my means or not, from time to time to support everything as far as I could that Alexander Cambitoglou has achieved over the last 50 years for this University in relation not only to Classical Archaeology generally, but also the Nicholson Museum and to this Institute especially.

I regard this evening as an opportunity for me to pay tribute to him as well as to acknowledge the honour done to me by the creation of the David Levine Book Acquisition Fund.

A person who is able to give millions and does give millions is a true philanthropist. Such people are so important to universities and each should be applauded for his or her generosity. There are others who also give who should be equally applauded and they are those who when they can only afford to give \$50 in fact give \$100; without them universities would be in difficulty. I know that I do not fall into the first category and I would not describe myself as falling in the second: I am somewhere in-between, but at the lower end of the scale I hasten to add.

Reference has been made to my having an extensive library. I have referred to Agnes' views about my library which I of course respect not only because she is my wife but because she is a Clinical Psychologist.

Nonetheless this is a library-oriented event, and I consider it appropriate that I make a gift in physical form to the Institute's collection from my own library. My ownership of the book is rather quirky in the sense that my first endeavour to buy it from that highly respectable bookdealer in Hastings, East Sussex, namely Howe's Bookshop, failed. That was about two years ago. The successful purchaser passed on and Howes, being astute in business, wrote to me and said the book was now again available and really belongs in Australia. My email acceptance was rapid.

The book that I propose to give is "Speeches and Lectures delivered in Australia by the late Charles Badham D.D. Professor of Classics in Sydney University" (**fig. 1**). It was published in Sydney by William Dymock in 1890. It is a collection of addresses, the publication of which was by subscription and contains a memoir of Professor Badham (he lived from 1813–1884), after whom Badham Street, Woolloomooloo is named, as is the Badham Building within this University, and the Badham Room in the Union; I understand there is also a grand portrait of the man by Giulio Anivitti in the Great Hall. The work comprises addresses both in Latin and in English. I gather he was virtually the University Orator as well as Professor of Classics.

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List of Subscribers to Speeches and Lectures delivered in Australia by the late Charles Badham D.D.

I donate the book to the AAIA library as it will provide a diversion to scholars studying, either online or otherwise, texts, dig reports and the like. It is the book's provenance, however, that is of some interest to me and may be of interest to whoever is the Guardian of the library, as well as others. In addition to having my book label in it (on which nothing special may necessarily turn), it discloses that it belonged to one Albert Bathurst Piddington 1862–1945. Piddington was a Classical scholar in this University but is famous in the Law for two reasons: first, Mr Piddington has the extraordinary legal history of receiving a cable from the then Attorney-General of the Commonwealth, one William Morris Hughes, offering him a seat on the High Court of Australia which he accepted. Publication of his acceptance attracted much criticism alleging that the new man lacked weight and Piddington withdrew after about a week telling Hughes that he believed himself compromised. The second component of Piddington's eccentric career in the Law was as a litigant in the High Court itself where he won the right to sue for damages arising from a collision between himself and a motorcycle and side car in Phillip Street, Sydney, in April 1938 of which he had no memory at all.

Piddington, as a classical scholar, had a hero to whom he inscribed this copy of Badham's book (**fig. 2**). Professor Powell was appointed Professor of Greek here at the age of 25. One of his pupils was Gough Whitlam.

Enoch Powell lived from June 1912 to February 1998. He is remembered not for his poetry, his many languages or his military career, but for his abhorrent "Rivers of Blood" speech delivered in Birmingham on 28 April 1968. I often wonder what, when Enoch Powell arrived in Sydney as a 25-year old Professor, he thought of his undergraduates nearly 30 years before Alexander Cambitoglou arrived and formed his views of his students. But as Howes bookshop said, this book belongs in Australia and now belongs in an appropriate library for the diversion of scholars.

Finally, I recall the last lecture given by Alexander Cambitoglou I attended as an undergraduate. He concluded by reciting in Greek what is romantically referred to as the last oracle of Delphi, uttered to the Emperor Julian's envoy and physician, Oribasius. Alexander turned to me and said: "Mr Levine, would you be good enough to translate?" Blushing from my toes to the roots of my hair I stood and said: "Sir, I am not good enough." Whereupon he did so himself and the rendering I remember with much emotion was to this effect: "Say ye unto the King: Fallen our fair built columns lie, Phoebus hath left his Temple, his laurel of prophecy—yea, even the stream that spake is dry".

As long as this Institute thrives, the fallen columns will not turn to dust, the laurel will have colour and the stream, even if but moist, will speak again. And Phoebus will be pleased.

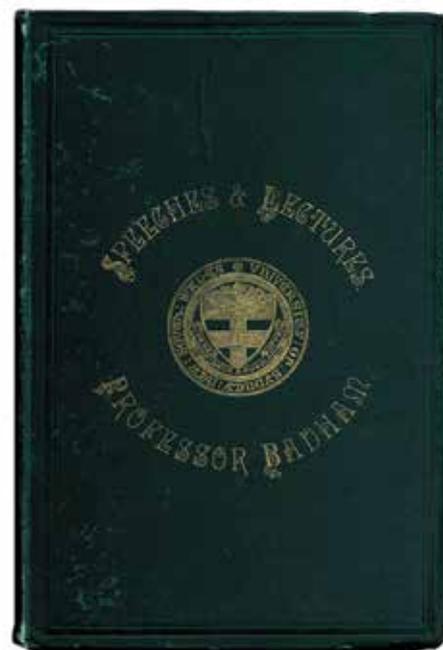


Fig. 1: The cover and frontispiece, with portrait of the author, of *Speeches and Lectures delivered in Australia by the late Charles Badham D.D., William Dymock, Sydney, 1890*, donated by David Levine.

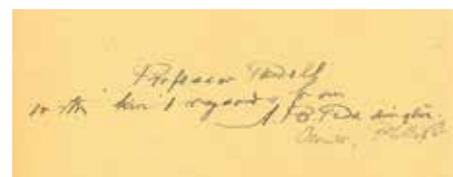


Fig. 2: The dedicatory inscription from Albert Piddington to Enoch Powell.

Charles Badham

by Wayne Mullen



Reverend Charles Badham
Giulio Anivitti, 1875
oil on canvas
238.5 (h/l) x 147.5 (w) x 8.5 (d) cm
Purchased with funds from public
subscription 1874, Sydney University
Art Collection UA1875.1

Due to the generosity of the Hon. David Levine, AO, RFD, QC, the AAIA's library now includes an intriguing rare volume, *Speeches and Lectures of Professor Badham*, a book published by William Dymock in 1890 (see previous page), via the subscriptions of a "number of his students and other admirers".¹ Those readers who are familiar with the University of Sydney will, perhaps, recall the name of "Badham" from the Badham Building, or maybe from the late Professor's portrait in the Great Hall by Giulio Anivitti (pictured at left). It is probably the case, however, that most of us do not know about the career and impact of this important scholar.

Charles Badham succeeded John Woolley in 1865 as second Professor of Classics at the University of Sydney. Many in England regarded him as the "First Greek scholar of the day",² although his religious opinions meant that advancement was difficult for him in the United Kingdom. Julia Horne and Geoffrey Sherington describe him as "the first internationally recognised researcher and published scholar at the University of Sydney".³

He quickly gained in the Colony the reputation of being an excellent orator:

From the very first moment when one took his seat in the classroom and looked up at the grand old Professor, with his fine features—the very picture of an old Greek philosopher—one was held spellbound. And when he started to speak, with his deep rich voice, attention was riveted to every word that he said. He was like a great public actor on stage; letter perfect in his part and with a genius that infused life and thought into every sentence that he uttered.⁴

Badham's arrival in Sydney led to a period of intense activity in his career through public service on many important bodies such as the Free Public Library (now the State Library of NSW), and as Trustee of Sydney Grammar School. But he is perhaps most notable for his particular efforts to educate people distant from immediate reach of the University, through postal courses, off-campus lectures and strong lobbying for evening classes.

His suggested motto for the Garden Palace in Sydney "*Orta Recens quam pura nites*" will be familiar to many, since it was later included on the coat of arms of the State of New South Wales.

Above all, he was constant in his support of university education and the role that universities have in public life:

But I want another and a greater honour, and that is the honour I claim from my fellow-citizens now. I, speaking in my own name and in the name of my brother professors, claim something more than money and something more than mere social position, namely the honour of being useful.⁵

¹ C. Badham, *Speeches and Lectures by the Late Professor Badham* (Sydney, 1890), preface.

² Australian Dictionary of Biography: <http://adb.anu.edu.au>

³ J. Horne and G. Sherington, *Sydney, The Making of a Public University* (Melbourne, 2012), p. 242.

⁴ M. Hogan (ed.), *A Lifetime in Conservative Politics: Political Memoirs of Sir Joseph Carruthers* (Sydney, 2005), p.38.

⁵ Sydney University Commemoration, 1868.

The Visiting Professorship 2015*

Professor John H. Oakley
The College of William and Mary, Virginia



Professor Oakley with history students at St Spyridon College, Sydney.

The most recent in a long line of distinguished archaeologists and ancient historians to have travelled Australia by invitation of the AAIA as Visiting Professor was John H. Oakley, known to many for his work on Attic figured pottery. Professor Oakley has, since 1980, been on faculty at the College of William and Mary in Virginia, USA; he has also a strong connection with the American School of Classical Studies at Athens where he first went as a Fellow in the mid 1970s shortly after completing his Masters degree. In more recent years he served as Mellon Professor of that Institution, bringing his in-depth knowledge of ancient Athens and its surrounds to a wide range of students.

As the AAIA Visiting Professor, Oakley gave a number of lectures, seminars and workshops at universities, secondary schools and Hellenic cultural centres around the country. He spoke on his particular areas of expertise: the attribution of figured Attic pottery to individual hands and workshops, and white-ground lekythoi (see list below). Audiences were treated not only to details of Professor Oakley's past work, told by the master himself, but also a discussion of material in up-coming publications. In social settings Professor Oakley shone, talking warmly and openly with established archaeologists and budding students alike.

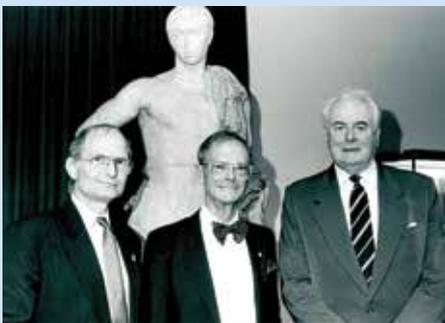
- *Scenes from Daily Life on Athenian Vases*
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1995	†Prof. Spyros Iakovidis Athens, Greece
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1998	Prof. Sarah Morris University of California, Los Angeles, USA and Dr. J. K. Papadopoulos The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, USA
1999	Prof. H. Alan Shapiro Baltimore, USA
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2001	Prof. Andrew Stewart University of California, Berkeley, USA
2002	Prof. Barbara Burrell University of Cincinnati, USA and Prof. Graeme Clarke Australian National University
2004	Prof. Marc Waelkens Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium
2005	Prof. Nota Kourou The University of Athens, Greece
2006	Prof. Jacques Perreault The University of Montreal, Canada
2007	Prof. Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier DAI, Athens, Greece
2008	Prof. François Lissarrague Centre Louis Gernet, Paris, France
2010	Prof. Robert Laffineur University of Liège, Belgium
2011	Prof. Jack Davis ASCS, Athens, Greece
2012	Prof. Catherine Morgan British School at Athens, Greece
2013	Prof. Angelos Chaniotis IAS, Princeton
2014	Prof. W. Jeffrey Tatum and Dr Diana Burton Victoria University, New Zealand Prof. Alastair Blanford University of Queensland, Australia

From the Archives:
Launch of the Festschrift in honour
of Professor Cambitoglou



In 1990, Gough Whitlam, who from 1972 to 1975 served as Australia's 21st Prime Minister, gave an address in the Nicholson Museum to launch the festschrift in honour of Professor Cambitoglou (above). Having taken a Bachelor of Arts in Classics from the University of Sydney in the mid 1930s before commencing his studies in law, Gough Whitlam was a great connoisseur of Greek literature and had a keen interest in the ancient world. Through his connection with St Paul's College, he came to know Professor Cambitoglou. Whitlam was a long-time supporter of the AAIA, and continued to attend functions into his 90s.

The festschrift, *EUMOUSIA. Ceramic and Iconographic Studies in Honour of Alexander Cambitoglou*, was published by Meditarch and edited by Jean-Paul Descœudres (below, left), the founder and chief editor of *Mediterranean Archaeology*, and then Assoc. Professor in the Department of Archaeology. Professor Descœudres has recently returned to Sydney after almost two decades as the Chair of Classical Archaeology at the University of Geneva.

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Contact Information for Friends of the AAIA Societies

ANU (Canberra) Friends of the AAIA

President: Prof Elizabeth Minchin FAHA
 Classics and Ancient History Program
 School of Cultural Inquiry
 AD Hope Building (Building 14), Room G49B
 The Australian National University
 Canberra ACT 0200
 [Ph] (02) 6125 5106
 Email: Elizabeth.Minchin@anu.edu.au

Athens Friends of the AAIA

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

Queensland Friends of the AAIA

President: Mr Chris Griffiths
 PO Box 5047
 Mt Gravatt East
 QLD 4122
 Email: qfaaia@yahoo.com.au

South Australian Friends of the AAIA

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

The Society of Mediterranean Archaeology (The University of Sydney Friends of the AAIA)

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

Sydney Friends of the AAIA (NSW)

President: Mr Angelo Hatsatouris OAM
 PO Box 320
 Maroubra Junction
 Sydney NSW 2035
 Email: ahatsatouris@patrickhargraves.com.au

Tasmanian Friends of the AAIA

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

Western Australian Friends of the AAIA

President: Emeritus Professor John Melville-Jones
 Classics and Ancient History (M205)
 The University of Western Australia
 Crawley WA 6009
 [Ph] (08) 6488 2164
 Email: jrmelvil@cyllene.uwa.edu.au

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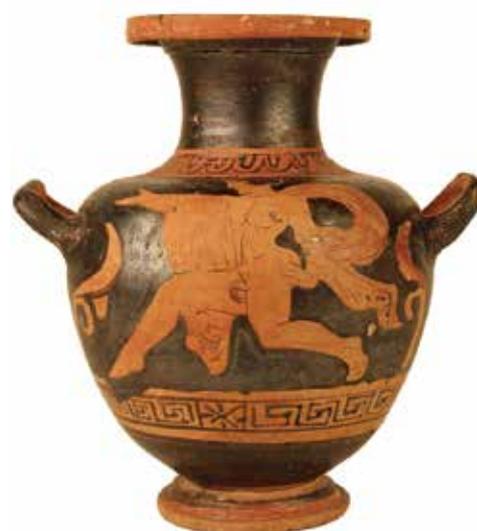
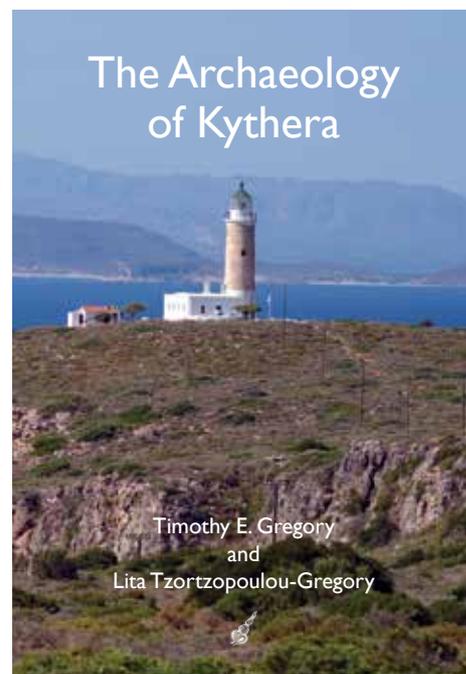
2015 was a busy year for the *Meditarch* team, with the simultaneous release of volumes 25 and 26 early in the year, and the long-anticipated publication of *The Archaeology of Kythera* just in time for Christmas. *Meditarch* 25 presents the Proceedings of the conference *Zagora in Context. Settlements and Intercommunal Links in the Geometric Period (900–700 BC)*, held in Athens in 2012, and organized by the AAIA in collaboration with the Archaeological Society at Athens. With 21 papers from leading experts in the field, it now serves as a handbook for the Early Iron Age in Greece. Volume 26 presents a range of papers, with topics spanning from the Early Iron Age to the Byzantine, and from Italy to the Balkans and the Euphrates.

The Archaeology of Kythera, by Professor Timothy E. Gregory and Dr Lita Tzortzopolou-Gregory, is the first comprehensive, richly illustrated account of the material culture and history of this important island, ranging from Prehistoric to modern times. It is the culmination of decades of research and reflects the deep knowledge and rapport its authors have with Kythera and its people. Book launches, to the delight of the Kytherean diaspora of Australia and North America, were held in both San Francisco and Sydney. Publication was made possible by a generous subsidy from the Aroney Trust.

Work is now underway on *Meditarch* volume 27. It comprises a selection of the papers presented at a conference held in Geneva in 2014 in honour of our journal's founder and Chief Editor, Professor Jean-Paul Descœudres. The title of the conference, 'There and Back Again: Mediterranean Archaeology between Switzerland and Australia', alludes to the trajectory of Descœudres' career, and was keenly taken up by his many students, both past and present. Their varied contributions and own careers are a testament to Descœudres' broad interests and exceptional facilities as teacher and mentor. The volume is being edited by one of his first Genevan students, Patrizia Birchler Emery, and includes the key-note lecture given by Jacques Chamay, his long-time friend and former head of the archaeological section of Geneva's Musée d'Art et d'Histoire. A new chapter may in due course need to be added, with Professor Descœudres' permanent return to Australia in 2016.

In addition to these Proceedings, the volume includes reports on fieldwork by Australian teams working in the environs of the Hellenistic theatre of Nea Paphos on Cyprus, the great multi-phased tell of Pella in Jordan, and the Geometric site of Zagora on Andros.

Perhaps the most exciting news for 2016, however, is the imminent inclusion of *Meditarch* in Jstor, which will allow our journal to reach an even wider audience and ensure our authors full exposure in the digital age.



Apulian Red-figured miniature hydria,
Nicholson Museum inv. 98.68.
E.G.D. Robinson, *Meditarch* 26, pl. 3.2.

All *Meditarch* volumes, regular and supplementary, including back copies, can be purchased on-line at:
sydney.edu.au/sup/archaeology

info.meditarch@sydney.edu.au

www.arts.usyd.edu.au/publications/meditarch/

BACK COVER

The University of Wollongong, NSW

The Faculty of Law, Humanities and Arts at the University of Wollongong, has undertaken to become an Institutional Member of the AAIA in 2016.

The University of Wollongong is a beautifully sited regional university positioned between the Illawarra escarpment and the Pacific Ocean, just south of Sydney. Founded 60 years ago, the University has built an international reputation for research and exceptional teaching quality. The Faculty of Law, Humanities and the Arts (LHA) includes the creative disciplines of Visual Arts (painting; sculpture; textiles) as well as Creative Writing and Performing Arts. Through Professor Diana Wood Conroy's long association with the University of Sydney's Paphos Theatre Excavation, students and staff from the faculty have participated in the Cyprus project since 1996. Artists from the Faculty have exhibited in the Nicholson Museum and CCANESA in 2012–2014.

With the support of the AAIA, UOW is delighted to be offering an annual residency in the Athens Hostel to a postgraduate or staff member from the Faculty who is engaged in creative arts that relate to ancient Greek art and its place in contemporary culture.

In February 2016 Hannah Gee, an Honours graduate in Visual Arts, was resident in the Hostel studying ancient sculpture and ceramics through intensive drawing. Her work explores digital animation using drawings from a 360-degree rotation. Hannah, the inaugural Artist-in-Residence from the University of Wollongong, expressed her feelings about Athens: "I've been absolutely immersed. The place, in any moment of history, is just brilliant. My favorite line from John Boardman's *Late Antique Sculpture* is the final line, 'There is life in these dry stones yet!'"



The University of Wollongong. Above: general view; below: LHA creative studios.

FRONT COVER

Hellenistic glass inlay plaque fragment showing Dionysiac mask

Alexandria, c. 1st BC

Extant ht. 1.5 cm; w. 1.3 cm

Museum of Classical Archaeology

The University of Adelaide

MCA Inv 628

The Museum of Classical Archaeology at the University of Adelaide is the largest collection of artefacts from ancient Greece and Rome on display in South Australia. It comprises the teaching collection of the Department of Classics, which allows archaeology students to study material at first hand. It participates in the Faculty of Art's internship programme, offering positions to undergraduates who wish to gain more experience in Museum Studies and the care and processing of artefacts.

The material includes glass, pottery and metalware from Minoan Crete to Hellenistic Greek cities in Southern Italy; from Etruscan Italy to the Roman provinces of Britain, Gaul and Egypt. It also houses a small but representative collection of Egyptian material — mostly Late Period-Hellenistic — and artefacts from published archaeological excavations in Jordan and Iraq. The Egyptian collection includes some papyri and also a woven textile fragment from the Late Roman period.

The Museum is directed by Dr Margaret O'Hea and is open to the general public on the first Tuesday of every month. It is supported by The 'Friends of the Museum of Classical Archaeology' who run an outreach programme of public lectures. For more details see: <https://arts.adelaide.edu.au/classics/museum/>

CREDITS

Editors:

Alexander Cambitoglou

Camilla Norman

Wayne Mullen

Layout:

Camilla Norman

Printed March 2016

ISSN 1833-296X



Hannah Gee: work in progress. Athens Hostel, 2016
AAIA Artist-in-Residence (University of Wollongong)

Contact Details

Sydney Offices

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

Athens Offices

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

Athens Hostel

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

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

Dr Stavros Paspalas
Co-Director (Sydney and Athens)
stavros.paspalas@sydney.edu.au

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

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

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

Mr Brett Myers
Finance Officer (Sydney)
brett.myers@sydney.edu.au

Ms Ana Silkatcheva
Librarian (Sydney)
ana.silkatcheva@sydney.edu.au

Dr Lita Tzortzopoulou-Gregory
Executive Officer (Athens)
lita.gregory@sydney.edu.au