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8 The Flavians at the Colosseum
Dalu Jones

12 Life Before the Romans:
Recent Research in Hellenistic Palmyra
Andreas Schmidt-Colinet

14 Caratacus and the End of
Roman Britain
James Beresford

19 Jesus: The Archaeological Evidence
Mark Merrony

24 A Descent into the
Underworld
Peter A. Clayton

27 Roman Baalbek and Palmyra:
Between the Desert and the Deep
Green Baize
Mark Merrony

33 Great Military Leaders
of Antiquity
Murray Eiland

37 Lost Rings of the Legion:
Thirty Years of Caerleon's Gemstones
James Beresford

39 The Great Wall Revisited
Murray Eiland

2 News

55 Book Reviews

47 Numismatic Section

58 Calendar

IN FORTHCOMING ISSUES:
Moctezuma at the British Museum • The Splendour of Genghis Khan
Roman Provence • Civilisations of the Ancient Near East
Roman Sculpture at the Getty • The European Neolithic in New York
Roman Mosaics of Cyprus • Early Islamic Jerash
EDITORIAL

Minerva, Ecclecticism, and a Little Help from our Readers

Minerva is now well into its 20th year of publication and this is an appropriate time to respond to the welcome comments from our treasured readers that are received in the Minerva offices on a daily basis, relating to the quality and scope of the magazine. This is also a convenient juncture to relate how the content is conceived and purveyed to our public by reconciling this precious feedback with our objectives.

The subtitle of the publication - The International Review of Ancient Art and Archaeology - is a sensible place to begin this outline, since inherent to this is the magazine’s unique selling point. This is manifold and initially expressed in our five-page news section, covering the latest excavations, surveys, and discoveries pertaining to them, scientific innovations, and a regular overview of the antiquities trade as new developments emerge, such as legislation, repatriations, the discovery of forgeries, and the accountability of criminals.

Ancient art, in a more profound sense, is presented in the multitudinous international museum exhibitions covered, comprising Egyptian, Graeco-Roman, Middle Eastern, Far Eastern, and New World objects. This is complemented by the exemplary coverage of the antiquities market, presented on a bi-monthly basis in the ‘Antiquities News’ section and, by popular demand, the bi-annual Spring and Autumn Antiquities Sales Reports, which not only provide a comprehensive index of objects bought and sold at auction, but also ‘test the temperature’ of the market in general and relate it to broader economic conditions. Recent reports have been no exception: in the fierce teeth of the worst economic gale encountered for decades, these have made it clear that the price of antiquities have - and continue to - hold up well (this has certainly not been the case with modern art).

Minerva has also upheld a proud tradition of featuring a series of cutting-edge articles on what may be inferred as forged antiquities; especially in recent years as presented in Dr Eisenberg’s articles on the Monteleone Charlot (Minerva July/August, 2007, pp. 49-60) and the Phaiostos Disk (Minerva, July/August 2008, pp. 9-24). The latter provoked sufficient interest (Minerva, September/October 2008, pp. 15-16) to prompt the Minerva-sponsored International Phaistos Disk Conference held at the Society of Antiquities of London (30 October - 1 November 2008).

The comprehensive coverage of the antiquities market in Minerva is an especially welcome and regular aspect of reader feedback. So is the eclectic nature of the magazine, in so far as it combines this coverage with a range of articles on every aspect of the ancient world: this issue, in particular, is a response to the many requests received by the writer that more of the most famous sites and monuments are featured - not just in the Mediterranean - but also in the Far East. This issue has been embraced by the inclusion of an article on Roman Palmyra and Baalbek (pp. 28-33) and The Great Wall of China (pp. 41-45). Despite a traditional emphasis on Egypt, the Graeco-Roman world, and the Middle East, the inclusion of another article on ancient China is a direct reflection of the enthusiasm generated by other articles on the region over the past two years.

Minerva’s reputation has, in large measure, been galvanized by the inclusion of recent research. This has been especially valuable for the general public to whom it is rapidly disseminated, but also for scholars, who from conception to publication - in full colour - can circulate their work for the benefit of 'lay people', enthusiasts, and mainstream academics in more than 55 countries. This is especially the case in the present issue with articles on the most recent research in Hellenistic Palmyra (pp. 12-13) and archaeological evidence for Jesus (pp. 19-23).

Another welcome inclusion, according to our readers, is the portrayal of historical personalities. This is borne out with the publication of interesting and exciting articles on Caratacus (pp. 14-18) and great military leaders of antiquity (pp. 33-36), the latter focusing on Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, and others.

Museum features and exhibitions are, of course, very much the stock in trade of Minerva. In this sense, the present issue makes a rare divergence from featuring several of these. Nonetheless, the exhibition article on the Flavians (pp. 8-10) presents a visual feast so typical of Minerva in featuring objets d’art of the highest calibre - many more are or course planned for the future.

It is ironic that ‘eclecticism’, a word and concept referred to so often in the modern era, can so easily be adapted as a key word to describe Minerva, a magazine that deals exclusively with the antique past. It is also curious that eclecticism is very much the mindset behind the production of the magazine, what readers tell us they like most about it, and a factor that makes it a unique publication.

Dr Mark Merrony

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Minerva, July/August 2009
MUSEUM NEWS

Aristotle’s Lyceum to Become an Open-Air Museum

It was recently announced by the Greek Minister of Culture, Antonis Samaras, that the site of the Lyceum, where the philosopher Aristotle taught his students during the later 4th century BC, is to be provided with a roof and turned into an outdoor museum. The site was discovered in 1996 during the construction of a museum of modern art, a project which was shelved when the remains came to light. Little has survived of Aristotle’s school and visitors to the site will see little more than foundations and the footings of stone walls. Yet despite the paucity of the archaeological remains, the site is well worth preserving given its exceptionally important role in the development of Western philosophy.

Aristotle was a native of Stageira in Chalcidice, northern Greece and, as a non-citizen of Athens, was unable to own property in the city. On his return to Athens in 335 BC (having spent the previous eight years in Macedonia where he had been employed by Philip II to act as tutor to his son, Alexander the Great) Aristotle staged his classes in the Lyceum, a gymnasium (the remains of Roman period baths used by the athletes can still be seen). During antiquity the Lyceum was located just beyond the walls of Athens, today the remains of the gymnasion are located just to the east of the city centre, close to the Evangelismos Hospital.

Aristotle conducted his lectures among the colonnades (peripatoi) which ran around the exercise grounds of the gymnasion - the philosopher’s followers subsequently became known as ‘Peripatetics’. Alongside the teachings of Plato and Socrates, the Peripatetics were to become the most influential philosophical school in ancient Greece. The philosophical traditions of Aristotle were continued by his students after his death in 322 BC, while Theophrastus succeeded him at the Lyceum.

In order to protect the remains of the Lyceum, it was decided to erect an opaque arc-shaped roof over the site, at a cost of nearly six million dollars, money that has been pledged by OPAP, a Greek betting company. If the concept of an outdoor museum proves successful, then the Greek government is already considering expanding the idea to include other ancient sites in Athens.

Dr James Boreford

Hellenistic Bronze Masterpiece on Display Again

The Minerva of Arezzo is again on view in the Archaeological Museum of Florence after eight years of painstaking restoration work by the Soprintendenza Archeologica. The statue was found in 1541 during the excavation of a well near the church of San Lorenzo in Arezzo in the vicinity of several Roman mosaic floors.

The statue was purchased the following year by Cosimo I de Medici who kept it in his studio in Florence together with other prized antiquities. Various excavations of the site were undertaken in the 19th and 20th century and also late in 2008. These revealed the ruins of the Roman domus di San Lorenzo, a luxurious villa of the 1st century AD belonging to an aristocrat of the former Etruscan Lucumonia of Arretium (modern Arezzo).

The large statue, 155cm in height, was cast in separate pieces, and belongs to a type known as the Altare-Minerva Vescovalli, deriving its name from a statue now in the Hermitage in Saint Petersburg. This was formerly in the famous Vescovalli collection, possibly based on an original statue attributed to Cephisodotus (370-360 BC), the father of Praxiteles. Whether the statue was cast in Magna Grecia (Southern Italy and Sicily) or in Greece itself is still a matter of debate, but it is now certain that it is not a Roman copy and should be dated to the 3rd century BC. The goddess wears a himation, goatskin armour with the head of a Gorgon in the middle; her footwear comprises high sandals with platform soles. There are similarities with quite a number of marble replicas made during the Roman period across the Empire, among them a Minerva from Nikopolis in Epirus where it commemorated the victory of Octavian at Actium (31 BC).

Prior to the current restoration the statue was provided with a right arm in bronze added in 1785 by a well known sculptor of the time, Francesco Caradosi. Originally the missing right arm must have held an attribute of the goddess, probably a spear. The restorers have entirely removed the 18th century additions (see p. 4). This has caused much discussion among those archaeologists and restorers who have argued against the indiscriminate elimination of all accretions that are not contemporary with the original works of art under restoration.

The German term for this restoration process: entrestauffahrungen (deformation) comes from the unfortunate precedent of the 19th century elimination of the restorations made by the sculptor Thorvaldsen to the missing parts of the marbles from Aegina in the Glyptothek, Munich. Unless structurally necessary, this is a dangerous precedent that may sacrifice beauty for purity.

Dalu Jones

Statue of an Ephebe and Apollo on Long Term Loan to the J. Paul Getty Museum

The statue of an ‘Ephebe as a Lamp Bearer’, a long-term loan from the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples, is now on view at the J. Paul Getty Museum at the Getty Villa. The statue, which was excavated from Pompeii in 1925, will remain on view at the Getty until March 2011. The Getty has also begun conservation work on another object from the Naples archaeological museum - a statue of the Apollo Saettante - that will go on view at the Getty Villa following conservation.

The Museo Archeologico Nazionale’s long-term loans of two splendid bronze treasures, the Ephebe (Youth) and the Apollo Saettante (Arrow-Shooting Apollo), complement the Getty Villa’s collection of ancient works from Greece, Rome, and Etruria. In addition, the Getty is also undertaking a series of exhibitions that will include material from the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples. The first of these pieces will come as part of the recently announced Chimera of Arezzo exhibition, which will open in July 2009 at the Getty Villa (see Minerva, September/October).

Created c. 20-10 BC, the Roman bronze figure of an ephebe was excavated in 1925 in an elite residence, now called the House of the Ephebe, off Pompeii’s Via dell’Abbondanza. Referred to as the ‘Efebo Lampadoforo’ (lamp-bearer), the figure held ornate tendrils that served as candelabrum branches. At the time of the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79, the ephebe was being stored together with other bronze furnishings in a central room off the atrium. The house was in the process of being refurbished, and the sculpture had been covered with a protective cloth, traces of which are still visible on the figure’s shoulder and thigh. The ephebe survived the volcanic cataclysm in an excellent state of preservation. Found with its right arm broken off and the candelabra detached, the ephebe was restored in the mid-1990s at the Centro di Restauro in Florence - a treatment that revealed that the youth’s lips and nipples were crafted in copper. (Less fortunate were three individuals, perhaps workers engaged in the refurbishment project, whose skeletal remains and bedding were recovered in the front hall.)

A bronze statue of the god Apollo shown in the act of shooting an arrow (known as the Apollo Saettante) was discovered in the western area of Pompeii, and has been associated with the Temple of Apollo. Dating back to at least the sixth century BC, when the cult of Apollo was imported from Greece, the temple is the town’s oldest and most important religious sanctuary. Together with a bust of Artemis drawing a bow that was found in the vicinity of the sanctuary, the Apollo Saettante probably derives from a group composition depicting the slaughter of the children of Niobe. The original base of the sculpture bears an inscription referring to the Roman general Lucius Mummius, who sacked the Greek city of Corint in 146 BC, shipping a hoard of statuary back to Rome. Archaeologists suggest that the bronze Apollo may have been a donation made by Mummius from the spoils of his military campaign. Due to the structural instability of previous restorations, the bronze Apollo has long been confined to the store-rooms of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples.

The Apollo has come to the Getty Museum for a year-long re-stabilisation project. This will enable the statue to...
return to the public galleries in Naples. Following conservation treatment, an analysis of the object's structure, metal composition, and manufacturing technique will be undertaken. The sculpture will be installed on a seismic base isolator, developed by the Getty, to protect it from earthquake damage. The Apollo Saeculare will then go on view at the Getty Villa through March 2011, in a display that investigates its history and identity as a noteworthy example of imported Greek sculpture in Pompeii.

Dr. Mark Merrony

**SCIENTIFIC NEWS**

**Herculaneum Amazon Head Remodelled by Laser Technique**

The delicately painted head of what is assumed to be a wounded Amazon Warrior has been digitally re-enhanced to its original presentation. The head, which was discovered at the ancient ruins of Herculaneum in 2006, a lost city just outside of Pompeii, had been preserved in the ashes laid down from the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in AD 79, to include features as the hair and eyes of the ancient warrior.

Restoring the Roman sculpture has been a joint project by the WMG at the University of Warwick, the University of Southampton, and the Herculaneum Conservation Project over a series of processes. The detailed features of the statue, alongside its original paintwork, has been regarded as a landmark discovery. By scanning, and digitally remodelling the Amazon's facial features and paintwork, scientists have recreated the environment in which Roman sculpture was displayed, allowing previous archaeological assumptions to be solidly proven. Leading the laser measurement team at WMG is Dr. Mark Williams who said, 'The statue is an incredible find. Although its age alone makes it valuable, it is unique because it has retained the original painted surface, preserved under the volcanic material that buried Herculaneum.'

The head is restored through a complicated process beginning with translating the physical head into a high-resolution computer model, recorded to the accuracy of 0.05mm. This digital information is then passed over to Southampton University to use a form of photography to record every detail of texture, form, and painting pigment. Using techniques derived from the film industry, the team recreated the computer-modelled and painted surfaces of the bust, a process called Polynomial Texture Mapping, into 3D digital form. PTM not only captures the details of the surface but also demonstrates the underlying geometric structure of the subject, enabling a more detailed representation to be recreated. Finally, Professor Alan Chalmers, head of WMG's visualization team and an expert in ultra-realistic graphics, recreates the lighting environment graphically enabling archaeologists to reach a new understanding of the context within which the statue would have been presented.

Georgina Read

**Revolutionary New Dating Technique Unveiled**

At the end of May a team of scientists from Manchester and Edinburgh Universities revealed an exciting new method of dating fired clay ceramics that has the potential to radically transform how archaeologists assign dates to artefacts such as bricks, tiles, and pottery. Published online in *Proceedings of the Royal Society A*, the new dating technique exploits the fact that from the moment ceramic material is removed from a kiln after firing it will slowly absorb moisture from the atmosphere. This process continues throughout the lifetime of ceramic objects and causes them to increase their mass over time: the older the kiln-fired object, the greater its increase in weight.

Using a technique termed 'rehydroxylation dating', the team of researchers, lead by Dr. Moira Wilson, measured fired clay objects with an extremely accurate measuring device, known as a microbalance, which can measure the mass of an object to 1/10th of a milligram. Once the precise weight of the object is determined, the ceramic is re-aired in a furnace to eliminate the moisture absorbed over the course of its lifetime. Once removed from the kiln, the researchers carefully monitor the object as it again begins to draw moisture from the surrounding environment. When an individual object's rate of absorption is determined by readings from the microbalance, the scientists are able to calculate how long it will take the ceramic to reabsorb the mass lost when heated, allowing them to assign an age to the object.

In order to test the new dating technique, the researchers collaborated with the Museum of London and carried out experiments on a variety of bricks held in the museum's collection. The results of these trials proved extremely encouraging. A brick from the medieval period, known to date from between 1301-1351, was applied to the rehydroxylation dating method and assigned a date of 1341. A fragment of Roman brick, already identified as being fired about 2000 years ago, was weighed, re-fired, and measured on the microbalance and given an age of 2001 years. Although the new dating method has, as yet, only tested ceramics fired within the last 2000 years, the technique should be able to calculate the age of older ceramics, potentially going back to the earliest use of fired bricks in the 3rd millennium BC.

The importance of the new dating technique cannot be overstated. Fragments of pottery, tile, and bricks often survive in the archaeological record and will sometimes be recovered in large quantities during excavations. Although thermoluminescence dating - which measures the amount of radioactivity absorbed by materials - can already provide dates for ceramics, the procedure is complex and not as precise. By contrast, if the early trials of rehydroxylation dating are confirmed, then the new technique may provide archaeologists with a far simpler and cheaper method of determining the precise age of such artefacts and the sites at which they were found.

It has also been noted by Dr. Wilson that 'there are also more wide-ranging applications of the work, such as the detection of forged ceramics'. Artefacts such as the Phaistos Disc, which have had questions raised concerning their
authenticity, would surely benefit from undergoing such a non-destructive dating technique (see Minerva, July/August 2008, pp. 9-24, concerning suspicions that the Disc is a modern fake). However, the scientists discovered that if a ceramic artefact had ever been exposed to intense heat at any point in its lifetime, the new dating method would be unable to provide an accurate date: intense heat would remove the absorbed moisture stored within the artefact and, in effect, reset the object's rehydroxylation clock. As such, when medieval bricks from Canterbury were tested, they were assigned a date of 1942, the year in which the town suffered massive fire damage as a result of German air-raids. Nonetheless, the rehydroxylation dating technique may become as important as radiocarbon dating which revolutionised the discipline of archaeology in the years following its discovery in 1949.

Dr James Beresford

EXCAVATION NEWS

Largest Rescue Excavation Planned at Seimarz Dam, Iran

Recently, the Persian service of the Iranian Cultural Heritage News Agency (CHIN) announced an unprecedented programme of rescue archaeology. The Iranian Center for Archaeological Research (ICAR) is currently planning a rescue excavation project at the Seimarz Dam reservoir area in western Iran's Ilam Province. This will encompass 40 areas in the region excavated by over 40 archaeological teams commencing 23 September. During a series of rescue excavations in 2007, a team of archaeologists identified 100 ancient sites from various periods, including the Neolithic, Bronze Age, Copper Age, and the Parthian, Sassanian, and Early Islamic eras within the dam reservoir flood plain. The dam's project officials have agreed to sponsor the rescue excavation planned over three consecutive seasons. Research has thus far revealed signs of Mesopotamian influence in the Ubaid period, identified from the stratigraphy adjacent to the planned dam (5600-3900 BC). According to ICAR Director Mohammad-Hassan Fazeli-Nasih the rescue work will help to paint a picture of cultural relations between the people living in the western Zagros region of Iran and the Mesopotamian civilization.

The construction of dams in Iran is an ongoing problem. In Fars province (also in southern Iran), it is feared that the Sivard Dam, built between the royal Achaemenid centres of Persepolis and Pasargad, will ultimately inundate these sites when the dam is eventually completed. It is ironic that, according to the Roman historian Strabo, the famous tomb of Cyrus the Great at Pasargad was once inscribed with the immortal words of the Great King: 'Passer-by, I am Cyrus, who gave the Persians an empire, and was king of Asia. Guard me not therefore this monument.'

Dr Mark Merson

The Bush Barrow Treasures to go on Display

Wiltshire Heritage Museum has recently launched an appeal intended to raise half a million pounds to fund a secure gallery to finally place the Bush Barrow treasure on permanent public display. The independent museum, in Devizes in central southern England, currently has some of the Bush Barrow artefacts on display, but many of the finds from the 3800 year-old burial mound are so rare and valuable that they have had to remain locked away from the public gaze for much of the past 30 years. It is hoped that the £500,000 security measures at the museum would ensure the safety of the precious Bronze Age artefacts. The money would also be used to provide better access for disabled visitors.

The Bush Barrow is a large and prominent burial mound measuring 3m in height and 4m in diameter, located on Normanton Down, the bowl barrow provides commanding views over Stonehenge, just to the north. When constructed in the early Bronze Age, the barrow may also have been directly linked to the great henge monument by way of a processional route, lined with standing stones.

The Bush Barrow was first investigated at the beginning of the 19th century by Sir Richard Colt Hoare and William Cunnington. The report from their excavation described how, on digging through the top of the barrow down to the floor level, 'we discovered the skeleton of a stout and tall man lying from south to north: the extreme length of his thigh bone was 20 inches [60cm]. Later measurements of the skeleton indicated that it was that of a man who would have stood 1.8m in height, buzzing over his Bronze Age contemporaries. Following Hoare and Cunnington's report, the skeleton would also come to be known as 'Tall Stout Man'.

Alongside the skeleton, numerous grave goods were also discovered in the barrow. Many of the objects appeared to indicate the martial prowess of the dead man. A breast-plate of gold, ornamented with symmetrical and lozenge shape decoration, and three bronze daggers, one of which was decorated with almost 150,000 tiny gold rivets forming a zig-zag pattern on the hilt.

Given the date of the construction of the Bush Barrow, the location of the burial site, and the quality and quantity of the grave goods found, some archaeologists have tentatively linked the burial to the ruling elite who built Stonehenge. Whether this is true or not, there appears little doubt that the skeleton within the barrow had been a prominent member of early Bronze Age society, and probably wielded considerable political, military, and perhaps even spiritual power.

While the skeleton was eft in the Bush Barrow, the artefacts that were originally laid alongside the body were removed for study and safekeeping. The treasures taken from the barrow were undoubtedly prestige items in the Bronze Age, and they have remained equally precious in the present with fears concerning their security necessitating that they have rarely been placed on public view. The fund-raising campaign by Wiltshire Heritage Museum hopes to change this and allow the Bush Barrow artefacts to be displayed in a new Bronze Age gallery by 2011.

Dr James Beresford

The Tomb of Cyrus the Great, Pasargadae, Pars province, Iran, early 6th century BC. Photo: Mark Merson.
ANTHROPOLOGY NEWS

Afghanistan
About 1500 antiquities, antiques, and coins confiscated by British cus-
toms officers mainly at Heathrow and Gatwick airports over the past six
years have been returned to Afghanistan with the assistance of the
National Geographic Society and the British Red Cross. The 3.4-tonne
shipment included a number of 4000-year-old Bactrian stone sculp-
tures and vases from northern Afghanistan. A selection of the bet-
er objects will shortly be put on display at the Kabul National Museum.

Bulgaria
The Italian Carabinieri seized some 2200 small antiquities, antiques,
and coins being offered for sale by four Bulgarians at a numismatic show in
Verona, Italy, and following a four-
year investigation returned them to
the National Museum of History in
Sofia. It was determined that they
were illegally excavated in Kneja
and Lovech in northern Bulgaria
and included two bronze axes, one dat-
ing to the 5th millennium BC.

A Bulgarian court recently ruled
that nine 12th century Byzantine sil-
er plates decorated with gold filig-
gree, acquired by the Greek
government for three museums in
Greece in 2004, must be returned to
Bulgaria. They were apparently ille-
legally dug up near Pazardzhik in cen-
tral Bulgaria in 1999 and smuggled
into England in 2000-2001, where
they were then sold to the prop-
erty of a Greek collector in London. The
Greek government has claimed that the
purposes were not illegal.

Cambodia
The Thai Ministry of Culture has
finally returned seven 9th to 15th
century Angkorian stone heads to
Cambodia, where they will be dis-
played in the National Museum. Stil-
at issue are 36 other stone sculp-
tures, all part of a group seized in
2000 as they were being smuggled to
Thailand.

Iraq
Iraqi soldiers arrested seven mem-
ers of a smuggling ring in two
southern Iraqi towns as they were in
the process of shipping 235 Sumer-
ian and Babylonian antiquities out of
the country. They included stone
figurines, ceramics, and gold jew-
ellery, apparently illegally excavated
and not from the ransacking of
the National Museum, according to
the Tourism and Antiquities Ministry.

Italy
The Greek government returned two
medieval frescoes of two saints that
were looted from an 11th century AD
tomb at Calvi, south of Monte
Cassino, near Naples, in 1982. The
frescoes were recovered by Greek
antiquities police in a raid on a sea-
side luxury villa on the Aegean island
of Scorpios in 2006. The frescoes are
thought to belong to the tomb of a
Count Pandolfo and his wife Count-
ess Gualfarada. A number of the fres-
coes from the tufa tomb are still
missing.

In an extended operation dubbed 'Phoenix', 251 antiquities includ-
ing vases, bronze, and terracottas valued at two million euros were repatriated
to Italy from a gallery operated by two brothers in Geneva through the
efforts of the Carabinieri, the Italian
art squad. They were illegally exca-
vated from Egyptian tombs and from
a number of sites in Aosta, Apulia,
Calabria, and Campania.

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D.

NEWS FROM EGYPT

Important New Kingdom Temple Found in Sinai
The remains of an 80 x 70m mud brick temple, the largest New King-
dom temple yet found in Sinai, has
been discovered at Tell Hebua (ancient Thara) by an Egyptian
archaeological mission. The four rec-
tangular halls have 34 columns, sev-
eral secondary chapels, and three limestone purification basins. Among
the wall paintings are depictions of Tutankhamun II, Ramesses II, and several
defiles. Flanking the temple are two groups of 13-room warehouses with
thousands of inscriptions and seal impressions of Seti I, Ramesses II, and
Seti II.

Large Necropolis Discovered in the Fayyum
An Egyptian archaeological team has uncovered a necropolis of 53 rock-cut
tombs southeast of the Lahun pyramid dating from the 2nd Dynasty to the
New Kingdom.

Four 22nd Dynasty wooden coffins contained mummies covered with
cartonage adornments and gilt masks. Some other coffins had appar-
ently been burned in the Coptic (Christian) period. With their
remains were 15 more cartonage masks. A Middle Kingdom funerary
chapel was also found, containing items proving its use through the
Roman period.

New Finds Linked to Cleopatra
Recent excavations at the temple of
Osiris at Tabusiris Magna (present-day Abu Sir), 30km east of Alexandria,
claimed to possibly be the burial site of Cleopatra VII and Mark Antony,
were unearthed a small alabaster head and a headless statue most likely
by either the queen or Aphrodite, 22 Polylemiac bronze coins, and a mask said to represent
Mark Antony. The Egyptian-Domini-
can Republic archaeological team has
so far uncovered 27 tombs, burial chambers, and ten mummies (two
wood) in a large cemetery outside
the temple.

Antiquity of Neferititi Bust
Challenged
A Swiss art historian and photographer, Henry Sterling, claims that the
famed bust of Neferititi, the wife of
Akhenaten, in Berlin, is a model cre-
ated by the artist Gerhard Marks in
1912 at the request of the German
archaeologist Ludwig Borchardt in
order to carry out colour tests on the
ancient pigments from the site of the
workshop of the sculptor Thutmose at Tell el-Amarna. He claims that a
German prince had so admired it in
December 1912 as an original that
Borchardt could not summon up the
courage to deny its authenticity. The
earliest scientific report on it
appeared 11 years after its discovery and it did not publish until 1923. None of the German archaeolo-
gists at the dig mentioned it; neither
did other written accounts of the
excavations. Sterlin cites the blank
eye, the vertical shoulders, and the
similarities to Art Nouveau style among indications of its recent age. Recent radiological tests confirm
the tests taken in 1992 that there is
a limestone core beneath the painted
stucco surface. Most Egyptologists
dismiss his theory that appeared in a
just-published book, Le Buste de Nefer-
titi - une Imposture de l'Egyptologie.

Myers Museum Returns Donated
Antiquities
454 small antiquities were returned
to Egypt by the Myers Museum at
Eton College. Brought out of Egypt
mainly between 1972 and 1998 and
donated to the museum in 2006,
they included 12 bronze figurines, 94
necklaces, 99 pottery fragments, 100
small ushabtis, and four scarabs, all
minor objects acquired from dealers
in London. This was certainly a good
gesture as these objects were
insignificant and will have virtually
no value to the Egyptian government,
but the press tended to magnify its
importance. The main holdings of the Egyptian collection at Eton were bequeathed to the col-
lege in 1899 by Major William
Joseph Meyers.

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D.
Flavian Rome

THE FLAVIANS AT THE COLOSSEUM

Dalu Jones

Ian is an extraordinary experience to be able to visit an exhibition about the Flavian dynasty - 'Divus Vespasianus. Il Bimillenario dei flavi' ('Divine Vespasian: The Bimillennia of the Flavians') - staged in the Colosseum - the epitome of their imperial might (Fig 1). The objects displayed are primarily from the recent excavations in the amphitheatre and include animal bones from the beasts slain there, together with objects on loan from several museums in Rome and elsewhere, presented to illustrate the life and times of the dynasty. Some of the most notable objects include the funerary reliefs from the monument of Quintus Haterius Typhicus, a building contractor who wanted to record his professional achievements on his tomb; and the Haterii reliefs, the Colosseum, the Arch of Titus, and the arch in Summa Sacra Via under construction.

Titus Flavius Vespasianus, the first of the dynasty, was born in AD 9 in the small town of Falacrinae (modern Rieti) in central Italy. His father had been a tax-collector in Asia, then a banker at Aventicum (Avenches) in Switzerland. His mother was born into a distinguished family - the Vespasii - at Norcia in the same region of central Italy. Vespasian's relatives climbed the rungs of Roman society because of their capability in financial matters, an area of family expertise on which the new emperor was quick to draw when replenishing the state coffers severely depleted by his predecessors, especially Nero. Before his accession to the throne, Vespasian's career focused on provincial administration, first under Claudius in Britain, then under Nero in the Levant. When Nero died in AD 68, Vespasian was in command of the army in Judea stamping out the First Jewish Revolt (AD 66-70). The rapid rise and fall of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius cleared the way to the throne for Vespasian who, with the support of his army, ascended to the purple at the end of AD 69 - the Year of the Four Emperors. On his accession at the age of 66 Vespasian inaugurated a revolution in Roman society: for the first time the emperor came from a new social class - a self-made man, replacing the established and corrupt aristocratic elite that had led the Roman state to the brink of economic and political ruin.

Austerity became fashionable, but not where the building programme of the emperor and his successors was concerned. Some of the most impressive ruins of Imperial Rome that survive through to the present were undertaken by the Flavian emperors, gratifying the result of the campaigns undertaken by the new dynasty, Vespasian (r. AD 69-79), Titus (r. AD 79-81), and Domitian (r. AD 81-96). This grandiose building campaign was essentially undertaken by booty from the Jewish Wars, and included structures such as the Colosseum, the Arch of Titus, the Temple of Peace, the Domus Flavia, the Temple of Vespasian and Titus, and other buildings erected to replace those monuments destroyed by the Great Fire of Rome in AD 64.

Building of the Colosseum began in AD 72. The structure was intended to physically and symbolically supplant the Domus Aurea, Nero's Golden House. Such was the size and splen-
which marked the perimeter of the original city, thus linking the fountain with the mythical founders of Rome.

The most magnificent of the buildings inaugurated by Vespasian was the Temples Pacis (Temple of Peace) built in AD 71-75. The emperor filled the great complex with the outstanding works of art from the Domus Aurea together with the gold treasures looted from the Temple in Jerusalem. Part of this was excavated in 2000-2007 (see Minerva, March/April 2006, pp. 36-39; Minerva, March/April 2007, p. 19).

The portraits of Vespasian are manifold (Figs 2, 3), expressing a man with a lined but shrewd face, confident, humble, a sense of humour, an iron will, a person of the people, a brave warrior. Vespasian is known from historical texts as a workaholic, determined to restore the old virtues that had made Rome such a great power by consolidating the state, improvements to its institutions and economy, and extending and strengthening its borders. He gave a judicial basis to the policies through the lex de imperio Vespasiani (the imperial law of Vespasian), intended to set judicial limits to the emperor's rule. A copy of this was affixed to the wall in the hall of the Fau in the Capitoline Museum. Recently removed for restoration it was identified as a 1st century AD bronze plaque (164 x 113 cm), cast rather than incised. Pope Boniface VIII (r. 1294-1303) had previously incorporated it into an altar (albeit upside-down) in the Vatican.

Domitian, Vespasian's youngest son and the last Flavian emperor, was of a different character to his predecessors (Fig 10). Suetonius (c. AD 69-122) described him as a learned and well-behaved youth who spoke elegantly. Also paranoid, aloof and distant, his policy was not the dour Roman Republic, but rather the Hellenistic East where the ruler was treated not as a common mortal, but a god. However, before his assassination in AD 96 for his un-Roman propensities, Domitian managed to restore and construct more than 50 buildings in the capital, including the Domus Flavia, the monumental palace begun by Vespasian on the Palatine.

Domitian commissioned the architect Calus Rabirius to complete it. The palace incorporated previous buildings and established the Palace (interestingly 'palace' derives its name from 'Palatine') as the seat of power in Rome. It was divided into two parts: a public section, the Domus Flavia, with great audience halls and public banquets; and a private section, the Domus Augustana, with a garden filled with statues - the so-called stadium extending as far as the Domus Severana, the palace built by Septimius Severus (r. AD 193-211). According to recent investigations this had a large panoramic terrace.

Minerva, July/August 2009
Access to the Domus Flavia on the Palatine Hill was through a monumental arch, remnants of which are displayed in the exhibition. This was preceded by the Arch of Titus (Fig 5), inaugurated by Domitian to celebrate his victories in Judea. In contrast to his ruthless suppression of the First Jewish Revolt, Titus (Figs 4, 6) distinguished himself by his humanity in giving aid to the survivors of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in AD 79 (Fig 6).

Separate sections of the exhibition are housed in the Curia in the Roman Forum (Fig 4). This has been reopened especially for the event. The statues displayed here specifically relate to the imperial cult of the Flavian emperors, as well as Nero’s cryptporticus where the objects recently excavated on the Palatine are to be viewed.

Projects to publicise and explore the archaeological sites in Vespasian’s native Sabine and at the ruins of his villas at Cotilia (in the province of Lazia) have been planned to coincide with the present exhibition. New sections in the Museo Civico at Rieti and a new archaeological museum at Cittareale (province of Rieti) will display the finds unearthed in 2005 by Professor Filippo Coarelli (based at the University of Perugia, Vezzano) from what is thought to be the Vicus Flacernae mentioned by Suetonius as Vespasian’s place of birth.

A fully illustrated catalogue, Divus Vespasianus, Il bimillenario dei Flavi, is edited by Filippo Coarelli (E lecta, Milan, 2009; 540pp; Paperback, €75).

Fig 7 (above). Marble relief showing the aftermath of the earthquake of AD 62 on the buildings in the forum of Pompeii. House of Caecilius Iucundus, Pompeii, 1st century AD. H. 16.5cm, L. 97cm. Photo: Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome.

Fig 8 (left). Marble fragment of a frieze depicting trophies from the Aula Regia of the Domus Flavia in Rome found during excavations in 1861-1870 on the Palatine Hill, 1st century AD. H. 24 cm, L. 44cm. Photo: Magazzini del CRIPTOPORTICO, PALATINO, Rome.

Fig 9 (below left). Over life-size marble statue of Flavia Julia, Titus’ daughter, found in 1822 in the Macellum, Pompeii, AD 79. H. 187cm. Photo: Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples.

Fig 10 (below middle). Marble portrait of emperor Titus discovered in 2000 at Pantelleria in Sicily, 1st century AD. H. 45cm. Museo di Mazara del Vallo.

Fig 11 (below right). Marble portrait of emperor Domitian found at Littoria, 1st century AD. H. 42cm. Photo: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Rome.
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Photo: Nick Brayja
LIFE BEFORE THE ROMANS: RECENT RESEARCH IN HELLENISTIC PALMYRA

Andreas Schmidt-Colinet

The archaeology and history of Roman Palmyra is well understood, but the pre-Roman, Hellenistic settlement of the city is known only from historical texts. To address this situation, a joint venture was launched by the German Archaeological Institute (DAI), the Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums in Syria (DGAM), and the Institute of Classical Archaeology at the University of Vienna. The early settlement was thought to be concentrated outside the Roman town, south of the wadi. The area concerned is roughly triangular in shape, covering approximately 20 hectares with scant remains of ancient buildings (Fig. 1). A geographical survey was conducted between 1997 and 1999 and this revealed a plot featuring several pre-Roman structures (Fig. 2). This prompted preliminary excavations to be carried out in two separate trenches. Trench I revealed the sequence of building phases while Trench II cut across a large square building. Additional field surveys also incorporated GIS survey techniques, conventional drawing, technical and chemical examination of finds, including pottery and wall paintings. Archaeobotanical and archaeozoological analysis was also carried out for the first time at the site to assess the exploitation of animals and the diet of ancient Palmyrenes.

In Trench I excavations uncovered the crossroads of two major streets. Two huge water pipes ran along the centre of the wider of the two roads indicating the presence of a water system supplying the area. Most impressive was the find of a Hellenistic well, more than 14m deep, which had been sunk in the middle of the main road (Fig. 3). Small finds at the bottom of the well indicate it was in use during the 2nd century BC. The remains of nearby houses were also discovered, their walls constructed of ashlar limestone blocks in the lower courses and mud-brick covered by stucco in the upper courses. In one room, two ovens, several large pithoi containing red dye stuffs, as well as more than 20 loom weights indicate the production of textiles in the area during the late 1st century BC or early 1st century AD (Augustan period).

Excavation enabled the archaeologists to determine a sequence of several levels and phases of construction at Palmyra. Building activity began by the 3rd century BC and continued until the 3rd century AD. This provides an unprecedented settlement continuity in Syria for the Hellenistic-Roman period. Finds included a large quantity of pottery, lamps, loomweights, bone fragments, glass, and bronze coins. Excavated pottery also enables us to establish that amphorae produced locally or elsewhere in Syria are clearly distinguishable from imported amphorae of foreign origin. As well as their point of origin, the material transported within the amphorae can sometimes also be determined: wine amphorae from Rhodes (Fig. 7), Gaza (Palestine), and the Nile, while olive oil and garum (fish sauce) were imported to Palmyra from northern Africa (modern Tunisia). Other pottery remains included cooking ware manufactured at Tarsus and Antioch (Roman Syria) and Parthian Mesopotamia (modern Iraq), confirming the far-flung economic and social relations that existed between Palmyra and the wider ancient world from the 3rd century BC onwards.

Archaeozoological research conducted for the first time in Palmyra has also shed crucial light on the exploitation of animals in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Household bone waste was especially informative in helping understand the relative importance of various animals to the ancient diet: sheep and goats made up 82% of excavated bone material, camels 9%, cattle 4%, and pigs 1%. Bone remains also indicate that gazelles and game birds were hunted and fish exploited by the Palmyrenes, but evidence of these species was low by comparison with domesticated animals.
Excavations in the large square-shaped courtyard building of Trench II in the centre of the settlement also proved informative. According to the small finds excavated from different stratigraphic layers, the building has several phases dating between the 1st century BC and the 3rd century AD. This indicates that the building was constructed shortly after the region was annexed and incorporated into the Roman Province of Syria in 64 BC. The destruction of the building possibly relates to the wrecking of Palmyra away from the rebellious Queen Zenobia by Aurelian in AD 272/3.

Interestingly, large mud brick walls were discovered under the original Roman walls of the building, running in an oblique direction (rooms a, b, and c) (Fig 9). These Hellenistic structures have no relation to the later courtyard building. The construction technique of these walls is the same as that found in Trench I, but the walls of several rooms were covered by stucco and wall paintings in a variety of colours. The architectural pattern of these wall paintings (Fig 6) and stucco friezes (Fig 4) can be reconstructed from the many fragments found in the destruction layers. The most striking of these are stucco marine motifs comprising gilded fish of different species and an octopus, fixed with iron nails on a blue background (Fig 6).

The pottery evidence from Trench II also highlights that localised production was dominant, though wares were imported from Italy, Cyprus, Southern Arabia, and Parthia (Persia), and provide additional evidence for international trade, especially during the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD. By the 2nd and 3rd century AD the quality of the fabric appears markedly reduced as are long-distance imports. Also discernible is a large quantity of coarse ware in the eastern part of the building which contrasts sharply with the substantial quantities of fine ware in the rooms near the entrance.

A general interpretation of the building seems clear. Located at a dominant position in the city centre, the structure was large, measuring about 40 x 40m. The building also featured solid wall construction and a monumental entrance with a propylon (gateway) to the south, and exceptionally fine wall paintings and stucco decoration in several of the rooms. These characteristics appear to indicate that the building was an official structure. Its ground plan - a great courtyard with surrounding rooms - has close parallels with eastern caravan buildings known as 'Khans' or 'Sarais'. The layout of the different rooms and the variety of small finds excavated from them also support such an interpretation. Several ovens (tannur) in one of the rooms suggest that this part of building functioned to prepare food for banquets.

Further small finds are presently being analysed to assess if the building fulfilled other cultic or religious functions. In the meantime, the architectural evidence from the excavation is currently being incorporated into a general map of Palmyra (Atlas de Palmyre). The preparation of this document is being conducted under the auspices of the Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums in Syria, the Institut Francés du Proche Orients, and the German Archaeological Institute.

Images: © A. Schmidt-Colinet.
CARATACUS AND THE END OF CELTIC BRITAIN

James Beresford

Boudica had been a collaborator with the Roman invaders. Her rebellion, though conducted on a scale larger than any other revolt in Roman Britain, was snuffed out within a year. By contrast, Caratacus would defy Rome for almost a decade, waging war on the invading legions from the lowlands of the Thames Estuary in the east to the rugged mountains of Wales in the west.

Caratacus was one of the sons of Cunobelinus - the Cymbeline of Shakespeare - chieftain of the Catuvellauni, the most powerful tribe in southern Britain in the decades before the Roman conquest (Fig 2). Cunobelinus is thus referred to as 'Britannorum rex' by the Roman writer Suetonius (Caligula, 44). With their tribal lands located on the northern bank of the River Thames, the Catuvellauni were ideally placed to benefit from the import of prestige goods from the province of Gaul, annexed to the Roman Empire by Julius Caesar in the 50s BC. The volume of cross-Channel trade increased rapidly in the decades following Caesar's conquest, as the elites of British society eagerly imported Mediterranean commodities. By the close of the first century BC, this trade is easily identifiable in the archaeological record with lavish burials which included Roman amphorae containing garum (fish sauce), olive oil, and especially the wine for which the tribes of Britain, like other Celtic peoples, were exceedingly fond (Fig 4). In return the British exported commodities which the Greek writer Strabo listed as wheat, cithere, gold, silver, iron, hides, slaves, and hunting dogs (Geography, 4.5.2).

By the time Cunobelinus came to power around AD 10, the Catuvellauni had already begun to take advantage of the new trading opportunities. To the west the tribe had access to the agricultural, mineral, and human commodities so desired by their Continental trading partners. To the east lay Roman Gaul and control over the importation of Mediterranean prestige goods arriving into Britain along the important trading route of the River Thames.

Coins dating to the first half of the 1st century AD have given archaeologists invaluable insights into the rapidly changing political landscape as Cunobelinus steadily expanded his power across much of southern Britain. Absorbing the territory of the Trinovantes into his own kingdom, he transferred his capital and mint to Camulodunum (Colchester) on the east coast. Cunobelinus also extended his influence south of the Thames, installing one of his sons, Ammianus,
Caratacus Against Rome

death of Cunobelinus his kingdom had been divided between his sons, Caratacus assuming control of the territory of the Atrebates which had formerly been held by his uncle, Eppaticcus (Fig 1).

The endemic inter-tribal warfare of Britain, coupled with the death of Cunobelinus and political infighting among his heirs, presented Rome with a glorious opportunity for invasion. A force consisting of four legions, together with auxiliary troops - about 40,000 men, was therefore assembled in northern Gaul and placed under the command of Aulus Plautius. Crossing the Channel without incident in the summer of AD 43, the vast Roman army made an unopposed landing on the shores of Britain.

The Roman general’s primary objective was to seek out and destroy British resistance which was led by Caratacus and his brother Togodumnus. However, such a task proved more difficult than expected and Dio’s description of this early phase of the invasion hints at the frustration felt by Plautius and his legions who were eager to engage the British in pitched battle: ‘And even when the British did assemble their army, they refused to come to close quarters with the Romans. Instead they sought refuge in the swamps and forests, intending to wear down the invaders in fruitless effort so that, like Julius Caesar, they should sail back with nothing accomplished.’ (Roman History, 60.19.5).

At the very beginning of the invasion we begin to see something of the military cunning of Caratacus who was fully aware of his own forces were no match for the professionalism of the Roman legionaries. Rather than seek pitched battle with Plautius’ legions, Caratacus preferred a strategy based on small scale hit-and-run guerrilla actions designed to blunt the momentum of the invasion.

The Britons, like most Celtic peoples of the late Iron Age, were usually armed with spears and long slashing swords. A warrior’s personal protection was a large and often elaborately decorated shield (Fig 6). Helmets of bronze would also have been worn by Caratacus and the other aristocratic warriors (Fig 7). Although chain mail was worn as protection, a recurring theme in Graeco-Roman art and literature is the image of the naked Celtic warrior. Polybius, for example, describes the front ranks of the Celtic army at the battle of Telemón in 225 BC as ‘extremely terrifying in their appearance and gestures were the naked warriors... all in the prime of life and finely built men, and each richly adorned with gold torcs and armlets’ (Histories, 29.5-9; Fig 8).

Equipped with weapons and indeed an approach to warfare that was...
unsuited to well-coordinated, close order fighting, by launching small-scale, hit-and-run raids, Caratacus was playing to British strengths and Roman weaknesses. Engaging the legions in guerrilla actions, Caratacus was harnessing the traits of personal bravery so valued in Celtic culture, while at the same time reducing the impact of Roman battlefield discipline.

Throughout the course of the invasion, it appears to have been Caratacus’ strategy to try and draw the Romans into difficult terrain where forests and swamps would break up their formations and the British warriors would be allowed an opportunity to engage the legions in more favourable circumstances. The annihilation of three legions under Varus in the Teutoburg Forest in AD 9 had shown that the Romans were susceptible to well co-ordinated attacks in rough terrain (see Minerva, 2009, March/April, pp. 26-29).

Tacitus would therefore write of Caratacus that ‘his inferiority in strength was compensated by superior cunning and topographical knowledge’ (Annals, 13.33).

However, as the Roman army moved steadily inland heading for the heartland of Catuvellauni territory, Caratacus and Togodumnus risked pitched battle as they attempted to halt Plautius’ advance by denying the Romans passage across two rivers. The first of these battles may have been fought on the banks of the Medway - the discovery of the Bredgar hoard with its collection of coins dating up to AD 41 was possibly buried for safekeeping on the eve of the battle (Fig 6) - while the second certainly took place at the Thames. In both battles British resistance was initially undone by attacks carried out by Roman auxiliaries who swam across the rivers in full armour. The footholds they gained were then swiftly exploited by the legions, and it was in the first of these battles that Flavius Vespasian makes his appearance in history as commander of Legio II Augusta. (See Minerva, this issue, for the current exhibition on Vespasian at the Colosseum, Rome, pp. 8-10)

In both river battles, Caratacus and Togodumnus put up stiff resistance. British warriors held the Roman army for two days until the battle and even came close to capturing the Roman commander Gnaeus Geta, who would later receive a Triumph for his actions. This battle also contains the first reference to the British deploying chariots against Plautius’ invasion force.

Although with only two-wheeled battle chariot had long been redundant on the Continent, the vehicles remained an integral part of warfare in Britain. Caesar records during his invasion of Britain in 54 BC that the British deployed 4000 chariots, and the Romans were so impressed with their effectiveness in battle and the way in which they allowed the Britons to combine ‘the speed and mobility of cavalry with the staying power of infantry’ (Gallic Wars, 4.33).

Chariots were to remain a feature of warfare in Britain throughout the 1st century AD. Boudica’s forces deployed chariots during her uprising in AD 60, while tribes in the north of Scotland would also use them against the Romans during the following decade. Chariots continued to play a prominent role in warfare in Ireland for even longer, as frequent references to the vehicles in the heroic mythologies makes apparent.

Despite the mobility provided to British warriors by chariots, it was guerrilla tactics, fought in heavily wooded, marshy conditions, that proved a more effective form of defence for the British. After forcing passage across the Thames, the Romans lost many soldiers who, on pursuing the retreating British, found themselves lured into swamps where they were cut down. Yet the British also suffered from these engagements and it was in the aftermath of the battle at the Thames that Togodumnus died, either in a skirmish with the Romans or as a result of wounds sustained when defending the north bank of the river. Leadership against Rome was taken up by the hand of Caratacus and we immediately begin to gain insights of his energetic and charismatic qualities as he rallied his forces. As Dio writes: ‘Togodumnus perished, but the Britons, rather than yielding, united all the more firmly to avenge the death. Because of the difficulties he had encountered in crossing the Thames, Plautius became fearful and, rather than advancing further, consolidated his position and sent for the emperor Claudius to join him’ (Roman History, 69.21.1).

Embracing affairs in Rome to his fellow consul for AD 43, Lucius Vitellius, Claudius hurried to join the army in Britain. Once across the Channel, the Emperor assumed command of Plautius’ legions and, reinforced with additional troops and war elephants, the Roman invasion advanced on the great tribal capital of Camulodunum which swiftly fell. Soon after, 11 British kings came to pay homage to the emperor. As the biographer Suetonius writes: ‘without any battle or bloodshed Claudius received the submission of a part of the island’ (Claudius, 17).

While Claudius had led the assault that captured Cunobelinus’ capital, in reality the battle for south-eastern Britain had been won for Rome long before the arrival of the emperor. After spending only 16 days in Britain, Claudius wasted no time in making the return journey to Rome to celebrate a Triumph. Claudius and his two-year old son were granted the title ‘Britannicus’. Milking the conquest for its full worth, an annual festival was also instituted to mark the subjugation of the British; two Triumphal Arches were erected; and commemorative coinage was minted (Fig 9).

Following the death of Togodumnus and the loss of Camulodunum, the classical writers make no mention of the movements of Caratacus. It nevertheles the warrior continued to exist in Welsh tradition, retreated westwards, finding refuge in the densely forested uplands held by the Silures, a tribe described by Tacitus as a ‘powerful and warlike nation’ (Agrolicola, 17). It was in this region that Caratacus would spend most of the following nine years, launching raids against the western regions of Roman held territory. By the time Plautius was replaced as Governor by Publius Ostorius Scapulius in AD 47, it appears Caratacus was still highly active, and Scapula was welcomed into office with attacks against the borders of the new province. While Caratacus was surely not the only leader engaged in raids against Roman-held territory, he was certainly the most prominent rallying point for British resistance. As Tacitus notes, ‘the native boldness of the Silures was heightened by the prowess of Caratacus, while the downcast exiles, desperate to save their former countrymen, fell on the Romans and so raised himself to a pinnacle above the
other British leaders' (Annals, 12.33). That a chieftain of the Catuvellauni, a tribe far to the east, was not only accepted among the Silures but had become the figurehead of the struggle against Rome indicates Caratacus' charisma as well as his undoubted abilities as a general. By the early 50s 'his reputation had grown beyond Britain, and his name was recognised in the surroundings provinces of the Empire, and even as far afield as Rome itself' (Tacitus, Annals, 12.36).

It was among the Silures and the other tribes of Wales that the name of Caratacus was to live on in legend where he would be remembered as Caradog, one of the great princes featured in the collection of mythical Welsh tales known as the Mabinogion. Caratacus has also been woven into early Christian tradition. Erroneous translations of classical texts led incautious historians to postulate that, even as a chieftain before the invasion, Caratacus had affiliations with the newly emerging Christian religion. His subsequent exile to Rome also coincided with the missions of Peter and Paul to the imperial capital, sparking further speculation that the British warlord had embraced Christian teaching.

Such theories are, however, unsupported by historical evidence. Indeed, there is little reason to doubt that Caratacus followed the Celtic pagan religion presided over by the Druids. This priestly class undoubtedly wielded great power within Celtic society and Caratacus could have expected strong support from the Druids throughout his struggle against Rome. The Druids had even greater cause to resist the invaders than Caratacus since the Romans were determined to wipe out their religious traditions, especially the practice of human sacrifice. Long after Caratacus had disappeared from the pages of history, the Romans were still campaigning against the Druids of Britain. Gaius Suetonius Paulinus attacked their sacred stronghold on the Isle of Anglesey in north-west Wales in AD 56, slaughtering the priests and destroying the altars, while the island was only annexed to the Empire following a second campaign in AD 78.

It may indeed have been partly an attempt to provide a defensive screen before Anglesey that in AD 51 Caratacus moved northwards out of Siluvian territory and into the tribal lands of the Ordovices. Here more warriors flocked to his banner and it was decided that pitched battle would finally be offered to the Romans. Historians and antiquarians have long speculated on the location of the battle. Favoured sites include the hill-forts of Caer Caradog (Caratacus' Fort) in Shropshire, while the Iron Age earthworks known as British Camp in the Malvern Hills, Gloucestershire, inspired Edward Elgar to compose the cantata Caractacus, in 1898. Perhaps the most likely candidate for the scene of the battle is the hill-fort of Cefn Carnedd near Caersws in mid Wales (Fig 10). This isolated and defensible site dominates the Severn Valley. Although in Ordovician territory, the hill-fort could nevertheless be easily reached by Caratacus and his Silurian allies coming from the south. Cefn Carnedd also corresponds with the description of the location provided by Tacitus: 'The site selected by Caratacus for the battle was well chosen: the approaches, exits, and local features unfavourable to the Romans and advantageous to his own forces. Steep hills rose up, and at the point where an anast up the slope was relatively easy, ramparts of stone had been erected to block our advance. A broad river, crossed by a treacherous ford, lay to the front' (Annals, 12.33). The truth of the matter, however, is that the description offered by Tacitus lacks sufficient topographical detail to allow any conclusive identification of the location of Caratacus' last stand.

The battle itself was decided quickly. Scapula had led his soldiers across the river and up the hill without difficulty. Stopped by the stone ramparts topped with defenders, the legionaries assumed the testudo (Fig 11), and, covered by their shields, underestimated the wall until it toppled. Once through the breach the Romans made short work of any defenders, killing some, taking others captive. Among the prisoners were the wife, daughter, and surviving brothers of Caratacus, though the warlord himself escaped. However, it would not be long before in AD 51-2 Caratacus also fell into Roman hands. Fleeing to the north, the chieftain was seized by Cartimandua, queen of the Brigantes, and handed over to Scapula who sent Caratacus and his family to Italy.

There was great interest in Rome to see the great British warlord who had
successfully defied the Empire for almost a decade. Crows flocked to the parade-ground outside the Praetorian Fort (castra praetorian) just beyond the north-east walls of the city. In addition to the throng of Roman spectators, the Praetorians stood to arms, and the emperor and his wife Agrippina sat in state (Fig 12). Before this great multitude of onlookers passed a procession which featured the captives, booty, and plunder that had been seized during the Roman conquest of Britain. The family of Caratacus - his wife, daughter, and surviving brothers - were also placed on view. Finally the British chieftain himself was brought before the emperor's dais. While the rest of the British captives cried for leniency and mercy Caratacus stood tall and undaunted before the multitude.

Rather than pleading for clemency, Tacitus instead places in Caratacus' mouth words that further enhance the warlord's courage and pride: 'If my ancient lineage and high rank had been equalled by moderation in my success, I would have come to this city as your friend instead of as a captive. And you would readily have accepted me as an ally... I once possessed horses, warriors and gold; do you wonder that I fought to keep them? You may wish to rule the entire world but does it follow that the rest of us must therefore welcome slavery? If I had been dragged before you after surrendering without fighting, no fame would be attached to your victory and my defeat. Punish me now and that victory will soon be forgotten; spare me and I shall be an everlasting example of your clemency' (Annals, 12.37).

The response of Claudius was to pardon Caratacus and his family. This was a break with Roman custom which usually saw captive leaders strangled following a triumph. In return for the emperor's mercy, Caratacus and the rest of the British party offered thanks and homage to Claudius and Agrippina. Following the granting of his pardon, Caratacus walked through Rome and, on seeing the size and splendour of the city, and, according to Dio is said to have remarked, 'Why do you who have such wealth and so many possessions, desire our poor tents?' (Roman History, 61.33). While such a poignant speech surely owes more to the moralising sentiments of Dio than to Caratacus' own observations, it provides a fitting end to a man who was indeed a formidable freedom fighter. It was with these final words that Caratacus walked away from history, if not from myth and legend.

Fig 12. Caratacus at the Tribunal of Claudius at Rome. Engraving by Andrew Birrell from a painting by Henry Fuseli, 1792. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, USA.

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JESUS: THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Mark Merrony

In the last Minerva Editorial (May/June, pp. 2-3) the writer curiously examined some new archaeological evidence for the final days of Jesus. The importance of these new findings led directly to sensational news coverage in the Daily Mail on 10 April. This new research has fundamental ramifications for Biblical Archaeology and the present article examines this fresh evidence for the historicity of Jesus.

When looking at the events leading up to the trial and crucifixion of Jesus it is sensible to begin with written accounts coming from the 1st century AD onwards. The New Testament is a sensible starting point, comprising the Synoptic Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, considered to be broadly similar by Biblical scholars on a range of criteria. John, the fourth canonical Gospel, differs from these. All focus on the early and late parts of the life of Jesus. Other major texts include the Pauline Epistles, letters by Paul of Tarsus which date to the middle of the 1st century AD. The information about the life of Jesus appears to derive from meetings with several of Jesus' Apostles but these are not eyewitness accounts. Another important New Testament source, the Acts of the Apostles, is thought to have been written by the author of the Gospel of Luke and appears to be influenced by the Gospel of Mark. The first chapters of Acts discuss the Resurrection of Jesus, his Ascension, and Pentecost (the descent of the Holy Spirit), while later chapters focus on the ministry of the Twelve Apostles and Paul of Tarsus. It is generally thought that Acts was written c. AD 70-100.

We are on shakier ground with the Apocryphal Gospels. These give early Christian accounts of Jesus and probably date from the middle of the 2nd century AD. These relate to the canonical Gospels of the Four Evangelists, but the extent to which they may be regarded as 'canonical' or 'apocryphal' has been much debated by certain branches of the Christian church. One of the biggest contentions with the Gospels is that they were written approximately 40-60 years after the death of Jesus, which of course means their accuracy is questionable.

Patristic writings - the Early Christian Fathers - provide interesting non-biblical accounts of the life of Jesus, most notably Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, and Justin the Martyr (dating to the early 2nd century AD). Arguably the most significant of these are the contemporary accounts of Jesus' healing and teaching by Papias and Quadratus derived from the apparent eyewitness accounts of the Apostles (according to the early 4th century writings of the Early Christian historian Eusebius).

Setting aside the critique of the Gospels and other early Christian writers it is reasonable to accept that they are narrating the life of a real and extraordinary person. Most scholars agree that Jesus was a teacher and healing rabbi, was baptized by John the Baptist in the River Jordan, accused of sedition against Rome, sentenced to death by Pontius Pilate (the Roman Governor of Judea), and crucified in Jerusalem. This is borne out by a number of independent historical texts.

One of the most interesting accounts comes from the Testimonium Flavianum attributed to Flavius Josephus (c. AD 37-100), the famous Jewish chronicler who defected to the patronage of the Flavians in the First Jewish War. His best known passage records: 'About this time came Jesus, a wise man, if indeed it is appropriate to call him a man. For he was a performer of paradoxical feats, a teacher of people who accept the unusual with pleasure, and he won over many of the Jews and also many Greeks. He was the Christ. When Pilate, upon the accusation of the first men amongst us, condemned him to be crucified, those who had formerly loved him did not cease to follow him, for he appeared to them on the third day, living again, as the divine prophets foretold, along with a myriad of other marvellous things concerning him. And the tribe of the Christians, so named after him, has not disappeared to this day' (Josephus, Antiquities 18.3.3). This passage has naturally aroused the critical scrutiny of scholars, most notably Alison Whealey and L. Michael White who have identified later interpolations by Christian writers, but it is generally agreed that Josephus' account would originally have been more conservative.

Roman historical accounts by Pliny the Younger (AD 61-112), Tacitus (c. AD 56-c.117), and Suetonius (c. AD 69-140) are informative about Christ and early Christianity. As governor of Pontus and Bithynia, Pliny wrote to Trajan in the early 1st century AD concerning Christians who refused to worship the imperial cult: 'those who denied that they were or had been Christians, when they invoked the gods in words dictated by me, offered prayer with
incense and wine to your image, which I had ordered to be brought for this purpose together with statues of the gods, and moreover cursed Christ...’ Tacitus, writing shortly afterwards, states that Nero blamed Christians for starting the Great Fire of Rome in AD 64: ‘Nero fastened the guilt of starting the blaze and inflicted the most exquisite tortures on a class hated for their abominations, called Christians by the populace. Christus, from whom the name had its origin, suffered the extreme penalty during the reign of Tiberius (AD 14-37) at the hands of one of our procurators, Pontius Pilatus, and a most mischievous superstition, thus checked for the moment, again broke out not only in Judaea, the first source of the evil, but even in Rome.’ (Annals 15.44). In his Lives of the Twelve Caesars, Suetonius’ reference to Christians relates to a series of riots in Rome during the reign of Claudius: ‘As the Jews were making constant disturbances at the instigation of Chrestus [Christians], he [Claudius] expelled them from Rome’ (Claudius, 25). The extent to which these accounts support the historicity of Jesus has been hotly debated; even if these are accepted as eyewitness accounts rather than second-hand information - opinion is divided - do they prove that Jesus existed?

This question could in theory be asked of any figure of the period. For instance, if we accept that Jesus was crucified in the reign of Tiberius, how do we know if Tiberius existed? Of course there are numerous historical accounts of his life and times, but the proof is in the archaeological sources: coins minted throughout his reign, sculpted busts, statues, dedicatory inscriptions, and so on. Unfortunately, we lack these contemporary archaeological markers for Jesus: he was not commemorated on any coins, no sculptures were crafted of him, and no official inscriptions relate to him on buildings or elsewhere, only much later representations (Figs 1, 2). To prove conclusively that Jesus existed ‘concrete’ archaeological evidence is needed. Extraordinarily this may now exist.

For many years scholars have attempted to reconcile the Gospels and other early Christian writings with archaeological evidence. This has been fraught with problems for reasons addressed above: in short the historical accuracy contained in these writings is so varied on the one hand, and the archaeological evidence so fragmentary on the other - not least because Jerusalem has been successively rebuilt since biblical times. It is one thing to discover archaeological sites dating to the time of Jesus in Jerusalem but quite another to link these with historical events. It is however true to say that this problem affects archaeology and history in a general sense. There is in fact a growing corpus of archaeological evidence that directly supports details recorded in the Gospels, especially in the final days before the Crucifixion.
The sites of most relevance here are the Siloam and Bethesda Pools (where Jesus healed a blind man and an invalid respectively), the Praetorium and the Place of the Trial of Jesus, the site of the Crucifixion, and the Tomb of Jesus.

In 2004 the Siloam Pool was brought to light by Israeli archaeologists Ronni Reich and Eli Shukrun at the junction of the Tyropoeon and Kidron Valleys (Figs 3, 4). This pool was trapezoidal in shape (approximately 40–60 x 70m). They estimate two construction phases: the earliest dating to the late 1st century BC or early 1st century AD - from the time of Jesus. The location of this site corresponds with descriptions in rabbinical writings and ‘Solomon’s Pool’ in Josephus. Of greatest interest is mention of Jesus’ healing activity here in the Gospel of John: ‘And [Jesus] said unto him [the blind man], Go wash in the Pool of Siloam... He went this way therefore, and washed, and came seeing.’ The blind man later repeated this story to his neighbours: ‘A man that is called Jesus made clay and anointed my eyes, and said unto me, Go to the Pool of Siloam, and wash: and I went and washed, and received sight’ (9:7, 11).

The Bethesda Pool (dated to the same period by the style of its building fabric), is situated to the north of the Temple Mount in the grounds of the Church of St Anne (presently under the custodianship of the Catholic White Fathers), near the Lion Gate (Figs 5, 6). This has been excavated by Jeremias (1965 to 1967), Duprez (1970), Pierre and Rousee (1981), and by Professors Shimon Gibson and since 1995 Claudine Dauphin. This consisted of two large basins: the ‘northern pool’ (53 x 40m), a rainwater reservoir, and the ‘southern pool’ (47 x 52m), used for
purification. The western side of the 'southern pool' had a flight of steps with landings at intervals. Gibson has plausibly suggested that these would have been used for the placing of beds for disabled people as implied in the Gospel of John: 'Now in Jerusalem by the Sheep Gate there is a pool, called in Hebrew Bethesda, which has five porticoes. In these lay many invalids - blind, lame, and paralysed. One man was there who had been ill for thirty-eight years. When Jesus saw him lying there... he said to him, 'Do you want to be made well? The sick man answered him, 'Sir, I have no one to put me into the pool when the water is stirred up... Jesus said to him, 'Stand up, take your mat and walk.' At once the man was made well, and he took up his mat and began to walk' (5:1-19).

Prior to Gibson's diligent research it was thought that the Siloam and Bethesda Pools functioned as reservoirs. It now seems likely that they served the many thousands of pilgrims at religious festivals in close proximity to the Temple and should be identified as large pools for ritual purification. This research also makes it likely that Jesus' healing activities here drew large crowds and aroused the disapproval of the Temple authorities who would have regarded his practices as unholy. This above all may have been the reason for Jesus' arrest on suspicion of sedition.

Since the 1950s scholars have thought that the trial of Jesus took place in the area of the Roman Praetorium in the west of the Old City and not the Antonia Fortress in the east, considered to be the site of the trial since medieval times (Fig 7). Professor Gibson's research takes a significant step to pinpoint the spot within the courtyard of the Gate of the Essenes (just south of the Jaffa Gate) where Herod's Palace and the Roman Prefecture were located. This area was excavated in the 1970s by Israeli archaeologist Magen Broshi along the western Old City wall. At the time of the excavation, its true significance was not understood. The excavations revealed a monumental gateway with the remains of a large courtyard situated between two fortification walls. On the northern side of the courtyard is a rocky outcrop, on top of it, a small rectangular platform with steps (Figs 8-10). These details fit well with the Gospel of John: 'When Pilate therefore heard these words he brought Jesus out, and sat down on the judgment-seat at a place called the pavement...' (19:13). The Gospel of Matthew adds that Pilate 'was sitting on his judgement-seat' and there was a crowd 'gathered together' at the tribunal (27:17-19). This is strengthened by the later account of Josephus who mentions a tribunal at the Praetorium at the outbreak of the First Jewish Revolt in AD 66: 'on the following day [Florus] had a tribunal placed in front of Pilate, who did not take his seat...' This discovery provides a crucial insight into 'his final movements of Jesus and implies that the traditional Way of the Cross should be redefined.

According to Josephus: 'Pilate, upon hearing him [Jesus] accused by men of the highest standing among us, had condemned him to be crucified' (Antiquities, 8.64). The Gospels do not make it clear where the Crucifixion took place but all refer to the location as Golgotha ('the place of the skull'). There is a general scholarly consensus that the site of the Crucifixion was in the location of the Rock of Calvary (after Latin calva 'skull'), in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Thus the original site was in the area situated immediately north of the Western Hill (traditional Mount Zion). The rocky outcrop is 9 to 13m high, 3.5 x 1.7m in
area at its apex (Fig 12). This was examined by Shimon Gibson and Joan Taylor in 1988 and they concluded that the area would have been too narrow to have accommodated three crosses. Gibson logically contends that the rock may have been a monument marking the general place of Golgotha - like a signpost - but was definitely not the place of crucifixion.

The Gospel of Mark states that the Tomb of Jesus was provided by Joseph of Arimathaea (Fig 15), a prominent Jewish official: 'When evening had come, and since it was the day of Preparation, that is, the day before the Sabbath, Joseph of Arimathaea, a respected member of the Council... went boldly to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus... When he learned from the Centurion that he [Jesus] was dead, he granted the body to Joseph. Then Joseph bought a linen cloth, and laid it in a tomb that had been hewn out of the rock. He then rolled a stone against the door of the tomb' (15:42-46).

There has been much debate as to the exact whereabouts of the tomb of Jesus (Fig 13). It is currently venerated a short distance to the west of the Rock of Calvary in the Rotunda area of the same church within a structure known as the Edicule. Excellent research on the location of the tomb has been carried out in recent years, not least by Professor Martin Biddle, Gibson, and others. John (15:42-46) is the only Gospel that mentions the location of the tomb next to the place of crucifixion at Golgotha. A combination of biblical/historical and archaeological information indicates that its present location in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre may be correct.

This is a complex tapestry of detective work which can be summarised as follows: the area of Golgotha was buried under the area of a new Roman Forum by Hadrian c. AD 135 (part of the new city of Aelia Capitolina); Constantine granted a request to find the Tomb of Jesus at the Council of Nicaea in AD 325; Bishop Macarius knew where to find it (its location was probably commemorated by a shrine, statue, or graffiti). According to the eyewitness account of Eusebius its discovery was 'contrary to all expectation' and Constantine declared that the discovery 'surpassed all astonishment'. The entrance from the tomb was from the east with a small courtyard or porch hollowed out in front of it, according to Cyril of Jerusalem in the early 4th century AD (Catechetical Lectures 14:9) Evidence from the Gospels indicates that the tomb had an inner square chamber (2 x 2m) and a bench on the right hand side (2 x 0.50m). The mass of rock surrounding the tomb to the west was cut away and the tomb placed within a small structure (Edicule). The tomb was destroyed by Caliph Hakim in 1009; the remnants of the original tomb now lie beneath a marble slab in the present Edicule (constructed in 1808).

Mention should be made of some additional archaeological evidence relating to the entombment. In 1980 Shimon Gibson, accompanied by James Tabor, made the unique discovery of a burial shroud in a tomb of Akeldama at the foot of Mount Zion (Fig 14). This was subsequently radiocarbon dated to the early part of the 1st century AD - the time of Jesus.

Interestingly, the shroud was composed of individual sheets to wrap the head and body separately and this concurs with Gospel accounts of Jesus' burial: 'Early on the first day of the week... Mary Magdelene came to the tomb and saw that the stone had been removed from the tomb... Then Peter and the other disciple [Simon Peter] set out and went towards the tomb. Peter... bent down to look in and saw the linen wrappings lying there, and the cloth that had been on Jesus' head, not lying with the linen wrappings but rolled up in a place by itself...' (John 20: 1-8).

To return to the original objective of this article: did Jesus exist? In short, yes. The biblical/historical information is overwhelming and, crucially, the Gospels - essentially the primary texts on the life and times of Jesus - are now supported in their finer details, especially the last days of Jesus' movements in Jerusalem: healing in the Siloam and Bethesda Pools, his trial, crucifixion, and burial. Collectively it seems certain that this data is of sufficient magnitude to banish the question pertaining to the existence of Jesus to the realm of ignorance, a point made, it should be stressed, with complete theological impartiality.


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A DESCENT INTO THE UNDERWORLD

Peter Clayton visits the Oracle of the Dead, ancient Nekromanteion, and the River Styx, and returns.

There is an ambiguity in the ancient Greek attitude to the dead and the Underworld. In one respect it was the kingdom of Hades, dark and shadowy where he reigned with his wife Persephone. He had kidnapped her on one of his forays to the upper world, via one of the several entrances into the Underworld, in this instance the deep cave located at Eleusis, the sanctuary of her mother Demeter, just outside Athens. The abduction of Persephone was a favourite motif on Greek vases and also occurred in sculpture on Roman sarcophagi. Demeter was not best pleased at losing her daughter so, after much discussion between her, Zeus and Hades, an arrangement was arrived at whereby Persephone spent a third of the year with Hades. Upon her return to the upper world, the advent of Spring recorded Demeter’s joy at her daughter’s return. That is but one aspect of the Greek view of the underworld. In Homeric myths several heroes were able to visit the Underworld as living people and return, amongst them Herakles, Orpheus, and Odysseus.

Herakles demanded that Charon, the ghostly ferryman who took the dead souls across the River Styx, row him over, and when he refused Herakles beat him so badly with his own oar that Charon had to comply. For having allowed a living person to enter the world of the dead, Charon was condemned to a year in chains. The reason for Herakles’ visit was to free the last of his Twelve Labours, to retrieve the three-headed dog Cerberus guarding the entrance to Hades. Herakles’ entry was via a cave at Tainaron on a promontory of the Peloponnesian. Having shown the ferocious dog to the terrified king Eurytheus of Argos cowering in a large jar (Fig 3), Cerberus was returned to continue guarding the Gates of the Underworld.

Orpheus had hoped, by his music, to so enchant Hades and Persephone that they would release his wife Euridice, who had died from a snakebite. He almost succeeded; her shade was following him to the upper world when he looked back, and lost her. He was to be united with her in his death, being torn limb from limb either by jealous Thracian maidens, or by followers of Dionysos (the legends vary).

Odysseus’ quest in the Underworld, described in some detail by Homer (Odyssey X, 512), was for answers. The witch Circe had warned him of the dangers of attempting to try and interrogate the dead. Odysseus wanted to question the soul of the blind seer Teiresias to find out if he would ever return to Ithaca. He was informed that he would indeed return, but alone - his further ten years of wandering are recounted in the Odyssey. Homer’s description of Odysseus’ entry into the Underworld fits quite well with the area of the river Acheron (the Styx) across which the souls were ferried. Pausanias noted the similarity in his Guide to Greece. The rivers Acheron and Styx still flow fast, shallow, and evocative (Fig 2), near the Oracle of the Dead - the Nekromanteion - in western Epirus, a place famed for those seeking enlightenment from the shades of the dead.

It was a perilous thing to contact the dead and those who attempted it had to be suitably prepared both spiritually and physically. There was a prescribed ritual of cleansing and prayers and, as described by Homer, offerings had to be made to the spirits of milk and honey, water and wine, and especially the blood of sacrificed animals, the smell of which drew the spirits forth. The supplicant then had to undergo purification after such an encounter. In Euripides’ tragedy Alcestis she had to undergo three days of purification to rid her of the smell (miasma) of death and regain her consciousness when she was returned to life.

The site of the sanctuary, Nekromanteion, not far from modern Parga in Epirus, is today covered by the early 18th century Monastery of Ayios Ioannis Prodromos and its graveyard..
The ancient sanctuary was revealed beneath the monastery in major excavations by the Greek Archaeological Society between 1958 and 1964, and in 1976-7 (Fig 5). The focal point of the site was the crypt or sanctuary, and this was set within a rectangular enclosure whose walls still stand three metres high in places (Fig 6). The masonry is typical early polygonal work that encloses labyrinthine passages through which the pilgrim would be led. There were brick structures continuing the wall upwards and these would have housed the priests and incorporated the secret passages needed to work the oracle.

Entering from the north the pilgrim encountered three dark rooms where he would begin his initiation (Fig 7). This involved purification and eating a meal of pork, bread, barley bread, and shellfish - the food associated with banquets for the dead (nekrodeipna), and drinking milk, honey, and water. No doubt to prepare him for the ordeal his guide subjected him to incomprehensible rituals. As he was led along the east passage-way he would cast a stone onto a pile on his right to ward off any evil influences and he would also wash himself in the large jar of water that stood on his left. Then he moved through a third gateway into the north room for the final preparation. In the passage he had to sacrifice a sheep in a pit (as Odysseus had done, Odyssey XI, 34-6), and then be led through the labyrinthine passages in darkness, no doubt terrified and possibly in a semi-dragged state. Indications of the offering of a sacrificial meal of barley (alephita) were found on the floor of the passage. During all this, as Lucian informs us (Menippus, 9ff.), the priest would have been invoking the spirits of the dead with obscure words and rituals.

Finally, the pilgrim arrived in the central hall where the spirits were to commune with him before he was led down into the crypt (Fig 8). Here, in the upper hall, images appeared in the semi-darkness, and the excavations produced metal fittings, cogwheels and ratchets, as well as iron weights between 6 to 10.5kg, that were obviously used to make the images move. Beneath the central hall, and the same size, is the crypt: Circe's 'Dark Halls of Hades and Persephone the Dread'. This is cut into the rock with 13 arches of porous stone that emphasise its depth (Fig 9). After his encounter with the spirits the pilgrim was led by an alternative circuitous route to rooms on the end of the north passage. Here he would have spent his final three days of purification before he was cleansed enough to be allowed back into the real world. His brush with the oracle and the nearness of the River Styx with its ghostly ferryman waiting must have been an experience that remained with him for life, until he needed the services of the ferryman and had to provide his fee, a silver obol that was placed in the mouth of the deceased by relatives.

The site was the most famous necromanteion in the ancient Greek world, and is the best preserved. Although the building is essentially of Hellenistic date, 4th century BC, it was built over an earlier cult centre when the top of the hill was levelled to build the sanctuary. The crypt probably marks the site of the original prehistoric cult cave. The Hellenistic shrine took over from an earlier one nearby as pottery and figures of Persephone of the mid-7th-5th centuries BC were found on the west slopes of the hill (Fig 10). The layers of fill in the sanctuary produced large amounts of various shaped pots and plates with
Fig 7 (above). The suppliant entered the sanctuary through the gateway, moving to the three incubation (preparation) rooms (right), and then was led along the corridor, first throwing a stone on to the pile (left) to ward off evil influences, and then purifying himself and washing his hands in the large stone jar (right).

Fig 8 (above right). The entrance to the crypt from the central hall where moving images would have appeared to the suppliant prior to his descent into the crypt below the hall.

Fig 9 (below). The underground crypt beneath the hall, entrance to the Underworld, cut into the porous stone with 15 arches to emphasise its depth.

Fig 10 (below right). Heads from clay votive figures of the Goddess of the Underworld from the sanctuary, 7th to 5th centuries BC.

The Hellenistic sanctuary was burnt down by the Romans in 167 BC, and the evidence of that destruction lay thick on the floors – piles of grain and sulphur that had helped to produce a conflagration so fierce that it calcined the surfaces of the stone walls and baked the bricks that had formed part of their upper works. The sanctuary disappeared beneath the ruins and was abandoned. Why the sanctuary should be so attacked by Rome only 30 years after the conquest of Greece by the Roman General Flamininus, is curious. So much of Greek mythology, its gods with their names changed, and the sacred sites, were taken over by Rome that there seems to be no reason to destroy the Necromanteion – why the antipathy? Virgil (Aeneid Book III, 441ff.) describes Aeneas’ visit to the Necromanteion at Cumae in southern Italy, and bases his description on Odysseus’ visit to the sanctuary by the river Acheron (Styx) in the Odyssey (Book XI); it is even possible that Homer actually visited the area himself, as his description is so specific.

Roman settlement began on the nearby fertile plain of the Acheron in the 1st century BC, and evidence of roof tiles with Latin letters, and the addition of three dry-stone wall built rooms on the north-west side, show that at least part of the area of the sanctuary was still in use, if not for its original purpose. Had this been lost, or was the idea of an entrance to Hades here too frightening to continue with? It is interesting that the monastery of Ayios Ioannis Prodromos and its cemetery should later be built over the site of the Hellenistic Necromanteion. It recalls Pope Gregory’s instruction to Abbot Mellitus, departing for Britain in AD 601 to build churches, that he is to destroy the idols but not the ancient shrines and temples: they ‘are to be aspersed with holy water, altars set up... we hope that the people, seeing its temples are not destroyed, may abandon idolatry and resort to these places as before.’ Was this, then, the situation at Necromanteion, an ancient shrine destroyed, but still feared and then sanctified by building the monastery on top of it?
ROMAN BAALBEK AND PALMYRA: BETWEEN THE DESERT AND THE DEEP GREEN BAIZE

Mark Merrony

One of the pleasures of visiting Roman sites is the search for what the writer regards as archaeological "golden nuggets". This is especially true of the Levant: Beth Shean (Israel), Petra (Jordan), Baalbek (Lebanon), and Palmyra (Syria) - just a few of many excellent sites. Unfortunately, some of the best Roman sites within the former Empire are located in the politically unstable epicentre of the region, and in recent years conflicts such as the Second Intifada (2000), the Iraq War (2003-present), the 2006 Lebanon War, has, understandably, had a profound impact on the number of people visiting these Middle Eastern sites. That said, tourists have now returned in large measure to Israel and Jordan, but this is not so much the case in Lebanon, which has been especially volatile in recent years (not least because it is a Hezbollah stronghold); and in Syria, which did not benefit from its branding as an 'Axis of Evil' rogue state by the future United States UN Ambassador John R. Bolton in 2002.

Ironically, the relatively low number of foreign visitors to Lebanon and Syria has made them more pleasurable to visit. On a recent visit to Ephesus - tourist magnet par excellence - the writer's heart was sunk by the sheer volume of sightseers clambering over the ruins. Baalbek and Palmyra on the other hand, were virtually deserted. This factor, combined with the sheer monumentality of these two sites, their setting, modern cultural dimension and political context, make them an essential destination in the itinerary of the archaeological 'golden nugget' prospector. The present article is intended as a celebration of these aspects.

The unmistakable beauty of the Bekaa Valley is framed by the Anti-Lebanon Mountains, like the green baize of a billiard table, but with the fertility to support an abundance of crops from cereals and vineyards to opium and hashish. Sandwiched between two north-south running mountain ranges at 1000m above sea level, the Bekaa Valley benefits from a high rainfall in the winter and long hot summers, factors that made the area especially suitable to produce high grain yields in the Roman period.

One of the most astonishing things in the Bekaa Valley lies in the middle of a small quarry a little way off the road on the right hand side as one enters the town of Baalbek. This is the so-called Stone of Midi ('stone of the pregnant woman'), cut and dressed for its incorporation into the Temple Jupiter complex two kilometres to the north-west (Fig 5). People have rightly marvelled about the construction of the Great Pyramid at Giza, the Great Wall of China, and other monuments representing extraordinary feats of human achievement, and the Temple of Jupiter must rank alongside these. The Stone of Midi is thought to be the largest stone ever hewn: an astonishing 21.5m long, 4.5m high, and 4.2m wide, weighing nearly 1000 tons, one of many substantial stones used in the platform and Great Courtyard of the largest temple complex in the Roman Empire (Fig 6). To put this into a modern context, the Stone of Midi is 52 times heavier, 1.7m higher, and 1.6m wider than a London Bendy Bus.
The Roman Levant

Baalbek was originally a Phoenician settlement founded from the end of the 3rd millennium BC or the early 2nd millennium BC, deriving its name, as is commonly known, from Baal, the Sun god. The city was renamed Heliopolis (city of the sun) when Alexander the Great conquered the region in 334 BC and Baal was characteristically later assimilated into the Roman pantheon as Baal-Jupiter when the main complex was built between the late 1st century BC (commenced in the reign of Augustus) and AD 62 (the reign of Nero).

Its main parts include the monumental Propylaea (monumental gateway), consisting of a grand staircase of 39 steps (ascending 10m), a portico of columns carved from Egyptian red porphyry (later reused in the local medieval Grand Mosque), flanked by two towers with engaged columns, and a rear wall with three large doorways leading into the Hexagonal Courtyard (Fig 6). This is a unique design in Roman temple architecture and is thought to be modelled on local/Oriental influences. Its measurements befit the monumentality of the whole complex: 62 metres across, with a central arena of 30 columns of Egyptian red granite (8m high) flanked by two exedrae on each side which contained the statues and busts of the Pantheon. The Hexagonal Courtyard leads on to the Great Courtyard (135 x 113m) which contained a large altar and a series of rooms and exedrae faced with a portico of columns (supported by 128 columns of Egyptian red granite). The Temple of Jupiter stands on a podium seven metres above the Great Courtyard reached by a monumental staircase of 35 steps. The cela (inner sanctum) was raised and originally surrounded by a peristyle of 54 columns of the Corinthian order. Unfortunately, because of successive earthquakes, only six columns of the original temple are now standing, but these are nonetheless impressive: at 20m the tallest standing columns of antiquity (Fig 7).

Iovi Optimo Maximo Heliopolitano (Jupiter the most high and great of Heliopolis) is depicted on local coins. These depictions agree with the writings of Macrobius in the 5th century AD who described the god as: ‘... of gold, representing a person without a beard, who holds in his right hand a whip, charioteer-like, and in his left a thunderbolt with sheaves of wheat.’ Statuettes of a similar character are known from Tortosa (Spain), Byblos (Lebanon), and Baalbek. This last example (2nd-3rd century AD) is presently displayed in the Louvre (Fig 9).

The Temple of Jupiter complex is also extremely impressive for its carvings, especially on the entablatures of
the principal buildings and also the many Corinthian capitals which lie scattered around or remain in situ. This is also true of many finer details, such as the many gargoyles carved in the form of lion heads at roof level; barely perceptible from the ground, these were designed to drain off surface water like overhead fountains (Fig 11).

Monumentality and decoration are also a feature of the Temple of Bacchus, built immediately to the south-east of the Jupiter complex by Antoninus Pius (c. AD 138-161). The temple derives its name from the sculpted reliefs near the altar which depict Dionysiac scenes. It stands on a five-metre high podium with 50 exterior Corinthian columns (19.2m high) with 12 engaged fluted columns on the cela side walls, with an ambitron (chamber) - clearly a feature from Mesopotamia - in the end wall. It is the best-preserved monument at Baalbek, and although regarded as the smaller temple it is in fact a larger monument (69 x 36m) than the Parthenon (69.5 x 30.90m).

One of the most impressive features of the temple is the exquisite carved decoration on each side of the cella gate (13 x 6.3m), consisting of an ‘inhabited’ vine scroll that reaches its zenith of magnificence at the lintel (Fig 13). Composed of three immense blocks, the earthquake of 1759 caused the central keystone to drop approximately two metres (Fig 14). It remained in this precarious position until 1870, when Richard Burton, the British Consul in Damascus, constructed a brick pier to support it (Fig 10a). This was removed by the German Archaeological Mission in 1901 who devised a more aesthetically pleasing solution to support it. The underside of the lintel is carved with interesting decoration, comprising an eagle carrying a winged caduceus (symbolical of Mercury) and winged cupids (Fig 10b, c). Perhaps the best carving is reserved for the ceiling of the external peristyle, consisting of a series of busts personifying cities in Syria set within hexagonal coffers (Fig 12). In turn these are enmeshed by a complex arrangement of vines.

If visiting Roman sites in the Levant is to be viewed as a pilgrimage, then Baalbek would certainly be one of
those sites on the checklist. Palmyra is another, located on an oasis in the eastern desert frontier: enigmatic, monumental, and mysterious - home to the almost legendary Zenobia, Queen of the Palmyrene Empire - who, if an ancient source may be believed, was displayed in the Victory Triumph of Aurelian bound in gold chains.

Palmyra was already a flourishing city when it was annexed as a Roman province by Pompey in 63 BC, benefiting from its location as a nexus of trade on the caravan routes between Persia and the Roman ports of the eastern Mediterranean. Several features dominate the skyline of the ancient city: the Sanctuary of Bel, the Monumental Arch, the Great Colonnade, the Theatre, the Tetrapylon, the tower tombs, and, overlooking Palmyra, the medieval Arab Fort (Qala ‘at ibn Ma’an).

The Sanctuary of Bel (Fig 13) is laid out on a truly massive scale, built on top of its Hellenistic predecessor (completed in the beginning of the 2nd century AD). The temple measures 210 x 295m in extent, enclosing the massive Temple of Bel (dedicated in AD 32). As its name suggests, the complex was dedicated to Bel, the supreme deity of Palmyra (assimilated to Jupiter by the Romans), and two other deities of the Palmyrene ‘trinity’ were worshipped here, Yarhibol the Sun god (probably the Palmyrene equivalent of Baal), and Aglibol, the Moon god (Fig 16). The Temple of Bel befits the grand scale of the complex, measuring 75 x 62m and preserved to approximately 20m in height. As at Baalbek, it is another example of the fusion between Graeco-Roman traditions (peristyle, Corinthian columns) and Syrian and Mesopotamian forms (lateral rather than frontal entrance, ‘Assyrian’-style crow-step merlons on top of the cornice). The most obvious non-Classical features are the adyton (chambers) reached by steps at each end (hence the reason for the lateral entrance). The north, and more elaborate adyton (Fig 17) housed the Palmyrene ‘trinity’, and has a dome with a carving of the zodiac (Fig 19); the south adyton (Fig 20) may have contained a portentous image of Bel, its ceiling carved with an elaborate rosette encircled by a band of
swastika meanders. Other decoration
of note are the reliefs on two fallen
roof slabs adjacent to the entrance:
one depicts Aglibol and Malikhel
along with images of fertility, such as
grapes, pine cones, and a kid goat;
the other shows a procession includ-
ing a camel, priests, and veiled
women (Fig 15).

Another architectural treasure is
the Monumental Arch built in the
reign of Septimius Severus (AD 193-
211). This is composed of three
arches (the central main arch is elab-
orately decorated with vegetal motifs)
and is the north-eastern gateway to
the Great Colonnade (Fig 18). For
many visitors this may rightly be
regarded as the most evocative mon-
ument in Palmyra, approximately
1.2km in length running between the
Tetrapylon and the Monumental
Arch. Its entablatures are supported
by numerous Corinthian columns,
and it has three distinctive phases:
the first ‘third’ from the Tetrapylon,
early 2nd century AD; the second
‘third’, the early 3rd century AD; the
final ‘third’, the late 3rd or 4th cen-
turies AD.

Enroute to the Tetrapylon is a real
architectural gem: the Theatre,
thought to have been built in the late
1st century or early 2nd century AD
(Fig 22). This was restored by the
Directorate of Antiquities in Syria in
the 1950s and comprises 12 rows of
seats entered by three vaulted pas-
sageways. The stage (48 x 10.50m)
and its building (scena frons) are its
most impressive feature, the latter
pierced by five entrance doors each
framed by a series of protruding
niches composed of Corinthian
columns, each supporting an entabla-
ture. The central entrance is the most
impressive, with an aesthetically
pleasing pediment.

The Tetrapylon (early 2nd century
AD) consists of four sets of four
Corinthian columns supporting a
square roof with an entablature (Fig
23). Originally of pink Egyptian gra-
nite, the present columns were
restored by the Directorate of Anti-
quities in Syria in the mid-1960s, but
The Roman Levant

in spite of this it is still one of the most charming monuments in Palmyra.

Palmyra is also notable for its funerary archaeology: subterranean tombs (hypogeae) and above ground tombs (tower tombs and temple tombs), and the extraordinary Palmyran busts discovered within these monuments, many of which are displayed in Palmyra Museum and in many public and private collections.

Interestingly, the enigmatic tower tombs in the aptly named Valley of the Tombs are not known from any other site in the Roman Empire, but have a distinctly Semitic origin. Elahbel’s Tower (built AD 103, restored in the mid 1970’s), is the best example (Fig 21). Named after the family who commissioned the monument, it consists of a crypt and three storeys with niches for up to 400 bodies. Two of the underground tombs demand mention. These supplemented the Semitic tradition of tower burials and are compatible with Roman burial practices: the Hypogeum of Yarhal (2nd century AD) is richly ornamented with busts and sarcophagi and reconstructed in the National Museum of Damascus (Fig 24); and the Hypogeum of the Three Brothers, dating from the first half of the 2nd century AD, is T-shaped in plan with 65 narrow burial chambers and decorated with impressive wall paintings comprising geometric and vegetal motifs along with scenes from Graeco-Roman myth.

As the sun sets over Palmyra and the shadows grow long in the cerie, mysterious, and enigmatic Valley of the Tombs it is easy to believe that large orange ball in the sky is descending into our own underworld and to imagine what a central role the cosmos played in ancient society.

As the sun sets over Palmyra and the shadows grow long in the cerie, mysterious, and enigmatic Valley of the Tombs it is easy to believe that large orange ball in the sky is descending into its own underworld and to imagine what a central role the cosmos played in ancient society. This is borne out by the central role of Baal and Yarhibol, gods of the sun in the religious precincts at Baalbek and Palmyra. The sun, as well as the impressive remains, are also a bridge from the distant past shared and experienced by the people who lived here two millennia ago and by their descendants who populate and visit these sites in the present. It is also the contemporary cultures of Lebanon and Syria (and the Levant generally) that enliven these places. To experience this physical and material culture puts these truly great archaeological sites in an ever more meaningful context.

Images - Figs 1-5, 7-8, 10-13, 15-26: courtesy of Mark Merrony; Fig 14: courtesy of Peter Clayton.
After half a century of service to America - in the military and then as President - Eisenhower stepped out of public life. Just before he did, on 17 January, 1961, he gave a speech that outlined the dangers of the military-industrial complex. He had a clear vision of the risks that society faced: 'We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together.'

Eisenhower was no doubt aware that in previous ages there was no distinction between the military and the government. Different societies had different methods of command and control, but in the ancient world military glory was usually linked to political power. Leading individuals also shaped the society in which they lived through their policies. At times it is difficult to separate myths and legends from fact. For example, while it is clear that there were conflicts that involved the ancient city of Troy, one cannot be sure if there was an historical leader named Agamemnon. One of the earliest military commanders who is recorded in detail is Cyrus the Great of Persia (598-529 BC). He is known for his humane treatment of enemies, and venerated in the Bible for allowing the Jews to return to their homeland. This does not disprove the fact that he was an aggressive expansionist, and his attempt to conquer India in the 530s ended in disaster. He is best known for his use of cavalry, but he was killed in Central Asia by the nomadic Sakas tribes.

Alexander the Great (356-323 BC) was a totally different kind of military strategist as well as ruler (Fig 1). In only four years (334-330 BC) he defeated the Persians and went on to create the largest empire the world had ever seen. Much of the groundwork for his campaigns had already been laid by his father, Philip II (382-336 BC; Fig 2) who began training the spear-carrying infantry and fast cavalry that would push through Asia, often overcoming vast odds on the battlefield. It has been estimated at the battle of Issus in 333 BC that Alexander had about 25,000 infantry and 5000 cavalry, while Darius III had 60,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry. While Alexander's casualties were minimal (roughly 1000), Darius likely suffered over 40,000 losses. Alexander soon had even larger ambitions than the Persian Empire; he traversed the mountains of the Hindu Kush, but his troops refused to cross the Hyphasis (Beas) river. His rash attempt to march through the Gedrosian (Makran) desert was a disaster that killed many of his troops. Clearly Alexander intended to outdo Cyrus, who had met with a similar fate in his attempt to cross the desert either on his way to India or his way back (there are conflicting historical accounts). Like Hitler repeating the mistakes of Napoleon invading Russia, pride can be the bane of success.

The bold young man who shattered the world died in Babylon in 323 BC before he could carry out more conquests, but his rule began a process of fusion that was to change the culture of Asia forever. At first Alexander had incorporated oriental cavalry into his army, and later II Parthian phalanx was re-structured, placing oriental troops using missiles alongside European spearmen. Alexander also took on many aspects of eastern kingship, including encouraging public acceptance of his divine status. This was totally out of keeping with Classical mores. On the eve of Cyrus' defeat by Saka, Croesus, former King of Lydia and advisor to the Persian king noted: 'You think you are immortal, and that you command an army that is so.' The same could be said of Alexander.

Hannibal (247-183 BC) was a military commander out of keeping with Cyrus and Alexander in that he was fighting not so much an expansionist

Fig 1 (below left). Marble head of Alexander. Most images of Alexander depict him as a youthful hero, 4th century BC. H. 35cm. © Acropolis Museum, Athens.

Fig 2 (below middle). A miniature ivory of Philip II of Macedonia shown his scars. Details of his battles are scarce, but he laid the plans for the invasion of the Persian Empire, 4th century BC. H. 2cm. © Archaeological Museum, Vergina.

Fig 3. (above right). Marble bust of Hannibal, reputed to originate from Carthage, a city that defected to the Carthaginians, Roman copy, 1st century AD. H. 68.5cm. © Museo Nazionale, Naples.

Fig 4. (below). Reverse of a silver double shekel featuring an elephant and rider, minted by the Barcids (Hannibal's family) in Spain. While war elephants caused problems for Roman troops at first, they had a negligible effect in later battles, 221-218 BC. Diam. 22mm. Valencia Hoard, © the British Museum.
war as a defensive one (Fig 3). He was the principal Carthaginian commander of the Second Punic War (218-202 BC). An excellent battlefield commander, in the end even he could not prevent Rome from conquering Carthage. With his base in Spain, Hannibal marched overland into Italy with a diverse army (Fig 4). The battle of Cannae in 216 BC shows Hannibal at his best. The Romans lined up with their heavy infantry in the centre and cavalry in the wings. Hannibal deployed his troops in a crescent shape. He positioned his relatively unpredictable Spanish and Gallic infantry in the centre, expecting them to give way before the Romans. Hannibal could depend on the superiority of his cavalry, which drove off their opposing Roman counterparts and circled behind the Roman infantry and stationed Libyan infantry, whom he knew to be dependable, at the flanks. The Libyans surrounded the Romans and also cut them off from behind. Hannibal had perhaps 50,000 troops, while the Romans mustered up to 86,000. Despite the numerical disadvantage, Hannibal received no more than 8000 casualties, while the Romans lost 30,000 men, with a further 10,000 captured.

The Romans continued to supply fresh troops to deal with Hannibal and they also made it increasingly difficult for his troops to live off the land, as they depleted his sources of supply. Hannibal lacked the siege equipment required to attack the city of Rome itself, and was therefore unable to strike the knockout blow. Ultimately, Rome decided the best way to deal with Hannibal was to avoid open conflict with him and wage war against the Carthaginian heartland.

Hannibal and his army were recalled to deal with the Roman threat on Carthage, but he lost to Scipio Africanus (236-183 BC, Fig 5) at the battle of Zama in October 202 BC. Scipio had a long history of dealing with Carthaginian troops. His father had been killed fighting the Carthaginians in Spain in 211 BC, and young Scipio assumed command in his place and succeeded in driving the Carthaginians from Spain. Various reasons can be suggested for his success; he was known to train his men hard and to use maniples - sub-units of 60 or 120 men - in a flexible manner. Scipio held the consuls' ship in Rome in 205 BC, and when his army crossed into Africa he persuaded the Numidians to defect to Rome, thus depriving Hannibal of his superior cavalry. At the battle of Zama he positioned his maniples so that they could quickly get out of the way of the charging elephants as well as rotate in and relieve tired infantry on the front lines. Scipio's new allies were successfully deployed attacking Carthaginian positions from the rear. This combination of innovative methods of dealing with tactical situations, as well as leveraging allies away from the Carthaginian cause, proved too much for Hannibal. Scipio's approach to warfare would also establish a precedent the Roman military would use successfully for centuries.

Julius Caesar (100 BC - 44 BC) is perhaps Rome's most famous military commander (Fig 6). A major reason for his enduring reputation stems from his own accounts of his campaigns, written to bolster his prestige. His conquest of Gaul, and victory over Pompey during the Civil War, led to his pursuit of even grander accolades and ultimately led to his downfall. This was a problem that was to confront Republican Rome as it expanded into frontier areas. Ordinary soldiers could be expected to owe a greater allegiance to successful commanders than to the state. This was particularly the case when troops were recruited from subject peoples and not
Ancient Warfare

Romans. It is no surprise that political ambition drove some commanders to usurp power, returning to Rome with troops loyal to themselves rather than to the Republic. This seems to have been the focus of the informal political alliance known as the First Triumvirate of 60 BC between Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus. Caesar used his appointment as Proconsul of Gaul to carve out a large territory for Rome (including all of modern France and Belgium) and built an army that was loyal to him. Caesar encountered few celebrated opponents, but one of the best known was Vercingetorix, a noble of the Arverni tribe of south central Gaul (Fig 7). According to Caesar, Vercingetorix incited his people to revolt and although successful at first, he was eventually penned in the hilltop fortress of Alesia, where Roman siege craft won the day. Vercingetorix was executed in Caesar's triumphal procession in Rome in

46 BC. Unfortunately for Caesar, his successes in Gaul created enemies back in Rome as Pompey aligned himself with the ruling senatorial class, demanded Caesar return from Gaul and his army be disarmed. This led Caesar to cross the Rubicon River and march his army into Italy, and, for a brief time, he held complete power in Rome. Because of his perceived tyrannical tendencies, Caesar was assassinated on 15 March, 44 BC, leaving the way open for his great-nephew and adopted son, Octavian, to become the first Roman emperor under the new name of Augustus. Augustus (r. 27 BC - AD 14) is best known for his political prowess (Fig 8). He organised the army so that the emperor was firmly at its head, countering the tendency for fragmentation under powerful regional commanders. Augustus was not a military man, but he knew who to appoint and how to maintain their loyalty. Commanders were no longer as independent as they had once been. They were now directly appointed by the emperor and any victory they achieved was in the emperor's name. The military was firmly anchored to the State, with regular terms of service and perks upon retirement. Under the previous Republican system many of these aspects of military life depended upon the commander.

It was under Augustus that the Praetorian Guard was established on a permanent basis (Fig 10). While it gave the emperor control over the Roman State, in time it became an important political power in its own right and many later emperors owed their accession to the Praetorian Guard. As a rule the reign of Augustus is characterised by incremental expansion. After a costly civil war Rome was in no mood for massive wars of aggression in distant lands. At the same time Augustus, perhaps considering Varus' humiliating defeat in the Teutoburg Forest (AD 9), advised his successor Tiberius (r. AD 14-42-37) to limit the expansion of the empire, advice that would be difficult to follow.

Trajan (r. AD 98-117) was a different kind of emperor (Fig 9). He was greatly concerned with military fame, and sought to emulate the great military commanders of the past. He spent a great portion of his reign commanding troops in the field and during his rule the Roman Empire reached its greatest extent, although many of these gains were short-lived. Trajan was the adopted son of the then ruling emperor Nerva (r. AD 96-98) and when Nerva died Trajan became the first emperor to be born outside Italy. He went on to conquer Dacia (modern Romania) in 105-6 and the western part of the Parthian Empire in 114-16. Trajan died after contracting a disease during his unsuccessful siege of Hatra. These new provinces did not long remain under Roman control, and, after a series of revolts, his successor Hadrian (r. 117-138) let these regions go and began to consolidate the

Fig 9. Statue of Trajan. It was usual for Roman emperors to be depicted in military garb, but Trajan was very much at home in the field, 2nd century AD. H. 191cm. © The Louvre, Paris.

Fig 10. Marble relief of the Praetorian Guard. The establishment of a permanent body of troops loyal to the emperor served to counterbalance the army, yet in a short time the Praetorian Guard would itself become a political force and could play a decisive role in proclaiming a new emperor, 2nd century AD. H. 136cm, W. 86cm. The Louvre, Paris.
empire, erecting border defences in both Germany and Britain. This marked an important psychological departure from Trajan, and signalled that Hadrian was not concerned with boundless expansion.

While various dates have been proposed for the end of the Roman Empire, it is certain that the Byzantines considered themselves the heirs of Rome. The date of the fall of Rome could therefore be placed on 29 May 1453, when Constantinople was taken by the armies of Sultan Mehmet II (1432-1481). Yet these events lay in the distant future, as under emperor Justinian (r. 527-65) the Byzantine empire was at the height of its powers. Flavius Belisarius (500-565) started his first command as an officer in Justinian’s bodyguard (Fig 11). After his successful raids into Armenia he became the senior general for the Persian campaigns of 529. Blamed for the defeat at Callinicum he was recalled, only to prove his loyalty during rioting against Justinian. He then wrestled control of northern Africa from the Vandals in 533 and had forced the Ostrogoths into submission by 540 (Fig 12). Belisarius was such a popular figure that when he surrounded them in Ravenna they apparently surrendered to him in the hope that he would become their ruler. However, he was a staunch supporter of the imperial system, despite the fact that by the end of his career he was provided with only limited resources and limited support from Constantinople. He was finally recalled from retirement in 559 when the Slavs and Bulgars attempted to invade the imperial capital. Despite being greatly outnumbered, Belisarius defeated the invaders, driving them back to the north. The fall of Constantinople would have to wait for the assault of another group of nomads from the steppes, the Ottoman Turks under Mehmet II.

While great military commanders may study the battles of previous generals for guidance, and read of their lives for inspiration, because of differing variables it is often difficult to draw any points of similarity. Great commanders are well respected by their subordinates, which would be reflected in their ability to handle small groups of men in a tactical situation. Few in the military rise above this level of responsibility. The aspect of command that captures the imagination of most scholars is operational command, often called ‘strategy’.

How best to conduct the D-Day landings at Normandy is perhaps the best example of operational command. Strategic command can be seen as one step above operational command. It involves the mobilisation of the resources of the entire nation to overcome an enemy. For example, Philip II of Spain may have planned the Armada that was to be launched against England in 1588, but did not command it. Many ancient Roman emperors clearly had a grasp of command at the highest level of magnitude, but may not have understood tactical situations. When all these levels of command are considered it becomes difficult to select which is the most important. Indeed, success in one area may not mean success in all. In the end success and failure can be determined in different ways.

The nature of history plays an important part. The commanders of the legendary expedition against Troy achieved everlasting fame and recognition, but the records of their military deeds probably owe more to poetic licence than to historical accuracy. On the other hand, the campaigns waged by a commander like Eisenhower were covered in detail by the media, allowing modern scholars to criticise aspects of his command. Of all the great commanders of antiquity, Caesar was perhaps in the strongest position to manipulate the facts to best enhance his military reputation. He largely wrote his own history, and there are few surviving voices to contradict him. This demonstrates yet again why the military must not be allowed to control society as a whole. Eisenhower, in studying the history of past military commanders, may have truly understood how dangerous a military government could be.

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LOST RINGS OF THE LEGION: THIRTY YEARS OF CAERLEON’S GEMSTONES

James Beresford

This year marks the 30th anniversary of the excavation of a significant collection of semi-precious gemstones from the legionary fortress bath of Caerleon, South Wales (Fig 1). At the time, the discovery of the 88 intaglios, almost all of which had originally been set in finger-rings, provided the largest such find in Roman Britain (it has since been exceeded by the discovery of 117 engraved cornelians which date to c. AD 150 found at Snetham, Norfolk). More importantly, however, the Caerleon excavations offered archaeologists insights into the history and evolution of the home fortress of one of Rome’s frontier legions, while the discovery and examination of the gemstones has had a profound impact on our understanding of the preoccupations, superstitions, and stylistic predilections of Roman soldiers at the height of the Empire.

Roman military presence at Caerleon - literally ‘Fort of the Legions’ - began in AD 74-5 during moves by the governor of Britain, Sextus Frontinus (later famous as the author of De aquis ductibus) to pacify the hostile Silurian tribe of South Wales. Located near the estuary of the River Usk, and on a crucial nodal point of the developing road network of western Britain, Caerleon - Roman Isca - was to be home to Legio II Augusta.

The bath-house was constructed about AD 80 and from the outset it was an elaborate masonry structure consisting of three bathing halls - the frigidarium, tepidarium, and caldarium - each of which seems to have been enclosed with a vaulted domed roof spanning almost 12m. A large swimming pool (natatio) was also installed soon after construction on the main bath-house had finished.

Following the pacification of the surrounding area by the end of the 1st century, many soldiers from Caerleon were sent to serve in other regions of Britain and from AD 122 most of the legionnaires were in the north of the province assisting in the construction of Hadrian’s Wall. Throughout much of the 2nd century Caerleon was only lightly garrisoned, although it still functioned as a base depot for the legion. During the 3rd century Caerleon was to enter a long period of decline, and although an inscription reveals building work carried out under Aurelian (r. AD 270-275), by the 290s most of the legionary buildings had been dismantled and the fortress abandoned.

The site of the baths was first identified by archaeologists in the early 1960s, though it was in 1977 that intensive excavations of the area began. Two years later, while examining the large main drain running under the baths (Fig 2), a team of archaeologists directed by David Zwickiewicz (National Museum of Wales) began unearthing the tiny semi-precious stones, each of which measures only a few millimetres in length, from the silt which had been deposited under the floor of the frigidarium.

Virtually all the gems found at Caerleon had originally been set into finger-rings, held in position using resin or bitumen. However, such natural adhesives would tend to soften in the heat and damp conditions of a bath-house, leading to the loss of many gemstones. Although bathers must have been aware of the risks of losing their ringstones, the large number of gems recovered from the main drain indicates a reluctance to remove rings while in the baths. This was possibly due to a greater fear of having rings stolen if left in the changing area, although because Romans considered themselves more vulnerable to supernatural influences when naked, there would have been a reluctance to remove rings which were often regarded as charms and protective talismans by their wearers.

During the excavations of the baths, ten iron finger-rings, of which eight held settings for gemstones, were also recovered. These simple iron ring fittings, like most of the semi-precious stones they originally held, were possessions of ordinary legionary soldiers. Certainly none of the gems found in the baths are of any significant artistic merit and were probably mass-produced in workshops turning out a relatively narrow range of well-established ring motifs. There are certainly no gem...

Fig 1 (top right). Collection of all 88 gemstones recovered during the 1979 excavation of the bath house drain and on display at the Roman Legionary Fortress Museum, Caerleon.

Fig 2 (middle right). Main drain of the legionary bath-house running underneath the frigidarium, following its excavation and recovery of the gemstones.

Fig 3 (right). Classically inspired facade of the Roman Legionary Fortress Museum, Caerleon, where the gemstones are currently on display.
Roman Jewellery

stones from Caerleon that compare with the artistic masterpieces presently on display at the Getty Museum (see Minerva, May/June, 2009, pp. 20-21). Nonetheless, the stones from Caerleon are still testament to skilled craftsmen engraving on a minute scale without the aid of magnification equipment. More importantly the stones recovered from the baths 30 years ago emphasised that intaglios were not limited to the extremely wealthy in society, and the market for miniature engraved stones covered a far wider spread of the Roman population - including legionary soldiers - than was often perceived to be the case.

Ancient authors inform us that much deliberation often went into choosing particular ring stone designs, and most took on a deeper religious or superstitious significance. As such, the gemstones found at Caerleon provide an especially sensitive indicator of the changing preoccupations and concerns of soldiers serving in the Roman legions. Furthermore, while engraved stones had occasionally been found during earlier excavations conducted at Caerleon (Fig 4), the 88 gemstones recovered from the bath-house in 1979 proved especially important to archaeologists because they were found in two distinct layers of sediment. This allowed reasonably accurate dates to be attached to the periods when the gems were lost by their owners. The intaglios found at Caerleon therefore provide a unique insight into changing tastes in finger-ring fashion.

The earlier of the deposits of silt from the drain date from the construction of the bath-house in c. AD 80 through until about AD 110. The silt from this early part of the history of the baths contained 32 gems. Rather surprisingly for a legionary fortress setting, infertility military subjects are rarely engraved on stones that were lost in the late 1st and early 2nd century. Instead, most of the gems feature prosperity symbols promoting health and success for the wearer (Fig 5), while engravings of pastoral scenes, featuring grazing goats, rams, or donkeys as symbols of rural tranquillity were also popular (Fig 9). Gems from this early period of the fort's occupation also tend to be cut on brightly coloured, luminous stones such as amethyst, nicol or plasima, mined and transported from as far afield as India and Sri Lanka (Fig 6).

The later deposits found in the drain date from about AD 160 through until the baths went out of use in c. 230. In this collection of 56 gems, military themes are far more commonly represented. Engravings of deities, demigods, and heroes associated with martial prowess were frequently set into rings (Figs 7, 8), while the eagle, symbol of the Roman legions, was also greatly favoured as a ring stone at this time (Fig 10). During the 2nd and 3rd centuries, larger opaque stones were also more commonly worn by soldiers at Caerleon: red Jasper (Fig 10), a stone that was considered to be imbued with magical properties, together with cornelians (Fig 7), make up two-thirds of all gemstones of this period.

The baths at Caerleon were used by legionary soldiers stationed at the fort for a century-and-a-half. By about AD 230, however, they were finally closed when the garrison seems to have become too small to justify the enormous consumption of brushwood and timber required as fuel to heat the hypocaust system. Nonetheless, the shell of the bath building remained well-preserved long into the Middle Ages, and Gerald of Wales (Geraldus Cambrensis) described the imposing ruins while accompanying the Archbishop of Canterbury through Caerleon in 1188 while on a recruiting tour for the Third Crusade.

Today, the Roman Bath Museum stands atop the foundations of Caerleon's bath-house and wooden walkways above the ruins afford the visitor with a chance to view the remains of the hot, warm, and cold halls, as well as the swimming pool and exercise yard. Less than five minutes walk away is the National Roman Legion Museum in which the gemstones recovered from the drain of the bath-house are on display.

All images courtesy of Angewidda Cymru, National Museum of Wales.

Fig 4 (top left). Bust of a hero figure, possibly Alexander the Great, Achilles, or Mars, wearing a Corinthian helmet. Excavated by Sir Mortimer Wheeler from Caerleon amphitheatre in 1926-7. 19 x 15mm, 2.9mm deep. Red Jasper.

Fig 5 (second left). A modius with a tripod base. A pair of scales balances on the modius, while a roven pecks at an ear of wheat. Deposited c. AD 80-110. 13.2 x 10.9mm, 2.5mm deep. An agate of light brown colour.

Fig 6 (third left). Minerva wearing a crested helmet and resting a spear on her shoulder from which hangs her shield. The lower part of her garment billows behind her as she walks. Deposited c. AD 80-110. 120 x 9.8mm, 2.4mm deep. Nicolo, with a pale blue front panel and dark brown bind hand behind.

Fig 7 (fourth left). Mars wearing a helmet and carrying a shield and spear. Deposited c. AD 160-230. 12 x 8.8mm, 2.8mm deep. Cornelian orange-brown in colour.

Fig 8 (bottom left). Bust of Minerva or Roma wearing peplos and helmet. The curling of the helmet's plume behind the neck has parallels with Fig 4. Deposited c. AD 160-230. 15.3 x 12.1mm, 2.8mm deep. Cornelian browned in colour.

Fig 9. Pack-ass beginning to graze. On its back is a pack, secured by two girth straps. Deposited c. AD 80-110. 12.4 x 9.4mm, 2.2mm deep. Cornelian or sard of orange-brown colour.

Fig 10. Eagle with wings outstretched, tearing at a hare which lies on its back. Deposited c. AD 160-230. 15.2 x 12mm, 3.2mm deep. Red Jasper.
While it was not considered as one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient Mediterranean World, the Great Wall of China is the largest structure built in antiquity. It is so large that it is still not presently possible to estimate its full length. Part of this difficulty is its long period of construction. Many modern estimates only take into account the most recent Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) wall, only a fraction of the whole, which encompasses many structures. If the various sections of the wall were added together the total length may be in the region of 50,000km. Portions of this structure were built between 300 BC and AD 1644, but there are four distinct periods of construction. These were the Qin Great Wall (221-206 BC) which was about 3000 km long; the Han Great Wall (206 BC - AD 220) 7200km; the Jin Wall (AD 1115-1234) of 5000km; and the Ming Wall of some 6700km (Fig 1). As the latter is the best preserved it is also the easiest to measure. However, it is important to realise that, even during the Ming Dynasty (Figs 3, 7, 12-14), sections of the wall were still under construction. In fact it never formed a solid barrier across the northern frontier. The wall not only needed to be built but also garrisoned, and even China had difficulty in supporting the number of troops required to span the northern frontier. The result was that vulnerable areas were given special treatment. High mountain areas were, for obvious reasons, less of a security threat.

All parts of the wall share a common theme in that they were built to keep northern nomads from entering the Chinese heartland. With dynastic change the course of the wall was also altered to fit new borders as well as new threats. At various times older sections of wall that lay well behind the empire’s current boundaries were destroyed for fear they could become the focus of rebellion. The Great Wall was, like other structures of antiquity, a reflection of society. It also served more than one function: it was more than a mere barrier. Watchtowers were used for surveying the landscape as well as signalling; gatehouses acted as fortified...
Fig 5. Chinae, Sinarum regions descriptio (Description of China, Formerly Sinarum). The first published Western map of China to clearly show the Great Wall. Hand coloured copper-plate engraving by Abraham Ortelius, 37 x 47cm, Latin edition, printed in Antwerp in 1584. The map is orientated with Occidens, west at top to fit the atlas format of the Theatrum.

Fig 6. The Ambassador’s Entry Through the Famous Chinese Wall, depicting a Russian trade delegation led by the Envoy Isumalov enroute to Peking in 1720 where he was granted an audience with the Kangxi Emperor. A 17th century copper-plate engraving with later hand colouring, 39 x 20cm.

Fig 7. The Great Wall at Nankow Pass between China and Mongolia. Copper-plate engraving, 33.5 x 23.5cm, from the Illustrated London News, 1873.

Ancient China

points of entry; granaries built into the wall provisioned the army. The wall was also associated with high status structures for officials. A particular feature was the vast distance it spanned and the methods and materials of manufacture changed to suit local natural resources as well as reflect new military organisation.

As an example, the most westerly section of the Great Wall dates to the early Han Dynasty, c. 100 BC (Figs 9, 11). This section protected the jade trade route. Jade was mined in Hetian, south of the Taklamakan desert, and passed into the heartland from a small fortress west of Dunhuang, known as the Jade Gate. Although the Han Dynasty wall was one of the longest in history - stretching from west of Yumenguan to the Yalu River on the border with Korea - little remains of it today. The Han period wall in most areas has been rebuilt, and it is only in the desert that sections of the wall dating to this period survives. The wall here could not be made of stone, which was not locally available. Instead, it was composed of alternate layers of reeds and sand-gravel that were saturated with alkaline water. When dry, these materials solidified into a hard mass (Fig 9).

The desert also preserved evidence of signalling. Si: Aurel Stein (1862-1943; Fig 10) found curious mounds during his exploration of Chinese Turkestan. He roved odd structures, 2.5m square and up to 2m high, constructed from reeds. Unlike the wall, it is unclear if the sand and pebbles between the layers of reeds were placed there intentionally or if they were later driven into position by wind. At first Stein thought the neatly laid bundles were used for the urgent repair of the wall: ‘...it still remained to explain why some of the stacks at different posts were reduced by fire to calcined fragments. The most plausible explanation did not suggest itself until M. Chauvannes’ translations showed me how frequent are the references to fire signals in the records from such watch stations.’ These sandles would have perished in all but the driest of climates.

Rammed earthen walls were also in use along the wall at various times and places. A solid wall made of stone was only possible following the widespread use of iron tools in China from about 500 BC, but this was only the case where stone was plentiful and there was the will to expend considerable resources in large construction projects. A major impetus to expand the Great Wall was provided by Genghis Khan (1162-1227) who began his conquest of China with a surprise attack on the middle capital of Zhongdu (modern Beijing) in 1209. The capital was partic-
ularly vulnerable to attack from the south-west, and it was this inner wall system that was constructed by the Ming Dynasty. This was not simply a strong wall built through the mountains, but a series of walls, watchtowers, and fortifications. The ‘wall’ of Laiyuan County is about 150km south-west of Beijing. Typically, fieldstone or roughly quarried ramps are supplemented with imposing watchtowers constructed from brick. While the Ming Dynasty did not witness a large scale assault on these inner walls, some of the heaviest fighting took place between Japanese forces pushing south from Manchuria in a drive to capture Beijing in 1937. Some of the towers, located on naturally defensible high ground, were used during the conflict and were destroyed by retreating Chinese or advancing Japanese troops. Sadly, some reconstructions of the wall have been more enthusiastic than knowledgeable. Niaoziguan, or ‘The Woman General’s Pass’, about 70km south of Laiyuan county, has been a strategic point since the 7th century. As the name suggests, this section of wall was reputedly commanded by a princess and a contingent of female soldiers. In 1980 there was a single storey gate house atop the pass. In 1995 the site was remodelled for the celebration to commemorate the 50th anniversary of China’s victory over Japan. As a result, the watchtower was demolished and replaced by a multi-storey structure with flying caves. While perhaps visually more interesting, there is no historical basis for this new structure. Certainly at this site in particular the history, if correctly presented, should be interesting enough without the need for such architectural embellishments.

The Great Wall in the Beijing area is probably the best known to tourists (Figs 15-21). These sections of the defensive system received the most detailed attention, particularly the pass at Badaling. The stones here are of massive granite, some more than two metres long and weighing one metric tonne. Towers in this area are also imposing and are spaced little more than 100m apart. Sections of the wall here are also well preserved and have undergone sensitive restoration. It is this fact that offers hope for the continued existence of the wall. This is a happy state of affairs when compared with the situation in the middle of the last century. The wall faced destruction as well as neglect during the so-called Cultural Revolution (1966-76). Explosive growth in subsequent decades also brought its own threats. Sections of the wall were destroyed when they stood in the way of roads, access to farmland,
Ancient China

Fig 13. Slide of the so-called Magic Lantern tower near Jianguan, Ming Dynasty (1368–1644). Thought to have been coloured by an artist in Shanghai, once belonging to William Gell, it was bequeathed to Luther Newton Hayes in 1925.

Fig 14. The Ming Jianguan Gate Tower, destroyed by fire in the 1930s, reconstructed in 1984 after an official directive by Chinese Paramount Leader Deng Xiaoping (1904–97).

Fig 15. Impressive sequence of towers in the Great Wall at Hebei in Huairou County, a view that for many is evocative of this greatest of all monuments, Ming Dynasty (1368–1644).

Fig 16. The main eastern division of the Great Wall in the vicinity of Beijing, known as Beijing Jie, or the Y, viewed from the north in Huairou County, Ming Dynasty (1368–1644).

and the growth of villages and towns. The wall also served as an easily accessible source of stone for many local construction projects.

There has, however, been renewed interest in the Great Wall. During the 1980s Deng Xiaoping ushered in a new era for the wall with his policy of ‘Love China: Rebuild the Great Wall’ (Figs 14, 21). While earlier dynasties constructed the wall primarily for defensive purposes, the new phase of reconstruction is firmly rooted in nationalist sentiment. With renewed interest from both Chinese and foreign tourists the future of the wall - or at least sections of it - seems secure. However, there is a looming threat to the natural setting of the wall, and a need to appreciate the full extent of the structure. In 1987,
Ancient China

Fig 18 (above). The Great Wall of China near Nankow Pass, Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), probably exposed using the Circular Panoramic Camera by an unknown photographer for the National Geographic Society, London, 1922. 112.5 x 23.75cm.

Fig 19 (above left). A bird’s-eye view of the Great Wall at Badaling in the region of Beijing, Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). Large sepia print taken by Herbert Ponting in 1907.

Fig 20 (left). A bird’s-eye view of the Great Wall at Badaling. Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). Photographed by William Lindsay 100 years later than the Ponting photo (Fig 19).

Fig 21 (left). Deng Xiaoping viewing the Great Wall. Watercolour by an unknown artist, 78 x 47cm, c. 1985.

Although the wall was listed as a World Heritage Site, it was appreciated as a cultural, rather than a cultural-natural, structure. The result is that there is no protection of the land near the wall; there is no ‘safe perimeter’. This is especially worrying where modern encroachment threatens the natural setting of the wall and erases the archaeological context. There are sections of the wall that are particularly sensitive to changes in the surrounding landscape.

Rammed earth is especially vulnerable to water and, as such, certain sections of wall built of the material have come under threat from modern agricultural practices. As an example, part of the Ming dynasty rammed earth wall that crosses the Gobi desert in Shandan County is now located in an area used for irrigated farming. Sadly, the wall in this region was, until recently, the best preserved section of Ming dynasty rammed earth wall. Now, water, brought to the surface with pumps, inundates the lower levels of the fortifications and renders long stretches of the wall unstable. At the same time rodents have been attracted to the area by an increase in food and water, and have burrowed extensively into the rammed earth wall. These factors pose a significant threat to a part of the wall that, while not as picturesque as the section constructed from stone, is nonetheless highly important. Hopefully, with increased awareness, some semblance of the magnitude of the wall in its entirety can be preserved as well as isolated stretches. The task ahead is vast, but an essential first step is documentation. The International Friends of the Great Wall (IFGW) are to be commended for their efforts at photographing and re-photographing sections of the wall known from old images. It is an important process that will hopefully result in sensitive management and restoration of the wall rather than ‘concrete’ change.

This article is based on *The Great Wall Revisited. From the Jade Gate to Old Dragon’s Head* by William Lindsay (Frances Lincoln Limited, London, 2006; 292pp, 100 b/w & 170 colour illus, 40 line drawings. Hardback, £25).

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SyroPhoenician / Canaanite flat cast joined figurine
Late 3rd/early 2nd millennium BC. Height: 13.5cm.
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11-12 September, LEIPZIGER MUNZHANDLUNG HEIDRUN HOHN, Tel.: (49) 0341 124 790; e-mail: info@numismatik-online.de; (www.numismatik-online.de) (including ancient coins in addition to those of later periods).

12 September, JEAN ELSEN & SES FILS, Auction 102, Auction sale of ancient coins. Tel.: (32) 273 463 56; e-mail: consignement@helsen.eu (www.elsen.eu).

21-23 September, WESTFÄLISCHE AUKTIONSGESELLSCHAFT (WAG), Auction sale of ancient coins. Dortmund. Tel.: (49) 231 202; e-mail: info@wag-auctionen.de (www.muenzauctionen.com).

22-23 September, BALDWIN'S, Sale of ancient and commemorative medals and coins. London. Tel.: (44) 20 7930 6879; e-mail: coins@baldwin.sh (www.baldwin.sh).

22-26 September, GERHARD HIRSCH NACHF., Coin and medal auction. Munich, Germany. Tel.: (49) 0 89 29 21 50; e-mail: coinhirsch@t-online.de.

28 September. FRITZ RUDOLF KÜNKER MUNZENHANDLUNG, Auction sale of ancient coins, Steigberger Hotel Remarque, Osnabrueck. Tel.: (49) 0541 9620 (www.kaemler.de).

EXHIBITIONS

UNITED KINGDOM

Ipswich

Exhibition of Anglo-Saxon art and coins from the De Witt collection recently purchased by The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, with the support from the Heritage Lottery Fund and the Art Fund. The 1200 year old coins feature bold images of people, animals and birds, as well as famous faces such as the King of Mercia and the earliest English coin that depicts the face of Christ. GALLERY 3, IPSWICH TOWN HALL GALLERIES, 01473 435 554, Until 5 September.

CHINA

Beijing

ANCIENT COIN MUSEUM. An exhibition featuring nearly 1000 items of currency that have been circulated during the China’s long history. The collection not only traces the evolution of the country’s coinage, but also unveils the aesthetic values of the Chinese people, and the development of the social, economic, and cultural conditions in China. DESHENMEN ARROW TOWER (Room 10) 10-6201-8073; Permanent.

TURKEY

Bodrum

Exhibit of monetary and weight systems used in Anatolia, especially Caria. Genuine coins, as well as ancient and modern counterfeits, are also displayed. BODRUM MUSEUM OF UNDERWATER ARCHAEOLOGY (90) 252 316 25 16 (www.bodrum-museum.com), Permanent.

Seaby antiquities gallery

Roman bronze Fortuna, her chiton slipping from her right shoulder and her himation over the back of her head as a veil. Nestled in the crook of her left arm is a fruit-filled, crescent-topped cornucopia.

Late 1st-century 2nd Century AD. H. 7 1/4 in. (18.4 cm.) Ex German private collection; John Kluge collection, Charlottesville, VA.; J. A. collection, Almadora, Portugal.

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**ETERNAL EGYPT**

Masterworks of Ancient Art From The British Museum

Edna R. Russmann

An 8-page review (Minerva May/June 2001) of the largest selection of the British Museum's distinguished holdings ever made available to an audience outside its own galleries.

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**GIFTS OF THE NILE**

Ancient Egyptian Faience

Florence Dunn Friedman

A 10-page review (Minerva May/June 1998) of the first major international exhibition of Egyptian faience, as described by the organizer and curator.

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**WOMEN IN CLASSICAL GREECE**

A Review of 'Pandora’s Box'

Jerome M. Eisenberg

A 14-page review (Minerva Nov/Dec 1995) of the ground-breaking exhibition organized by Dr Ellen D. Reeder of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, on the artistic portrayal of women in the Classical Greek World—their lives, customs, rituals, and myths.

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The Curse of the Mummy and Other Mysteries of Ancient Egypt
Charlotte Booth

No, this isn’t a list of Hammer Horror films and the like but an intriguing collection of 10 chapters on several and varied aspects of ancient Egypt. There are many of ‘the usual suspects’ rounded up here, but this is not just a rehash or repetition of what is to be found in the usual books that treat such subjects. The obvious first question is ‘Who were the ancient Egyptians’, followed by the mystery of the pyramids, oracles, and priests, a look at the major figures of Hatshepsut (why did she reign as a king), Akhenaten (a clever politician or religious reformer/maniac), Tutankhamun (youthful tragedy or criminal murder), and Cleopatra (not a beauty but an astute manipulator of men), as well as ‘The invisible trail of the Exodus’ (did it really happen?). In all, it is a very useful collection of short essays which examine in detail the subjects, and especially the background writings on them, pointing out how much that has been written has its own agenda, often reflecting the period of writing. Charlotte Booth has a very individual ‘take’ in many of her chapters that is not only enlightening but also very refreshing, reminding the reader sometimes of quite unusual aspects of the jigsaw that makes up so much of ancient Egypt that many people consider, or have considered ‘mysterious’ without foundation.

The illustrations are really superfluous, especially as they are so darkly reproduced on poor paper. In chapter 10, the book’s eponymous title, the ‘curse of the proof reader’ has struck - Champollion died in 1832, not 1932 (p. 192); and Belzoni died at Gato in Benin, not in Sierra Leone (p. 193). These peccadilloes apart, the book is an intriguing read and gathers together some very useful information.

Peter A. Clayton

Egyptian Scarabs
Richard H. Wilkinson

Scarabs are the commonest of Egyptian antiquities (and the most forged and copied). It seems strange how the humble dung beetle could become the symbol of the sun god Khepri, associated with the rising dawn sun, but here the ancient Egyptians’ supreme logic kicks in. The industrious beetle, rolling a ball of dung (its food supply) along with its back legs, and from which its grubs emerged almost as a virgin and rejuvenated birth, was the reflection of the ball of the sun traversing the heavens to be born anew at the dawn of a new day. The scarab appears to have had a religious significance as early as the First Dynasty.

Professor Wilkinson examines the nature and myth of the scarab, its origins and functions. It can be found in various sizes and had many uses, the simplest being thousands as protective good luck charms, usually inscribed with appropriate texts. Often used as a seal of office, worn suspended on a thong or set into a ring, historically the scarab can provide information out of all proportion to its size.

Two of the most important functions of the scarab were as a heart scarab, and as a commemorative piece. In the embalming process the heart was not removed from the body but a scarab inscribed with Chapter 308 of the Book of the Dead would be included in the wrappings above it. This was so that it could speak on behalf of the deceased when they came to judgement and their heart was weighed in the balance against the feather of Truth (Maat), represented in the vignette of Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead, ‘where my heart shall not speak against me’ in the Negative Confession in the Hall of Judgement before Osiris, the god of the dead. Large commemorative scarabs are commonest from the reign of Amenophis III (1386-1349 BC), where they record several events including his marriage to Queen Tiy, his building of a pleasure lake for her, and, not least, his slaying of ‘102 fierce lions’ in the first ten years of his reign.

The scarabs travelled outside Egypt and were widely copied, not necessarily having the same religious connotation. They can be found in many Mediterranean civilisations with their motifs recognisably Egyptian but with local variations on them. Many, such as early Greek and Etruscan examples carved in semi-precious stones, are miniature works of art in themselves, and all these aspects are succinctly discussed in Professor Wilkinson’s extremely useful book.

Peter A. Clayton

As Witnessed By Images:
The Trojan War Tradition in Greek and Etruscan Art
Steven Lowenstam

The aim, stated by the author, is ‘to reveal the diversity of the early Greek heroic tradition as it has come down to us in piecemeal fashion’. Professor Lowenstam (died 2003) was a scholar noted for his contributions to the field of Homeric studies and he was intrigued, as many other scholars
were, by what informed and inspired visual artists across the Mediterranean to depict the Trojan War in vase paintings, wall paintings, sculpture, and even, in some rare instances, on coins. The question is, did the Greek and Etruscan painters simply pick up the stories from the Homeric epic, or did they put their own twist on the Iliad and Odyssey and other ancient authors, independently creating their art works founded on their own traditions? Often, in following their own pathway, yet not being ignorant of the basic source, they have added a new dimension to the story (even new information) by possibly incorporating material from sources outside the basic Homeric epic that are unknown to us today.

Early representations can often show a variant, or indeed completely different version, from what has become the accepted mythic story. Traditional iconography is often retained in the Greek colonies of Magna Graecia and Etruria but the artists in those areas also introduced novelty - there is often a degree of comedy involved, as when a pot-bellied Odysseus save himself after shipwreck on a raft of amphorae. Elements of the Homeric cycle are often to be found in scenes carved on Etruscan cinerary chest. Poetry and play cycles such as those by Aeschylus or Sophocles also had a 'voice', an interaction, in presenting Homeric themes that must have found their way into the artist's or sculptor's consciousness and then subsequent reinterpretation and reproduction.

The date of the Homeric poems and their introduction is a crucial element in the author's argument and, intriguingly, he notes, c. 680-650 BC, the appearance of the binding of Polyphemos by four painters, working in four different styles, and appearing in three different areas - 'thus dawned the representation of Odyssean myth in Mediterranean art'. His contention, however, is that the stories (representations) reflect only a story of a giant's blinding, not necessarily of Polyphemos. Although the Odyssean tale/poem may well have been told/sung for 'hundreds of years' previously, it does not necessarily mean that the images are that specific - the myth could have different connotations in different areas. In Magna Graecia colonists are exploring new lands and this could simply be a reflection of 'the dangers and anxieties of foreign travel'. The very act of the blinding may only be a focus on 'dangers and heroic action'. There is a strong interconnection between the symposium (for which much of the pottery was destined), poetry, and vase painting.

Lowestam's thesis is: 'In the broadest sense, the traditional, heroic mythology served as a vehicle through which Greek artists and their patrons communicated the concerns of their time. It is an interesting consideration in a thought-provoking book that also well illustrates the salient points of the author's argument.'

Peter A. Clayton

Good Impressions: Image and Authority in Medieval Seals
Edited by Noel Adams, John Cherry, and James Robinson
Paperback, £30.

Medieval seals, both public and private, reflect a world of art in miniature. They can relate to the great and the good - the Great Seal of England - or be representative of society from the nobility down to a relatively lowly merchant, but all have a story that is there to be visually read and often historically unravelled. The 16 papers published here are the fruits of an international conference held at the British Museum in February 2007, and published with commendable rapidity. Accompanying the conference was a select exhibition of 88 seals divided into 12 sections and they are all illustrated in colour, mainly from their positive impressions, in a detailed listing in an appendix.

All official documents carried a wax impression of an appropriate seal to authenticate them, and many documents still carry them in varying condition attached by their silk cords. Similarly, documents of a lesser nature would often have a seal impression attached for identification or guarantee of the issuer. Obviously, by virtue of their inherent fragile nature, many of these seal impressions often survive only in fragmentary condition. Since especially the advent of metal detecting in recent years, many of the seal matrices that made the impressions have been found. They can often add considerable knowledge by their representation content to the history of places, institutions, and people that they belonged to.

The papers presented here cover a whole gamut of aspects of medieval seals, the majority of them relating to England but several relating to medieval material from Europe having great interest.

The production of seals was a very specialised and skilful activity, requiring much skill in reproducing the image and lettering required in reverse to reproduce the appropriate positive image. The skill follows hard on the heels of the ancient coin die engravers, which in early medieval times had been lost from the coin die engraver's art. The official seals of government, and especially religious institutions, with specific religious imagery, are positive statements, as indeed are the majority of seals relating to the nobility, such as the armoured and equestrian representation of Robert Fitzwalter (1213-19), a baron amongst those forcing King John to seal (not sign!) Magna Carta in 1215. An interest in the past is evidenced by a number of medieval seals that incorporate ancient carved gemstones, the majority having a bird or animal subject, or a god or goddess, but some particularly rare examples have contemporary portraits of Roman emperors such as Antoninus Pius or Lucius Verus.

Private seals can identify not only the owner and images relating to his trade such as a baker, farrier, tailor, vintner, etc, but also images relating to hunting, love, and also exotic beasts such as the wyvern, a two-legged dragon. They all provide a window on the medieval world in miniature.

The publication of these well-illustrated papers is a welcome addition to the literature of sigillography and local historians, genealogists, and even archaeologists will all find something of interest and value here.

Peter A. Clayton

Minerva, July/August 2009
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UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 734 764 0395 (www.umma.umich.edu). Until 16 August.

ATLANTA, Georgia
THE LOUVRE AND THE MASTERPIECE. 91 masterworks from the Louvre spanning 4000 years, including the famous archaic Greek statue of the Lady of Auxerre. In addition to a genuine Egyptian portrait head the exhibition also includes for comparison the famous Egyptian ‘Blue Head’ now accepted to be a forgery (see Minerva, November/December 2006, pp. 43-44). HIGH MUSEUM OF ART (1) 404 733 4437 (www.high.org). Until 6 September.

BALTIMORE, Maryland
MUMMIFIED. About 20 Egyptian animal mummies and other objects are featured as part of the focus show, as well as a presentation on the ‘Mummimania’ of the 19th to 20th centuries. Scientific examination reports are also presented for a CT scan that was performed on the Walters’ Egyptian mummy. WALTERS ART MUSEUM (1) 410 547 9000 (www.thewalters.org). Until 8 November.

BERKELEY, California
PARTING THE CURTAIN: ASIAN ART REVEALED. Over 50 select works of art from c. 10,000 BC to the 20th century from the museum’s collection and from long-term loans from Louise Gund. BERKELEY ART MUSEUM. Ongoing.

BROOKLYN, New York
MAGIC IN ANCIENT EGYPT: IMAGE, WORD, AND REALITY. How the ancient Egyptians, known throughout the ancient world for their expertise in magic, addressed the unknown forces of the universe, as illustrated by 20 objects. THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM (1) 718 638 5000 (www.brooklynmuseum.org). Extended again until 30 October.

BRUNSWICK, Maine
THE BOWDOWIN COLLEGE MUSEUM. Following a considerable expansion, the museum reopened in October 2007 with the five 9th century BC Assyrian reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II from Nimrud (ancient Kalhu) on display, along with a fine group of Attic vases among other works of ancient art. BOWDOWIN COLLEGE MUSEUM OF ART (1) 207 725 3275 (www.bowdoin.edu/edu-museum).

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts
RE-VIEW: A unique grouping of ancient, Asian, Islamic, and European objects from Harvard’s three museums - the Fogg, Busch-Reisinger, and Sackler - while the building at 32 Quincy Street is closed for an extensive renovation. HARVARD ART MUSEUM/ARTHUR M. SACKLER MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY (1) 617 495 9400 (www.artmuseums.harvard.edu/sackler). Ongoing.

COLUMBUS, Ohio
LOST EGYPT: ANCIENT SECRETS, MODERN SCIENCE. These travelling exhibitions (there are three virtually identical ones) from the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden, previously titled ‘Trail of the Mummies’, are interactive shows featuring an ancient human mummy and several animal mummies. COSI COLUMBUS (Hands-on Science Center) (1) 614 228 2674 (www.cosi.org). Until 7 September.

DALLAS, Texas

HOUSTON, Texas
ANCIENT ARTS OF VIETNAM: FROM RIVER PLAIN TO OPEN SEA. Some 110 objects from Vietnam’s leading museums, from the 1st millennium BC through the 1st millennium AD. These include Hindu and Buddhist sculptures, ritual bronze, terracotta burial wares, gold jewellery, and ornaments of jade and lapis lazuli, never before exhibited outside of Vietnam. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, HOUSTON (1) 713 639 7300 (www.mfah.org). Until 3 January 2010.

INDIANAPOLIS, Indiana
TUTANKHAMUN: THE GOLDEN KING AND THE GREAT PHARAOHS. The travelling exhibition of over 130 antiquities from the Valley of the Kings, including 50 objects from his tomb such as a gold coffinettes, his golden sandals and one of his canopic jars. Also featured is a colossal statue of Tutankhamun, probably from his mortuary temple. Over 50 works of INDIANAPOLIS (1) 317 334 3322 (www.childrens museum.org). 27 June – 25 October. (See Minerva, November/December 2006, pp. 8-15.)

LOS ANGELES, California
POMPEII AND THE ROMAN VILLA: ART AND CULTURE AROUND THE BAY OF NAPLES. Some 150 works of sculpture, mosaics, painting, and luxury arts, including recent discoveries on view in the US for the first time and celebrated finds from earlier excavations, revealing the breathtaking level of cultural and artistic life, as well as the influence of classical Greece on Roman art and culture in this region. The exhibition also focuses on the impact that the 18th century excavations and rediscovery of Pompeii and Herculanum had on the art and culture of the modern world. LOS ANGELES COUNTY MUSEUM OF ART (1) 323 857 6000 (www.lacma.org). Until 4 October.

MALIBU, California
CARVERS AND COLLECTORS: THE LASTING MAKE OF ANCIENT GEMS. This exhibition brings together remarkable intaglios and cameos carved by ancient master engravers along with some of the outstanding works by modern carvers that they have inspired. The gems will be displayed together with material from later periods - illuminated manuscripts, rare engravings from early catalogues, cabinets designed to house collections of gems, and other works of art in diverse media - all of which evoke the importance of the gems through the ages, and illustrate the evolution of gemstone masterpieces in miniature. J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM AT THE GETTY VILLA (1) 310 230 7075 (www.getty.edu). Until 7 September. (See Minerva, May/June, pp. 20-21.)
THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS: WORDS THAT CHANGED THE WORLD. An important exhibition from the Israel Antiquities Authority of a number of documents and fragments from the famous trove dating c. 200 BC to AD 68. These were unearthed between 1947 and 1956, including some of the oldest known fragments of the Hebrew Bible, with artefacts found at the site, and a multi-media presentation. ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM (1) 416 586 5549 (www.rom.on.ca). Until 1 November.

BOUGON, Deux-Sèvres JEWELLERY: LANGUAGE WITHOUT SPEECH. Displayed, 4th millennium BC stone beads were found in Tumulus F of the La Roche-en-Ardenne necropolis, in the Tumulus de BOUGON (33) 549 05 12 13. Until 1 November.

CARNAC, Morbihan MARTE ET SAINT JUST PEQUARID: ISLAND ARCHAEOLOGISTS. In the first half of the 20th century the couple found a prehistoric necropolis, especially on the islands to the south of Brittany such as Tévenc et Hoedic (Morbihan) from 1923 to 1934, MUSEE DE LA PREHISTOIRE (33) 297 52 22 04 (www.museedecarnac.com). Until 31 December.

DIOJON, Côte-d’Or SCULPTURES MEDIEVALES EN BOURGOGNE. In addition to the medieval sculptures in the collection of the museum AD under the influence of the medieval Abbaye Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, this exhibition includes Burgundian sculptures from other sites and museums in the region. MUSEE ARCHEOLOGIQUE DE DIOJON (33) 380 30 88 54 (www.dijon.fr). Until 31 December 2010.

NANTES, Loire-Atlantique THE SEA FOR MEMORY. 20 years of research in this resulting exhibition of 350 objects collected from 40 shipwrecks from the estuaries of the Gironde in the maritime Seine. MUSEE D’HISTOIRE DE NANTES, CHATEAU DES DUCS DE BRETAGNE (33) 217 17 49 48 (www.chateaudechateaubranantes.fr). Until 27 September.

PARIS EARLY ALPALTARES (12TH TO EARLY 15TH CENTURY): A PRESENTATION OF SACRED ART. Although central to Christian liturgical decoration, altarpieces did not emerge until the 12th century. This exhibition recalls the origins of the genre and follows its evolution up to the early 15th century, when they assumed their more familiar form. MUSEE DE LOUVRE (33) 1 42 05 05 00 (www.louve.fr). Until 6 July.

LE DESCRIPTION DE L’EGYPTE. Celebrating the 200th anniversary of the first volumes of the famous 23-volume publication illustrating the antiquities and monuments among other disciplines recorded during Napoleon’s campaign in Egypt (1798-1801). MUSEE DE L’ARMEE (In the Eglise du Dôme) (33) 44 42 37 72 (www.armee.trae.fr). Until 19 September.

THE BATH AND THE MIRROR: COSMETICS IN ANTiquITY AND THE MIDDLE AGES. A special exhibition on the occasion of the reopening of the restored frigidarium of the thermal baths of Cluny featuring chemical analyses of the cosmetic products used in past times. MUSEE NATIONAL DU MOYEN AGE – THERMES DE CLUNY (33) 1 43 25 62 00. Until 21 September.

THE GOLD FROM THE AMERICAS. The museum’s collection of Minéralogie expresses the story of gold in the Americas. MUSEE D’HISTOIRE DU JARDIN DES PLANTES (33) 1 40 79 54 44. Until 17 January 2010.


PERIGUEUX, Dordogne LES WALLS MURMUR: GALLO-ROMAN ART. A lively collection of original ancient graffiti, poetic, humorous, and political, from sites in France and Switzerland. VESUNNA, MUSEE GALLO-ROMAIN (33) 553 03 38 10 (www.vesunna.fr). Until 20 September.


SAINT-GERMAINE-EN-LAYE, Yvelines THE MEROVINGIAN TOMBS IN THE SAINT-DESIAS BASILICA. The necropolis of the Merovingian kings and queens of France. MUSEE D’ARCHEOLOGIE NATIONALE (33) 1 39 10 13 00 (www.museearcheologiesnationales.fr). Until 4 October.

SARRAN, Corrèze TRAVELS MADE FROM EARTH: EARLY CHINESE CERAMICS FROM THE MEYRINGT COLLECTION. Selection of ceramics from the 5th millennium BC to the 15th century AD from one of the finest and largest private collections, assembled over more than 50 years. MUSEE DU PRESIDENT JACQUES CHIRAC (33) 555 21 77 77 (www.museepresident-archirac.fr). Through November.


GERMANY BERLIN PERIODS: MILETUS IN ROMAN AND LATE ANTIQUE TIMES. Since 2006 the Antikenarsammlung and the German Archaeological Institute have carried out excavations in the Baths of Faustina. This has resulted in this exhibition of newly found sculptures along with objects and architectural remains acquired by the museum over the past 100 years from this ancient western Anatolian city, many freshly conserved. PERGAMONMUSEUM, ANTIKENSMUHLE (49) 30 20 95 50 201 (www.smb.spk-berlin.de). Until 10 January 2010.

THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM AND PAPYRUS COLLECTION is closed for the renovation of its historic building and will reopen on 16 October 2009. The bust of Nefertiti, however, will remain on view as part of a special display "Cultural Heritage Protected" in the upper floor of the old museum. A special exhibition of some of the Egyptian papyriworks is being held in Munich at the Staatliche Museum Ägyptische Kunst. AEGYPTISCHES MUSEUM UND PAPYRUSAMMLUNG.

THE RETURN OF THE GODS: BERLIN’S HIDDEN OLYMPUS. 170 classical works of art - painted sculptures, bronzes, glassware - that have either been in storage or off display for restoration are now on exhibit, commemorating the donation of the collection that takes Berlin to the Soviet Union in 1958. Pergamonmuseum, Antikenammlung (49) 30 20 95 50 201 (www.smb.spk-berlin.de). Until 5 July.

WORLD OF BUDDHIST ART: BUDDHA’S JOURNEY BETWEEN INDIA AND JAPAN. Tracing Buddha’s footsteps 2500 years ago on his journey from India to the Far East. MUSEUM FUER ASIATISCHE KUNST (49) 230 382 0 (www.museum.fu-berlin.de/ak). Until 30 September.

DETROIT, Nordrhein-Westfalen MYTHOS (2000 YEARS AGO: THE BATTLE OF VARUS). Part of the three-fold major exhibition with Haltern and Kallriere commemorating the famous battle in the Teutoburg Forest in which 15,000 Roman soldiers were soundly defeated by Germanic tribesmen in an ambush, forcing Augustus to abandon his plans to expand into Germany. LIPPICHES LANDES-MUSEUM DETROIT (49) 5231 99 230 (www.lippiches-landesmuseum.de). Until 31 May.

ERBACH, Hessen AKHENATEN AND NEFERTITI: RULERS IN DIVINE LIGHT. 70 antiques, mainly from the Amarna period, from the Ägyptischen Museum und Papyrussammlung in Berlin, DEUTSCHES ELFENBEIN-MUSEUM ERBACH (49) 6062 919 990 (www.erbach.de/kultur/museum). Until 9 August.


HERNE, Nordrhein-Westfalen SHOE STORY: FROM COLD FEET TO HOT SOLES. The history of foot protection with over 400 examples spanning the period from the 16th century to mid-20th century. LVL-MUSEUM FUER ARCHAEOLOGIE (49) 2323 946 280 (www.lvl-museum-herne.de). Until 31 July.
ON THE TRAIL OF HIEROGLYPHS: COFFINS, STELAE, AND SCHOLARS.

The history of the German attempts to deci-
pher hieroglyphs with a selection of antici-
paties with hieroglyphic inscriptions from the 19th century collections of the Bavarian Academy of the Sciences. STÄTTLICHES MUSEUM AEGYPTISCHE KUNST (49) 89 298 546 (www.aegyptisches-museum-muenchen.de). Until 31 October.

MUNCHIN

STRONG WOMEN — LARGE HEROES. An exhibition devoted to the Amazons fea-
turing three of the five Greek marble Amazons from the Artemis Temple in Ephesus. STÄTTLICHES ANTIKENSAM-
MLINGEN (49) 89 599 888 30 (www.
antike-am-koenigsplatz.mw.m.de). Until 2 August. Catalogue.

SPEYER, Rheinland-Pfalz

THE VIKINGS. An important exhibition of some 300 objects, c. AD 600-900, includ-
ing many intricate stone weapons, silver treas-
ures, jewels and coins. HISTORISCHES MUSEUM DER PALZ (49) 6322 13250 (www.museum.speyer.de). Until 12 July. Catalogue.

SEEFELD, Oberbayern

FRIEND-ENEMY-STRANGER. Antiquities portraying the Egyptians and their neigh-
bour. These include depictions from their political marriages, diplomatic contacts, soldiers, mercenaries, foreign settlers, etc., primarily with pieces loaned from the Munich and Berlin museums. ZIEGWUSSMUSEUM DES STÄTTLICHES MUSEUMS AEGYPTISCHER KUNST MUENCHEN (49) 8152 70652 (www.stzgwik.bayern.de/kunst/ziegwmu-
seum/seefeld). Until 30 November.

TRIER, Rheinland-Pfalz

BEAUTY IN EGYPT: LONGING FOR PER-
FECTION. Over 400 vessels, jewelry, and
sculpture from the Roemer and Pelizaeus
Museum in Hildesheim, the Kestner Museum in Hannover, and the Egyptian Museum in Berlin. RHEINISCHES LAN-

XANTEN, Nordrhein-Westfalen

MARCUS CAESIUS: DEATH AT THE BATTLE OF VARUS. This exhibition about the great battle of Varus 2000 years ago centres around the graveostee of the Roman Centurion Marcus Caesar. LVR-ROEMER-
MUSEUM (49) 2801 9830 10 (www.arp.br.de/english). Until 30 August.

NEW ROMAN MUSEUM. A companion indoor museum for Germany’s largest archaeological open-air museum, the Archaeological Park Xanten, it contains many interactive exhibits and encloses the town thermal baths of Colonia Ulpia Traiana with its foundation walls, heating ducts, and fireplaces. ROEMERMUSEUM, XANTEN (49) 2801 2999 (www.arp.de/roermuseum.de). Until 30 August.

ZUELPICH, Nordrhein-Westfalen

NEW PUBLIC BATH MUSEUM. This new museum is devoted to the history of pub-
lic baths from Roman and medieval times to the present and includes the remains of the Roman thermal baths in Zülpich with their multicoloured walls. ROE-
MERMUSEUM ZUELPICH, MUSEUM DER BADEKULTUR (49) 2252 52228 (www.roermuseum.zuelpich.de).

GREECE

ATHENS

ACROPOLIS MUSEUM OPENS. The long-
awaited museum, 400 metres from the Parthenon, finally opened on 20 June, five years later than its original schedule — and without the Elgin Marbles. The museum will display over 4000 works of ancient art in 20,000 square metres of exhibition space, including a reconstruction of the original alignment of the Parthenon sculptures. There will be a discounted entry fee of one euro for the first six months.

ANCIENT GREEK ART: A HISTORY OF IMAGES. A new permanent exhibition of about 350 objects from c. 2000 BC to the 4th century AD illustrating the develop-
ment of public and private imagery, including a section devoted to the manu-
facturing techniques of the various types of objects. MUSEUM OF CYCLADIC ART (30) 210 722 8321 (www.cycladic-mg.gr).

SCENES FROM DAILY LIFE IN ANTIQUITY. A new permanent exhibition of about 150 antiquities illustrating aspects of public and private life, with numerous visual and interactive applications includ-
ing large panels and screens with views of the ancient city. MUSEUM OF CYCLADIC ART (30) 210 722 8321 (www.cycladic-mg.gr).

HONG KONG

METAL, WOOD, WATER, FIRE, AND
EARTH: GEMS OF ANTIQUITIES COLLECTIONS IN HONG KONG. The Chinese Antiquities Gallery features over 580 exhibits. Some 400 of these are on loan from private collections representing the superb achievements of the ancient Chinese. Hong Kong Museum of Art (852) 2721 0116 (www.museums.gov.hk). Permanent. Catalogue. (See Minerva, March/April 2006, pp. 19-22.)

SHATIN, New Territories

EXCITEMENT OF DIGGING IN HONG KONG. Artefacts unearthed during recent excavations in Hong Kong and research conducted by the university’s Centre for Chinese Archaeology and Art on the local ancient monument workshops and the spread of Shang culture from the Central Plain to the south, ART MUSEUM, CHI-

SHOUANG COLLECTION OF CHINESE BRONZES. 70 bronzes from the Xia to Western Han Dynasties, including a num-
ber of inscribed pieces, illustrating the development of bronze art and technolo-
gy, from the Shouyang Studio in New York (the Katherine and George Fan col-
collecting Art, Museum, Chicago, CHI-

HUNGARY

BUDAPEST

HERITAGE OF THE HOLY LAND: TREAS-
URES FROM THE ISRAEL MUSEUM. This exhibition spans 9000 years, from the 7th millennium BC to the present and includes a section of the famous Temple Scroll from the Dead Sea scrolls, the longest complete scroll ever found, writ-

ISRAEL

JERUSALEM

BELIEF AND BELEIVERS: ANCIENT ART FROM THE ISRAEL MUSEUM. Some 30 selected antiquities of critical and artistic merit shed light on the religion and ritu-
als of Israel’s early inhabitants, including a statuette dating about 12,000 BC.
ROCKEFELLER MUSEUM (972) 628 2252 (www.imj.org.il/rockfe/hr). Ongoing.

ECHOS OF EGYPT. Marking the 30th anniver-
sary of the Israeli-Palestinian accords, this exhibition features 16th to 19th century views of Egypt and its ancient monuments including paintings by David Roberts and photos by James P. Firth, BIBLE LANDS MUSEUM (972) 256 1066 (www.blmj.org). Ongoing.

THREE FACES OF MONOTHEISM. The similarities and contrasts of the shared symbols of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam represented in antiquities, as an important key to understanding the foun-
dations and developments of monothe-
ism and its beginnings in the ancient world. BIBLE LANDS MUSEUM (972) 2 670 8811 (www.blmj.org). Ongoing. (See Minerva, Jan/Feb 2008, pp. 20-21.)

MASADA

NEW MUSEUM OPENS. A state-of-the-art, two-level museum, several unusual theatrical settings at the famed UNESCO World Heritage site; a symbol of the collapse of the Jewish kingdom at the time of the Second Temple. Nearly 250 artefacts from the Herodian and Second Temple periods previously in storage are on display:
YIGAL YADIN MUSEUM (972) 6858 4207.

ITALY

BOLZANO/BOZEN

MUMMIES: THE DREAM OF ETERNAL LIFE. The exhibition of 70 mummified humans and animals from five continents, from prehistoric times to the 20th cen-
tury, as presented last year at the Reiss -Engelhorn Museum in Mannheim, will now include the famous mummy of the iceman ‘Otzli’ discovered in 1991. MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO DELL’ALTO ADIGE (SOUTH TYROL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM) (39) 0471 320 100 (www.archaeologiemuseum.it). Until 25 October.

FLORENCE

FROM PETRA TO SHAWBAK: ARCHAEO-
LOGY OF A FRONTIER. The first exhibition devoted to the work of the Jordanian archaeological mission of the University of Florence over the past 15 years in Petra, the capital of the ancient Nabateans, and the 12th century Castle of Shawbak 25km
NAXOS, Sicily
NAXOS ARCHAEOLOGICAL PARK is now open to the public. Visitors may explore the area of the ancient Greek main religious site on the northern side of the city, the fortified walls, the port, the small peninsula of Schioth, and the archaeological museum (39) 045 251 010 (www.aastigaddini.naxos.it). Ongoing.

PALERMO, Termini Imerese, NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM designed by Dinah Casner, the British architect who reorganised the British Galleries in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. The artifacts found during excavations in the city and neighboring towns are on view, together with the 19th-century collections bequeathed to the city, particularly bronze swords and statuette found in the River Sile and in the necropolises of Montebelluna. MUSEO CIVILI, Santa Caterina (39) 042 254 4864 (www.comune.termini-imerese.pi.it).

PERUGIA
MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO NAZIONALE. New exhibition space has been added to include the Giuseppe Bellucci collection of amulets, musical instruments, and the Etruscan tomb of the Cai Cutu family with its funerary goods (39) 075 575 9682 (www.archeogart.it).

PIZA
ROMAN SHIPS. The archaeological site where Roman ships were discovered almost intact in 1989, and the Cantiere delle Navi Antiche di Pisa where these are being restored can now be visited by预约ed tour on Fridays, Saturday mornings, and Mondays. Centro del RESTAUR- DO DEL LEGNO BAGNATO (39) 053 351 5464 (www.navipisa.it).

RIMINI
HOUSE OF THE SURGEON. The archaeological site of the 2nd century AD Roman Domus del Chirurgo, with its interesting mosaics, is now open to the public at Piazza Ferrari. The house was located on the southern side of ancient Rimini, near the harbour (39) 054 170 4422 (www.dorsunrimini.com). Ongoing.

ROME
DIVUS VESPASIANUS, IL BIMILLENAIO DEI FLAVI. Objects on display primarily from the recent excavations in the amphitheater, including animal bones from the beasts slay there, together with objects on loan from various museums in Rome, presented to represent the life and times of the dynasty. THE COLOSSEUM (39) 39 39667700 (www.piericeti/11580.aspx). (See Minerva, Jul/Aug 2009, pp. 41-43: "The Flavians at the Colosseum"). 27 January - 1 January 2010. (See Minerva, this issue, pp. 18-20).

THE NEWLY RESTORED HOUSE OF EMperor AUGUSTUS ON THE PALATINE with its beautiful wall paintings is now open to the public. (39) 06 584 34700 (www.archeologia.benculturitali.it). Ongoing.

THE MUSEO DEI FORI IMPERIALI has opened inside the so-called Markets of Trajan. This illustrates the history of the Imperial Fora and displays many of the works of art found there. MERCATI DI TRAiano (39) 063 060 2332 (www.archeologia.benculturitali.it). Ongoing.


JAPAN
OSAKA

SHIGAKARI
TALES OF BUDDHAS. MIHO MUSEUM (39) 784 82 3411 (www.mihomuseum.org). 11 July – 16 August.


YOKOHAMA, Kanagawa
EGYPT’S SUNKEN TREASURES. The major travelling exhibition of 495 objects, including a 5-meter-high granite pharaoh, excavated from the underwater ruins of Alexandria, Canopus, and Heracleion under the supervision of Franck Goddio - for the first time in Japan. PACIFIC KOYOKASHA (39) 45 221 2135. 27 June - 23 September.

KOREA
SEOUL
THE EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION. 232 antiquities, including mummies, from the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. NATIONAL MUSEUM OF KOREA (82) 2 2077 9000 (www.seamuse.go.kr). Until August.

QATAR
DOHA
Museum of Islamic art. A major museum devoted to the arts of the Islamic world opened in November 2008. Designed by I. M. Pei, it has 4000 square meters, of exhibition space. In addition to displaying their own major collection, which they have been assembling for several years, the Qatar Museum Authority in partnership with the British Museum, the Metropolitan Museum, the Royal Collection of Morocco, Egypt’s Museum of Islamic Art, and the Carter Collection of France, will cooperate in bringing to Doha world-class exhibitions over a five year period.

RUSSIA
MOSCOW
ANTIQUITIES OF THE RUSSIAN STATE. An ongoing virtual exhibition of some of the 1400 watercolours and drawings, including antiquities and sites, in the seven-volume work by the 19th century graphic artist F. C. Solntsev. MOSCOW KREMLIN MUSEUMS (7) 95 202 37 76 (www.kremlin.museum.ru).

ST PETERSBURG


Calendrier

62

Minerva, July/August 2009
entation in the refurbished Ceramics Galleries that will reopen in September 2009. PERA MUSEUM (00) 212 334 99 00 (www.pm.org.tr). Until 31 July.

MEETINGS, CONFERENCES & SYMPOSIA

1 July. TEACHING AND LEARNING IN ARCHAEOLOGY. The Subject Centre for History, Classics and Archaeology, University of Liverpool, 6th Annual Conference, at the UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, BIRKBECK COLLEGE. Tel.: (44) 0151 794 5039; e-mail:arch@bric.ac.uk. Website: www.heacademy.ac.uk/hca/events/detail.

17 July. ARCHAEOLOGY AND ASTRONOMY: DISCUSSIONS ON COLLUSION OR COLLUSION? The Prehistoric Society and the Royal Astronomical Society. Held at JODRELL BANK OBSERVATORY, near Macclesfield, Cheshire. Contact Dr Tessa MacKinnon, Tel.: (44) 01477 571 339; prehistoric.ac.uk. Website: prehistoric.ac.uk.

18 July, BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, ANNUAL MEETING, Canterbury, on the occasion of the 900th anniversary of the death of St Anselm of Canterbury. Website: www.brit.arch.ac.uk/aa/conferences.

3 September. ENVIRONMENTAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN A CHANGING WORLD. Association for Environmental Archaeology, 30th anniversary meeting. York. Contact: Dr Allan Hall, Tel.: (44) 01904 434 950; email: ar1h@york.ac.uk. Website: www.ac.uk/dept/arch/AEA30.

7 September. RECORDING THE PAST: HOW DIFFERENT EUROPEAN COUNTRIES DEAL WITH PORTABLE ANTIQUITIES. Portable Antiquities Scheme Conference. The British Museum. Contact: Claire Costin, Tel.: (44) 0207 323 8618; email: ccostin@thebritish-museum.ac.uk.

UNITED KINGDOM

BLOOMSBURY SUMMER SCHOOL

6-10 July. FAUNA OF ANCIENT EGYPT: REMAINS AND REPRESENTATIONS. Mr John Wyatt.

6-10 July. TECHNOLOGY IN ANCIENT EGYPT. Dr Paul Nicholson and Dr Ian Shaw.

13-17 July. HEREGYPHES FOR BEGINNERS. Dr José-Ramon Pérez-Accin. With Dr Bill Manley.

13-17 July. FROM TANIS TO ALEXANDRIA: THE LAST MILLENNIUM BC: PHARAOHIC HISTORY. Mr George Hart.
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Egyptian Middle Kingdom limestone relief from the left door jamb of the entrance to a tomb chapel and representing the occupant, a high dignitary, walking to right, holding a staff; in his right hand is a folded strip of cloth. He wears a finely detailed, tiered short wig, a broad *ousekh* collar, and a kilt. Xlth Dynasty, ca. 2133-1991 BC.

H. 19 1/4 in. (49 cm.); W. 11 3/4 in. (30 cm.)

Ex French collection, acquired before 1980.
Attic red-figure column krater by the Naples Painter
Orpheus, seated upon a rocky outcrop, plays his lyre, flanked by two
Thracian warriors; at right a third warrior holds his horse's bridle.
Reverse: Two draped youths flank a draped female.
Ca. 450-430 BC. H. 17 in. (43.2 cm.)
Ex M.D. collection, Antwerp, Belgium, acquired in the 1970s.