The beauty of nature mixes with myths of life and death in Greek and Roman gardens

In an earthly paradise

Sicilian treasures
Fascinating finds from under the waves exhibited in the Ashmolean Museum

Trojan hero
The strange adventures of Heinrich Schliemann

Emily Hauser explains why she chose to make two women in the Iliad the heroines of her first novel

Seljuq splendour
Priceless works on show at the Metropolitan Museum of Art

Cavalry charge
How the horse transformed the tactics of the Roman army
HELLENISTIC SILVER APOLLO, probably a portrait of a Hellenistic prince in the guise of the god, perhaps Mithridates VI Eupator of Pontus, or his son Ariarthes IX Eusebes; of slender and youthful form standing in a graceful attitude with his weight on the left leg, his extended right hand holding a rhyton, the left hand a fragmentary bow. Late 2nd -early 1st Century BC. H. 4 in. (10.2 cm.) Ex Numismatic Fine Arts, New York, circa 1992; New York private collection; Australia private collection. Ref: Marie-Louise Vollenweider, Musées de Genève, no. 274, January 1987, pp. 4-5, cover illustration.
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From Schliemann to Sicily and the Seljuqs

On the trail of Troy, trawling for treasure and lapping up the luxury of court life

Sicily and marine archaeology are two subjects that are very much in the air at the moment. They both feature in Storms, War and Shipwrecks: Treasures from the Sicilian Seas, an exhibition that opens at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford on 21 June.

There, you will be able to see Roman statuary, a fine Corinthian helmet, a Phoenician god, bronze war-ship rams and even a ‘flat-pack’ Byzantine church – all of which were discovered in shipwrecks beneath the sea around Sicily. You can find our more on pages 14 to 19.

There are also separate exhibitions on both these subjects at the British Museum this spring: Sicily: Culture and Conquest is already on show and Sunken Cities: Egypt’s Lost Worlds (featured, when this exhibition was on now in Paris, in Minerva Vol 26, No 5, September/October 2015) opens on 19 May.

But, if you are more interested in gardens and the decorative arts than underwater archaeology then an exhibition in Naples would be more to your taste. Myth and Nature: From Greece to Pompeii includes some wonderful wall-paintings, red-figure vases, sculpture and gold jewellery, all of which draw their inspiration from the natural world. The gardens in the courtyard of the Archaeological Museum in Naples have been replanted to compliment this exhibition, and six domus in Pompeii have been restored. The wonderful wall-painting in the Casa del Bracciale d’Oro (a detail of which appears on our cover), shows the rich diversity of trees, plants, flowers and birdlife that flourished in a Roman garden, alongside marble sculpture, herms and a fountain; see pages 20 to 25.

The splendour of the Seljuqs is explored by Dr Dominic Green, who visits Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The trappings of their rich courtly culture – sophisticated art works, silk robes, decorated ceramics and metalware, including an intricate brass astrolobe – can all be seen on pages 26 to 31. If you cannot visit the show, then try to get hold of the catalogue – it is ravishing.

Moving on to the ancient Greeks, we meet a young woman who has set her first novel during the Trojan War. As told by Homer, this is a totally masculine tale of battle and revenge, but Emily Hauser approaches it from a different point of view. Her main characters are two women, Krisayis (Chryseis) and Briseis, who are almost a footnote in the Iliad but who are brought to life and give us a fresh perspective on both the war and the warriors. You can read what Emily Hauser has to say on the matter on pages 32 to 35.

Still on the subject of Troy, we follow the adventures of Heinrich Schliemann who used the Iliad as his guide when he went to locate the actual site of the city – and was successful. His life was full of curious twists and turns and he had a rather chequered career, nevertheless, he struck gold quite literally at several ancient sites. Today, neither his somewhat rough archaeological methods nor his swashbuckling attitude to the treasure he found elicit approval – the famous photograph of his wife, Sophie, decked out in Trojan gold jewellery (now held in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow) would give any modern museum conservator heart palpitations. But Caroline Moorehead, who has written a biography of Schliemann, clearly finds him fascinating and, if you turn to pages 36 to 40, I think you will see why.

With all the trouble in the Middle East, it is difficult to find a country to visit there with undamaged, accessible archaeological sites but, in Israel, there are many and all within a stone’s throw from one another. For our travel section we have selected eight of the accessible archaeological sites there. You will notice that we have no saleroom reports in this issue. This is because Dr Jerome M Eisenberg, who founded Minerva in 1990 and who continued to write the saleroom reports after he sold the magazine to Mr Christian Levett in 2009, has now decided to retire. We are very sorry to see him go but wish him well in all his future endeavours.

CONTRIBUTORS

Caroline Moorehead
is a historian and biographer who has published lives of Bertrand Russell, Morth Gellhorn, Freya Stark and Heinrich Schliemann. She also writes about human rights. Currently she is writing a quartet of books about the resistance movement in the Second World War.

Jonathan Coulston
is a lecturer in the School of Classics at the University of St Andrews, Scotland. His areas of specialisation include ancient warfare, the Roman army, Roman military equipment and the city of Rome. He has published extensively in all these fields, and is hosting the Roman Military Equipment Conference (RoMEC XVIII) in June 2016.

Theresa Thompson
is a freelance journalist based in Oxford. After working in health education, including two years in Namibia with VSO, and for an environmental charity as a press officer, she now writes regularly for newspapers and magazines on the visual arts and wildlife conservation. She has a wide interest in archaeology and art and has travelled extensively.

Minerva May/June 2016
Metal detectorist Dennis Fabricius Holm was out searching a field near Aunslev at Eastern Funen in Denmark on 11 March when he made an exceptional find – it was an exquisite small gold crucifix that is thought to be 1100 years old. Realising he had found something important, Holm contacted archaeologist Malene Beck at nearby Østfyns Museum, who examined the find.

The 4.1cm-high gold pendant is in the shape of a man with his arms outstretched – the image of Christ on the Cross. The figure, which has a heart-shaped face, is made of fine articulated gold threads and tiny filigree gold pellets and weighs around 13.2 grams; the reverse side is smooth. At the top of the head is a small eye through which a leather thong could be threaded.

This cross looks very similar to a gilded silver one that was found by the Swedish archaeologist Hjalmar Stolpe (1841-1905) in a Viking woman’s burial-place (grave 660) in Birka, near Stockholm, in 1879. Parts of several other crosses have been found in Denmark before, but the Aunslev cross is the first one found intact, with a complete figure of Christ. Cross fragments formed part of the huge (550-piece) silver hoard found on the island of Ónna last autumn. Cross fragments were also identified in 2012 as part of finds from a Viking Age ‘wagon-burial’ excavated in 1927 at Ketting on the island of Als.

The silver crosses from Ketting and Birka were both unearthed from what are believed to be female graves, dating from the first half of the 10th century. The Aunslev cross was probably worn by a Viking woman, either because she had converted to Christianity, or perhaps simply as decorative jewellery. For the time being, it is dated to the first half of the 10th century, which makes it one of the oldest Christian crosses found in Denmark – even older than Harald Bluetooth’s runic stone, erected in Jelling circa AD 965, on which he says farewell to the Norse pantheon and embraces Christianity. So the Aunslev cross may push back the date of the establishment of Christianity in Denmark.

In the fields where the gold cross was discovered, around a solitary church west of the village of Aunslev, several other fine objects have been found. Together they suggest that there was probably a Viking settlement there, together with an early church. In 1623 a runic stone was found just south of the church. In 1623 a runic stone was found just south of the church. It was taken to Copenhagen in 1652, where it unfortunately met its end, when it was destroyed in a big fire in 1728. The runic inscription it bore had a mysterious message that was recorded as: ‘…stands this stone. Ro… placed… og Roulv made… Stone belongs to the group of “Roulv stones”.’

The Aunslev Cross, which was on show at the Viking Museum in Ladby over Easter, has now been sent for conservation at the National Museum in Copenhagen. But it will re-appear this summer as part of an exhibition in the Viking Museum, alongside some of the other exciting objects found by metal detectorists in Eastern Funen.

• (For further information visit en.vikingemuseetladby.dk and www.østfynsmuseer.dk).

Lindsay Fulcher
Ur goes online

The objects and archives of Ur, one of the most important cities in Mesopotamia (modern Iraq), are being digitalised under the auspices of the British Museum and the Penn Museum in Pennsylvania.

The Ur Digitization Project was inspired by the looting of the Iraq Museum in 2003 when the curators realised that there was no inventory of the finds at Ur – 50% of which are housed mainly in the museum, the rest are in the British Museum (25%), and the Penn Museum (25%). The wanton destruction of Iraq’s archaeological sites prompted them to act to ensure that the archaeological finds from Ur are documented for future generations.

Ancient history is being erased in the Daesh-controlled areas of Iraq including: Old Mosul, which dates back to the 25th century BC; Hatra, 3rd-2nd century BC; Nineveh, the Assyrian capital, which has been occupied since the 5th millennium BC; Nimrud, founded 3500 years ago; Khorsabad, built between 717 and 706 BC; the 4th-century Mar Behnam Monastery; and the Mosque of the Prophet Yunus (Jonah) and his tomb dated AD 1226. But the site of the city of Ur is being preserved (Jonah) and his tomb dated AD 1226. But the site of the city of Ur is being preserved through the Search Ur Online website which will be launched this summer.

‘We will keep adding information to the website,’ said Birger Helgestad, Project Curator at the British Museum. ‘We are photographing and documenting all the finds from Ur in our collections, from small pieces of broken pots to ancient cuneiform texts and exquisite gold jewellery. We are also digitising the original excavation photographs, archives, plans and other documents. Our resource will bring these varied sources of information together for the first time and make them available in an online database that will preserve the complete finds and records for posterity.’

The first excavations at Ur were made in 1854 by JE Taylor, the British Consul in Basra, who excavated the base of the ziggurat. From inscriptions he found there, he identified the site as Ur of the Chaldees, the biblical home of Abraham. Further excavation was carried out by the University of Pennsylvania and the British Museum in 1918 to 1919, but the best-known work was done by British archaeologist Leonard Woolley (1880-1960) from 1922 to 1934.

Ur’s earliest inhabitants lived in huts with mud-coated reed walls, not dissimilar to those built by the Marsh Arabs of Southern Iraq. They used flints as tools and made clay figures and decorated pottery during the Ubaid period (3000-3800 BC) and traded their wares with distant cities.

In 1922, while clearing a cemetery area close to the ziggurat platform, Woolley found the Royal Cemetery and discovered the engraved helmet of King Meskalimshar made of beaten gold, one of the finest examples of Sumerian workmanship. He also excavated the grave of Queen Shubad, which contained the bodies of 64 maid servants and four harpists all wearing ceremonial dress and jewellery.

‘We want the city of Ur to come to life,’ says Helgestad. ‘Music was an essential part of the lives of the people and we have instruments from Ur, such as lyres, and tablets that describe how to tune them in much the same way we do today.

‘The photographs provide a glimpse of the excavations during the 1920s and 1930s; one shows workmen being inoculated against cholera. We wanted to unify the objects so that, if you are interested in terracotta objects, you don’t have to travel to the British Museum, the Penn Museum or the Iraq Museum to see them. You can find all the information recorded in one place on the website. This is one of the core aims of the Ur Project.’

Jonathan Taylor, Assistant Keeper in the BM’s Mesopotamia Department cares for some 11,000 clay tablets and other objects, such as seals, bearing cuneiform inscriptions.

‘The inscriptions provide a nice thread through Mesopotamian history from each of the main periods. We have professional documents, legal texts and administrative material but we also see how the scribes learned. We have a tablet with a scribe who is just learning and one with a more efficient scribe. There are also iconic temple foundations that describe which king built which temple and for which god. Each king had a characteristic shape that represented him,’ explains Taylor.

Professor Eleanor Rodson, chairperson of the council of the British Institute for the Study of Iraq, says that Ur is in a relatively safe province: ‘I hope that by the time of the centenary of the discoveries (2018) it will be reasonable for researchers and visitors to go to Ur. Thanks in no small part to local archaeologists, it is remarkably similar to how Woolley left it.’

(For more information visit: ur-online.org).
The Ark Re-imagined

In 1977, the Iraqi artist Rashad Salim sailed with the Norwegian explorer Thor Heyerdahl on an 18-metre boat, made of bundles of reeds and named Tigris, on a six-month voyage from Iraq via Oman and Pakistan to the Horn of Africa.

In 2013, he joined Nature Iraq’s Tigris Flotilla of traditional boats at Hassan Keyf (an important historical site in southern Turkey that is threatened with submersion when the controversial Ilisu Dam is completed) before travelling with them down the River Tigris. The flotilla aimed to raise awareness of the many threats that this dam will also pose to down-river Iraq and its priceless cultural heritage.

This September Salim will bring Mesopotamia-on-Thames to London to showcase his Ark Re-Imagined project, with traditional Iraqi boats taking part in Totally Thames 2016, with plans to visit other rivers in America and Europe.

Salim cites recent research which indicates that during the Pre-historic period, between 7000 and 14,000 years ago, when Mesopotamia extended from present-day Iraq down to the Gulf to the straits of Hormuz, it was a time of radical environmental change when a Great Flood may actually have happened.

In 2013 a team, led by Dr Irving Finkel of the British Museum, built a round ark based on a description of a boat he had found on a cuneiform tablet. This ark was essentially a very large circular coracle, or guffa, made of coiled rope fixed over a frame of wooden ribs; but Salim does not believe that the ‘original’ Ark was made in this way. As he explains: ‘While travelling in traditional boats I had a vision of the Ark not as a singular boat but as a gathering of different types of watercraft in a strong and natural pattern of unity: a unity of many vessels rather than a singular boat – the pattern of six around one.

‘This is a key pattern in science, engineering and Islamic art seen when things of the same diameter are gathered. ‘It is a ubiquitous pattern in nature expressing itself in everything from honey bee cells to carbon molecules. It adorns the walls of Mesopotamia’s earliest temples and is even found in the great seal of the United States. ‘The Ark has traditionally been a Western quest: I am proposing an Arabian/Mesopotamian alternative, a rational ark, acceptable to both Islamic and empirical sensibilities that could have been constructed with the technology and material of its original time and place. ‘This ark can benefit the local, vernacular crafts of the present and discover what we have evidence for but have forgotten,’ he says.

Salim has travelled to Iraq to make contact with craftspeople, which he hopes will lead to intensive workshops where crafts, based on techniques that go back thousands of years, will be re-created for the 21st century. With a body of work produced by traditional Iraqi craftspeople, Salim will travel to the USA as part of Culturunners, a road trip designed to engage audiences and institutions (among them the Smithsonian Institute in Washington). He also plans to exhibit his work for the Ark Re-imagined project at the 57th Venice Biennale in 2017.

Salim is concerned because people are made aware of the destruction of archaeological sites, such as Hatra, but do not pay sufficient attention to the loss of Iraq’s intangible cultural heritage, especially in the south with its marshlands ecosystem.

The cultural heritage of this region is most strongly reflected in vernacular architecture, the building of traditional boats, such as the tarada, kalak and guffa, basket-weaving and making from palm fronds – all part of the Ark Re-imagined.

‘Iraq is a country created by two rivers, the Tigris and Euphrates, which used to be the backbone of the country,’ explains Salim. ‘... Traditional boats that we can trace back through history and possibly pre-history have continued through the rises and falls of empires, but now we are losing them. During the summer, as the water recedes, river islands appeared on the Tigris and families built temporary summer houses called chirdagh on these islands. The techniques and materials used can be traced back to pre-Sumerian times, while the Marsh Arab canoe has not changed its shape but has reached an aesthetic and functional perfection.’

Salim believes that Iraqis are losing their connection with the rivers and that their traditional crafts may disappear forever.

‘The marshes were drained, reclaimed, then drained again. The Iranians have blocked and stopped nearly every single tributary feeding into the Tigris on Iraq’s eastern flank and water is locally being diverted to rice plantations. I am witness to the last flicker of ancient watercraft. With my project I challenge reports of its terminal disappearance and aim to set in motion a resuscitation,’ says Salim with the determination of a man on a mission.

• (For further details email airashad@yahoo.co.uk).

Karen Dabrowska

Minerva May/June 2016
Viking gold found in Galloway

Following a painstaking conservation project, images of the contents of a pot of Viking treasure, which had been buried for more than 10 centuries in a field in Galloway in Scotland, have recently been released for the first time.

Dating from the 9th and 10th centuries AD, this cache of objects was contained in a ‘Carolingian’ (West European) lidded vessel, or pot, which was part of a wider hoard. The items inside the vessel, which may have been accumulated over a number of generations, had come from different countries across Europe and from other cultures with non-Viking origins. In total there are around 100 items, including a large number of silver ingots and arm-rings, a beautifully preserved cross and an ornate gold pin shaped like a bird. The hoard also includes six silver Anglo-Saxon disc brooches, dating from the early 9th century – equal to the largest such hoard of brooches from England, the Pentney Hoard, which is now in the British Museum. Other objects include a silver penannular brooch from Ireland, a gold ingot and gold and crystal objects that have been carefully wrapped in cloth – even Byzantine silk.

While it is clear that many of the objects were treasured because they are made of precious metal there are other items, made of base metal and glass beads, which have no obvious value. The items placed in the vessel appear to have been possessions personally chosen by an individual for his or her own particular reasons.

This project is being funded by Historic Environment Scotland, which is working in partnership with the Treasure Trove Unit, and the Queen’s and Lord Treasurer’s Remembrancer (QLTR).

‘Before removing the objects we took the rather unusual measure of having the pot CT scanned, in order that we could get a rough idea of what was in there and best plan the delicate extraction process. That exercise offered us a tantalising glimpse but didn’t prepare me for what was to come,’ says Richard Welander of Historic Environment Scotland.

‘These stunning objects provide us with an unparalleled insight to what was going on in the minds of the Vikings in Galloway all those years ago. They tell us about the sensibilities of the time, reveal displays of regal rivalries, and some of the objects even betray an underlying sense of humour, something for which the Vikings aren’t always renowned!’

‘The complexity of the material in the hoard raises more questions than it answers,’ says Stuart Campbell of the Treasure Trove Unit, ‘and like all the best archaeology, this find doesn’t give any easy answers. Questions about the motivations and cultural identity of the individuals who buried it will occupy scholars and researchers for years to come.’

The hoard was found by metal detectorist Derek McClennan in a field in Galloway in September 2014. It is the most important Viking discovery in Scotland for over 100 years. Officials expect that the hoard will eventually go to a Scottish museum.

For further information about Treasure Trove visit www.treasuretrovescotland.co.uk and about the functions of the QLTR visit www.qltr.gov.uk.

Lindsay Fulcher

Minerva May/June 2016
A ROMAN BRONZE FIGURE OF HERA
Circa 2nd Century A.D.
19cm high


£3,000-£5,000
Traditionally, the Romans are not thought of as having been particularly accomplished horsemen, although horses played a large part in their elite perceptions of war and social status. During the Republic, the wealthier citizens who could afford to own and equip horses formed the mounted class of equites, an epithet which lasted well into the Imperial Period.

However, there were always specialist mercenaries available to supply cavalry forces, such as Tarentine light cavalry from southern Italy, Celt-Iberians from the Spanish peninsula, Moors from North Africa, and Germans and Gauls from northern Europe. As the Roman empire grew to encompass the whole Mediterranean and its hinterlands, more ridercultures were encountered: the Parthians, Saracens, Persians, Sarmatians, Huns, Avars and Turks. Horseharness, clothing, armour, weapons and military standards strongly reflected the influence of these peoples on Rome.

Among Rome’s enemies, Asiatic nomads excelled in horse-archery and they so dominated warfare that armoured horse-archers became the decisive tactical component of Roman armies from the 5th century AD onwards. The empire could use its now integral rider cultures, and those of its imperial neighbours, to defend its frontiers, deploying the range of mounted skills wherever they were most effective. Horse-archers were fielded against Germans, Sarmatians and Moors;

Jonathan Coulston traces the introduction and use of horses and horse-archers in the Roman army and the rise of equine-related imagery as a sign of social status.
Moors were posted in regiments to Britain and the Danube; Gallic and Thracian cavalry were deployed everywhere – but with particular effectiveness against horse-archers in the East. This facility to mix and match manpower, skills and military cultures imparted great flexibility to Roman armies at war.

Evidence for the types of cavalry in Roman forces, their equipment, tactics and regimental locations, is provided by discharge diplomas, issued to veterans on their retirement. These documents listed all the units discharging soldiers in a given year and province. They are supplemented by notices in papyri; stone inscriptions, either ‘official’ (building dedications, religious votives) or ‘personal’ (mainly gravestone epitaphs); by ownership inscriptions on metalwork; by brick-stamps on building materials; and by some literary sources (Caesar, Tacitus, Arrian, Vegetius, Zosimos and Prokopios, for example).

A unique survival is the text of the review speech delivered in AD 128 by Hadrian to troops when he visited North Africa. We also have the technical writings of Flavius Arrianus, his governor in Cappadocia. For the 4th to early 5th centuries regimental titles are listed in the surviving catalogue of administrative offices (the Notitia Dignitatum). Brought together, these sources not only allow regimental histories to be sketched out, but also reveal a great deal about the lives of individual cavalrymen.

Horsemen served in standing Roman army formations, as citizen cavalry within the Praetorian Guard and in the legions. All-cavalry regiments (alae), or infantry units with a mounted component (cohortes equitatae) within the non-citizen auxiliaries, formed the mass of mounted troops in the frontier armies, supplemented by irregular native formations. They owned their own equipment which was regularly inspected, as a wooden writing tablet from Carlisle (Cumbria) attests. They were not uniformly dressed in the sense of European armies from the late 17th century onwards, but their equipment served a common function.

Thus the titles of regiments designated not only ethnic background, battle-honours, size and organisation, but also their arms and armour, therefore their tactical function. Most Roman imperial cavalry carried long-swords (spathae), spears, javelins and shields. These were the regiments originally recruited from Iberian, Gallic and Balkan peoples. Regiments of horse archers (equites sagittarii) employing eastern archery equipment but no shields were most numerous on the eastern frontiers, but some also appeared in most other theatres. More exotically, from the early 2nd century AD, regiments of lancers (contarii) and unusually heavily armoured cavalry (catafracti) were raised, inspired by the tactics of the Danubian nomad Sarmatians.

The horses used by Roman cavalry were small by later standards, at 13 to 15 hands high. North African breeds were especially hardy, with great stamina and requiring little attention. Eastern breeds were larger and stronger, so that they could carry armoured riders, and fast to suit archery tactics. Generally horses were smaller further up into north-west Europe, although there was some change as a result of four centuries of Roman horse-breeding. This meant that the chariot persisted as a war weapon much longer amongst British and...
Irish tribes than on the Continent, before being gradually replaced by ridden horses. Roman cavalry horses were unshod, and snaffle or curb bits were used. Most importantly, from the 4th century BC, persisting through to the 4th century AD and beyond, a ‘four-horn’ or ‘Celtic’ saddle was the dominant form. Developed first, perhaps in Central or Eastern Europe, this gave excellent support to the rider, with a front pair of horns coming up over the thighs and a rear pair fitting the backside. Lack of stirrups was not an issue with this saddle, which allowed cavalrymen to lean far out to the side with long-sword or spear, and to perform shots in any direction with a bow. Horn plates and leather covers for a wooden saddle-tree have been recovered from several sites in Britain and on the Continent, allowing this custom-made saddle form to be reconstructed and experimentally tested.

From the 1st to 2nd centuries AD, horse-harness was richly decorated with copper-alloy strap-junction fittings and pendants, often tinned, and inlaid with niello or glass paste. Many pendants were phallic, representing the virile reproductive power of stallions, or lunulate, representing the female forces in association with the Gallic horse-goddess Epona. The Campestres were also deities which oversaw the training field (campus), and ritual observances played an integral part in Roman army culture, quite alien to the functioning of more modern militaries.

Hadrian’s testimonial speech to troops at Lambaesis (Algeria) singled out cavalrymen for attention, and even the riders in part-mounted regiments accounted for themselves well in displays of training exercises, despite having less costly equipment than the regular cavalry alae. Arrian wrote a treatise on tactical skills and the training exercises used for cavalry. He was operating in the east and informing a Greek audience, so he was largely concerned to explain western cavalry manoeuvres. Teams of horsemen rode past ‘target’ teams and showered them with javelins. The latter had wooden heads and the target men and horses wore protective armour, especially over their eyes. It is precisely this type of training sport (hippika gymnasia) which is evidenced by numerous finds of ‘mask’ helmets, horse chamfrons and other highly ornamented metalwork. The Crosby Garrett helmet, found in Cumbria in 2010, is one of the finest examples of this class; other near complete examples have also been found in Britain at Ribchester (Lancashire) and Newstead (Borders), and on numerous Continental sites.

There was still something of an aristocratic ethos associated with provincial cavalry service, and individual native aristocrats sometimes had themselves buried with suites of military equipment, including mask helmets, as at Catalka (Bulgaria) and Nawa (Syria), often reflecting Thracian interment traditions. When frontier forts in southern Germany (at Eining and Straubing, for example) were dismantled during the 260s AD and frontier lines withdrawn, cavalry sports equipment was sometimes concealed in abandonment deposits,
another great mechanism for closely dated survival.

Lives of individual cavalrymen stand out from the throng through accidents of evidence survival and particular circumstances of honorific observance. A series of funerary inscriptions found in Rome attest to the erotic affection of horsemen towards their young male servants.

There was clearly a devotional element to this lavish expenditure and it seems likely that cavalrymen were associated in the public mind with comely boys who were owned as grooms (calones), but with whom the soldiers formed a more emotional attachment.

A good example of this from Britain is the gravestone of Victor, found at South Shields (Tyne and Wear), dedicated by a cavalryman from an Iberian regiment based at Benwell on Hadrian’s Wall. Victor is depicted on a dining couch, but the high level of ornate sculptural detail, executed by a sculptor from Palmyra (Syria), is quite extraordinary. Another soldier, named Barates and also from Palmyra, set up a grave-stone to Regina, the woman who was first his freed (pleasure?) slave and, then, his wife. The two grave-stones, carved by the same sculptor, vividly represent love stories that would otherwise be quite unknown, and perhaps unsuspected.

Proud of their specialist skills, some Roman cavalrymen were concerned to record them as a lasting memorial. From the mid-2nd century AD onwards, cavalry regiments routinely engaged in building construction, and left records of their fundamentally Roman architectural achievements in dedicatory inscriptions. This might seem strange in comparison with recent armies in which the mounted arm was privileged and preserved from such ‘labouring’.

Cavalry soldiers carefully recorded their military decorations for bravery on their gravestones. The gravestone of Ti Claudius Maximus, set up at Philippi (Greece), included his military decorations, which were personal gifts (dona militaria) from the emperors Domitian and Trajan. Quite extraordinarily Maximus went further and also had carved a representation of his most glorious exploit: the ‘capture’ of the Dacian king Decebalus, ending Trajan’s Second Dacian War in AD 106. This was the equivalent of an modern soldier claiming to have personally captured Saddam Hussein!

Very occasionally cavalry grave-stones depict feats of exceptional horsemanship. Horse-archers were especially proud of such achievements. An unnamed cavalryman on a lost inscription boasted that he had swum the Danube on horseback, loosed an arrow from his bow, and shot it with a second while it was still in flight. This feat was, he said, unmatched by any Roman or Parthian, and all was done under the eye of the emperor Hadrian.

Another horseman, Acrabanis, an Ituraean (from modern Palestine-Jordan), depicted himself on his grave-stone at Gyor (Hungary) at full gallop shooting a target to his front; three arrows are embedded and a fourth is already notched.

Many horse-archer cultures in Asia and the Levant practiced this shooting at the gallop, often competitively, such as qabaq targeting in Mamluk Egypt and the yabusame displays in Japan. A third example intended to immortalise the deceased’s accomplishments is the grave-stone of Titus Iulius Rufus of the Balkans-raised ala Scubulorum, from Walbersdorf (Austria). He is shown galloping past one fallen enemy, shot fatally with an arrow in his throat, at a second barbarian who has an arrow in the eye, while a third arrow is already at half draw.

This is reminiscent of the speed and accuracy of Native American archery feats on the Great Plains, mounted warriors accurately loosing 20 arrows at short range for the one shot fired back by a frontiersman with his smoothbore musket.
Ever since the Renaissance, artists sketching and painting countless versions of the arrest, crucifixion and resurrection of Christ, have studied Roman artworks depicting soldiers, principally Trajan’s Column. As early as the 16th century antiquaries were writing about the Roman army and its equipment, often in order to gain inspiration for contemporary institutions and weapons. For example, Dutch armies of the Eighty Years’ War looked to Roman legionary organisation, swordsmen and training methods.

By the 20th century there were more structured studies, initially still privileging ancient artistic representations but, from the 1970s onwards, the focus changed as increasing numbers of artefacts received modern archaeological study and publication, and the equipment itself took centre stage. Such studies are not merely relevant to the warfare, conquest and beastliness enacted by a militarised Roman empire, they also reveal aspects of its technological capabilities, planning and rational design, economic mobilisation, the adoption and integration of cultural ideas, artistic ornamentation and ritual activities. In many ways equipment ‘made’ the soldier, defining and advertising his status within Roman society. Modern assumptions about how ‘regular’ armies worked in the ancient world must be modified because Roman soldiers were not ‘uniformed’ in the modern sense. These soldiers, who manufactured the bulk of the army’s equipment, were artists in their own right, creating Mediterranean or Celtic designs in metalwork and acting as purveyors of Roman material culture across the empire’s frontiers. They were also quite likely to dedicate prized pieces of equipment at shrines, in rivers or in graves – this has been extremely useful as these are usually undamaged by war and in good condition.

In 1983 a group of 30 interested people got together at Sheffield University to explore the subject of Roman military equipment as a specialised study in its own right. They set in train a themed series of Roman military equipment conferences which met annually and were held in Nottingham and Newcastle upon Tyne, Leiden (Netherlands) and Bonn (Germany) until 1988. After this RoMEC, as it became known, was held biennially and triennially – in Magdalensburg (Austria), Newcastle (UK), Leiden (Netherlands), Montpellier (France), Mainz (Germany), South Shields (UK), Brugg (Switzerland), Vienna (Austria), Budapest (Hungary), Xanten (Germany), Zagreb (Croatia) and Copenhagen (Denmark). This year, in June, the 19th RoMEC conference will take place at the University of St Andrews, the first UK venue since 1999 and the first meeting in Scotland. Over the years attendance has grown from 30 to 150, and venues have included many different universities, as well as the National Museums of Denmark and Hungary.

The 19th Roman Military Equipment Conference (RoMEC XVIII) is the latest in the series employing all the wide-ranging sources of literary, epigraphic, iconographic and artefactual evidence. ‘Roman’ covers not only the city-state and empire, from the mid-8th century BC to the Late Byzantine period, but also other contemporary cultures with which the Romans came into contact, alliance and conflict. As a research field, military equipment studies are not exclusively devoted to weapons and armour but also cover dress and other considerations such as standards, musical instruments, medical provision, tents and fortifications. These have tremendously wide-ranging cultural implications for political entities, economies, technologies, ritual activities and social identities.

When RoMEC comes to town the local archaeological establishment has the opportunity to participate and showcase regional finds, and also local museums’ major...
collections are often opened up for first-hand examination. In Copenhagen in 2013, for example, special access was granted to the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek and to the Nationalmuseet. The latter houses an amazing collection of Germanic and Roman military equipment – artefacts from votive lake deposits. These include wooden shields, scabbards, spear-shafts and archery equipment, plus leather belts and beautifully preserved brass fittings. Some bear Latin inscriptions, together with Mediterranean styles of ornament, making them the best preserved and most extensive assemblages of Roman and native equipment from anywhere within or outside the Roman empire.

This year the National Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh), the Hunterian Museum (Glasgow) and the Museum of the University of St Andrews (MUSA) are all participating in RoMEC XVIIII.

RoMEC has always attracted a wide range of attendees – from professional archaeologists, military historians, Classicists and museum technicians to leisure historians, war-gamers and re-enactors. Indeed, the very first seminar in 1983 included fully equipped members of the Ermine Street Guard. Many other conferences have featured presentations of reconstructed equipment and, in Germany in 2007, the meeting coincided with a massed coming together of Roman re-enactors in the Xanten Archaeological Park (in Germany), one of the largest in the world. Conference attendees have also witnessed gladiatorial bouts, the throwing of spears, javelins and lead-weighted Late Roman darts, the slinging of lead bullets, the shooting of artillery-pieces, the sounding of brass horns and the erection of leather tents. Reconstruction riding, including armoured cavalry and horse-archery displays, an integral part of RoMEC 2016, will provide an exciting and colourful spectacle.

In the past RoMEC themes have included: Equipment and Identity, Battlefield and Destruction Contexts, Ritual Deposition, Funerary Contexts, Rome’s Enemies, Experimental Archaeology and Imitation and Inspiration. The theme of this year’s RoMEC, Cavalry in the Roman World, will not only cover Roman cavalry but also other contemporary horsemen, chariots and pack-animals.

As always there will be panels of papers following subsidiary themes, and examining exciting new finds, preventing these meetings from becoming stale and predictable as revelations spring from recent discoveries, or from old finds re-examined. In addition to the 50 or so speakers giving papers, there will be an exhibition of reconstruction paintings and new finds.

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Two reconstructed Roman cavalrymen of the 2nd century AD, one wearing a masked sports helmet based on one found at Ribchester (Lancashire). © www.comitatus.net.

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- The 19th Roman Military Equipment Conference (RoMEC XVIII) will be held at the University of St Andrews in Scotland from 6 to 11 June. To book your place visit www.st-andrews.ac.uk/classics/events/conferences/2015-2016/romecxviii or call 01334 462608 for further details.
- Most previous conference proceedings have been published in the Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies.
- Roman Military Equipment From the Punic Wars to the Fall of Rome by MC Bishop and JCN Coulston (Oxbow Books, Oxford, 2006) gives an overview.
- Hadrian and His Cavalry, an exhibition of Roman cavalry artefacts, will be on show at different museums along Hadrian’s Wall in 2017.

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Minerva May/June 2016

13
Theresa Thompson previews Storms, War and Shipwrecks, an exciting new exhibition at the Ashmolean Museum that showcases Mediterranean finds with a ‘wow’ factor – including a ‘flat-pack’ church – brought up from the seabed by marine archaeologists.
‘Sicily is the clue to everything,’ wrote Goethe. The German poet made only one trip to the island, in 1787, an intrepid journey from coast to coast, taking in cities, palaces, temples, people, agriculture, rocks and ruins. As keenly observant as ever, he knew how to sum up a place.

Strategically located at a crossroads in the Mediterranean, Sicily has seen a string of invaders, traders, colonisers and rulers (sometimes more than one at a time), each of whom have left their mark.

How to sum up more than 2000 years’ history of this island was the challenge that faced the curators of Storms, War and Shipwrecks: Treasures from the Sicilian Seas, a major exhibition at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford this summer. They hit on a novel solution.

‘Everything in our exhibition has come from under the sea,’ says Dr Paul Roberts, Sackler Keeper of Antiquities at the museum. ‘We’re looking at a large span of Sicily’s history, from around 1000 BC to AD 1200, and telling the extraordinary story of this island from a totally different perspective. Every one of the 200 objects displayed was either a chance find, brought up by fishermen, or discoveries from shipwrecks excavated by underwater archaeologists.’

Until the 20th century the only way to reach Sicily was by sea. As Dr Roberts explains, ‘That’s why the sea carries this mass of valuable information, and much is astonishingly well preserved. Of the thousands of ships that plied the sea over these periods some will have ended up at the bottom. They act as a cross section of all these different peoples and periods.’

Dr Alexandra Sofroniew, the co-curator of the exhibition, uses the idea of connectivity to sum up their approach: ‘We think we’re well connected today, but the sea then was like the internet: it was the fastest means of communication, and there were lots of people and ships moving about.’

The theme running like waves through Storms, War and Shipwrecks is movement – the movement of people, of goods, of ideas. The history of Sicily is highly complex. Even keeping to the slice of antiquity covered in the exhibition, to explain such a long span is a challenge, certainly if it is restricted to objects recovered from the sea.

‘We have a huge time frame of over 2000 years of history,’ says Dr Sofroniew, ‘and because of the nature of the exhibition we are looking at Sicily as a centre-point of the movement of all these peoples. We’re dealing with prehistoric traders, Phoenicians from the time they arrive on the island in the 860s, Greeks arriving 100 years later, then Romans, Byzantines, Arabs and Normans... Then,’ she adds, ‘there are things to explain like the Phoenicians becoming Carthaginians [after they founded Carthage in North Africa].’

To narrow things down, the curators have focused on seven shipwrecks found off different sections of Sicily’s coast. Each one tells a different story: one might be Phoenician, one Greek and so on, she explains. They also aimed at geographical and chronological diversity. Collectively, the wrecks and their cargoes help build a picture, not only of the dangers of the seas off Sicily’s rocky coast,
but of the peoples that sailed to and from this pivotal rich and fertile Mediterranean island.

Many of the artefacts come from unidentifiable wrecks, or are chance finds, like the life-sized bronze relief of an elephant’s foot pulled up by fishermen. Elephants played an important part in warfare and are often linked to the Carthaginians. This 3rd-century BC relief segment, still in relatively pristine condition despite two millennia underwater, has a patina that was probably caused by the touch of countless hands. It suggests that it was once on a public building, perhaps celebrating a Roman victory over the Carthaginians.

Unquestionably, the cargo of one shipwreck will steal the limelight. This is a ‘flat-pack’ Byzantine church, already in the public imagination as the ultimate in DIY – an ‘IKEA’ church – which is being reassembled inside the Ashmolean for the first time in its history, after the ship carrying it sunk off southeast Sicily around AD 550.

Since its discovery during the 1960s by the German archaeologist Gerhard Kapitán, the Marzamemi ‘church wreck’, named after a small fishing village south of Syracuse, has not been seen in public. Destined for North Africa, the church was one of many sent out from Constantinople in the 6th century as part of the efforts of Emperor Justinian (r AD 527–565) to re-inforce Christianity across his empire. Justinian was a prolific church-builder. Under his rule, large stone-carrying ships known as _naves lapidariae_, laden with prefabricated marble church interiors, sailed from quarries around the Sea of Marmara (Marble Sea) in modern Turkey, to sites in Italy and north Africa where they would be installed inside a building made with local material. Unfortunately, the weight of the
The theme running, like waves, through Storms, War and Shipwrecks is movement – the movement of people, of goods, of ideas.

marble and stone columns, pulpits and altar tables meant that many of these ships were unstable, and they sank during stormy weather.

Kapitän’s team brought hundreds of basilica pieces to the surface. Much remains on the seabed, offering exciting challenges to new generations of underwater archaeologists. The Marzamemi Maritime Heritage Project (a collaboration between the Soprintendenza del Mare in Sicily and Stanford University, USA) has been investigating the site since 2012.

Dr Roberts takes up the story. While touring Sicily looking for potential loans, he says, they saw that Syracuse had two panels from the Marzamemi church out on show. ‘We asked the Superintendent if there was anything else in Syracuse where these pieces came from. And he said, “Well, yes, there is the rest of the church…” It was a bit of a shock to discover that the rest of the church was sitting there in Syracuse in storage! We had to be selective, of course. We couldn’t have the whole thing. It was battered – it had been under the sea for 1500 years. So we asked ourselves what would make sense to people, and we looked for contextualising material. We’re getting about 12 to 15 pieces to reconstruct the church interior: column drums, capitals and bases, and altar parts. The pulpit [ambo] is a beautiful greenish flecked marble and the columns a whiter, purer marble. Some churches made it to their destination – Libya, for instance, and Ravenna in Italy – so we’ve seen what their interiors look like. The exteriors would have been in brick or stone sourced locally, but it was the interior, the church furnishings, that the Emperor was providing. “You build the church exterior and I’ll fill it for you,” is basically what he was saying. It was a statement of supreme power: temporal and religious power.

‘I want the reconstruction to give people an immersive experience, a feeling of what it was like to walk into the church. What was it like to worship there? Light and sound effects will add to that. And we have bronze vessels, church plate contemporary to the building.’

Spectacular church aside, other objects will give a sense of the life on board the ships, and a sense of the dynamism and scale of trade that crisscrossed these waters in antiquity. Six of the wrecks are merchant ships: a Greek ship found off Gela on the south coast, carrying Athenian pottery and baskets; another carrying bronze luxury goods and marble columns from Tunisian quarries en route to Rome; a Roman ship carrying grain (Sicily was known as ‘the breadbasket of Rome’); one with a cargo of cooking pots, sunk by a fire on board; a ship packed with wine and pottery sunk on rocks off Lipari, possibly under attack by pirates.

This brings us back to people – and to storytelling, a skill that Paul Roberts perhaps honed when he was Senior Curator of Roman Art and Archaeology at the British Museum, a post he held prior to his appointment to the Ashmolean last year. At the British Museum he was responsible for Life and Death in Pompeii and Herculaneum in 2013, the third most popular exhibition in the museum’s history.

Recalling that exhibition, he says, ‘The angle I followed very solidly...’
was people. You are using the objects not as museum objects but as possessions. That’s something that’s very important for the Ashmolean show, too. Sailors on board those ships had a flute, a little altar, a stove for cooking on board. This was their life for weeks on end...

What is important in any exhibition, he believes, is the ‘wow’ factor, which comes, for example, from the flat-pack church. Each person will find their own, he says, and his personal favourite is a weathered marble torso of a Roman warrior, dating from 200-1 BC.

‘I like the way he’s sort of okay from one side, but incredibly barnacled and eaten away on the side that has been exposed to the sea. This wonderful warrior sums up everything the exhibition is about: storms, war and shipwrecks.’

In its own way, a bronze statuette of Reshef, Phoenician God of Thunder and War, found off Sciacca, also sums up Sicily, as a crucible of cultures. With Egyptian characteristics, it has been much discussed and variously dated. The deity’s presence in the western Mediterranean has been attributed either to the Mycenaeans or the Phoenicians, and the Ashmolean has settled on about 1000 BC.

Sicily today is a leading centre for underwater archaeology. One of the most important discoveries to date was made near Levanzo in the Egadi Islands off the north-west coast. This was where the Carthaginians, the dominant naval power in the Mediterranean, were finally defeated by the Romans.

Since 2004, 11 Roman and Carthaginian warship rams have been recovered by marine archaeologists from the Soprintendenza del Mare of Sicily and the American not-for-profit RPM Nautical Foundation. Mounted on the prows of ships, these powerful pieces of military hardwear were designed to plough into enemy vessels with great force. The exhibition has five of these bronze rams which, together with a digital reconstruction, add another ‘wow’ factor, bringing to life the Battle of Egadi, which took place on 10 March 241 BC, a date known from literary sources. But the recovery of the rams, helmets and other debris has confirmed its exact location.

‘It is a battle that changes history,’ asserts Dr Roberts. ‘It is a cliché to say that, but it’s the start of the Roman Empire, the end of Carthage. That moment when the Romans sink the Carthaginians’ fleet is the beginning of the end for Carthage... After the Battle of Egadi Sicily became Rome’s first foreign province.’ The battle ended the First Punic War and ensured Rome’s ultimate domination of the Mediterranean.

In the seas near Egadi some 1700
ancient shipwrecks have been identified and recorded over six decades of underwater archaeology, says Dr Sofroniew. Dozens more have been found around Sicily but only a tiny proportion have so far revealed their secrets.

One of the first underwater excavations around Sicily was made in 1971 off the coast of Marsala in the south west, and photographs of this milestone event can be seen in the exhibition. The object of the dive was a Carthaginian ship, and the expedition was organised by Honor Frost (1917-2010), a pioneer of underwater archaeology. This multi-talented woman trained as an artist in London and Oxford before developing a sudden life-changing passion for diving. At a party in a Wimbledon back garden she submerged herself in a well, with a garden hose as a makeshift breathing apparatus. After that she was hooked, making her first dive at a Roman shipwreck in the south of France with her mentor, French archaeologist Frédéric Dumas. She developed her archaeological skills in Jericho with Kathleen Kenyon, but she soon saw that ‘on land’ archaeology was not for her while recognising that its skills and systematic techniques could be adapted for use in underwater archaeology. The photographs of the excavation and recovery of a Carthaginian ship have been loaned to the exhibition by the Honor Frost Foundation, set up at her request after her death, to help explain the history of marine archaeology.

“We have some incredible pictures of Honor Frost wearing very heavy gear,” says Dr Sofroniew. “They were using very rudimentary equipment. We now think of her as the champion of underwater archaeology.”

From photographs of an intrepid diver to stories of shipwrecks slowly revealing their secrets to marine archaeologists, this exhibition offers abundant clues not only to ancient Sicily’s extraordinary heritage, but also to the amazing treasure-chest that is under the sea.

As Honor Frost put it so succinctly: ‘Any time spent on the surface was a waste of time’.

Storms, War and Shipwrecks: Treasures from the Sicilian Seas opens at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (www.ashmolean.org) on 21 June and continues until 25 September 2016.

• The exhibition was organised in collaboration with COBBRA, an International Museum Network, and the Soprintendenza per i Beni culturali e ambientali del Mare, Palermo, and is supported by the Honor Frost Foundation (http://honorfrostfoundation.org/) and the Italian Cultural Institute, London (icilondon.etseri.it). For information on the Marzamemi Maritime Heritage Project visit https://marzamemi.stanford.edu/.
In the garden of

Dalu Jones takes a walk around Myth and Nature: from Greece to Pompeii, an exhibition with a new twist on show at the National Archaeological Museum in Naples.

An image of a young man diving into an aquamarine blue sea (1) aptly conjures up the quintessential Mediterranean dream of a life of sensuous ease in a temperate and sunny climate. This elegant painting, a masterpiece of 5th-century BC Greek art, appears on the underside of the lid of a coffin found at Paestum, a Greek city in southern Italy.

Although the serene depiction of a summer bathing scene represents a moment of a life in harmony with nature, it also has a metaphoric meaning – it is an allegory of the soul plunging into the waters of immortality, descending into another dimension, the afterlife. The painting is an integral part of the decoration of a tomb whose walls show a symposium where the guests enjoy the pleasures of drinking wine, eroticism, music-making and singing. But, by diving into the water, the young man is purified and enters another dimension, one deeper than that of mortal life, even when it is at its most pleasant.

This is one of the highlights of an exhibition entitled Myth and Nature: From Greece to Pompeii currently on show in the National Archaeological Museum in Naples. It is a new version of a successful show with the same title that was staged in Milan last year, but it has a different emphasis and many extra loan objects. True, it too develops the idea of nature in antiquity in its widest sense – visible and tangible, as well as filled with invisible, mythical forces, as represented in Greek and Roman art but, in this version, it is the idea of the garden that predominates. It uses newly restored
gardens in Pompeii and Naples as an incentive to publicise the much-needed safeguarding of archaeological sites and historic buildings in the region.

It is a shameful reality that Italian institutions do not seem to be able to engage in a national campaign to stem the vandalism and bureaucratic ineptitude that threaten our unique landscapes and monuments.

In Campania, for example, the most urgent action is needed to preserve several marvellous, but neglected, archaeological sites. These include Oplontis, Stabiae and the Ville Vesuviane, all once delightful aristocratic abodes or hunting-lodges, surrounding the 18th-century former royal palace at Portici on the slopes of Mount Vesuvius, and also the palace at Caserta with its magnificent park, which is a serious rival to that at Versailles.

On a more positive note, the gardens of six domus in Pompeii (2 and 3) have been restored to their original designs, while the gardens in the courtyards of the Archaeological Museum in Naples have been replanted using Roman, or 19th-century, models.
According to Paolo Giulierini, the museum’s director, the aim is to follow a new methodological approach to the role of an important museum that is devoted to antiquity and indissolubly linked to unique archaeological sites – Pompeii and Herculaneum foremost, but also a staggering number of others in Southern Italy, the past domains of the Bourbon kingdom of which Naples was the capital.

The intention is not simply to display masterpieces of ancient art but to use the artefacts and the museum itself in order to integrate archaeological data with new technology. This is being done by interacting not only with archaeologists, but also with architects, art historians, botanists and biologists, and it is being carried out in collaboration with other Italian and foreign institutions, which will also widen the scope of its research.

By working in this way the museum ceases to be merely a static receptacle for precious objects from remote antiquity and becomes a contemporary and dynamic participant in the concerns of contemporary society.

This exhibition also gives the museum the chance to display objects of the greatest artistic quality which, due to lack of space, are usually kept in storage. Among the 100 or so artefacts on view are wall paintings, mosaics, silverware and jewellery, statues, reliefs and painted vases, dating from the 8th century BC to the 2nd century AD.

The overall theme aims to show how the right equilibrium between man and his environment can be found, one which was maintained in the ancient world when people knew that not respecting nature led to dire consequences. The gods and demi-gods that embody and control natural forces have to be pacified by offerings to ensure the success of the harvest, for example.

Among them is Triptolemus, ‘He who pounds the husks’, a primordial creature whom the goddess Demeter taught the art of agriculture and who was initiated into the secret rites of Eleusis. He is often represented with the goddess on 4th-century and 3rd-century BC red figure vases from Apulia and, later, in marble sculpture (4).

Many works of art in this exhibition show how elements of the natural world – animals, plants,
fruit, flowers, leaves, tendrils – were used in rituals of life and death in Southern Italy or were copied and transformed into jewellery made of precious metals, gold especially.

One example is a 4th-century BC necklace made of gold rosettes and petals linked by a gold thread, found in a tomb in Apulia. It is unusually short because it was not worn around the neck but was sewn onto a ceremonial dress.

Vine leaves and grapes, as well as ivy, were sacred to Dionysos, as laurel was to Apollo. Myrtle, sacred to Aphrodite and Persephone, was used for crowns worn at weddings. Since the oak tree was sacred to Zeus, its leaves were used to mark male royal rank, but they were also copied in gold to fashion crowns for women to wear on special occasions and also in the afterlife, such as those which were part of Apulian funerary goods.

Several beautiful crowns made of gold oak leaves (8) are on display, a testimony to the outstanding skill of goldsmiths in Greece and later in Rome.

But if gold crowns were used to adorn the living and the deceased, so were crowns made of real leaves. A lovely example is shown on a fragment of a 1st-century AD wall-painting, excavated in a house at Herculaneum. It shows a young woman wearing a garland of green leaves (7). She is probably officiating at some special ritual in a temple, or participating in a grand scene depicting the myth of Jason and Pelia.

A magnificent, large, 4th-century BC red figure krater (9) shows the mythical garden of the Hesperides. The ‘Daughters of Evening’ (Hesperis) or ‘Western Maidens’ tended the garden, which was located in the distant West and sacred to the goddess Hera. It contained a tree producing golden apples that conferred immortality on those who ate them.

The krater is attributed to the famous ‘Painter of Lycurgus’, who was active about 360-350 BC in the Greek colonies of Southern Italy. It was found in the early 19th century in a necropolis near Ruvo di Puglia, one of the many masterpieces excavated there by members of the Jatta family, who bequeathed their magnificent collection to the Italian state. It is still housed in a little-known but astonishing museum – the former Jatta mansion, at Ruvo di Puglia – which is filled with...
monumental painted vases and other archaic Apulian artefacts.

Bucolic scenes were sometimes chosen to represent paradise on earth as political propaganda, especially at the time of Emperor Augustus (63 BC-AD 14), whose rule inaugurated a golden age for Rome. So prosperity and fecundity are depicted on exquisite, late 1st-century BC marble reliefs, like those formerly in the Grimani collection, in Venice (10).

Originally part of a public fountain from the forum of Praeneste (now Palestrina), near Rome, these reliefs were carved for Verrius Flaccus (55 BC-AD 20), the tutor of Augustus’ grandsons Gaius and Lucius. They share the same restrained, elegant style in the depiction of the bountifulness of nature as the contemporary reliefs of Augustus’ Ara Pacis in Rome.

Another outstanding example of Classical craftsmanship in the exhibition is the famous 1st-century AD ‘Blue vase’ (11), that was found in the Villa of Mosaic Columns in Pompeii. It is decorated with a Dionysiac scene with two groups of white erotes playing music and harvesting grapes over a dark blue background. The vase, which is shaped like an amphora and was used to store undiluted wine, is one of the rare examples of cameo glass vases to have survived: the Portland vase in the British Museum is another.

Special emphasis in Myth and Nature: from Greece to Pompeii is given to the representation of Roman gardens, both painted and real. From the last century of the Republic onwards, gardening was considered by the elite to be a true art form and one that entailed a close relationship between plants, architecture, wall paintings and garden furnishings.

Nature was to be domesticated and displayed according to aesthetic canons. Topiary was favoured, and specialised gardeners (topiarii) were engaged to prune evergreen trees and shrubs to create fanciful leafy statuary to complement the marble statues placed in large and small gardens within the courtyards of houses and villas, or outside them.

Some especially beautiful Pompeian wall-paintings in the exhibition show gardens, fruit and plants and imaginary landscapes (5, 6, 13). The most striking of these comes from room 32 of Casa del Bracciale d’Oro (House of the Golden Bracelet) (12) that belonged to a wealthy 1st-century AD resident of Pompeii. It is a large, delicate fresco that once decorated one of the three walls of a formal dining-room that open on the fourth side to the garden. Palm trees, rose bushes and other shrubs and flowers and birds animate the painted garden, while hanging marble masks (oscilla), herms bearing lovely pinakes (votive tablets) carved with images of reclining maenads surround a central fountain.

This is an accurate representation of what a real Roman garden...
looked like and it well illustrates the fascinating interplay between indoor and outdoor, between myth and nature, that is so typical of Roman architectural decoration.

Quoted by Plutarch (in his De gloria Atheniensium, 3346f), the Greek poet Simonides of Keos (556–468 BC) wrote: ‘Painting is silent poetry and poetry is eloquent painting’ – which neatly explains the aesthetic pleasure afforded by Roman gardens and their painted representations.

• Myth and Nature: from Greece to Pompeii is on show at the National Archaeological Museum, Naples (www.mostramitonatura.it) and at the amphitheatre in Pompeii until 30 September 2016. The catalogue (in Italian only), edited by Gemma Sena Chiesa and Angela Pontrandol, is published by Electa, at €35.


The Seljuqs represented a kind of Ozymandias – mighty in battle, prosperous in economy, and creative in the arts – their sultans ruled a vast territory for a relatively short time. Their influence extended across Iran, Anatolia (part of modern Turkey) and the Jazira (lands between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, stretching from southeastern Turkey into northeastern Syria and northern Iraq). Yet Seljuq power lasted for less than three centuries – from 1038 to 1307.

Nevertheless the evidence of the rich culture at Seljuq courts and the religious and scientific exchanges that they fostered, did not disappear into the sands. As the Greek historian Diodorus Siculus wrote, reporting on the ‘Ozymandias’ inscription on the pedestal of the mighty fallen statue of Rameses II: ‘If any want to know how great I am and where I lie, let him out do me in my work.’

Some 270 examples of that work can now be seen in New York, where the Metropolitan Museum of Art has staged the first major modern exhibition on the subject, entitled Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs.

It was during the early 11th century that the Seljuqs, a nomadic
Turkmen tribe with Central Asian origins, established themselves in Persia, making Isfahan their capital. For the previous two centuries, the Abbasid dynasty in Baghdad had been losing control of its eastern provinces. The Abbasid Caliph, exchanging one dangerous client for another, aligned himself with the upstarts, appointing the Seljuq leader Tughril I as his temporal deputy and dubbing him the ‘King of the East and West’.

Secure in the east, Tughril and his heir Alp Arslan took the Caliph at his word, and looked west, towards the Levant and Egypt. Within decades, the Seljuqs gained power over both the Abbasids and the Byzantines. By the end of the 12th century, they and their subordinate empire in Anatolia, the Sultanate of Rum, ruled all the way from the Hindu Kush to the Mediterranean.

Empires can accommodate a plurality of cultures more easily than nation states, and the Seljuqs were syncretic by nature: recent converts to Islam, blending Persian and Turkic cultural influences, and ruling a mixed motley of peoples and religions. The brief Seljuq apogee added a new element to Islamic civilisation, which had previously been dominated by Arabs and Persians. It also fostered fertile exchanges between its subject peoples, which grew in variety and sophistication as Seljuq sultans in Isfahan, Merv, Rayy and other cities lost control over their western provinces.

Devised by Dr Sheila Canby, the Met’s lead curator of the Department of Islamic Art, with help from assistant curators Deniz Beyazit and Martina Rugiadi, Court and Cosmos eschews the familiar chronology of ‘rise and fall’ for a thematic treatment of the Seljuq world. The exhibition opens with a display of artefacts representing subject princes at the Seljuq court. These include coin inscriptions, stucco reliefs representing palace guards, amirs and courtiers, but not the names of the Great Seljuq rulers of Persia and Central Asia. A notable loan from the Tirol State Museum in Innsbruck, a gilded cloisonné plate, bears the name of Rukn al-Dawla Dawud (2), who ruled the Seljuq

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1. Equestrian Portrait of Badr al-Din Lu’lu’, from the Kitab al-aghani (Book of Songs) of Abu-l-Farraj al-Isfahani, ink, opaque watercolour, and gold on paper, 1217–19, Mosul. 28.6cm x 21.5cm. David Collection, Copenhagen.


3. Silk robe, weft-faced compound twill, (‘Glory, prosperity and victory’ is inscribed in Arabic in kufic in the roundels), 11th-12th century, Iran. L. 124cm. Sarikhani Collection, Oxfordshire.
successor state at Hisn Kayfa in Anatolia between 1114 and 1144.

Rukn al-Dawla’s plate conveys a variation in Seljuq iconography, in which economic differences within the Seljuq realms are reflected in its material culture. In Central Asia and Persia, the middle classes prospered under the Seljuqs, and were able to sponsor the production of luxury goods, sophisticated art works and technological experiments.

The iconography of some objects in the exhibition fits the rubric of ‘courtly culture’ – such as entertainments, enthronement, and hunting scenes like the superb equestrian portrait of Badr al-din Lu’lu (1), an illustration made in ink, watercolour and gold from the Kitab al-aghani (Book of Songs), which was made at Mosul between 1217 and 1219, and is on loan from the Royal Library at Copenhagen. Yet not all of the Persian objects were necessarily owned by courtiers.

‘We don’t always know – sometimes they were owned by wealthy merchants, or similar private individuals,’ Sheila Canby tells me. In contrast, the objects from Anatolia, the Jazira and Syria bear the names of local rulers, like Rukn al-Dawla Dawud. In these regions, art works were produced under royal patronage. In Anatolia Islamic iconography was introduced into a predominantly Christian area.

The court and the cosmos were never discrete spheres. The court of an Islamic ruler, like that of his Christian contemporary, was strengthened when temporal power was endorsed by religious authority. ‘In the traditional Islamic view,’ Dr Canby explains, ‘God controls everything in the heavens by his creation, and is the controlling force within that creation.’

If a just monarch ruled in the image of religion, the 12th- to early 13th-century plaster figures with jewelled and feathered head-dresses (9 and 11) show how the Seljuq court contained its own traditions, too. Recent converts to Sunni Islam, and enthusiastic proponents of their faith in their territories, the Seljuqs were heirs to Persian traditions of sculpture and depictions of the human image. These practices predated the Islamic conquest of Persia, and survived in modified form.

‘It continued so long as the images were not in a religious context,’ Dr Canby says. ‘There are no illustrations in Korans, and we don’t find human imagery in mosques or other religious settings. That’s really distinct, and was followed by Muslim states all the way through this period, the Seljuqs included.’

A Mina’i bowl from the late 12th to early 13th century (4) depicts a majlis (literally ‘a place of sitting’), a teacher and his pupils in a garden – as to what they might have been studying, the Seljuq court’s complex view of the cosmos...
can be seen in the Seljuq patronage of science. The court of the Seljuq sultan Malik Shah (1094-1105) at Isfahan attracted famous figures such as Omar Khayyam, who was better known as a mathematician and astronomer than as a poet at that time. One of the outcomes of this was a recalibration of the calendar.

‘There was a tradition in early Islamic times, in Baghdad for example, of making extremely precise observations of stars and constellations, but these, of course, moved,’ Dr Canby explains, ‘and so the calculations had to be recalibrated. What was more,

the precision of the instruments had improved.’

A fine brass astrolabe, manufactured in Isfahan at the turn of the 11th century (6) and loaned from the Museo Galileo in Florence, may have been used for way-finding, for determining the time of day, and for determining the direction of Mecca when it was time to pray.

In the juxtaposition of the astrolabe with a Syrian brass basin (5) and a Persian bowl (7) decorated with the signs of the zodiac, astronomy meets astrology. The treatises of al-Biruni (AD 973-1048), ranging across languages, history and natural science, were an important source for the Seljuqs. Today, we remember al-Biruni as one of the founders of Indology, not for his conflation of horoscopes and astrological data. But he was not alone in this preference. The wonderful Vaso Vescovali, a lidded bowl engraved and inlaid with silver, is decorated with 12 personifications of the major planets, a further 12 zodiac sigils, and a profusion of further ornamentations.

A similar embellishment can be seen in the fondness of the Seljuqs, a culturally hybrid dynasty, for imaginary animals. The standard of the Anatolian Seljuqs bore a double-headed eagle, which appears here on a 13th-century jar from Syria (12), on loan from the Louvre. Many composite creatures appear in Seljuq art; harpies, creatures with the bodies of birds and human faces, and sphinxes, with lions’ bodies, human faces and, often, the wings of eagles.

A similar motif, this time a hybrid of human and machine, appears in the illustrated pages of the Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Inventions (1315), a collection of fanciful schemes compiled by the polymath al-Jaziri (1136-1206). In Design for the Automata of the Slave Girl Serving a Glass of Wine (8), the slave holds her jar under a dispensing arm and appears to be triggering the flow of wine with her foot.

Two exhibits show the importance of trade in the Seljuq economy. A pharmaceutical box (13), made in Persia or Afghanistan in the 11th or 12th century, resembles a modern pillbox. But instead of the days of the week, the sections are marked ‘Musk’, ‘Camphor’, and the name of another, unidentifiable fragrance. Dr Canby believes that this box, on loan from the Linden-Museum in Stuttgart, was used by travellers to carry their own personal supplies of fragrances.

In a witty blending of decorative art with the more prosaic facts of commerce, a tall vase, probably made in Kashan in Persia around the same time, is in the shape of a dromedary camel (10). Instead of its single hump, the camel is topped by a stack of round-necked openings for flowers, whose stems could rest inside the water-filled cavity. (By the time of the Seljuq period one-humped camels had become common in Central Asia.)

As a humorous play upon the camel’s legendary capacity for storing water, and as an image from the other end of the Seljuq realm, this design captures the unique position of the Seljuqs both geographically and historically.

‘People have been used to thinking of the Mongols and Tamerlane as the great conquerors from the east in the medieval Islamic world, the forces which swept across Iran and Western Asia, and then down into Syria, but the Seljuqs did this before them, and not as brutally,’ Dr Canby points out. ‘For 100 years, the Seljuqs were the leading power in the region. Some people would say that their conquest across Anatolia was what led to the Crusades, because Christians were worried that the Byzantine sites would be completely taken over.’

In 1071, the Seljuqs confirmed
the extent of their western influence by defeating the Byzantines in the field at Manzikert. In 1243, despite assistance from Byzantine auxiliaries, the now-settled Seljuqs were defeated near the Seljuq city of Sivas by a newer wave from the Steppes, the Mongols. The rapid withdrawal of the Mongols after their conquest left a congeries of small Turkic principalities. Osman, the leader of one of these on the fringe of the Byzantine empire, founded the region’s next great empire, that of the Ottomans.

‘We’re trying to revive interest in something important,’ Dr Canby says. ‘In the history of collecting, the Seljuqs were very popular in the 19th century, but in the mid-20th century, interest began to wane.

‘One example is the Jami mosque in Isfahan, where there are towering domes that, in terms of engineering and architecture, are much more sophisticated than what went before.’

Court and Cosmos: The Great Exhibition

8. Design for the Automata of the Slave Girl Serving a Glass of Wine (folio from Book of the Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices by al-Jazari) by scribe and artist Farrukh (Abd al-Latif al-Katib al-Yaquti al-Mawlawi), ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, 1315, Syria or Iraq, 31cm x 21.5cm. © Al-Sabah Collection, Kuwait.

9. and 11. Two figures wearing jewelled and feathered headdresses, gypsum plaster, modelled, carved, polychrome-painted, gilded, 12th-early 13th century, Iran. 143.5cm x 51.5cm and 119.4cm x 52.1cm. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
hampered the latest exhibition, Court and Cosmos. ‘I think that it would have been inappropriate to even try to borrow from Turkey, because there is so much pressure on the whole country at the moment, with the war in Syria and so much stuff going on,’ says Dr Canby.

In 2011, a delegation led by Murat Suslu, the then Director-General of Cultural Heritage of Museums of Turkey, presented the Metropolitan Museum with a list of 18 objects. The Turkish government claimed that they had been illegally excavated in Anatolia, and it wanted them returned.

In 2012, when the Met staged its Byzantium and Islam exhibition, Turkish officials claimed that they had refused to lend the museum items for the exhibition. The Met denied that it had asked for any loans. Since then, Turkey and the Met have remained in a stand-off. Similar difficulties seem to have hampered the latest exhibition, Court and Cosmos. ‘I think that it would have been inappropriate to even try to borrow from Turkey, because there is so much pressure on the whole country at the moment, with the war in Syria and so much stuff going on,’ says Dr Canby.

In 2014 The Art Newspaper, citing ‘sources familiar with the project’, reported that the Met, regardless of Turkey’s involvement in the Syrian civil war, ‘did not pursue an official request’ for loans for Court and Cosmos, because of ‘thorny initial discussions’ with Ankara. ‘In this case,’ Sheila Canby says, ‘we’ve managed to do it without them’ – and to great effect.

- Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs is on show at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York until 24 July 2016. The exhibition catalogue is published by Yale University Press at £40, $65.
A bite of the golden apple

Emily Hauser tells Diana Bentley why she chose to focus on two women’s views of events in her new novel about the Iliad.

The epics of Homer may be over 2500 years old but, for Emily Hauser (left), they are a source of inspiration, prompting new insights into the legendary world of Bronze Age Greece and Troy. The Iliad, she says, provides historians and Classicists with a treasure-trove of culture, one which she is energetically exploring from a fresh perspective in her work as an academic – and as a novelist.

Born in Brighton, Emily Hauser studied Classics at Cambridge where she was taught by, among others, Professor Mary Beard. A Fulbright scholarship took her to Harvard; now, she studies at Yale, where she is completing her PhD.

Her debut novel, For the Most Beautiful, the first of a planned ‘Golden Apple Trilogy’, takes us into the lives of Krisayis (usually transliterated as Chryseis), the daughter of the High Priest of Troy, and Briseis, a princess of the Troad city of Pedasus, during the gruelling Trojan War. Though they are minor players in the Iliad, Emily Hauser insists that, nonetheless, they play a pivotal role in the epic.

In her novel, the young women stand centre stage, providing a vivid, broader view of the war and its devastating consequences. Not surprisingly, in her PhD, Hauser is examining women and literature in antiquity and the ways in which today’s female writers are recovering and interpreting their stories.

What was it that first attracted you to the Classics?
I was fortunate enough to have a fantastic teacher of Greek and Latin when I first started studying the languages at the age of 11, and his passion and enthusiasm for the myths, culture and literature of antiquity had me absolutely hooked. I remember writing him a letter when I left the school at 13
saying that I was planning to study Classics at university – and that's exactly what happened. I think, for me, it was the richness and timelessness of the myths of ancient Greece that really excited me at the very beginning – and that's something that hasn't changed.

Is the Iliad a particular favourite of yours and, if so, can you tell us why?
At Cambridge I wrote my undergraduate thesis on the Iliad, and one of the things that fascinated me most was that we tend to think of it as a poem of war, over-archingly masculine, and yet there are moments – flashes of insight – within the poem where we see the world of the women, of peace, of what could have been.

There is a beautiful instance in Book 22, when Achilles is chasing Hector around the walls of Troy and Hector knows that he will die – but as he runs he passes the place where the Trojan women used to wash the clothes, ‘before the Greeks came’. It's such a poignant reminder of the other side of the story of Troy, and one that I wanted to bring out in my novel.

Why did you choose the Trojan War as a setting for your novel?
I wrote For the Most Beautiful because I think the Iliad, and Homer, can sometimes seem inaccessible to many people. The Homeric epics have so much cultural weight, have been so often interpreted and received, that they can feel overbearing.

I wanted to make use of my training as a Classicist to write a novel that would make the Iliad fresh, vivid, exciting, and most of all, approachable for the general public. In that sense, I'm aiming to reach a broad audience – but perhaps specifically those who haven't read the Iliad before, who want a fresh take on Homer and an introduction to the world of Bronze Age Troy through the eyes of the women of the Trojan War.

Why do you think this epic continues to fascinate us today?
The Iliad contains timeless themes of love and war, sacrifice and betrayal, gods and mortals, themes that we are constantly reflecting on. There is something very special about reading about the human struggle of Achilles in a text written over 2500 years ago. In relating to Achilles, when he decides to devote his life to glory; or to Hector, when he chooses his duty to his city over his love for his wife; or to Helen, when she blames herself for the choices she made – any of these complex and decidedly human characters of the Iliad make us realise that we are not alone, that these are questions and choices that people were processing many thousands of years ago. This is a way to look at ourselves, refracted through the meditations of the past.

But I also think there is something particular in the Iliad that appeals to us at the present moment. There has been a huge upswing in interest in the Iliad, even during the past few years. It is unavoidable that we draw parallels between the current tragic situation in Syria and the turmoil and war inflicted upon the city of Troy and the subsequent plight of the refugees seeking asylum from the conflict, travelling across the Mediterranean and trying to find a new home in Europe.

All of this is documented in the fall of Troy, which is anticipated by Homer, and the subsequent migration of the Trojans to a new home in Italy, related by Virgil in the Aeneid, and it can be related to the current tragic situation in Syria. In that sense, I think the Iliad is speaking to us, now more clearly than ever.

As the Iliad focuses solely on men at war, why did you choose to make two women, Krisayis and Briseis, your central figures?
The Iliad has always been read as an essentially male-dominated story: the anger of Achilles, the tragedy of Hector, the hubris of Patroclus, and so on. But I wanted to bring out the subler glimpses of another world hinted at within the poem – the world of the women, which we see in the wives (and widows) behind the walls of Troy and the prisoners-of-war in the Greek camp. I
also felt that they are an essential part to the story – and that, if we fail to tell their side of events, we fail to see the true cost of the war to everyone involved, not just the men. The anger of Achilles when his prize, Briseis, is taken from him looks quite different, I think, when you know that she was captured as a prisoner-of-war and her husband and her three brothers were killed by the man whom she has to sleep with every night as his sex slave. It’s a different side to the Iliad – and one that needs to be told.

There is also the fact that Krisayis and Briseis are absolutely central to the action of Homer’s Iliad yet, somehow, although all the events of the poem unfold because of them, they are mostly forgotten – Krisayis disappears halfway through Book 1 and Briseis makes rare appearances as Achilles’ bed partner. The entire plot begins because of the ransoming of Krisayis and Agamemnon’s demand of Achilles’ prize, Briseis. They lie at the very heart of the plot of the Iliad and I wanted to tell their story.

What is your view of the genesis of the Iliad and Odyssey? Was there a Trojan War and was Homer a real person?

This is a very knotty question and one which has preoccupied scholars for many generations. It’s also something I happen to work on in my own research at Yale. I personally land on the side of the oralists, who argue that the Iliad and the Odyssey were composed and performed orally, handed down from poet to poet over many generations, until they were finally written down around 750 BC (this date is still contested). In this view, there was what we might call a ‘recorder’ – someone who transcribed the last oral performance and who, perhaps, adjusted and added some elements to create the first written version of the Homeric epics – but that this person was actually called Homer is, I think, doubtful.

As for the Trojan War, the remains of the citadel of Troy at Hisarlik do show some signs that may point towards a history of attacks and siege on the site: in particular, the evidence provided by the archaeological layer labelled Troy VIIa shows signs of a sort of ‘siege mentality’ – grain-containers stored in the floors, significant rebuilding and additions to the fortifications. This, to me at least, is highly suggestive, intimating perhaps that there may have been some sort of catastrophic war, or siege, at Hisarlik that was later remembered and passed down as the epic 10-year siege of Troy.

What kind of research did you do before writing the book?

I was fortunate enough to be familiar with the Iliad and Homer’s world already through my research; so most of my efforts went into really getting an understanding of the site of Troy and the details of the cultural and physical landscape of the Bronze Age Aegean. It is well-known that the Iliad, as we know it today, contains anachronistic traces of 8th-century BC Greek culture (the context in which it was written down) – the most notable instance being the presence of iron, which wasn’t used during the Bronze Age. I wanted to give the feel of an authentic Bronze Age Anatolian culture – not one which had been refracted through Greek eyes – and so I conducted a lot of research into the language of the Trojans, the specific layout of the site of Troy, the remains of the ancient cities around the Troad, the types of clothes they would have worn, their diet, and so on.

I even met with an environmental archaeologist in order to establish what kinds of plants and crops would have grown on the Troad in the Bronze Age. I wanted to make sure that the city of Troy and its people feel real, that they leap off the page for the reader – and, of course, that they’re as historically accurate as I can make them.

Does your novel relate to the excavations currently being carried out at Troy?

It certainly does. As I mentioned, I wanted to make sure that the city of Troy and its people feel real, that they leap off the page for the reader – and, of course, that they’re as historically accurate as I can make them.

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Was there anything that surprised you about the history or the characters while you were researching and writing the book?

I was surprised to learn that the Bronze Age Trojans seem to have had a culture that was largely separate both from the Greeks (as they are portrayed in Homer) and the Hittites (which was generally assumed, given the proximity of the Hittite Empire in the late Bronze Age). I suppose that, influenced by Homer, I had always thought of...
them as very much Hellenised – for example, Homer has the Trojans worshipping the same gods as the Greeks (there is a temple to Athena on Homer’s acropolis of Troy), practising the same customs (Hector’s mother Hecuba pours a libation to the gods, much as the Greeks did) and, of course, he has them speaking the Greek language. But, from Hittite correspondence with a king of Wilusa (the ancient name of Troy, cognate with the Greek name for the city, Ilios) it seems that the city had a form of allied independence from the Hittite capital. I tried to impart that sense of difference in
For the Most Beautiful, most of all in the names of the Trojans’ gods which are different from those of the Greeks.

As for the characters, I think I became more sympathetic to Achilles as I wrote. I mean, he’s a difficult, in many ways very extreme, character but seeing him through Briseis’ eyes, I began to discover a more human side to him.

Can you tell us more about the subject of your dissertation at Yale?
My doctoral dissertation examines both the relationship between women and literature in antiquity, and the ways in which contemporary female authors recover the women of Classical literature and rewrite their stories today. Looking at novels from Margaret Atwood’s The Penelopiad, which initially inspired me to write For the Most Beautiful, to Ursula Le Guin’s Lavinia, I suggest that contemporary female writers are looking back to the women of the canonical texts of Classical antiquity (the Iliad, Odyssey and Aeneid) in order to reflect on their own fraught relationship to the canon, as women and as writers. The canon is something from which women have generally been excluded throughout the history of literature, and so it’s particularly interesting to see female authors engaging with the liminal women of Classical epic and using them as a way into thinking about female authorship today.

Is there a growing interest in studying the lives of women of antiquity?
There certainly is. I have done a lot of research on this topic and it seems that there really is an upswing in interest at the moment in reconstructing the lives of ancient women. And this interest isn’t just confined to the realm of fiction: in fact it stems from the important movement in scholarship from the 1970s towards recovering Classical women’s lives, with the application of feminist criticism to the field of Classics.

You can see its repercussions everywhere, from publications like Bettany Hughes’ 2005 book, Helen of Troy, to the Medea Project [named after the vengeful wife of Jason who murdered her own children], which produces theatre for incarcerated women. I think we are only just realising now how incredibly important it is to do research into the women of the Classical world and to bring their lives and experiences to the fore – and just how exciting uncovering those experiences can be.

Did the Trojan War really occur because of the abduction of Helen or was it an excuse the men used so that they could go to war?
It’s hard to believe that an expedition the size of the one described in the Iliad would have set out for Helen alone, and the fact that Troy was reputed to be one of the wealthiest cities in the Aegean (a fact which is borne up by the archaeology), and that it commanded an important strategic position at the entrance to the Hellespont, must have been at least an important factor in the Greek expedition against Troy.

That said, however, the reason Helen is interesting to me is that she is an emblem of the objectification of women in antiquity – the ways in which men appropriated and used them as a means to achieve their own ends, in this case, to start a war.

For the Most Beautiful is about counter- ing that objectification – about seeing the stories of the women of the Trojan War in their own words, through their own eyes, and seeing the ways in which they responded to and, in some cases, tried to change the circumstances around them.

• For the Most Beautiful by Emily Hauser is published in hardback by Doubleday at £12.99. For The Winner, the second volume of the ‘Golden Apple Trilogy’, will be published in January 2017.
The adventures of Heinrich Schliemann

Biographer Caroline Moorehead traces the rise and fall of the celebrated German archaeologist who died 125 years ago and whose life and work in Troy and Mycenae is being commemorated by an exhibition at the Neues Museum in Berlin.

Heinrich Schliemann was just a boy, growing up on the flat, sandy plains of north-east Germany, when his father gave him a book with an illustration showing Aeneas fleeing the burning city of Troy. Aeneas was carrying his father Anchises on his back, and holding his son Ascanius by the hand. The story made perfect sense to the young Schliemann, whose father had told him tales from Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey* so vividly that the boy believed Priam, Paris and Helen were real people and that lost Troy was a real city of unimaginable riches.

Or, at least, this is what he maintained much later when he had become a celebrated archaeologist. He was born on 6 January 1822, in the village of Neu-Buckow near Mecklenburg, the fifth of nine children of a Protestant pastor – and it was in the cemetery behind the rectory that he first developed his ‘natural disposition for the mysterious and the marvellous’.

His mother, Luise, was well-educated and musical, but died at the age of 39. Meanwhile his father, ‘lacking in self-control’ as Schliemann would later describe him, squandered his money so that the 14-year-old boy was obliged to leave school and become a grocer’s apprentice.

Having neither wealth nor connections, it seemed improbable that he would ever escape provincial life but luck of a somewhat perverse kind intervened. After bursting a blood vessel one day while carrying a heavy cask, he had to leave the grocery, and turned this to advantage by agreeing to accompany a school friend to America. Their boat sank, but the boys were washed up alive on the Dutch coast and Schliemann soon found work at Schröders, one of Europe’s leading merchant banks.

Quick, resourceful and ambitious, he was sent to St Petersburg, and somewhere along the line managed to master 10 written and spoken languages. He prospered and finally reached America during the California gold-rush, opening a banking-house in Sacramento in 1851.

In the middle of the 19th century...
the idea that man had a remote past, a prehistory, was still in its infancy. When in 1845 John William Burgon spoke of Petra as ‘a rose-red city half as old as time’, he was talking not in poetic terms but of a historical fact; for many early Victorians, ‘time’ was probably 6000 years ago.

But Schliemann had not forgotten the tales he read during his childhood. In 1868, at the age of 46 and already a rich man, he turned his ambitions to archaeology. Although his knowledge of the Classical world was limited, he would, he decided, find the lost city of Troy, home to Hector ‘of the golden helmet’ and ‘noble Paris’, whose kidnapping of the beautiful Helen had triggered the 10-year siege of the ancient city. In order to prove that the great war between the Trojans and the Achaeans was not a mere fantasy but accurate historical fact, Schliemann decided that he would follow Homer’s words, literally, taking no guide but the Iliad, until he discovered and unearthed Priam’s walled city.

In 1869 Schliemann parted from his first wife, Ekaterina, a haughty Russian who had borne him three children but with whom he had fallen out. Then, aged 47, he married a 17-year-old Greek girl, Sophia Engastronomenos, who
quickly produced a daughter. He christened her Andromache. A son, Agamemnon, followed, after which he left them in Athens and set out for Asia Minor.

As it happened, Schliemann’s timing was fortuitous, for his dream of discovering Troy coincided with one of the most revolutionary periods in the history of science, marked not only by inventions – steam travel, telegraphy, gas lighting – but by an enormous appetite for knowledge. Charles Darwin had just published his revolutionary theory about evolution in the biological world, and archaeologists were at work on fossil and living forms, laying down prehistoric sequences far back into the ‘speechless past’. The moment was ripe for the exploration of lost civilisations.

In 1870, the year that Schliemann set forth, there were believed to be two possible sites for Troy and its Remains. One was a village in Canakkale called Pınarbaşı; but this was quickly rejected by Schliemann on the grounds that it was too far from the sea and was too small a hill to house a palace the size of Priam’s. The other, five kilometres away, was at Hissarlik where a tall mound stood on a plain near the Hellespont, visible from the heights of ‘many-fountained Ida’ and ideal for the great battle between the Trojans and the Achaeans. It was here that Schliemann began to dig, with the American vice-consul of Canakkale, Frank Calvert, an amateur archaeologist who was already at work.

Schliemann was a messy and destructive excavator, attacking his sites, as his critics would later say, as if he were ‘digging up a field of potatoes’. But as the days passed, black, red and brown terracotta vases appeared out of the earth, then fragments of funeral urns, dishes with owls’ faces, helmets, a cup shaped like a pig. But Schliemann kept digging.

In February 1873, when he returned for his third dig, he brought 158 workmen, together with horses and carts, battering-rams, chains, spades and pickaxes. The speed with which he drove his men led to accidents. Walls collapsed, confusing the strata he claimed to identify, particularly as he proceeded by a series of transverse cuttings, uncovering objects from each of them at the same time. Poisonous snakes slithered out of the rocks. Heavy rain turned the dust into mud. But none of this prevented Schliemann from announcing that he had ‘discovered Homeric Ilium’. There was one problem, however, which not even Schliemann could ignore: where was the fabulous gold and silver plate on which Priam and his family feasted? Where were the jewels worn by Helen? No one has ever been able to say for certain when Schliemann found the ‘Great Treasure’. But, some time in the late spring of 1873, when his workmen had left the site for lunch and he was alone, he unearthed a cache of bracelets, gold rings, earrings and diadems – one made of 16,000 pieces of gold – to confound even his most dismissive critics. Telling no one of his find, he spirited the treasure out of Turkey back to his house in Athens. Then, with his customary immodesty, he wrote to Sir Charles Newton at the British Museum: ‘I have a claim to the gratitude of the whole civilised world.’

But not everyone was so sure. ‘Troy and its Remains’, his account of his excavations, containing hundreds of drawings, was met by some praise but also much scepticism, for Schliemann’s boastfulness and cavalier methods had made him many enemies. The Turks were furious that their treasure had been smuggled abroad. Other archaeologists challenged his claims.

But ever dogged and driven, Schliemann pressed on. In 1876 he went to Mycenae. Excavating within a circle of stones in the citadel beyond the Lion Gate, he quickly uncovered five graves, containing masked figures and more treasure, in gold, silver, copper and bronze. He made it clear that anything that he had turned up in Troy, ‘I have gazed,’ he said in a telegram to the king of Greece, ‘upon the face of Agamemnon.’

Despite the fury of the Turks, the treasure from Troy was now on show in Schliemann’s vast Neo-Classical mansion in Athens. On special occasions, Sophia wore the golden diadem once said to

6. Plan of Troy made in 1890 by Schliemann’s assistant, William Dorpfeld, who had joined him to dig at Troy in 1882.

7. Illustration showing the Great Treasure, excavated at Troy by Schliemann and his team and displayed in Berlin. Later, his wife Sophia was famously photographed decked out in the ancient gold jewellery.
have adorned the beautiful Helen. Finally, after years of acrimonious wrangling, Schliemann donated the collection to Germany, to be displayed in a special wing of the new Ethnological Museum. In 1881 the Royal Berlin orchestra celebrated its arrival in the city with the march from Tannhäuser.

Schliemann lived on for another nine years, tormented by earache so painful that he could barely hear, fighting off or ignoring the criticism of his detractors. Then, on 26 December 1890, alone in Naples, he collapsed and died.

As for the Great Treasure, it kept wandering. It was looted from the flak tower in the Berlin zoo (where it had been secreted for safe keeping during the Second World War) by the Red Army when the Russians entered Berlin in 1945. For the next 50 years nothing more was heard of it. Then, in 1990, two young Russian art historians, Konstantin Akinsha and Gregorii Kozlov, piecing together a picture of the art looted by the Russians as Europe was liberated, tracked it down to the vaults of the Pushkin Museum in Moscow. It took six more years before the Russian authorities finally admitted to having it.

Today, objects from Troy are said to lie scattered across 47 collections around the world. Around 20,000 separate pieces and the famous jewellery are still in Russian hands. Both the Turks and the Germans continue to clamour for their return, but this is fiercely resisted by the Russians, who say that Schliemann’s gold is a very small restitution for all the art looted from them by the Germans.

So did Schliemann actually find Priam’s Troy? Was he able, as he claimed, to prove that the Trojan War took place and that there were links between Troy and Mycenae? Subsequent excavations at both sites, and at Knossos, together with...
the deciphering of Linear B script, would suggest that – if there was indeed a Trojan War – then the site Schliemann identified at Hissarlik was probably correct. But the dating of his finds there to around 1180 BC, the time of the Trojan War as calculated by ancient texts, must quite simply have been wrong. What Schliemann had, in fact, discovered was evidence of a civilisation that had flourished a millennium before Homer’s epic was composed, an earlier Bronze Age never made immortal by a poet or documented in any other way.

The Great Treasure (56 gold shell earrings, 8750 gold beads, sequins and studs, gold diadems and bracelets) was not worn by Helen, or hidden by Priam, but belonged to some other people, who lived at least 1000 years earlier. From some of the things that Schliemann said not long before he died, it may be that he had known and accepted this for some time.

Yet, despite all his boastful claims, no one can deny that the multilingual, ambitious boy from Mecklenburg was partly responsible for opening up questions about early pre-Hellenic history and for popularising the field of Homeric studies. His books and newspaper articles also inspired a generation of eager archaeologists. He may not have discovered Troy, but he presented the world with evidence of a lost civilisation, which would in time be recognised as the Mycenaean age and which thrived on the European mainland from around 1550 to 1050 BC. Although Schliemann was a tricky, devious man, destructive in his archaeological methods, and his life was a series of improbable adventures, many of which may not have been true, this only serves to make him one of the most original and fascinating of 19th-century explorers.

Priam’s Gold: Schliemann and the Lost Treasures of Troy by Caroline Moorehead is published in paperback for the first time by IB Tauris at £11.99.

Death in Naples: 125th Anniversary of the Death of Heinrich Schliemann

This special exhibition is a homage to the archaeologist, collector, patron, businessman, multimillionaire and world traveller, who died in Naples on 26 December 1890. Schliemann’s embalmed body was transferred to Athens, where he was buried on 4 January 1891 in the city’s First Cemetery, his funeral attended by large crowds. Selected exhibits from the Trojan Collection and from other excavations, including those at Mycenae, Tiryns and Orchomenos, are presented together for the first time. Shown in display cabinets typical of the era, they are supplemented by rarely seen material from the archive collections of the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, the Staatsbibliothek and the Kunstbibliothek of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. The exhibition runs alongside the Neues Museum’s permanent exhibition of the Berlin Trojan holdings, which have been connected with the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte since the Collection of Trojan Antiquities was gifted to the Berlin Museums in 1881. A display of a collection of Egyptian vessels, probably brought back from Egypt as souvenirs, completes this comprehensive picture of Heinrich Schliemann, excavator and collector, and his life’s work in archaeology.

• Death in Naples: 125th Anniversary of the Death of Heinrich Schliemann is on show at the Neues Museum in Berlin (www.smb.museum) until 30 June 2016.
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no other country contains so much history in so small a space as Israel. Quite apart from being the land of the Bible and one of the birthplaces of modern archaeology, Israel's location at the junction of Europe, Asia and Africa has placed it at the centre of history. The King's Highway, the artery of the ancient Near East connecting Egypt and Syria, ran across its coastal plain, to join the road from the east at Megiddo, the biblical Armageddon. The ancient Incense Route met the Mediterranean in the ports of Gaza and Ashkelon, the redoubts of the Greek-speaking Sea Peoples, the biblical Philistines. The landscape is littered with remains from the Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Turks and the British, and the architecture of Jerusalem is a vibrant tangle of contesting religious, cultural and national claims.

Since 1000 BC, the land of Israel has been invaded on average every 40 years – although not all of these invasions have been warlike. While tourism in most of the Middle East has collapsed, the numbers of tourists visiting Israel continues to rise. In Syria, Palmyra and Aleppo are war zones; in Libya, as during the waning of Roman rule, Leptis Magna is ruled by local tribes; in Egypt, the sites of the Upper Nile have to be visited under armed guard. Not since the early 19th century have the historic sites of North Africa and the Middle East been less accessible to visitors.

The political controversies of Jews and Arabs make the news but, by local standards, Israel is a secure and friendly place. Only in Israel is it possible to visit major historical and archaeological sites safely, local driving habits notwithstanding, and only here is it possible to experience the complex societies of the Levant in the age before nation states, when Jews, Christians and Muslims shared their cities. Sit in a restaurant in Haifa, and you will hear Hebrew, Arabic, Turkish, Russian, French and English spoken. In the land of Ottolenghi, the food is good, too – and, most important, the archaeological sites are superb.

1. JERUSALEM (The Old City)
Resting on a ridge in the Judaean Hills, Jerusalem is the historical colossus of the region, with an open-air museum, the Old City, at its heart. To orientate, take tea on the terrace of the King David Hotel and admire the walls of the Old City, built by Suleiman the Magnificent (r 1520-1566) during the time of Henry VIII. There are 34 towers and eight gates. One, the Gate of Mercy, is bricked up, pending the arrival of the Messiah. The Jaffa Gate was demolished in 1898 to allow Kaiser Wilhelm II to ride his horse into the city without
dismounting. Jerusalem has been a pilgrim city since ancient times, so the Old City should be entered on foot. Most visitors come through the Jaffa Gate, which leads to the sleepy monasteries of the Armenian Quarter and to the Jewish Quarter, whose sites include the Burnt House, an aristocratic home destroyed when the Romans sacked Jerusalem in AD 70, and the Cardo, the 6th-century arcaded high street. Enter from the Damascus Gate to the east, and you will arrive in the Christian and Muslim Quarters.

The Christian Quarter contains more than 40 churches, notably the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, built in AD 325 on the traditional sites of Jesus’ crucifixion, burial and resurrection, and containing the final four of the 12 Stations of the Cross. The Via Dolorosa leads to the Holy Sepulchre, but most of the Christian Quarter’s alleys take you to the bazaar. The Muslim Quarter abuts the Western Wall, the massive retaining wall of the Second Temple, built by Herod the Great, and now an al fresco synagogue. According to the Romano-Jewish scholar Josephus (circa AD 37-100), to preserve the sanctity of the site, the foremen were priests who trained as masons.

Some of the ancient tunnels under the holy mountain lead to springs outside the city walls, while a staircase takes visitors up to the platform above, which has wonderful views of Bethlehem, the Mount of Olives and the Judeaen Hills. The nearby Israel Museum is packed with artefacts that tell the tale of the country’s rich history.

2. AKKO

One of Israel’s few natural harbours, Akko (Acre) is also one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world; Old Akko is a UNESCO World Heritage Site – although it is often overlooked by visitors. Inside its walls, rebuilt by the Turks in the 18th century, layers of history are stacked upon each
other – from Phoenician homes to a British police station.

Following the conquest of Jerusalem by Salah Al-Din in 1187, the Templars moved to Akko, building their quarter in the southwest section with a tunnel leading to the port. ‘The Templar Fortress was the strongest one in the city and, for the most part, it abutted the sea line... its entrance was protected by two powerful towers with 28-foot thick walls. Two smaller towers were built on either side of the towers and each tower was topped by a gilded lion’ (a description by a Templar living there during the siege of 1291).

3. BEIT SHE’AN
The tel of Beit She’an, looming over the historic junction of the Jordan and Jezreel valleys, contains 18 layers of settlement, from the Late Neolithic period (circa 6000 BC) to the Arab caliphates. The Egyptians used it as a military base, the Philistines hung King Saul’s body from its walls, and the Greeks rebuilt it as Scythopolis for their settlement of veteran Scythian mercenaries. Under the Romans, Beit She’an became the leader of the Decapolis, a confederation of 10 Graeco-Roman cities. Roman town-planning has bequeathed a well-preserved theatre, hippodrome, cemetery and a cardo (main north-south street), whose pillars still stand. The Byzantine remains suggest a rich mingling of religions and peoples, as at Dura Europos in Syria (alas no longer visitable); the crumbling Crusader fort at the foot of the tel is a charming afterthought to this improbably rich site.

4. CAESAREA
Built around a massive artificial harbour by Herod the Great to confirm his fealty to Augustus Caesar, Caesarea, midway between Tel Aviv and Haifa, was a cosmopolitan port...

5. The ruins of Scythopolis, now called Beit She’an, with the tel in the background

6. The 12th-century Templars’ Tunnel, discovered in 1994, is carved into the bedrock and runs for 350 metres below the streets of Akko.

7. The late Roman ruins at Caesarea Maritima also include a theatre, aqueduct and hippodrome.
of Greek speech and Roman manners. St Paul preached in the Roman city, with its seaside hippodrome and beach, where you can snorkel in the shallows among the fallen stones of Herod's harbour.

Further back from the shore are the partially excavated ruins of Byzantine Caesarea, the capital of the Palaestina Prima province until the 7th century, when the city was the last to fall to the Arab conquest. The Crusaders came next, Louis IX of France contributing some walls, a moat, and a magnificent gatehouse. After the Mamluk conquest, Caesarea declined, allowing the preservation of its remains to sink beneath the sand dunes.

5. BANIAS
At the foot of the Golan Heights, the spring of Banias is one of the main sources of the Jordan River, a lush, bucolic haven in a generally dry and hectic region. Originally, the spring emerged in a cave beneath a sheer cliff. Its first votaries worshipped Ba’al here. During the Hellenistic period, the Seleucid rulers of Syria built a temenos (sacred precinct) dedicated to Pan around the cave’s mouth, with temple facilities on the natural terrace in front of the cliff.

The cliff face is still dotted with hand-carved recesses for statues, one of them bearing a dedication to one of Pan’s companions, the mountain nymph Echo. An earthquake brought down the temple and also shifted the source of the spring. Now much diminished, it trickles peacefully out from the terrace and into the Hermon River. In the nearby fields, where stretches of dilapidated aqueducts still stand, lie the ruins of the Roman city of Caesarea Philippi, the other Caesarea of the Gospels; the palace of Herod’s son Philip II has been excavated.

6. MASADA
A testimony to the drive and paranoia of Herod the Great, one of the ancient world’s great megalomaniac builders, Masada was Herod’s retreat from the cares of government and his last resort, just in case. A citadel built on a mountain overlooking the Dead Sea and the barren, wind-blasted landscape of the Judean Desert, Masada combined the amenities of a garrison with the luxuries of a palace.

It is customary to climb up to the site at dawn, in time for sunrise. Mercifully, a cable-car will take you down again on the return trip. Ironically, Herod’s fortress, built by this client of Rome, became legendary as a redoubt against the Romans. During the first of the three Jewish revolts against Rome (AD 66-73), the rebels made their last stands here. The Roman general Lucius Flavius Silva camped two legions at the base of the mountain – the earth walls of their camps can clearly be seen from above, as can a massive rampart, which was built during the year-long siege by captured Judeans.

According to Josephus, when the Romans breached the walls, almost all of the defenders chose to commit suicide, and Masada went up in flames. Modern excavations have revealed traces of the siege and its aftermath, as well as Herod’s private quarters, which cling to the mountainside, their delicate painted Hellenistic decorations still visible.
7. QUMRAN
Along the Dead Sea shore, north of Masada, the caves at Qumran were the source of one of the greatest archeological finds and historical mysteries of the 20th century, the Dead Sea Scrolls. The caves had been inhabited since Neolithic times, and the first excavations were carried out in the 19th century. But it was Roland de Vaux and G. Lankester Harding’s post-1949 excavation of more than 900 scrolls in 11 caves that placed Qumran at the centre of the region’s archaeology – and began an interpretative debate that is still going on. The scrolls, the most important of which can be viewed in the Israel Museum’s purpose-built Shrine of the Book, date from the 5th century BC to the 4th century AD. They form a peerless record of Jewish religious life, from the reconstruction of Judaean life after the Babylonian Exile to the fall of Roman Judaea and the early centuries of Christianity. But which Jewish religious life? It is clear that Qumran was a Jewish town – the excavated ruins of cisterns, ritual baths, and cemeteries are visible. But which Jews?

De Vaux attributed the scrolls to the Essenes, a sect characterised by Josephus as messianic and ascetic. More recently, however, other hypotheses have emerged. There were many other sects in that crisis-ridden age and any one of them could have written the scrolls. And what if the scrolls were written elsewhere and then taken to Qumran? Could they have been carried from Jerusalem during the Revolt of AD 66? In which case, they might have been written by the Essenes’ rivals, the Sadducee priests. The jury, as they say, is still out.

8. AVDAT
Second only to Petra in importance on the Incense Route, the desert city of Avdat was a way-station for caravans of Nabatean spice merchants, founded in the 3rd century BC in honour of the Nabatean king Obodas I. Expanded by the Romans as a base for Diocletian’s legions, it bloomed again as a late Byzantine city; Greek inscriptions and wine-presses, as well as the remains of a monastery, can still be seen.

Avdat’s acropolis, with its limestone temple to Obodas II, is magnificent, its clean-lined pillars stark against the red rock of the desert. Two smaller shrines about its walls, one a Byzantine chapel, and the other a Roman site of unknown dedication. Shards of Nabatean pottery, with their distinctive brown on red patterning, litter the dry ground.

As at the nearby ruins of Mamshit, the hillsides around Avdat’s acropolis are tracked with terracing and watercourses. The Nabateans were experts at maximising the intermittent rainfall of their semi-arid habitat – and their wine was famous. Eventually, they were absorbed into the peoples of the region; the most recent Nabatean find, a blessing of their god Dushara, was written by a plasterer working in the 5th century AD. Although Avdat, a non-biblical site in the remote Negev Desert, is little visited today, it became world-famous in 1973, when it was used as one of the locations for the film Jesus Christ Superstar.

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Divine Creatures: Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt

Edited by Salima Ikram
The American University in Cairo Press
316pp, 100 illustrations, 60 in colour
Paperback, £16.95, $24.95

That the civilisation of ancient Egypt is a subject of continued fascination is hardly surprisingly. Its rich cache of mythology, its astonishing artistic accomplishments, the extraordinary monuments it gave rise to and its sheer longevity all inspire a deep sense of wonder. We also delight in recognising many features of our own everyday life in the texts and artistic representations of the ancient Egyptians – from dancing to drinking beer and baking bread. Yet, to us, some of their habits seem decidedly quirky.

As editor Salmina Ikram, Professor of Egyptology at the American University in Cairo and director of the Animal Mummy Project at the Cairo Museum, points out in the introduction to this book, while we may well understand the ancient Egyptians’ practice of human mummification, their penchant for the mummification of animals is now harder to appreciate. But mummify them they did and in very large numbers.

A wide range of animals were selected for the process: cats famously were favourites, but dogs, crocodiles, birds, hyenas, monkeys, baboons, cattle, sheep, gazelles, snakes and fish were also carefully preserved and finely wrapped for their journey into eternity. Our question now is why?

Presented in nine chapters written by a selection of international experts, Divine Creatures seeks to probe and to explain this phenomenon. An intriguing general introduction to the subject is followed by chapters on the process of mummification, different types of mummies and animal cults and various animal cemeteries that have been excavated in Egypt.

Through mummification, animals – like humans – had eternal life conferred upon them, but they were preserved for various reasons. Four types of animal mummies have been identified: those that had been beloved pets; those that provided funerary food offerings for humans; sacred animals that were worshipped during their lives and whose deaths were a matter of public mourning; and votive mummies that could be dedicated as offerings to the shrines of different gods to whom these animals were sacred.

Most animals fall into the votive animal category. Cat mummies, for example, were offered to Bastet, goddess of pleasure, who manifested in a feline form. Various theories exist about the exact nature of the practice. Some of the animals were bred in captivity for the purpose and show signs of being deliberately killed. Common human failings also enter the story: mummies have been found that may have been fakes, and some priests apparently got into trouble for stealing the animals’ food.

Prepared in special embalming houses, votive mummies were kept in store and once a year taken in processions to be buried en masse in catacombs. Many of these have been found. Several chapters in the book examine the great animal necropolises at various sites, including North Saqqara.

Animals cults started early in Egypt – in the Predynastic Period – and gained in popularity, especially in the Late Period. Preserving animals for all time was something carried out on an industrial scale in ancient Egypt, and the vast numbers of mummies found were sometimes put to surprising use later. Many were even used as ballast for ships, others for fertiliser. A shipment of cat mummies to England in the 19th century contained the remains of 180,000 cats and weighed 19 tons.

Such tales form part of the long and engaging story of the animal mummies of ancient Egypt expertly told in this book. Diana Bentley

Scanning the Pharaohs: CT Imaging of the New Kingdom Royal Mummies
Zahi Hawass and Sahar N Saleem
American University in Cairo Press
318pp, 340 illustrations
Hardback, £56, $60

Hosni Mubarak ruled Egypt as a modern pharaoh. Zahi Hawass, the Secretary-General of Mubarak’s Supreme Council for Antiquities, was one of Egypt’s ‘mini-Mubarak’s’, a powerful distributor of patronage in a one-party state with more antiquities than money. In the past, various serious allegations have been made against Hawass, but the truth about these stories will probably remain forever hidden under his Indiana Jones-style hat.

When the ‘big Mubarak’ fell during the Arab Spring of 2011, Hawass lost his official position. Like a modern Ozymandias, he was half-forgotten, taking up the post of Explorer-in-Residence at National Geographic.

Then, in 2014, an embarassing incident involving employees at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo repairing King Tut’s death mask with superglue was filmed. What else could go wrong? But Hawass has bounced back and now it is heartening to read Scanning the Pharaohs, a scholarly and

Minerva May/June 2016
professional application of imaging technologies and DNA analysis to the mummmified bodies of ancient Egypt’s first families.

The established method of investigation of the contents of a mummy is invasive, major surgery that damages the object of study. Scanning with Computer Tomography is a ‘virtual unwrapping’ that leaves the mummy intact, and produces a fuller image of its contents.

Zahi Hawass then applies his extensive historical knowledge to images generated by Sahar Saleem, a professor of radiology at Cairo University. Combined with DNA sampling, the results are consistently impressive – enough to change our understanding of the pharaohs, and to assemble Tutankhamun’s family tree.

An arrowhead is lodged in the lower right chest cavity of the mummy believed to be that of Thutmose I of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Thutmose III has ‘dense calcifications’ in his desiccated heart. Hatshepsut has a painful-looking fractured tooth, though her liver, removed and wrapped in linen for the afterlife, is in good shape. Seti I was eviscerated and preserved by expert mummifiers, but Thutmose II’s mummmiers left a bit of his brain behind. Rameses II’s brain was ‘excerebrated’ via his nose, and his skull was padded with wads of linen, resin, an animal bone and packets of seeds. Rameses III, said to have died from a snake bite, actually died from a ‘fatal cut wound to the throat by a sharp knife’.

DNA analysis identifies a ‘mystery mummy’ as Tutankhamun’s father, most probably the rebellious proto-monotheist Akhenaten. DNA analysis also confirms that Akhenaten had married one of his 40 sisters. The disastrous genetic consequences of this union for Tutankhamun did not end with his death. His sister’s daughter’s daughter’s daughter lived to marry Tutankhamun’s son, Tutankhaten, who was then succeeded by his son, Ay, and Tutankhaten’s daughter, King Tut.

Applying this mass of new information, Hawass and Saleem infer that the ‘strange’ and androgynous depiction of Akhenaten in art was not naturalistic, but possibly ‘a stylistic reflection of his identification with the god Aten, who in one hymn was described as both male and female, and thus the source of all life’.

Scanning the pharaohs is lavishly illustrated, too. There are uncanny composite images of the pharaohs’ shrivelled bodies and wizened faces, and an even more disturbing picture in which Hawass, preparing to extract some DNA from a mummy known as the Younger Lady, looks deep into her eyes while wearing a green hair-net. Dr Saleem does not appear so much, but then, this is a Zahi Hawass production and he is nothing if not a great showman. ‘I escorted the mummy on to an Air France flight,’ he reminisces, ‘and the captain announced, “We have two important people on our flight today: Rameses I and Zahi Hawass.”’

Ovid on Cosmetics: Medicamina Faciei Femeninae and Related Texts
Marguerite Johnson
Bloomsbury
192pp, 11 black-and-white illustrations
Hardback, £55, $94
Paperback, £17.99, $29.95

At just 100 (extant) lines long, Ovid’s Medicamina Faciei Femeninae, an instructive elegy on cosmeceuticals for women, is a short but fascinating work, but it has often been overlooked by scholars in favour of his other amatory didactic verses, Ars Amatoria and Remedia Amoris. Marguerite Johnson, Associate Professor of Classics at the University of Newcastle, Australia, has set out to rectify this situation with her welcome book Ovid on Cosmetics, which brings together the Latin text and a clear English translation with a thorough introduction and a truly insightful commentary. In her introduction, Johnson sets the poem against the broader context in Latin literary history, with considered reference to Augustus’ moral reforms. For those new to Ovid’s didactics, she outlines his light and witty treatment of this weighty literary form, which the reader can expect from Ars Amatoria and Remedia Amoris as well as from Medicamina. Whereas the bulk of Latin elegy from the era celebrates the natural beauty of women and scorns adornment, Medicamina offers advice on the careful use of cosmetics. It is not only the emphasis on female beautification that makes Medicamina an unusual poem; Ovid, so we are told, was writing specifically with the women of Rome in mind, rather than the more conventional male audience.

Johnson clearly explains the concept of cultus (rendered as ‘cultivation’ in her translation of the poem), essential to understanding Medicamina and parts of Ars, in both her introduction and in her commentary.

The commentary discusses certain themes as they appear, such as witchcraft and the use of historical exempla, and makes comparisons, where relevant, with other ancient texts. It sets out Ovid’s cosmetics recipes so they are clear and easy to understand, and analyses all of the ingredients, their origins, dangers and uses. For instance, the poet uses cerussa (white lead) as an emulsifier in one of his recipes, but Johnson tells us that these lead shavings mixed with vinegar were also used as foundation in antiquity (an application that Martial refers to several times), even though lead was known by Pliny, Vitruvius and Dioscorides to be poisonous.

Johnson also includes, translates and comments on a selection of other relevant passages by Ovid, giving them a similarly thorough examination. In Amoris 1.14, we encounter Ovid the lover-poet reprimanding his puella (identified as Cornilla) for damaging her locks by dyeing and over-styling them. In Ars 3.101-250, he offers detailed advice on hygiene, clothing and which hairstyles are best. While this sort of content may make these poems seem akin to articles in a women’s magazine, it also offers a fascinating insight into the daily lives of Roman women. At the same time, the trilling subject matter brings out Ovid’s playful style and light-hearted approach to didactic poetry.

In all, this book is an invaluable contribution to Ovidian scholarship. With notes on textual issues, a glossary of (English) cosmetic terms, tables on the ingredients and on Roman weights and measures, plus a substantial bibliography, this is a worthwhile read for anyone with an interest in Latin elegy – or Roman cosmetics.

Lucia Marchini
Greek Mythology: A Traveller’s Guide from Mount Olympus to Troy
David Stuttard
Thames & Hudson
272pp, 70 illustrations plus map
Hardback, £14.95

David Stuttard is the author of several engaging and informative books on Greece including A History of Ancient Greece in Fifty Lives (Thames & Hudson, 2014), The Parthenon: Power and Politics on the Acropolis (British Museum Press, 2013) and Power Games: Ritual and Rivalry at the Ancient Greek Olympics (British Museum Press, 2012). Here he takes us on a journey around some of the most important sites in the Greek world, relating the myths, history and current situation of each location. In so doing he provides a wide-ranging survey of one of the most popular aspects of ancient Greek life – mythology.

Many of the sites discussed (Athens, Sparta, Troy, the Oracle at Delphi and Mount Olympus, for example) are exactly what one might expect to find in such a book. There are, however, some places with which the general reader may not be so familiar. For example, Stuttard uses his entries on Ephrya (excavated by the Greek archaeologist Sotrios Dakaris between 1958 and 1977) to teach us about Hades, and Tiryns ‘of the great walls’ while relating the story of Hercules’ labours.

Rather than using photographs, the book contains splendid drawings by Lis Watkins of evocative landscapes and ruins, and familiar depictions of myths in ceramics, reliefs, coins, mosaics, frescoes and other artefacts, such as the famous scene of Odysseus tied to his mast to escape the sirens, shown on an Attic red figure vase, and of Dionysus on a ship covered in vines and surrounded by the pirates he has just turned into dolphins, shown on a wine cup.

As well as drawing on ancient visual depictions of myths, the author often uses literary sources. Many carefully selected and translated passages from several writers, particularly Homer, are quoted throughout, but the words of Hesiod, Herodotus, Pindar and Sophocles also enrich the book.

Each chapter closes with notes on the site ‘in history and today’ and a box of ‘some important dates and remains’. This handy reference feature allows readers who are considering taking a trip to visit any of the sites to find out a little more about what they can actually expect to see.

The dates listed not only cover the essential events in ancient history, but also create an interesting snapshot of the site’s later history and cultural relevance, and the story of its rediscove ry and excavation. For instance, we learn that Mehmet the Conqueror went to Troy in 1452, and Byron visited Sunium, which inspired these lines in Don Juan, 1810: ‘Place me on Sunium’s marbled steep Where nothing, save the waves and I May hear our mutual murmurs sweep’. Ordered geographically, this is a friendly and intelligent guide, which serves well as a general introduction to Greek mythology. It would also make for a gratifying travel companion, offering easy on-site access to beautiful and relevant quotations from ancient literature.

Lucia Marchini

Hadrian’s Wall: Everyday Life on a Roman Frontier
Patricia Southern
Amberley
464pp, 70 illustrations
Hardback, £23

What did the Romans ever do for the warlike tribes of northern Britannia? In Hadrian’s Wall: Everyday Life on a Roman Frontier, Patricia Southern, the author of a dozen books on ancient Rome, addresses a paradox on the imperial frontier.

We know what the Wall was: a stone structure, 80 miles in length, studded with towers and gatehouses, and protected by a Vallum.

According to the historian Tacitus, the Wall was only manned when the emperor ordered it, and the soldiers arrived by the day. But Southern shows that the site ‘in history and today’ is very different. The Wall is now a defensive buffer zone with earthen ramparts, wooden palisades, and a ditch. We know who lived there, and why: three Roman legions on one of the empire’s less desirable postings, guarding the frontier against the native tribes. But we know little about the natives themselves, or why it was necessary to build such an expensive barrier, or about life in the frontier zone that it created.

‘How,’ asks Ms Southern, ‘did the Wall work?’ On a map, the Wall seems to be a fixed line between civilisation and barbarism, but in practice, it was continually evolving and highly permeable. If the Wall was designed as a closed barrier, it soon turned into an open one. The Romans preferred to fight in the open, not from fixed positions, and they made several forays into the north. In the time of Antoninus Pius (138-161), the general Lollius invaded southern Scotland, and built the Antonine Wall between the Firth of Forth and the Firth of Clyde – a construction that, had it endured as a marker of the frontier, would surely have reduced the meaning and value of Hadrian’s Wall.

And the British tribes seem to have moved back and forth across the border, too. It is likely that as the Wall snaked from east to west, it bisected the territory of the local tribes, the Brigantes in the west, and the Votadini in the east. Although Rome’s rule in the region was never wholly accepted, the northern frontier was stable enough for the local tribes to be allowed to pass through the Wall zone. Every few miles, a road ran north-south across it. To facilitate travel to
and fro, the Romans cut openings in the ramparts of the Vallum, then filled in the ditch or spanned it with a wooden bridge. When, after 20 years, the Romans pulled back from the Antonine Wall, they seem to have closed Hadrian’s Wall, or at least tightened their control of the crossing points.

Up on the Wall, the legionaries tried to ward off the less friendly locals with a lively and polymorphous religious life. The Roman pantheon dominated, with Jupiter receiving more shrine dedications than any other god, but local and tribal gods were accommodated in imperial style. Mars was coupled with his nearest local deities, producing shrines to Mars Belatucadrus and Mars Cocidius. The Batavians erected numerous altars to Mithras and the German soldiers, who arrived in the 3rd century AD, built altars to the Veters, their ‘old gods’.

At the base of the wall, Vici, civilian settlements adjoining a Roman camp, sprang up ‘under the wing’ of the legions. These declined in the 3rd century, possibly because, by then, soldiers were paid in food, clothing and equipment, not cash.

If there was trade between the Wall zone and the north, the Romans had little part of it. Few Roman artefacts have been unearthed in the native settlements beyond the Vallum. The evidence for cultural synthesis to the south of the Wall is stronger. Slowly, the Wall had created a ‘north–south divide’ in culture. This pattern, Southern notes, ‘runs counter to the accepted orthodoxy’. Frontier zones usually display ‘a meld of cultures’, instead of a ‘sharp division’.

This is the only sharp division in Southern’s subtle assessment of the Wall and its world. The people of the Wall may, like the legionaries of Rosemary Sutcliff’s novel The Eagle of the Ninth, have disappeared into the Scottish mist, but the distinct and varied workings of the Wall emerge clearly in Southern’s detailed and judicious account.

Dominic Green

Roman Shields
Hilary and John Travis

Amberley
192pp, 21 colour plates, 92 black-and-white drawings
Paperback, £20

The methods used by soldiers to protect themselves from harm during combat have produced a huge number of books on the subject. Hilary and John Travis, who are both re-enactors, have co-authored several other books on Roman military equipment including Roman Helmets and Roman Body Armour.

Their latest, Roman Shields, describes the development, construction and use of the shield in combat. The first section deals with

the shield from the Iron Age, through the Roman Republican period, to the late Roman Empire. There is also a section describing shield decoration and the way it was used for identification.

They also draw attention to the limited life-span of a shield. They argue convincingly that the quantity of materials and man power that were needed to keep the army constantly supplied with replacements was a huge undertaking.

The section dealing with field testing explains the methodology used by the authors and also cites the results of a number of other experimenters. They have tested arrows and pilae or javelins. However, most combat was hand to hand, using swords, spears and axes. The efficiency of any shield can only be determined by testing it against these hand-held weapons. So it is a pity the authors did not take this into consideration because their conclusions about the efficiency of a shield is based only on projectiles, which are only one part of the story.

Some of their other conclusions, which they have reached from field trials, are at variance with the findings of other researchers in the same field, as are their assertions concerning the physics of bows and arrows.

The chapter on the actual use of shields is informative, but I found myself wishing it could have been longer because it was so interesting – particularly concerning the deployment of shield walls on the battlefield and their use by individuals in one-to-one combat, which shed light on this aspect of shield use.

There are six appendices, which make up a third of the book, and the relevance of some of these to the main topic I found spurious, at best. They would have been better used if the information in them had been incorporated into the main body of the book.

Nevertheless a book such as this, dealing with a single form of defence, is to be welcomed because there is a great deal of information about one piece of equipment in a single volume. Both newcomers and those with more knowledge of the study of Roman military matters, will find it helpful to have the basics of one subject in one place.

Although the bibliography is not extensive, it gives those wanting to expand their knowledge of shields a sound basis on which to work.

Roman Shields is presented in a logical sequence, is easy to read and is well illustrated with colour plates and a large number of black and white drawings.

David Sim

Fallen Glory: The Lives and Deaths of Twenty Lost Buildings from the Tower of Babel to the Twin Towers
James Crawford
Old Street Publishing
660pp, 16 colour, 50 black-and-white illustrations
Hardback, £25

Some of man’s creations never die, even if they have disappeared from view. The
CLASSICAL CONUNDRUMS

Adam Jacot de Boinod poses a vocabulary quiz from Latin and Ancient Greek

Can you guess the correct definition from the following three options for:

1) ionthados (Homeric Greek)
   A) yellow
   B) having a pearly lustre
   C) shaggy

2) sandyx (Latin)
   A) a bright red, vermillion
   B) a stomach-ache
   C) a slight, tickling cough

3) malakia (Ancient Greek)
   A) a rumour
   B) softness, tenderness
   C) pleasantness in conversation
   (one of Aristotle’s Seven Virtues)

4) rastrum (Latin)
   A) a rake or mattock
   B) irritation, vexation
   C) a rhetorical device of damning with faint praise

5) emmoroi (Homeric Greek)
   A) hostile spirits
   B) twins
   C) sharers in

6) skeneo (Ancient Greek)
   A) to struggle to walk
   B) to be or dwell in a tent
   C) to overstay one’s welcome

7) ensis (Latin)
   A) a fire
   B) a two-edged sword
   C) a consequence

8) ouros (Homeric Greek)
   A) a fair wind
   B) stiff with cold
   C) the big toe

9) riscus (Latin)
   A) a very flat, snub nose
   B) a pimple
   C) a trunk or chest

10) lepas (Ancient Greek)
    A) a short beard
    B) a crag, a bare rock
    C) without thought, headlong

11) plokamous (Homeric Greek)
    A) the knee bones
    B) fingertips
    C) locks, braids

12) sandapila (Latin)
    A) freckles
    B) a speech disorder
    C) a cheap coffin, a poor man’s bier

• Adam Jacot de Boinod has worked as a researcher on the BBC television quiz programme QI. He is the author of The Meaning of Tingo and creator of the iPhone App Tingo.

ANSWERS

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Diana Bentley
AAB Asian Art in Brussels, BAAF Brussels Ancient Art Fair, BRUNEAF Brussels Non-European Art Fair present a unique fair gathering in the heart of Brussels.

100 major dealers specializing in Ancient, Asian and Tribal Art.

8 - 12 June 2016
Sablon, Brussels

www.cultures.brussels
**CALENDAR compiled by Lucia Marchini**

**UNITED KINGDOM**

**BARNARD CASTLE, Co Durham**

**English Rose: Feminine Beauty from Van Dyck to Sargent**

To celebrate its recent acquisition of Van Dyck’s portrait of Olivia, Mrs Endymion Porter, the Bowes Museum is exploring 400 years of the portrayal of English society beauties. With George Romney’s Emma Hart as Miranda (shown below) and works by Gainsborough, Reynolds, Sir Peter Lely and John Singer Sargent, this exhibition traces the history of the ‘English Rose’ from the 17th to the 20th century. It considers the place of women in society over the years, while a self-portrait of Mary Beale reflects the difficulties a 17th-century female artist would face in finding a model.

The Bowes Museum
+44 (0)1833 690606
(www.thebowesmuseum.org.uk)
From 15 May to 25 September 2016.

**From Temple to Home: Celebrating Ganesha**

Gouache paintings and woodcut prints of the Hindu god Ganesha in traditional scenes are brought together in this exhibition, which looks at how the elephant-headed god is worshipped in the form of clay images in Indian households. The centrepiece of the exhibition, a 119cm-tall, 13th-century schist sculpture of the god showing many of his key attributes will go on tour to seven institutions across the UK.

The Bowes Museum
+44 (0)1833 690606
(www.thebowesmuseum.org.uk)
From 21 May to 18 September 2016.

**EDINBURGH**

**Celts**

Organised in partnership with the British Museum, this exhibition examines the complicated notion of Celtic identity using more than 350 objects. Decorated items, many of which have not been on show in Scotland before, reveal information about status, beliefs and connections. Highlights include: the wonderful Gundestrup Cauldron from the National Museum of Denmark, a 119cm-tall, 13th-century schist sculpture of the god showing many of his key attributes will go on tour to seven institutions across the UK. The Bowes Museum
+44 (0)1833 690606
(www.thebowesmuseum.org.uk)
From 21 May to 18 September 2016.

**Surreal Encounters: Collecting the Marvellous**

The private collections of Edward James, Roland Penrose, Gabrielle Keiller and Ulla and Heiner Pietzsch contain some of the finest works of the Surrealists. This exhibition shows highlights from the four collections which give a full account both of Surrealism and its collectors.

Scottish National Gallery
+44 (0)131 624 6200
(www.nationalgalleries.org)
Until 12 June 2016.

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+44 (0)1833 690606
(www.thebowesmuseum.org.uk)
From 21 May to 18 September 2016.

**Dundee**

**Krishna in the Garden of Assam: The Cultural Context of an Indian Textile**

In the first exhibition in Britain to survey Assam’s cultural history, the largest surviving example of the Vrindavan Vastrā, a silk cloth woven with scenes from the life of the Hindu god Krishna (above right) dating from circa 1680, is on show. During the annual Ras Lila festival, episodes from Krishna’s life are re-enacted through music, drama and dance on the island of Majuli in the Brahmaputra River. Also included in the exhibition are contemporary dance masks from Majuli like those used in the festival.

British Museum
+44 (0)20 7323 8181
(www.britishmuseum.org)
Until 15 August 2015.
Sunken Cities: Egypt’s Lost Worlds
After the highly successful exhibition in Paris, the British Museum is displaying wonderful objects from the submerged Egyptian cities of Thonis-Heracleion and Canopus. In Sunken Cities, some 300 artefacts, including more than 200 remarkably well-preserved objects recovered from the sea between 1996 and 2012 by Frank Goddio and his team, offer an insight into these once-thriving cities on the Egyptian Delta, lost to the sea by the 8th century AD. The exhibition uses exquisite metalware, gold jewellery and statues to explore the relationship between Greece and Egypt (conquered by Alexander the Great in 332 BC) and also features items from the British Museum’s own excavations at Naukratis. One of the highlights is a recent find from Canopus, a slightly larger than life sculpture of Arsinoe II (below left), daughter of Ptolemy I (founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty that ruled Egypt for centuries) and a Graeco-Macedonian queen worshipped after her death by both the Greeks and the Egyptians.

British Museum
+44 (0)20 7323 8181
(www.britishmuseum.org)
From 19 May to 27 November 2016.

Nikolai Astrup: Painting Norway
The first UK exhibition devoted to the Norwegian painter and print-maker Nikolai Astrup (1880-1928), has over 120 oil paintings and woodcuts, often used in combination. With archive material they tell the story of an artist striving to create a ‘national style’ with folklore and landscapes in paintings, such as Marsh Marigold Night, circa 1915, (above).

Dulwich Picture Gallery
+44 (0) 20 8693 5254
(www.dulwichpicturegallery.org.uk/)
Until 15 May 2016.

Making Discoveries: Rubens’ Ghost
In this part of the Dulwich Picture Gallery’s Making Discoveries series, Rubens’ creative process and working methods are exposed. For example, a life-sized X-ray of his painting Venus, Mars and Cupid, 1630-35 (right), show the changes he made when producing this work. The artist’s reuse of panels in paintings, such as The Miracles of Saint Ignatius of Loyola and Hagar in the Desert is also examined.

Dulwich Picture Gallery
+44 (0) 20 8693 5254
(www.dulwichpicturegallery.org.uk)
Until 3 July 2016.

Pre-Raphaelites on Paper: Victorian Drawings from the Lanigan Collection
The private collection made by Dennis Lanigan, a dentist from Saskatoon, Canada, of more than 100 sketches and finished drawings by the Pre-Raphaelites and their contemporaries is on public display for the first time in the UK. This stunning collection includes works by more than 60 artists from the period – including Lord Leighton, Millais, Rossetti and his wife Lizzie Siddal, Burne-Jones, Holman Hunt, Poynter and William Morris.

Leighton House Museum
+44 (0) 20 7602 3316
(www.rbkc.gov.uk/subsites/museums/leightonhousemuseum)
Until 29 May 2016.

Dutch Flowers
Through 22 works, this exhibition charts the development of Dutch flower-painting across two centuries – from the Dutch Golden Age to the late 18th century. Among its highlights are paintings by Jan Brueghel the Elder, such as this Still Life, 1610, (shown above), and works by Ambrosius Bosschaert, and Roelandt Savery, who, at the start of the 17th century, were among the first simply to paint flowers.

National Gallery
+44 (0)20 7747 2885
(www.nationalgallery.org.uk)
Until 29 August 2016.

Painting with Light: Art and Photography from the Pre-Raphaelites to the Modern Age
Nearly 200 works chart the interaction between British painters and photographers over 75 years, from the dawn of photography. The influence of Turner’s landscapes, for instance, can be seen in the first panoramic photographs. The Pre-Raphaelites, the Realists and the Impressionists all had

Minerva May/June 2016 57
an impact on photography too. Female photographers appearing in this exhibition, include Zaida Ben Yusuf and Julia Margaret Cameron. They were friends of George Frederic Watts and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, with whom they shared models, one of whom was Jane Morris who is Rossetti’s Prosperine, 1874, (shown left).

Tate Britain
+44 (0)20 7887 8888
(www.tate.org.uk)
From 11 May to 25 September 2016.

OXFORD
Pure Land: Images of Immortals in Chinese Art
This exhibition explores depictions of immortality and immortals in Chinese paintings, textiles and porcelain, focusing on the world inhabited by the Buddha and other deities. Pure Land of Amitabha Buddhism (Buddha of Infinite Light) is associated with the Dunhuang cave temples on the Silk Road. The realms of Daoist Immortals and the Queen Mother of the West are also featured.

Ashmolean Museum
+44 (0)1865 278000
(www.ashmolean.org)
From 21 May to 3 September 2016.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
ANN ARBOR, Michigan
Leisure and Luxury in the Age of Nero: The Villas of Oplontis near Pompeii
More than 200 objects from two villas at Oplontis reveal how the upper classes lived in Roman Italy. The artefacts, which are on show outside Italy for the first time, include marble sculptures, wall paintings, and inlaid marble floors from Villa A, which may have been the property of the family of Poppaea, Nero’s second wife. The ceiling fragment (pictured below) is from Villa B, which was a centre of commerce as well as a home, with a decorated strongbox and jars for shipping produce, providing evidence of trade in wine and other produce from the owner’s land.

Kelsey Museum of Archaeology,
University of Michigan
+1 734 764 9304
(www.lsa.umich.edu/kelsey)
Until 15 May 2016.
This exhibition is also on show at:
Museum of the Rockies, Montana State University, Bozeman
+1 406 994 2251
(www.museumoftherockies.org)
From 17 June to 31 December 2016.

BOSTON, Massachusetts
Visiting Masterpieces: Pairing Picasso
Loans from the Fondation Beyeler in Basel and other institutions shown alongside works from the MFA’s own collection give viewers a chance to study Picasso’s range of techniques, styles and media, his exploration of form, particularly that of women, and his treatment of the same subject. The MFA’s 1963 Rape of the Sabine Women hangs next to the Beyeler’s 1962 monochrome version, highlighting how the artist employed different means to depict this scene with emotional intensity.

Museum of Fine Arts
+1 617 267 9300
(www.mfa.org)
Until 26 June 2016.

RUINED: WHEN CITIES FALL
Images of Rome, Athens, Egypt, Palmyra, Boston and Dresden all appear in this exhibition of some 40 works on paper, that portray ruined cities. Artists such as Charles Gleyre, who painted the Ramasseum the 16th-century Chinese novel Journey to the West, with a later woodblock print of the story of Son Goku and the Jade Rabbit (below left) by Tsukioka Yoshitoshi, from 1889.

Ashmolean Museum
+44 (0)1865 278000
(www.ashmolean.org)
From 14 June to 30 October 2016.

SALISBURY
Writing for Eternity: Decoding Ancient Egypt
The dry conditions of Egypt have preserved a wonderfully wide range of written texts, including letters, songs, biographies and stories in hieroglyphic and cursive scripts, on a variety of materials. This British Museum Touring Exhibition, developed with Wrexham Museum, covers 4000 years of the evolving history of writing and language in Ancient Egypt, and also looks at how the scripts were deciphered.

Salisbury Museum
+44 (0)1722 332151
(www.salburymuseum.org.uk)
From 21 May to 3 September 2016.

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Minerva May/June 2016
at Thebes (shown left) in 1835, have long had a fascination with ruins and destruction, examples date from the Renaissance, and the ‘withered bones’ of Rome, to modern times.

Museum of Fine Arts
+1 617 267 9300
(www.mfa.org)
Until 17 July 2016.

CINCINNATI, Ohio
Divine Felines: Cats of Ancient Egypt
Domestic cats, lions and other felines formed an important part of the life of ancient Egypt; they were related to mythology, divinity, kingship and to everyday life. This show presents some 80 representations of cats from the Brooklyn Museum and examines their role in Ancient Egypt.
Cincinnati Art Museum
+1 513 721 2787
(www.cincinnatiartmuseum.org)
From 18 June to 11 September 2016.

CLEVELAND, Ohio
Pharaoh: King of Ancient Egypt
Works from the Cleveland Museum of Art’s own Egyptology collections are shown alongside artefacts from the British Museum to tell the story of the pharaohs. Objects on display include sculpture and jewellery, which were used to promote the image of a wealthy and powerful ruler. The exhibition also explores civil war and invasion.
Cleveland Museum of Art
+1 216 421 7350
(www.clevelandart.org)
Until 12 May 2016.

LOS ANGELES, California
Cave Temples of Dunhuang: Buddhist Art on China’s Silk Road
The Mogao caves in the Dunhuang area on the Silk Road are famed for their wall paintings and sculptures, such as the dancing figure from the Late Tang dynasty, AD 848–907 (pictured below). Full-size replicas of three of the Buddhist cave temples, silk paintings, textiles, drawings and manuscripts show a diverse range of cave art, and religious and cultural exchanges along the Silk Road. It also addresses the preservation of this UNESCO World Heritage Site.
Getty Center
+1 310 440 7300
(www.getty.edu)
From 7 May to 4 September 2016.

NEW YORK, New York
Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World
Alexander the Great’s artistic patronage was copied by the Hellenistic kings who succeeded him between 323 and 30 BC. The Hellenistic period saw exceptional artworks produced by the royal courts, such as this hair ornament (below) with a bust of Athena in gold with red garnets and blue enamel. This exhibition showcases more than 265 artefacts, particularly from Pergamon, the capital of the Attalid Dynasty, including coins, sculptures, jewellery, glassware, precious metals and engraved gems. It also considers the influence that Hellenistic art had on Rome.
Metropolitan Museum of Art
+1 20 27 37 45 15
(www.metmuseum.org)
Until 17 July 2016.
DENMARK
COPENHAGEN
Crustumerium: Death and Afterlife on the Threshold of Rome
Rediscovered in 1975, just 15km north of Rome, the ancient town of Crustumerium in Latium is still being excavated. The settlement was surrounded by burial grounds, some of which had been in use since the town’s founding in the 9th century BC. Grave goods from Crustumerium on show in the Glyptoteket will reveal the customs and beliefs of its inhabitants who lived on the edge of Latin, Etruscan, Faliscan and Sabine lands in a key spot in the Iron Age road network. They were conquered by the Romans in 500 BC but were clearly influenced by several cultures. The show will present 10 tombs, featuring both human remains and grave goods, and will reveal the archaeological processes that are involved in the excavation, analysis and exhibition of a tomb.
Ny Carlsberg Glyptoteket
+45 33 41 81 41
(www.glyptoteket.com)
From 19 May to 23 October 2016.

FRANCE
LENS
Charles Le Brun: Painter of the Sun King
This major retrospective surveys the career of the great French painter Charles Le Brun (1619-90). His early years in Rome, his role as First Painter of Louis XIV for nearly 30 years, during which time he painted the ceiling murals of Versailles’ Hall of Mirrors, and his directorship of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture and the Royal Gobelins Manufactory are all covered, and they demonstrate the artist’s extraordinary talent and varied creative output.
Musée du Louvre-Lens
+33 (0) 32 11 86 321
(www.louvrelens.fr)
From 18 May to 29 August 2016.

PARIS
Earth, Fire and Soul: Masterpieces of Korean Ceramics
A comprehensive range of 300 spectacular Korean ceramics, from the 1st century AD, to the present is on display in Paris to celebrate the 130th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the French capital and Seoul. Many of the pieces on show are from the National Museum of Korea. Among the highlights are early vessels shaped like people or animals, such as this 26cm-tall horseman from the 5th-century Silla Kingdom (below left), which were often placed in tombs to accompany the deceased into the afterlife.
Grand Palais
+33 1 44 13 17 17
(www.grandpalais.fr)
Until 20 June 2016.

Napoleon in Saint Helena: Conquering Memory
After his defeat at the Battle of Waterloo on 18 June 1815, Napoleon Bonaparte was sent into exile on the small South Atlantic island of St Helena. The artist Oscar Rex (1857-1929) depicted him sitting on the rocks (above) in reflective mood. This painting is on show in this exhibition that recreates his years on the island. Preoccupied with his legacy and writing his memoirs, Napoleon lived there with his most faithful friends until his death on 5 May 1821. Also on show is the furniture from his house on St Helena.
Musée de l’Armée
+33 810 11 33 99
(www.musee-armee.fr)
Until 24 July 2016.

MATAHOTA: Arts and Society in the Marquesas Islands
Some 300 works of art dating from the late 18th century chart the culture and society of the Marquesas Islands of French Polynesia. The exhibition looks at the heavy usage of the mata (above right), the human figure characteristically depicted with large eyes and tattoos in Marquesan art. It also covers festivals and ceremonies and everyday life including fishing and clothing. The islands inspired artists and writers, such as Paul Gauguin, Robert Louis Stevenson and Herman Melville and the exhibition looks at the effects of the arrival of the West.
Musée du quai Branly
+33 1 56 61 70 00
(www.quaibranly.fr)
Until 24 July 2016.

GERMANY
TRIER
Nero: Emperor, Artist and Tyrant
The familiar image of Nero (below) pictured by Eugène Delacroix in 1853, is as a cruel and narcissistic tyrant – a view promulgated by Tacitus, Suetonius and Cassius Dio. But it may not be entirely accurate. Following on from recent research challenging the conventional view of Cicero, this exhibition uses more
than 400 exhibits ranging from the fields of archaeology, epigraphy, numismatics and ancient literature.

Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier
+49 651 97740
(www.landesmuseum-trier.de)
From 14 May to 16 October 2016.

JAPAN

TOYO

Hidden Treasures from the National Museum, Kabul
Because Afghanistan was a cultural crossroads of the ancient world and had a key position on the Silk Road, it produced many beautiful artefacts. This exhibition of works from the National Museum in Kabul presents 231 objects from four ancient sites in a time scale between 2200 BC and 2nd century AD.

Tokyo National Museum
+81 3 3822 1111
(www.tnm.jp)
Until 19 June 2016.

NETHERLANDS

LEIDEN

Roman Coast
This exhibition offers a chance to discover what life on the Dutch coast from Texel to Zeeland was like during the Roman period. Themes explored include trade and shipping, military organisation and coastal defences, religion and everyday life.

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden
+31 71 5163 163
(www.rmo.nl)
Until 25 September 2016.

Cutting-edge History
Swords from across the globe and ranging in date from prehistory to the 20th century are brought together in this exhibition. With a wide range of forms, materials and decorative motifs, the exhibition considers their ritual and symbolic meanings, as well as their manufacture.

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden
+31 71 5163 163
(www.rmo.nl)
Until 2 October 2016.

Egypt, Land of Immortality
With its mummies and pyramids, ancient Egypt is well known for its treatment of the dead and preoccupation with the afterlife. More than 150 objects, all from the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden’s own collection, including mummy-cases and mummies, sculptures and bronze figures of the gods, show how Egyptians prepared for the afterlife.

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden
+31 71 5163 163
(www.rmo.nl)
Until 12 October 2016.

SPAIN

BILBAO

Andy Warhol: Shadows
On show are all 102 of the brightly coloured large format silkscreened canvas panels that make up the vast artwork Shadows, 1977-78, by Andy Warhol (pictured above in New York at the Guggenheim). Conceived as a single painting, Shadows reveals the artist’s explorations in abstraction, light, space and perception.

Guggenheim Museum Bilbao
+34 944 35 90 80
(www.guggenheim-bilbao.es)
Until 2 October 2016.

SWEDEN

YSTAD, Skåne
Archaeomusica
The replica carnyx (war trumpet) from Tintignac in France (shown below) is just one ancient instrument visitors can outat this multi-sensory exhibition. A Neanderthal flute from Slovenia, a Bronze Age horn from the Swedish region of Skåne, ancient Greek lyres and wind instruments from Pompeii join Archaeomusica’s cacophony with a programme of concerts and other musical experiences, workshops and lectures alongside the exhibition.

Ystad Abbey
+46 411 57 70 00
(www.ystad.se/archaeomusica)
From 6 June 2016 to 8 January 2017.

EVENTS

UNITED KINGDOM

EDINBURGH

Scots in Italy
Join Lucinda Lax, Senior Curator of 18th-Century Collections, on a free Scots in Italy-related tour to discover more about the exhibition and about the influence of Italy on the Scottish people who travelled there.

Scottish National Portrait Gallery
Thursday 12 May 2016, 5-5.30pm
(www.nationalgalleries.org)

LONDON

Athena: Sharing Current Research
In this one-day conference scholars, from the UK, France, Italy and elsewhere, will share current research on Athena, addressing subjects such as the goddess’ attributes, her role as a warrior deity, her place in the city, and her gender.

Adam Room, Grove House, University of Roehampton,
London SW15 5PU
Friday 3 June 2016
(athenatrickster.blogspot.co.uk)

End of the Roman empire: a mirror for our times?
In Classics for All’s annual fund-raising lecture for its state school grant programme, the well-known writer and presenter Tom Holland will consider the role of the Age of Migrations at the end of the Roman Empire and how it relates to today’s migrant crisis.

Monday 13 June 2016, 6.30-9.30pm
Welcombe Trust Lecture Hall, The Royal Society,
6-9 Carlton House Terrace, London SW1Y 5AG
(classicsforall.org.uk/get-involved/events)

London Roman Art Seminar
Supported by the Institute of Classical Studies, Royal Holloway, University of London, King’s College London. London Roman bronze statuettes at the Ashmolean Museum: ancient and modern receptions
Nick West (Wolfson College, Oxford) Monday 9 May 2016
Wild beasts in context: the great mosaic from the Vicus Augustanus at Castelgurbano
Amanda Claridge (Royal Holloway, University of London) Monday 23 May 2016
All seminars are held at 5.30pm in Room 243, South Block Senate House, University of London, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HU.

OXFORD

Day and Weekend Courses in Archaeology:
Paleolithic Archaeology: Our Way to Europe
Saturday 11 June 2016

Aerial Archaeology in Europe and the Middle East: Past, Present and Future
Saturday 18 June 2016
Department for Continuing Education, University of Oxford

(www.conted.ox.ac.uk)

IRELAND

DUBLIN

Classics and Irish Politics 1916-2016
During the centenary year of the Easter Rising, a turning point in Irish politics, this conference will look at the frequent use of classical Greek and Roman models in the country’s political discourse in the century since. The conference will cover topics such as the tensions between classical and Celtic mythologies, Classics in political poetry, and the politics of gender and sexuality.

Terry Eagleton, Edith Hall and Declan Kiberd will be delivering keynote lectures.
20 to 23 June 2016
Royal Irish Academy and Trinity College Dublin
(classics.nd.edu/irishpol)

Ninth Celtic Conference in Classics
This conference will feature a wide range of panels discussing subjects including Classics and popular culture, coins of the Roman republic, ancient Greek warfare and the origins of the Olympic Games. 22 to 25 June 2016
University College Dublin
(sites.google.com/site/celticclassics2016)

ST ANDREWS

RoMEC XVIIII: Cavalry in the Roman World
The 19th meeting of the Roman Military Equipment Conference (RoMEC XVIIII) will explore all aspects of the military use of horses and associated equipment design in the Roman world in its broadest sense. One session of papers will closely examine Hadrian’s cavalry, while others will look at cavalry traditions outside Rome in areas such as North Africa, Mesopotamia, Iran and Iron Age Europe.

Open to all interested parties, the conference will also include re-enactment displays and excursions to Roman military sites on the Antonine Wall, while others will look at cavalry traditions outside Rome in areas such as North Africa, Mesopotamia, Iran and Iron Age Europe.

Monday 23 May 2016
All seminars are held at 5.30pm in Room 243, South Block Senate House, University of London, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HU.

OXFORD

Day and Weekend Courses in Archaeology:
Paleolithic Archaeology: Our Way to Europe
Saturday 11 June 2016

Socials of Classics, University of St Andrews
+44 (0)133 466 2608
(www.st-andrews.ac.uk/classics/events/conferences/2015-2016/romeccxviiiii)

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