Surveying the past
Ancient landscapes and monuments that have inspired British artists

The Berlin Painter
His finest red-figure pots on show in Princeton University Art Museum

The mask of Rome
From Hadrian's cavalry and Nero's dining-room to Picasso in Pompeii

Classicist and novelist Annelise Freisenbruch explains why she made Hortensia the heroine of her first novel
EGYPTIAN OLD KINGDOM POLYCHROME LIMESTONE RELIEF showing four bronzed males wearing white kilts processing to the right, balancing on their shoulders and extended left hand trays with offerings of vases, provisions, and a small calf; extensive red, black, green and yellow pigments remaining.

Saqqara, Vth-VIth Dynasty, ca. 2498-2181 BC.  H. 16 1/2 in. (42 cm.);  w. 29 1/2 in. (75 cm.);  depth 2 5/8 in. (6 cm.)

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The three museums of Eton College

This year, the Eton Museum of Antiquities is opening to the public for the first time. Housed in the new, purpose-built Jafar Gallery, designed by leading neo-classical architect John Simpson, it is the seventh home for the College’s antiquities in just over a century. Displayed in the gallery are rare treasures, ranging from Ancient Egyptian artefacts, including a painted sarcophagus, to archaeological finds dredged from the River Thames.

The core of the museum’s collection came from a generous bequest made by Old Etonian Major William Joseph Myers who left his remarkable collection of Egyptian antiquities to the Head Master of Eton College at the end of the 19th century. It has been added to over the years thanks to generous gifts from many donors including the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Carnarvon. It has also received fascinating finds from excavations carried out in 1936 by the eminent archaeologist Sir Leonard Woolley at Al-Mina, or Tyre, an ancient trading-post on the Mediterranean coast of northern Syria, and two AD 2nd–4th-century Gandharan statues from the widow of Lord Roberts of Kandahar.

The collection covers a vast geographical area and chronological frame stretching from Australia to Afghanistan and Peru to Sumeria, from prehistory to the 20th century. On display are Bronze Age tools and weapons dredged from the Tiber and the Thames, including a bronze axehead from 1000–800 BC, and potsherds from as far away as Knossos on Crete and as near as the foundations of an Eton boarding house. There is also an exceptional collection of Palaeolithic flint hand-axes, from well before the emergence of homo sapiens.

Near the Museum of Antiquities is the Eton College Natural History Museum, which holds a collection of over 16,000 specimens, with unique exhibits including a rare surviving page from Charles Darwin’s On the Origin of Species and material relating to the famous botanist and Old Etonian Sir Joseph Banks, who sailed on the HMS Endeavour with Captain Cook.

Across the road is the third museum, the Museum of Eton Life, which brings alive the history and traditions of the school from 1440 to the present day.

• The three Eton College museums are all open to the public from 2.30pm to 5pm on Sundays only (except Easter Sunday). Admission is free and no booking is necessary. The Museum of Antiquities and the Natural History Museum are on South Meadow Lane, Eton; the Museum of Eton Life is accessed in Brewhouse Yard, via Baldwin’s Shore, off Eton High Street. (For further information visit www.etoncollege.com/MuseumAntiquities.aspx or email collections@etoncollege.org.uk).

Lindsay Fulcher
Electricity is a mysterious force that no one really understands, yet almost everyone takes for granted. Now, it is the subject of an intriguing exhibition at the Wellcome Collection. From an ancient Greek amber frog and electric eels to power stations and the structure of the atom, Electricity: The spark of life traces the history of this life-changing source of power which we have harnessed, but not entirely tamed.

For centuries electricity has captivated inventors, scientists and artists, and has transformed the modern world. From the first breath of Frankenstein's monster ('It's alive! It's alive!') to the brutal simplicity of the execution chair, this show looks at the contradictory life-giving and death-dealing extremes generated by electricity, and tells the story of how humanity, with the aid of Ferranti and Tesla among others, has tried to understand, unlock and control this invisible, yet all-encompassing, force.

Electricity takes its name from elektron, the ancient Greek word for amber (hence the frog); Pliny refers to the electrostatic properties of amber and the frog appears again in works by two of the three specially commissioned contemporary artists who were asked to create new pieces for the exhibition. In his simulation X. Iaevis (Spacelab) 2017, the Irish artist John Gerrard took inspiration from Luigi Galvani's 18th-century experiments into bioelectricity but, instead of using amputated frogs' legs, he put an intact African clawed frog (Xenopus laevis) centre stage in zero-gravity on a simulation of the space shuttle Endeavour.

In Camille Henrot's installation January 2017 Horoscope, she has crafted a zoetrope in which a frog, a Cardinal butterfly and other creatures (made from electricity bills) are perpetually animated. This examines the relationship between technology and the environment and human beings.

Using an array of more than 100 diverse objects – from electro-static generators to radiographs, photographs, paintings, books, models and films – Electricity: The spark of life covers every aspect of our lives that have been illuminated, animated or shocked by this invisible force.

Lindsay Fulcher

A very shocking subject

The oldest evidence of armour in the remote western Siberian taiga has recently been found in the Ust-Polui archaeological site. Dating from between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD, the carved reindeer antler plates were backed by leather to make a flexible protective suit. Archaeologist Andrey Gusev from the Scientific Research Centre of the Arctic in Salekhard told the Siberian Times that about 30 carved antler armour plates of different sizes, from 23-25cm to 12-14cm in length, in various degrees of preservation have been discovered. Ornamentation varied for each wearer so, once it is categorised, it should be possible to tell how many warriors there were. The armour would have included protective helmets, probably also made of antler plates and conical in shape like ones used in the middle of the first millennium AD, seen in images on bronze items of the local Kualai people, he explains.

Ust-Polui was a sacred place and Gusev believes the armour was left as a gift to the gods as part of a bear cult. This theory follows a find at the same site of a 2000-year-old ring of high quality bronze bearing an image of a bear's head and paws. As the ring was far too small for a human finger, archaeologists think that it was put on to the animal's claw during a ritual.

Bear cults flourished all around the Arctic regions. The ancient Khanty tribes to the south of Salekhard had a festival in which the head and front paws of a slaughtered bear were adorned with rings and a handkerchief, and its body laid out in the home. A festival involving the killing and eating of a bear in Nikv, in far eastern Russia, was performed until outlawed by the Soviet Union in the early 20th century.

Roger Williams

The cult of the bear
Mithras in Mariana

Archaeologists from INRAP (the French National Institute for Preventive Archaeological Research) have recently uncovered the remains of a *mithraeum*, a temple to the god Mithras, on the site of the busy Roman port of Mariana, in the commune of Lucciana on the north-east coast of the island of Corsica.

According to Pliny the Elder, Mariana was founded circa 100 BC by Gaius Marius, a Roman army reformer, as a military colony for Roman citizens after his resounding victory over the Cimbri and the Teutones. At its height, during the 3rd and 4th centuries, Mariana extended over 10 hectares and was organised into 10 sections.

Mithraism was a mystery religion, inspired by a Persian cult. Its secret rites were held in underground temples or *mithraeum* and it was probably imported into the Roman Empire either by military personnel or eastern traders at the end of the 1st century AD.

Around 100 *mithraeum* have been found across the Empire, including 15 in France. The Lucciana *mithraeum*, the first to have been identified in Corsica, is made up of several areas typical of this kind of sanctuary, including a hall of worship and its antechamber. The rectangular (11m x 5m) hall (below right) consists of a lowered central corridor and two 1.8m-wide benches on the long sides, bordered by a low wall coated with lime. Two vaulted brick niches facing each other had been hollowed out in the benches. Three intact oil lamps were found in one of them as well as numerous broken lamps, two bronze bells and fragments of fine pottery, all probably liturgical objects relating to one of the cult’s main rites – a communal meal.

The most interesting find, though, is a broken marble bas-relief, which, if complete, would have shown the iconic scene of Mithras, wearing a Phrygian cap, being born from a rock, slaying a bull and sharing a banquet with the god Sol (the Sun). The three fragments (above right) found so far show a dog and a snake drinking blood flowing from the bull’s slit throat while a scorpion is pinching its testicles. On the right is a figure holding a torch, the *dadophoros* that symbolises the setting sun, or death. Other finds include a woman’s head in marble and two plaques, one bronze, one lead, bearing as yet undeciphered inscriptions.

As Mithraism came to be seen as a rival to Christianity – they shared several aspects including monotheism, a hierarchy of adepts and the ritual meal – it was attacked, suppressed and, finally, in AD 392, outlawed under Emperor Theodosius’ anti-paganism decrees.

This Corsican *mithraeum* bears traces of self-destruction – a broken altar and a building destroyed and filled with rubble. Perhaps not surprisingly, a vast early Christian complex was built in Mariana around AD 400, the earliest evidence of Christianity in Corsica.

Nicole Benazeth

On the Four Plinth

The New York-born artist Michael Rakowitz, now based in Chicago, has won the next commission for the Fourth Plinth in Trafalgar Square. His winning sculpture *The Invisible Enemy Should Not Exist* (right) represents the thousands of archaeological artefacts looted from the Iraq Museum during the Iraq War, or destroyed in its aftermath.

Rakowitz will recreate the *Lamassu*, a winged bull and protective deity that stood at the entrance to the Nergal Gate of Nineveh from circa 700 BC. In 2015 it was destroyed by ISIS along with other artefacts in Mosul Museum. The new *Lamassu* will be made of Iraqi date syrup cans, representative of a once-renowned industry ruined by the Iraq wars.

As Rakowitz explains: ‘The Invisible Enemy Should Not Exist is a project I began in 2007. The centerpiece is a commitment to reconstruct the more than 7000 objects listed as missing, stolen, damaged or destroyed during the looting of the Iraq Museum in 2003. I’ve since expanded the work to include artefacts destroyed by ISIS, like the Lamassu that stood at the Nergal Gate in Nineveh, and which I will be remaking in Trafalgar Square.

‘To have this work displayed on the Fourth Plinth will be especially meaningful. It’s the first time this project has been situated in a public space, and it’s happening when we are witnessing a massive migration of people fleeing Iraq and Syria. I see this work as a ghost of the original, and as a placeholder for those human lives that cannot be reconstructed, that are still searching for sanctuaries.’

An inscription that was found on the back of the original *Lamassu* at the Nergal Gate read: ‘Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria, had the inner and outer wall of Nineveh built anew and raised as high as mountains.’

By chance, the Fourth Plinth is roughly 14 feet high – the same height as the original *Lamassu* that stood at the entrance to Nineveh. By placing the sculpture in Trafalgar Square, Rakowitz feels that it will continue to act as a guardian of Nineveh’s past, present and future, even as a refugee or ghost, hoping one day to return to Iraq.

Another parallel is that as the *Lamassu* is made from recycled packaging of Middle Eastern foodstuffs, it echoes how the relics at the base of Nelson’s Column were made from canons salvaged from the wreck of HMS Royal George.

*The Invisible Enemy Should Not Exist*, which will be the 12th piece of sculpture to appear on the Fourth Plinth since the commissioning programme began in 1998, will be unveiled in 2018.

Michael Rakowitz’s other work explores global issues inviting conversations fostered by his public projects, installations and events. (www.michaelrakowitz.com)

Lindsay Fulcher

Minerva May/June 2017
Vikings on the move

The most significant Viking treasure hoards ever discovered in Britain will go on show together for the first time in May at the Yorkshire Museum, before going on tour.

Featuring some internationally significant finds, Viking: Rediscover the Legend will explore how these Scandinavian invaders transformed life in Britain. Star objects on loan from the British Museum displayed alongside choice pieces from the Yorkshire Museum’s world-class collections will be interpreted in new ways to give a fresh perspective on how Vikings shaped every aspect of life in Britain.

The exhibition will include the most famous Viking hoards ever discovered in this country, including the Vale of York Viking Hoard (1), the Cuerdale Hoard and the Bedale Hoard. It will also feature ground-breaking research by archaeologists and new discoveries by metal-detectorists that will challenge our perceptions of what it means to be a Viking.

Buried in AD 927–28, the size and quality of the material in the Vale of York Viking Hoard is remarkable. It includes: 617 coins, around 70 pieces of jewellery, hack silver and ingots, all contained within a silver-gilt cup. It was discovered near Harrogate in North Yorkshire in January 2007 by two metal-detectorists and is valued at £1,082,000.

Other treasures include the Seal of Snarrus (2), which is made of walrus ivory probably imported from the Baltic region. Its owner’s name is inscribed around the outside edge of the seal; he is shown in his role as a tax, or toll, collector with money being dropped into his purse. He extracted tolls from the people who came to York to trade and used the seal as the symbol of his authority. Snarrus is a Viking name that survived into the Norman period in York.

The two-edged iron Gilling Sword (3) has an ornate handle decorated with silver in geometric and plant designs. Dating to AD 800–66, it was found by a nine-year-old boy in 1976. While the beautifully decorated double-shelled Ormside Bowl (4) is one of the finest pieces of Anglo-Saxon silverwork to be found in Britain. It is made of gilded silver and bronze with blue glass beads and it dates from the mid-8th century. The bowl, which was discovered in 1823 buried next to a Viking warrior in Great Ormside, Cumbria, started life as an ecclesiastical vessel, used in a religious house, before it was probably looted by Viking raiders, or given to them in tribute.

Viking: Rediscover the Legend will be on show at Yorkshire Museum in York (www.yorkshiremuseum.org.uk) from 19 May to 5 November 2017 (for more detailed information about Vikings in York go to: www.historyofyork.org.uk).

The exhibition will then go on tour to the University of Nottingham Museum from 24 November 2017 to 4 March 2018; The Atkinson, Southport, from 31 March to 3 June 2018; Aberdeen Art Gallery from 23 June to 11 November 2018 and, finally, Norwich Castle Museum from 9 February to 8 September 2019.

Lindsay Fulcher

3. The ornate hilt of the Gilling Sword, AD 800-66, is decorated with silver. 4. The Ormside Bowl, AD 750-800, is made of gilded silver and bronze.
Important Greek Terracotta Statue of Cadmus Strangling a Serpent
Hellenistic Period, ca. 3rd to 2nd century BCE, purportedly found in Centuripae, Sicily. 17th.
In Roman Britain, at any given time, there were at least 9000 auxiliary cavalry in the province, divided between alae (military formations composed of conscripts from the socii, Rome’s Italian military allies), elite cavalry units, and the slightly lower-status mixed cohorts, which contained both infantry and cavalry. In Minerva (May/June 2016) Jon Coulston gave readers an introduction to Roman cavalry; now, Hadrian’s Cavalry, a series of exhibitions at sites along the length of the great wall built by Emperor Hadrian (1), offers visitors the chance to examine all aspects of life in the Roman cavalry. Although it may seem strange considering it was a static mural frontier, the Roman cavalry played a very important part in the garrisoning of Hadrian’s Wall.

Approximately one third of the Wall garrison was cavalry, either as alae or part-mounted cohortes equitatae. This suggests that they

Minerva May/June 2017
were regarded as an important component of the frontier’s defences. Cavalry offered the opportunity to mount wider-ranging patrols than were possible for infantry, and it is noticeable that they were usually placed close to north-south roads.

Cavalry at Burgh-by-Sands and Stanwix flanked the main western road to the north through Carlisle (equivalent to the A6), while the central north road, the Dere Street (now the A68) was likewise flanked by cavalry at Chesters and Haltonchesters. We know from elsewhere in the empire that individual riders could also be used as couriers, so cavalry had an important communications role too. Ultimately, though, they also served to project Roman power through their sheer presence, reinforced by their elaborate equipment.

Now their power and skill is being celebrated in Hadrian’s Cavalry, a series of exhibitions at museums along the length of Hadrian’s Wall. This is unusual in that it is a ‘dispersed exhibition’, stretching from Segedunum in Wallsend at the eastern end of the Wall to Tullie House in Carlisle in the west. A total of 10 museums and sites are involved, each focusing on different aspects of the theme and each displaying internationally significant objects, on loan from other museums and private collectors, as well as cavalry-related material from their own collections. There will also be live cavalry events performed by re-enactors (2).

The idea of a dispersed exhibition along Hadrian’s Wall was road-tested in 2014 with Wall Face, in which portraits of leading archaeologists involved in the excavation, preservation and study of the Wall were displayed at a series of venues, most of which are participating again in Hadrian’s Cavalry.

Several major museums have loaned material for the displays, including the British Museum (BM), National Museums of Scotland (NMS), the Limesmuseum Aalen, the Archäologische Staatssammlung in Munich and the Musée d’Art Classique de Mougins (MACM). Artefacts have also been borrowed from private collections, which means this is almost certainly the largest and most impressive display of Roman cavalry equipment ever seen in one exhibition.

The equipment on show at the various sites not only illustrates what was in use at the time of Hadrian, but also how it developed in the later 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. The museum at Segedunum in Wallsend (where even the Metro station signs are bilingual – in English and Latin) has the mask from a face-mask helmet (3) and a cavalry battle helmet of the type that would have been in use under Hadrian (4). Both have been loaned by MACM.

There is also an example of a later pseudo-Corinthian helmet adorned with twin eagles (5a and 5b). Battle helmets were often extremely elaborate but always had
Exhibition

cheekpieces rather than face masks. The privately owned pieces in the display include an almost complete set of horse harness fittings, a complete sword, a dagger, and an embossed breastplate.

The world-renowned Ribchester face-mask helmet (8) from the British Museum will be displayed at the Great North Museum in Newcastle next to another, very similar, privately owned example (7), never before seen together. The Ribchester helmet probably belonged to one of the cavalry units subsequently posted between the fort at Ribchester and Chesters on Hadrian’s Wall, the *ala II Asturum*. These two examples show what face-mask helmets looked like at the time of Hadrian.

Apart from items of cavalry equipment from its own collection, Vindolanda has two eyeguards from Ribchester (found in the same hoard as the helmet), together with their own leather *chamfron* (protection for the face of a horse) and a highly decorated, metal *chamfron* (9) bearing an image of the goddess Minerva (from MACM) of a later type than the Vindolanda leather pieces, which makes an interesting comparison. There is also one of the earliest face-mask helmets from Newstead (loaned by the NMS), just over the border in Scotland, possibly the earliest example of its type from Roman Britain.

The Roman Army Museum at Carvoran has a set of four copper-alloy saddle horns from Newstead (loaned by the NMS), inscribed with their owner’s, or perhaps his horse’s, name. These were characteristic of the Roman saddle, which lacked stirrups but kept the rider in place by means of these ingeniously shaped fittings (scholars still debate whether they were fitted to a wooden saddle-tree). Carvoran also has a pectoral from a private collection (11) – this was a large copper-alloy ornament that was placed over the breast of the horse, ostensibly for protection, but with time they became ever more elaborate and unwieldy, so that by the 3rd century AD they were less for defence and more for show.

Like Segedunum, Tullie House in Carlisle features both battle and sports equipment. There is another Hadrianic battle helmet from MACM (10a and 10b), who have also loaned the later eagle-peaked, neo-Attic Ostrov-type helmet (12). Although these pieces represent the cavalry in battle, other finds show them at play. The truly astounding,
privately owned Crosby Garrett Helmet (13), first exhibited here in 2013. There is also an Amazon face-mask helmet from Eining on loan from Munich, the first time a Trojan-type helmet has been seen alongside an Amazon type. These two types were probably worn by one of the teams in the hippika gymnasia (often referred to as ‘cavalry sports’) that would have been matched against a team representing the Greeks. These face-mask helmets show how the form had evolved in the 3rd century by pursuing a Trojan War theme. However, Tullie House also has a very early face mask from a private collection, from the time under the Emperor Augustus when they were first attached to infantry helmets to form a multi-purpose piece of cavalry headgear.

Finally, the Senhouse Roman Museum at Maryport has various items relating to the worship of Epona, the Celtic horse goddess (who was understandably popular with Roman cavalrymen).

Obviously, the idea of a dispersed exhibition is to encourage visitors to go to more than one venue along the Wall. It will also make visitors think about Hadrian's Wall in a slightly different way, enabling them to see it less as a static frontier but more as a base for control of the frontier zone.

However, the exhibition is only one part of Hadrian's Cavalry, and there will be various associated events, including a specially commissioned piece of contemporary art at Chesters, public talks about Roman cavalry at various venues and some small-scale re-enactments (6). The most spectacular event, though, will be the much larger Turma! Hadrian's Cavalry Charge in Bitta Park in Carlisle in July.

Hadrian’s Cavalry (see page 14) is an ambitious idea that aims to tell its story right across the Tyne-Solway isthmus, using the cavalry on Hadrian’s Wall as a focus but to make it more alive it was felt that an element of spectacle was also needed, in other words, a major re-enactment display. Rather than the usual battle re-enactment (the sort of thing English Heritage
did at Birdoswald during Hadrian’s Wall Live! in 2015 and 2016) something new was needed and the Roman cavalry offered the perfect solution with the hippika gymnasia – the term is Greek because the Roman commander who described it, Flavius Arrianus, preferred to write in Greek. This was an elaborate combination of training exercise and display (a bit like Horse of the Year Show meets the Royal Tournament) that featured noise, colour, movement and more than a little role-playing. The re-creation of it will make a fitting climax to Hadrian’s Cavalry.

In ancient times two teams were chosen from a cavalry unit (and we know both mixed and ordinary cavalry units took part) and they would perform an elaborate series of manoeuvres to entertain their commander and his guests. It began with all of them charging on to the display area en masse, then splitting into their teams, some (but not all) of whom would be wearing elaborate face-mask helmets. One team lined

9. Bronze appliqué of Minerva from a chamfron (face-armour for a horse), late 2nd century AD. H. 20cm, W. 15.5cm. © Musée d’Art Classique de Mougins.

10a and 10b. Iron cavalry battle helmet with copper-alloy sheathing, late 1st-early 2nd century AD. H. 27.9cm. © Musée d’Art Classique de Mougins.

up in a testudo (the cavalry version of the infantry tortoise formation) with their shields over their horses’ rumps whilst the other team galloped past and hurled dummy javelins at them.

What followed was an increasingly elaborate display between the two teams demonstrating horse control, accuracy in throwing missiles, and physical agility on the part of the riders (who, at one point, were required to jump onto their horses fully armed).

All the reenactment manoeuvres will be based on genuine cavalry tactical formations and, using 30 fully equipped Roman cavalrymen, Turma! will be the first recreation of the hippika gymasia in the United Kingdom and the largest anywhere. Part show and part archaeological experiment, it will take place on 1 and 2 July in Bitts Park in Carlisle. Bitts Park is immediately next to the site of the Roman fort at Carlisle (now largely underneath the medieval castle), where Roman cavalry may once have performed these ‘sports’ (Carlisle fort, although not part of Hadrian’s Wall, had a cavalry garrison). Wooden writing tablets excavated from the site reveal important details about the running of a cavalry unit, including the issue of rations and fodder and a list of missing equipment.

In this, the 1900th anniversary year of Hadrian becoming Roman emperor, the Hadrian’s Cavalry exhibitions provide an opportunity for a themed visit along Hadrian’s Wall and it promises to be a once-in-a-lifetime experience.

• Hadrian’s Cavalry is funded largely by Arts Council England’s Museum Resilience Fund. Hadrian’s Cavalry guidebook can be bought from Vindolanda or online at www.vindolanda.com/books/hadrians-cavalry-book for £4.99 plus postage.


14. Roman cavalry re-enactor hurling a javelin. Photograph © Ben Blackall.
Hadrian’s Cavalry (www.hadrianscavalry.co.uk)

Each of the following venues is focusing on a particular theme relating to Roman cavalry. The way to all of them is clearly indicated in the vicinity with the standard brown signs. More information about all the events and how to book tickets for Turma! can be found on the Hadrian’s Cavalry website (www.hadrianscavalry.co.uk). A free, fold-out information leaflet (downloadable as a PDF from the website) gives full details of all the venues. The exhibition guidebook, Hadrian’s Cavalry, can be bought, priced £4.99, at the participating museums or online (plus postage) from Vindolanda (www.vindolanda.com/books/hadrians-cavalry-book).

- **Arbeia Roman Fort and Museum**, Baring Street, South Shields, Tyne and Wear NE33 2BB (https://arbeiaromanfort.org.uk/): Uncovering cavalry – what archaeology tells us about Roman cavalry.
- **Segedunum Roman Fort, Baths and Museum**, Biddle Street, WallSEND, Tyne and Wear, NE28 6HR (https://segedunumromanfort.org.uk/): Rome’s elite troops – building Hadrian’s cavalry.
- **Great North Museum: Hancock**, Barras Bridge, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE2 4PT(https://greatnorthmuseum.org.uk/): Shock and awe – the power of the Roman cavalryman’s mask.
- **Corbridge Roman Town and Museum**, Corbridge, Northumberland, NE45 5NT (hadrianswallcountry.co.uk/visit/corbridge-roman-town): Art and the Roman horse – the status and role of the horse in the Roman world.
- **Chesters Roman Fort & Museum**, Chollerford, Northumberland, NE46 4EU (hadrianswallcountry.co.uk/visit/chesters-roman-fort-museum): Horse and man – day-to-day with the Roman cavalryman and his horse.
- **Housesteads Roman Fort & Museum**, Haydon Bridge, Hexham, Northumberland, NE47 6NN (hadrianswallcountry.co.uk/visit/housesteads-roman-fort-museum): Cavalry charge! – the power and force of a Roman cavalry attack.
- **Roman Vindolanda, Chesterholm Museum**, Bardon Mill, Northumberland, NE47 7JN (hadrianswallcountry.co.uk/visit/roman-vindolanda): A cavalry community – the cavalrymen who lived and worked at Vindolanda.
- **Carvoran Roman Army Museum**, Bardon Mill, Northumberland, NE47 7JN (hadrianswallcountry.co.uk/visit/roman-army-museum): Super charger – arming the Roman horse for battle.
- **Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery**, Castle Street, Carlisle, Cumbria, CA3 8TP (www.tulliehouse.co.uk/): Guardians on the edge of empire – cavalry bases and Roman power.
- **Senhouse Roman Museum**, Maryport, Cumbria, CA15 6JD (www.senhousemuseum.co.uk/): Protecting forces – belief in the Roman cavalry goddess Epona.
- **Bitts Park**, Carlisle, CA3 8UZ (www.dayoutwiththekids.co.uk/bitts-park): Turma! a major re-enactment event with a recreation of the Hippika gymnasia on 1 and 2 July.

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Buzulbuh Helmet © Musée d’Art Classique de Mougins (MACM). Main image, above © Ben Blackall
Exhibition

A fine figure

Dominic Green visits Princeton University Art Museum to see the current exhibition of exquisite Ancient Greek red-figure vases, largely the work of the so-called Berlin Painter, whose particular style was identified by the Oxford scholar Sir John Beazley in 1911.
‘It is well known,’ wrote Ernst Gombrich in The Image and the Eye, 1982, ‘that it is to Greek art that we must look for the conquest of appearances.’ This mastery, as Gombrich had argued in his earlier book, Art and Illusion, 1977, derived from the innovative function of art within Greek civilisation – a function whose difference from Egyptian precedent Gombrich described as the ‘Greek revolution’.

Egyptian civilisation, Gombrich believed, wanted an art of totems, showing timeless events peopled by eternal presences. This hieratic style of art needed ‘stereotyped’ images, without the foreshortened perspectives of artistic realism or ‘narrative illustration’. Whereas the Greeks of the Archaic Period (from circa 800 BC prior to the Persian invasion of 480 BC) required a ‘narrative’ art, in images as well as literature – an art in which appearances are fleeting fragments of a larger story. The narrative artist and the poet sought to capture passing moments, not eternal truths. The infant Herakles bunches his hands to kill the snakes that writhe in his cradle. The athlete stiffens his sinews as he prepares to launch the discus. Artemis walks forward, one hand raising the fringe of her chiton so that she does not trip, the other tipping an oinochoe, a wine jug. The dancer, the wrestler and the warrior recoiling from a spear tip are twisted in a balance at once equal and unsustainable.

These lifelike effects required a wider vocabulary of naturalistic expression. This narrative flow of mythological stories and complementary techniques led to the ‘great awakening’ of Greek art and sculpture in the 6th and 5th centuries BC. So the formal, static kouros of the Archaic Period acquired an ‘Archaic smile’ in the mid-6th century BC, and turned gradually into the ‘realist’ and ‘lifelike’ Classical style of the mid-5th century. Likewise in vase painting, the incised profiles of black-figure vase art turned into the detailed brushwork and three-dimensional impressions of red-figure vase art.

Mary Beard has criticised Gombrich’s theories about the rise of narrative and naturalism. Why not, she argued in a 2010 article in the Journal of Art Historiography, search for the causes of stylistic change closer to home, in ‘the rise of the city state, for example, or the social and economic changes of Archaic Greece’?

The shift from Archaic to Classical styles is paralleled by the economic and political ascendancy of Athens – and might endorse Plato’s warning that changes in style predict changes in politics.

In the 7th century BC, Corinth had dominated the export market in black-figure vase painting. During the 6th century, Athenian painters imitated and then mastered the Corinthian black-figure style, before...
developing a new style. Around 530 BC, a painter in the workshop of the Athenian potter Andokides may have created the first red-figure vase painting. By the end of the 6th century, the painters of the ‘Pioneer Group’ – notably Euphronios, Euthymides and Phintias – had created a red-figure style, and perhaps an artistic school too. They trained the next generation, notably the vase painters known as the Kleophrades Painter and the Berlin Painter.

These painters are anonymous. We know each by his work, and for the ‘name vase’ that exemplifies it. Kleophrades was a potter, who incised his name on a cup now in the Cabinet des Medailles, Paris. The Kleophrades Painter worked with him, and most probably for him. The Berlin Painter is named after a lidded amphora, now in the Antikensammlung Berlin, but we do not know for whom he worked. Both painters received their nicknames from the Oxford scholar Sir John Beazley (1885–1970). Like the art historian Bernard Berenson (1863–1959) Beazley used close study to identify the ‘signatures’ of individual artists. In 1911, Beazley identified ‘The Master of the Berlin Amphora’, later known as the Berlin Painter.

The Berlin Painter was active in Attica from the last years of the 6th century BC to the 460s BC – roughly the same period as the playwright Euripides. Stylistically, the Berlin Painter bridged the late Archaic and the early Classical Periods with an extraordinary grace of line, emphasised by the removal of ornament and the bold use of space.

Politically, his career was almost coterminous with the tumultuous rise of Athens from polis to empire. During his childhood, the economy of Athens benefitted from the reforms of Peisistratos and his dictatorial heirs. In 508 BC, while the Berlin Painter was painting his first vases, Cleisthenes’ reforms laid the foundations of Athenian democracy.

In 490 BC, as the Berlin Painter reached maturity, the first Persian invasion under Darius I was stopped on the plain of Marathon, only miles from the Kerameikos, the potters’ quarter northwest of the Acropolis. Some 10 years later, following the second Persian invasion of Greece under Xerxes I and the Battle of Thermopylae in August 480 BC, the Persians set fire to Athens. The mid-point of the Berlin Painter’s career saw the destruction of Athens the Archaic polis and the building of Athens, capital of the Classical empire – the home of Aeschylus, the leader of the Delian League, the power that dominated the export market of red-figure vases.

The Berlin Painter’s last decades overlap with the onset of the ‘Golden Age’ and the democracy of Pericles. In 461 BC, while he was hanging up his brushes, the democratic faction led by Ephialtes persuaded the Athenian Ekklesia (assembly) to reduce the powers of the aristocratic Areopagus council. If we permit the Berlin Painter a decade or so of retirement, he would have witnessed the ascent to power of Ephialtes’ protégé, Pericles.

The function of vase-painting tends, however, to dislocate the object from the circumstances of its production. This is not just because most of the best vases went to the export market; much of the Berlin Painter’s surviving work was excavated in Magna Graecia (southern Italy). Although Attic black-figure and red-figure vases carry the largest surviving body of ancient Greek imagery, their images do not depict daily life. They are naturalistic, but not realistic. Their aim is the conquest of appearances: to evoke a mythological narrative at a pivotal moment of crisis.

Although the Attic vase was a utilitarian object, designed for social use, vase painting was one of the decorative arts. The images shown on vases are social documents, not documentaries of social life. Freeborn Athenian men spent much time in the law courts and the Ekklesia, but these activities are not represented in vase art. If voting is represented, we see the warriors at Troy, casting lots to see who will win the armour of the slain hero Achilles.

The work of the Berlin Painter is not a window into the life of ancient Athens, but a mirror, originally reflecting the taste and ideals of ancient Athenians, and now, unavoidably, also reflecting our own taste and ideals. Beazley identified the elegant clarity of the Berlin Painter’s line in the period during which Mariano Fortuny designed his famous, timelessly elegant, pleated silk Delphos ‘sheath’ dress and the Knossos scarf. Modern design prizes clarity.

Minerva May/June 2017
over elaboration. The Berlin Painter is an artist after our own taste, but he trained and worked as an artisan, a humble member of Athenian society. He became one of the techntai — a master of a techne, ‘a craft’ — just like a poet, philosopher, blacksmith or sculptor, but he remained an ordinary citizen.

We see him as one of most important Athenians of his day, a member of the timeless aristocracy of art. Yet he worked in a team, and quite possibly as a subordinate member. Most of the workshops in the Kerameikos were family-controlled potteries. Signatures attest to two or three generations of the same family running the same workshop. The potter preceded the painter. When the word poiesen, which means ‘made’, appears in signatures, it usually refers to a potter, not a painter, as in the case of Kleophrades. ‘A potter,’ Beazley observed, ‘can exist without a vase-painter, but a vase-painter cannot exist without a potter.’ The painter was at the wrong end of the production line.

‘In large cities,’ Xenophon wrote in Cyropaedia (circa 370 BC), ‘one craft alone, and very often less than a whole craft, is enough to support a man.’ During the era of the Berlin Painter, potters developed new models, like the Nolan amphora and the lekythos (a tall jug for storing oil), to serve the growing export market.

Workshop scenes attributed to the Berlin Painter’s contemporaries show the complex collaborative nature of kerameion production. A black-figure hydria (a water vessel, usually with three handles), attributed to the Leagros Group and dating to circa 515–505 BC, shows a potter at work, aided by a boy who turns his wheel. Nearby, an assistant takes out a finished vase to a covered veranda, where it will dry and be finished with neck, foot and handles.

A red-figure bell-krater (a large vase used for watering down wine) attributed to the Komaris Painter and dating to circa 430 BC, shows a painter decorating the wall of a finished bell-krater. The potter wears a beard. The painter, like the boy who turns the wheel and the assistant who carries out the finished pot, is a beardless youth. Again, the painter is not depicted as the senior member of the team.

The painter did not always...
paint alone, either. A red-figure round-bodied hydria of the two-handled design known as kalpis, attributed to the Leningrad Painter and dating from circa 470 BC, supplies two further pieces of evidence.

One is that women worked in the kerameion, probably as assistants restricted to painting areas of black glaze. The other is that decorative borders and designs could be painted separately from figures. These divisions of the labour would have served to train younger artists, and to free up time for the figure-painter.

Gombrich wrote that narrative art ‘is bound to lead to space and the exploration of visual effects’. One of the Berlin Painter’s distinctive habits is to use the freedom of collaborative production to explore space. He has a greater repertoire of mythological material – scenes of Theseus were particularly popular – and a greater range of pot designs on which to work. Yet his designs are empty of ornament. He uses fewer figures than his mentors in the Pioneer Group. He often

11. Attic red-figure amphora showing Athena pouring a libation for Herakles, circa 500–490 BC. © Princeton University Art Museum.
13. Attic red-figure hydria showing Apollo seated on a winged tripod, circa 500–490 BC. © Vatican Museums, Vatican City.

All vases are decorated by the Berlin Painter unless otherwise stated.
supplies less anatomical detail. The wealthier and more powerful the Athens of the Golden Age became, the clearer and cleaner his style.

Gombrich observed that the more civilised a society becomes, the greater the feeling of guilt at becoming ‘spoilt or effeminate’. The ideal of a Golden Age – ‘soft’ and innocent, ‘hard’ and virile, and often both – is a refuge and a scourge. ‘Hard or soft, robust or delicate, the art that does not know any tricks is at any rate honest’, Gombrich wrote. From Plato onwards, critics had worried about corruption in art. Cleanliness is next to honesty in art: everything is visible.

By the early 5th century BC, black-figure vase painting was in decline, except for a special type of large amphora, created for the Panathenaia, the Athenian Games instituted in 566 BC and held every four years. More than 2000 amphorae were cast and painted for each of the Games. Each held a metretes (about 10 gallons) of Athenian olive oil, from trees (moriai) sacred to Athena. A winner could take home as many as 60 of these amphorae, with a value equivalent to two years’ wages for a skilled labourer – a vase-painter, perhaps.

One side of the amphora always depicts Athena, the ‘soft’ goddess of the Golden Age. The other depicts scenes of ‘hard’ sport. On a prize amphora from circa 480–470 BC, four runners are depicted breaking away from the pack. The last is balding and bearded, and his weight is on his back foot. As he falls away, the second runner lengthens his stride and tries to push into the lead. The third runner responds, lengthening his stride as he tries to catch up. Athens is being rebuilt after the Persian assault; the rubble of the old Parthenon will become a functional war memorial, the retaining wall of the new Acropolis. The new Athens will be an empire with a sophisticated urban economy. But the Panathenaia, and the vase painting that celebrates it, makes every viewer the eyewitness to myth.

The Berlin Painter and His World: Athenian Vase Painting in the Early Fifth Century BC is on show at Princeton University Art Museum (artmuseum.princeton.edu) until 11 June. The illustrated catalogue, containing many essays, is edited by J Michael Padgett and published by Yale University Press at £50/$75.
Nicole Benazeth joins ghostly guests from the past at an exhibition in Marseille that charts the history of the banquet from ancient Greece to Rome.

‘Now, ’said Trimalchio, ’let us have dinner. This is sauce for the dinner. ’As he spoke, four dancers ran up in time with the music and took off the top part of the dish. Then we saw in the well of it fat fowls and sow’s bellies, and in the middle a hare got up with wings to look like Pegasus. Four figures of Marsyas at the corners of the dish also caught the eye; they let a spiced sauce run from their wine-skins over the fishes, which swam about in a kind of tide-race. We all took up the clapping which the slaves started, and attacked these delicacies with hearty laughter.

Petronius: Satyricon
Anyone who has seen Fellini’s film *Satyricon* of 1969 (loosely based on the book attributed to Petronius and written in the late 1st century AD) will remember the decadent images from Trimalchio’s banquet scene. But how much can archaeology tell us about ancient banqueting? We get most of our information on fine dining in antiquity from images on frescoes, mosaic floors and vase-paintings, and also from the actual vessels, both metal and ceramic, that were used at such banquets.

In *The Banquet from Marseille to Rome: Pleasures and Power Games*, on show in Marseille at the Vieille Charité Musée d’Archéologie Méditerranéenne, visitors can find out how Greeks and Romans ate, drank and enjoyed sharing a meal and entertainment together.

This all started in ancient Greece where the symposium was a key institution with an important social and political role. It was a unifying event to encourage the forging and reinforcing links within a community. As a gathering to celebrate the gods, it could be held in the heart of the city, often near a temple, in the hestiatorion especially constructed for banquets, and all the citizens could participate. Animals were sacrificed by priests to thank and honour the gods: the inedible parts were directly offered to the divinities and the rest of the meat was shared out between the participants.

*Symposia* were also held by the aristocracy in a domestic context. They were forums in which men of high social rank could debate, plot, be entertained or simply revel together. They usually took place in the andron, the men’s quarters where the participants reclined on pillowed couches, leaning on the left elbow (an Oriental custom introduced into Greece before the 6th century BC). The *symposium* was overseen by a symposiarch (the master of ceremonies) who would make sure that everything went smoothly, decide how strong the wine should be and even choose the topics to be discussed.

The banquet unfolded in two stages. During the first, in the meal proper, food was consumed in relative silence. Wine was served during the second part of the symposium, beginning with a libation to Dionysus, the god of the vine, wine and ritual madness.

After this, when the gentlemen were well-oiled and their minds were stimulated by the wine, the *symposiasts* began to discuss diverse political and philosophical issues (in Plato’s *Symposium* Aristophanes, Alcibiades, Socrates and others debate the subject of love). They also recited poetry, played games of skill, listened to music and watched slaves perform various religious ceremonies.
entertainments. No women, other than flute girls (who played the aulos), dancers and courtesans, were allowed to attend. Guests became more animated when they began to drink and often provided the entertainment themselves. Those who wished to stand out came prepared ready to recite the fashionable poetry of the time. Some would sing elegies and accompany themselves on the lyre, or organise riddle competitions. The literary-minded would read texts aloud. Gossip and jokes were exchanged, and the symposiarch would make sure that no uncontrolled arguments arose.

For the less intellectual there were the games of skill. The most popular drinking game was the kottabos (see page 31): men would drink wine from a kylux (a shallow cup) until they reached the dregs, when they would fling what was left at a bronze stand with a tiny figure on top holding a small disc called plastinx. There was a larger disc halfway down the stand called the manes. The player had to knock the plastinx off in such a way that it would make a ringing sound by falling into the manes. The thrower had to maintain his recumbent position and use only his right hand. This required some dexterity but also an element of chance. If the player scored well it was a good omen and he felt assured of future successes in life.

As the banquet progressed the guests began to feel the effects of the wine as they watched the numerous forms of entertainment offered. These always included musical performances: male and female musicians would play the flute, water-organ and the lyre. There were dancers, acrobats, mime artists and even, at Roman banquets, gladiatorial fights and displays using trained wild animals, such as leopards. A symposium was a feast for all the senses and its erotic elements were not confined to images on vases or frescoes.

Guests engaged in sexual activities among themselves, with slave boys and flute girls or with betaerae. The betaerae were usually educated, witty, refined women who were expected to provide flattering and skilful conversation, and to act as sexual companions, often offering the men a welcome alternative to a
respective wives who had married them but did not love them. Some highly sought-after hetaerae could become wealthy. The most famous was Phryne (a nickname meaning ‘toad’), born circa 371 BC and put on trial for impiety, for which she was acquitted.

The Romans perpetuated some of the traditions of the symposium in their version, the convivium, but it was more relaxed and female guests were admitted. Wine was served throughout and Dionysus became Romanised as Bacchus. There is also graphic evidence that the Greek principle of moderation was not always respected.

Foodwise, the Greek diet was rather frugal, rich in fish and crustaceans, with cereals (wheat and barley) accompanied by onions and olives. The Greeks rarely ate fresh vegetables or fruit, and meat was usually served only on special occasions, although the wealthier members of society had access to a wider range of poultry, meat, fruit and spices. Whereas the everyday diet of the Romans was based on cereals and pulses, it also included fish, farmed meat, game, vegetables, fresh and dried fruit, cheese and eggs.

The banquet drink of choice for both the Greeks and the Romans was wine but it was not drunk undiluted, but mixed with water or sea-water, with added spices, herbs and honey. The symposiarch had to find just the right balance so that the participants could reach a controlled state of drunkenness. The mixture was prepared in large craters and served from oinochoe (pitchers). There was a huge variety of drinking vessels, made of pottery, silver or bronze. Goblets, tankards and cups, shallow or deep, stemmed or not, with or without handles, were decorated with inspiring scenes of banquets, wars and the erotic.

Muriel Garsson, the curator of The Banquet from Marseille to Rome: Pleasures and Power Games, has succeeded in combining a wealth of dining artefacts with virtual reconstructions to create a vivid picture of this important aspect of Mediterranean civilisation. Some exhibits come from the museum’s reserve collection, others are on loan from the Musée d’Histoire de Marseille, the Musée des Docks Romains, DRASSM (Department for Underwater Archaeological Research) and municipal archaeology department, and 13 items are on loan from the Mougins Museum.
Exhibition

The exhibition is in three parts. The first presents evidence of the banqueting rooms excavated in Marseille (Massalia, Roman Massilia was the first Greek settlement in France). The second part is devoted to vessels and utensils used at banquets. The final section is an immersive evocation of a Roman banquet in a virtual triclinium (Roman dining-room), and a reconstruction of the amazing machina Neronis (Nero’s rotating banqueting-hall), the vestiges of which were uncovered in Rome in 2009. This must have been the most extravagant of all ancient dining experiences.

Excavations carried out in the College Vieux Port and Place de Pistoles sites in Marseille in the 1980s and 1990s, and, in 2005, provide evidence that banquets were held in the city during the 6th and 5th centuries BC. In the College Vieux Port site, for example, the foundations of a monumental building, dating from 540–530 BC, have been uncovered and are thought probably to have been a hestatorion, or banqueting room. At the end of the Archaic Period, towards 510–475 BC, two rooms were added to it a little further downhill. The walls inside were painted and the lime mortar floors were covered by terracotta tiles. A set of vessels used for wine-drinking of exceptional quality found on the spot seems confirmation that symposia were held there.

The Place des Pistoles site, in the Panier district, was occupied from 580–570 BC. Excavations there have revealed two adjoining quadrangular rooms and various finds including numerous kitchen and dining-related artefacts: pots, pans and a mortar, crateres and cantari drinking-cups, bowls and food leftovers spread on the floor, including lots of oyster shells. A lantern vase adorned with a feline motif found in a contemporary small circular room (tholos) nearby suggests the presence of a cultic shrine on the hillside below, one of three major temples referred to by ancient authors. Still in the Panier district, vestiges dating from the Greek Classical Period were found on the site of a 19th-century soap factory. A small quadrangular building from the end of the 5th century BC was transformed in the 3rd century BC into a two-room building measuring 9m by 5.5m. One of these rooms (4.5m by 4.5m square) has an exceptional floor of opus signinum (broken tiles mixed with mortar) decorated with white, black and green pebbles. An inscription made up of black and white tesserae inserted in the mortar forms the Greek word XAÎPE (‘welcome’). On one side, a double crown made of tesserae suggests a cultural dimension. Because of the building’s naos-pronaos sanctuary layout and some votive material found, it could also have been a thesphorion, a place devoted to the cult of Demeter Thesmophoros. Despite the absence of vessels and other food-related vestiges, the main room may have been used for symposia. The building was extended during the Roman Empire and an altar added.

The centrepiece of the exhibition is, however, a reconstruction of the Emperor Nero’s extraordinarily elaborate dining-room, ‘which was round and rotated night and day, imitating the motions of the globe’, according to Suetonius in The Lives of the Caesars. In 2009, a Franco-Italian team of archaeologists, led by Françoise Villedieu, uncovered the foundations of the room and remains of its mechanism in the emperor’s vast palace, the Domus Aurea, on the Palatine Hill in Rome. These consist of an impressive 20-metre-high brick tower, with 2-metre-thick walls, whose diameter measures 16 metres. Numerous clues have led archaeologists to conclude that the dining-room’s marble floor probably rotated on bronze spheres similar to large ball bearings, and it was powered by water via robust wood gears.

Although Nero’s rotating dining-room was a one-off, the Romans clearly held many lavish banquets, with no expense spared, so the impression made by that decadent scene in Fellini’s Satyricon may not be too far from the truth.

- The Banquet from Marseille to Rome: Pleasures and Power Games is on show at the Vieille Charité Musée d’Archéologie Méditerranéenne in Marseille (www.vieille-charite-marseille.com) until 30 June 2017. The catalogue, in French only, is on sale at the museum and also on line at €17.
The Hellenic Society and the Roman Society present

Sculptural Display: Ancient and Modern

Wednesday 28 June 2017
The Beveridge Hall, Senate House, University of London,
Malet Street, London WC1E 7HU

10.30 Doors to Beveridge Hall open

11.00 Welcome: Professor Catharine Edwards (President, Roman Society)
Chair and respondent: Dr Lesley Fitton (British Museum)

11.15 Professor Olga Palagia (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens): Sculptural Display in Ancient Greek Temples

12.00 Dr Kenneth Lapatin (The J Paul Getty Museum): The Sculptures of the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum – and Beyond

1.00 Lunch

2.00 Dr Thorsten Oppen (British Museum): Sculptures from Hadrian’s Villa during the Age of the Grand Tour
Chair and respondent – Dr Michael Squire (King’s College London)

3.00 Dr Paul Roberts (Ashmolean Museum): From the Parian to a Pug: The Arundel Marbles in the Ashmolean

3.45 Tea

4.15 Dr Bruce Boucher (Sir John Soane’s Museum): The Historic Display of Sculpture at the Soane Museum

5.00 Professor Whitney Davis (University of California at Berkeley): The Multifacial Conundrum in Classical and Modern Sculpture

6.00 Closing words: Professor Robert Fowler (President, Hellenic Society)

Admission is free, including lunch and tea in the afternoon, but tickets for attendance must be obtained in advance by online registration at Eventbrite: www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/sculptural-display-ancient-and-modern-tickets-32952724486

The Hellenic and Roman Societies would like to thank the Institute of Classical Studies for its assistance in staging this one-day conference and Mr Christian Levett, the owner of Minerva, for his generous support.
Naples and Pompeii are hosting two related exhibitions focusing on Pompeii. Celebrating the 100th anniversary of Picasso’s visit to the ruined city in March 1917, Picasso/Parade: Napoli 1917 is on show in the royal palace of Capodimonte in Naples and at the Antiquarium in Pompeii itself. At the same time, Pompeii and the Greeks, an exhibition focusing on the multi-ethnic, multi-cultural nature of the city, is in the Palestra Grande in Pompeii. The impact that this visit to Pompei...
Dalu Jones looks at two exhibitions in Naples and Pompeii: one shows the effect the ruined city had on the work of Picasso; the other examines its multicultural, multi-ethnic mix.
Jean Cocteau (1889-1963), the painter, sculptor and printmaker Pablo Picasso (1881-1973) and the choreographer and dancer Leonid Massine (1896-1979). They had all been working together in Rome on a new ballet called Parade but decided to travel south and spend a few days sightseeing. ‘The Pope is in Rome, God is in Naples,’ Cocteau wrote to fellow writer Paul Morand. And, in a letter to his mother, Cocteau declared that he could not imagine any other city in the world to be more pleasing than Naples: ‘... Antiquity swarms afresh in this Arab Montmartre, this enormous chaotic fairground which never closes. God, food and formation are the preoccupations of these fantastical people. Vesuvius manufactures the world’s clouds... Hyacinths push up through the paving stones... Pompeii did not surprise me at all. I went straight to my house. I had waited a thousand years, before daring to return to this wretched rubble.’

He even penned a little ode to Mount Vesuvius: ‘... an eye-fouler belching smoke/the largest cloud factory in the world/Pompeii closes at four/Naples never closes/ NON-STOP PERFORMANCE.’

Naples and Pompeii also had a profound and lasting effect on Picasso. He often used themes taken from Classical mythology and a style inspired by Roman frescoes and statuary in his etchings, paintings and stage sets, such as The Adventures of Mercury in 1924. Around a decade later he illustrated Ovid’s Metamorphoses and also made a magnificent series of works focusing on the powerful and erotic archetype of the Minotaur.

Picasso always defied convention believing that: ‘... there is no past or future in art. Whenever I have had something to say, I have said it in the manner in which I felt it ought to be said. Different motives inevitably require different modes of expression. This does not imply either evolution or progress, but an adaptation of an idea one wants to express and the means to express that idea.’ (‘Picasso Speaks’, The Arts, May 1923.)

Painted with tempera colours on canvas, the huge (10.60m x 17.25m) drop curtain for Parade reflects the vivid impressions he experienced during the visit: the discovery of the commedia dell’ arte, its vibrant characters, naive posters and Neapolitan postcards. Circus performers framed by a
But while the style of Picasso’s curtain is naturalistic and charming, like the setting for a fairytale, the costumes and masks for the ballet – especially the horse with angular facial planes modelled on an African Baule mask – have a Cubist look. This was, perhaps, more in keeping with this experimental Modernist ballet, which used Massine’s comic, but menacing, choreography, danced to the controlled cacophony of Erik Satie’s music. The 10-foot tall costumes of the American Manager and French Manager characters, made of wood, metal, cloth, papier-mâché and other materials piled on top of each other in clumsy and awkward shapes represent the buildings and skyscrapers that stand for robotic, dehumanised modern times. The costumes for the other four dancers, a Chinese conjurer, the cinematic little American girl, and two acrobats, are whimsical and mischievous.

Parade consists of only one act, devised by Cocteau, and the entire performance lasts a mere 15 minutes, but its overall effect is a lasting one.

For Picasso, Greek mythology was a distant, yet familiar, source of inspiration, which was rekindled by his visit to Italy but, for the inhabitants of Pompeii, it was an integral part of their daily lives. The city’s geographical location at the centre of the Gulf of Naples, mid-way down the Italian peninsula, was crucial for its development. Surrounded by fertile land and protected by mountains on the north-east and by the sea westwards, it rapidly became a hub in a complex network of both land and sea routes. These fostered a continuous interaction between different, ethnically homogenous groups of people. Political dominance and religion at the time of Pompeii’s founding, circa 7th century BC, does not appear here, or elsewhere, to have been a barrier between Mediterranean peoples.

In pre-Christian times polytheistic beliefs were not mutually exclusive: they had no absolute truth to impose or defend, and a pantheon of gods could coexist easily under different names. At the same time, divergent political systems could also coexist.

At the time of the foundation of Pompeii, two maritime, trading and colonising peoples, the Greek and the Etruscan, were the dominant forces at play in Campania, with the Phoenicians from North Africa intervening at times from the wings. Both Greeks and Etruscans were newcomers to the local archaic settlements and city-states but, apparently, their elites developed a system of exchange through the sharing of ritual and social attitudes and mythical genealogies transmitted during frequent banquets (symposia) where foreign guests and friends mingled with the native aristocracy.

Evidence discovered in language indicates that more Etruscans than Greeks settled along the shores of the Neapolitan gulf. There, they lived closer to the important Greek colonies of Cumae and Pithekoussai (the present-day island of Ischia) than to the Etruscan heartlands in Latium and Etruria much further north, making them more open to Greek ideas. Typically, Pithekoussai was established as an emporion by Euboean Greeks in the 8th century BC. It rapidly became home to
a mixed population of Greeks, Etruscans and Phoenicians and became successful through trade in iron ore with mainland Italy.

Pompeii, on the other hand, was most probably founded by a local tribe called the Oscans. In 474 BC, Hiero I, the Greek tyrant of Syracuse, allied himself with the Cumaeans, who lived on the mainland opposite Ischia, against the Etruscans and defeated them in a decisive naval battle off Cumae. A second period of Greek hegemony followed.

Then, towards the end of the 5th century, the Samnites, an Italic tribe inhabiting the mountains of central Italy, conquered Campania, including the cities of Pompeii, Herculanum and Stabiae. Etruscan was seemingly the Oscan and Samnite lingua franca and they adopted the Etruscan alphabet to write their own languages, which are closely related, although Greek was also spoken and written.

Vases found in Campania and Apulia made under Greek influence throughout the 4th century BC can be identified as depicting Samnites based on how they were dressed. Hundreds of pre-Roman and Samnite graves were found outside the walls of Pompeii. One of these, excavated in 2015, contained the skeleton of a woman surrounded by grave goods, bronze bracelets, terracotta bowls, jars and lamps, including Greek forms such as lekythoi, kylikes and skyphoi, proof of the diffusion of artefacts coming from the Greek motherland, treasured and, then, copied locally.

As more archaeological investigation has taken place in pre-Roman buried layers within and outside Pompeii’s walls, increasing traces of its Samnite past come to the light. So it was that, in 2004, archaeologists discovered the remains of a wall from a temple built by Samnites, and more finds have yet to be published. It is already clear, however, that the presiding deities worshipped in the main temples of archaic Pompeii were Greek gods: Apollo (the patron god of Cumae and its oracle) and Athena.

Evidence from surviving architectural elements indicates that the temple of Apollo was decorated by craftsmen from Cumae using painted clay, while the temple of Minerva was made of stone in the Doric style preferred by neighbouring southern Greek colonies such as Paestum. At the end of the Samnite wars with...
Rome, Campania became a part of the Roman confederation, and its cities became ‘allies’ of Rome. Pompeii, along with the rest of Italy south of the Po River, received Roman citizenship. However, as a punishment for Pompeii’s part in the war, a colony of Roman veterans was established there. Latin replaced Oscan and Samnite as the official language, and the city, its institutions, architecture and culture soon became Romanised.

Prosperous citizens of this new Roman colony could now vie with their counterparts in the rest of the empire and use their wealth to embellish their city and their homes with much-prized Greek artefacts, or copies of famous Greek masterpieces made in an Archaistic style.

The artefacts on show in the exhibition come from a wide range of sites in southern Italy including Capua, Stabiae, Sorrento, Cuma, Poseidonion, Metaponto and Torre di Satriano. Among them are 5th-century BC helmets from the Museum of Olympia, given to this Greek city by Hiero I after his victory at Cumae. There are also fragments of a large, painted, 4th-century BC krater from Altamura with scenes from the Battle of Issus in 333 BC between Alexander the Great and Darius III of Persia, in a simile vein to those found later in the famous, large, 1st-century AD mosaic from the House of the Faun, now in the National Archaeological Museum in Naples. *Pompeii and the Greeks* presents news of the latest, ongoing discoveries of the complex, stratified archaeological evidence of the Greek presence and its cultural influence on the inhabitants of the Vesuvian city.

One interesting example concerns the city’s bathing facilities that seem to have evolved from Greek private baths to Roman private and public ones, dating from 250 BC to the 1st century AD. Another comes from the investigation of two rubbish dumps: one found in the agora in Athens and one from a portico in the forum of Pompeii. In both, very similar 2nd-century BC detritus shows that daily life was similar in both these Italian and Greek cities.

Pompeii’s multifaceted, multi-ethnic and multicultural past still has much to reveal, but what seems obvious is that it was a city open to incomers regardless of race, political belief or religion. This is unusually tolerant and perhaps it could set us a good example that we might follow in our own troubled present.

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Pompeii and Greece is on show at Palestra Grande in Pompeii (www.pompeiisites.org) until 27 November. The catalogue (in Italian only) which is edited by M Osanna and C Rescigno, is published by Electa at €40.

There are three performances of the ballets *Parade* and *Pulcinella* in the Teatro Grande in Pompeii on 27, 28 and 29 July.

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*Picasso/Parade – Napoli 1917* is on show at Museo e Real Bosco di Capodimonte, Naples, and Antiquarium, Pompeii (www.museocapodimonte.beniculturali.it) until July 10. The catalogue, edited by S Bellenger, L Gallo and E Philippot, in Italian only, is published by Electa at €40.
Blood lines of Rome

Classicist and novelist Annelise Freisenbruch describes the challenges and vicissitudes of the lives of women in ancient Rome and tells Diana Bentley why she chose Hortensia to be the heroine of her first novel, *Rivals of the Republic*
ew authors could be as well qualified as Annelise Freisenbruch to write a novel about the adventures of a young aristocratic woman in Rome in the 1st century BC. An historian and scholar with a PhD in Classics from Cambridge University, Freisenbruch is the author of the acclaimed *The First Ladies of Rome: The Women Behind the Caesars*, a compelling study of the lives of the women of the imperial family. In her debut novel, *Rivals of the Republic*, Freisenbruch uses her expert knowledge to plunge us into the brutal world of ambitious aristocrats and ruthless politicians with the real historical figure of Hortensia as a wily heroine.

Your novel, *Rivals of the Republic*, focuses on Hortensia and her father, the great orator and Cicero’s rival, Quintus Hortensius Hortalus. What do we know about them and why did you choose to write about Hortensia?

Only a few pieces of biographical information for Hortensia survive, but the most important and intriguing is that she’s said to have delivered a speech in 42BC on behalf of the elite women of Rome, denouncing a proposal that their wealth be taxed to fund the war against Julius Caesar’s assassins. A version of the speech is preserved by the second-century historian Appian, who praises Hortensia as a worthy heir to her famous father’s talent, making her one of the few women from Roman history who is celebrated for her gifts as a public speaker. Her father, Hortensius, is a better-drawn figure in the Roman sources, not least in the writings of his great courtroom rival Cicero. Despite having clashed with Hortensius in the famous trial of Gaius Verres, and taken his crown as king of the law courts, Cicero respected Hortensius as an opponent, and remembered him with admiration after his death. Hortensius had a flamboyant personality, and as well as his skill in the courtroom he was known for his love of fine wines and literature and his menagerie of exotic animals.

I discovered Hortensia while researching the subject of women’s education for my first book, *The First Ladies of Rome* – a non-fiction account about the women of the Roman Empire. Even the little we know about her was enough to convince me that she’d be a great character for a novel.

There are numerous male sleuths in the genre of Roman historical fiction and I wanted to add a female one. (Lindsey Davis’ Flavia Albia series arrived just as I had finished the first draft.)

So I wove a fictional narrative for Hortensia, going back to her youth, in which she tries to follow in her father’s footsteps, taking on cases and using her wits and intelligence to seek out injustice and corruption. The fact that the real Hortensia lived through such a dramatic time in Roman history, near the end of the Republic and shortly before the rise of Julius Caesar,
and that she was connected by marriage or birth with so many key players of that era, made her immensely interesting to write about.

Can you tell us about the Vestal Virgins who figure prominently in the novel?
The Vestal Virgins, the priestesses of Vesta, goddess of the hearth, lived and served in the Temple of Vesta in the Roman Forum. Their main duty was to guard the fire that burned in the Temple’s sacred hearth. Six Vestals, chosen from between the ages of six and 10 from Rome’s wealthy families, served at any one time. They then had to devote the next 30 years of their lives to Vesta and take a vow of celibacy for that period. The prescribed punishment for breaking that vow was live burial.

On the plus side, the Vestals were afforded high status in Roman society and enjoyed privileges that set them apart from other Roman women. They could make their own wills and were allowed to manage some of their own affairs without a male guardian’s supervision. They had special seats of honour at public entertainments and were the only women permitted to drive through Rome in a special wheeled vehicle called the carpentum. Their order was abolished in the late 4th century as part of the Emperor Theodosius’s bid to end the worship of pagan gods. Two key characters in Rivals of the Republic are Vestals: Cornelia, the Chief Priestess who asks Hortensia to investigate when a Vestal’s body is found in the River Tiber, and Fabia, a young priestess who befriends Hortensia, and who is also a historical figure.

What would life in the law courts have been like at the time?
In imagining how a Roman law court operated, you must dismiss any mental images you might have from watching television courtroom drama. There were no professional lawyers in ancient Rome. Those who spoke for the prosecution and defence were men from the patrician classes, part of whose training as potential politicians and public figures was to speak in the courts. Rome was full of courts and they could attract hundreds of spectators. Some might have been paid to cheer loudly when one advocate made his speech. This was the forum in which great political careers, such as Cicero’s and Caesar’s, began.

I’ve taken the liberty in Rivals of the Republic of having Hortensia address a court as an advocate on someone’s behalf, although we do know that a few women did represent themselves in Roman court cases – a practice that so irritated the Roman authorities that it was eventually banned.

Your first book, The First Ladies of Rome, traces the role of women in the imperial family from the time of Augustus onwards. How did his wife Livia alter the role of women in the ruling class, and what sort of person was she?
Livia was the first ‘First Lady’ of Rome in that she was the wife of Augustus who became Rome’s first emperor in 27 BC. She was extremely influential in establishing a template for the role of empress, and in the unprecedented prominence that she – a woman – is given in the public imagery in the reigns of her husband, Augustus, and her son, Tiberius. For the first time, a woman appears regularly on the empire’s
Minerva May/June 2017

coinage, and it is from Livia, not Augustus, that the next four emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty (Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero) are descended. When the first emperor to be unrelated to her takes power (Galba, in 68 BC) he underlines the fact that he grew up as a ward in her household and was named in her will. Even after her death, Livia's was a good name to drop if you wanted to get ahead.

As for her character, one of the most intriguing things about Livia is how enigmatic she is. How do you choose between descriptions of her in ancient sources as, on the one hand, a dictatorial, conniving wife and mother who was whispered to be responsible for her husband's death, and, on the other, as a chaste, devoted servant of the state who stayed by her husband's body for five days after he died? But what I like about her is her unknowability – and also that she reputedly attributed her remarkably long life (she lived into her mid-80s) to a daily glass of red wine.

What evidence do we have to support our views on the lives of aristocratic women and also those who worked in the imperial household?

If you took the Roman literary record of their lives at face value you might conclude that they were all either chaste, devout saints or vain poisoners and nymphomaniacs. A big obstacle in researching Roman women – aristocratic or otherwise – is the fact that virtually no writing by a woman from the period survives. Even Hortensia's speech only survives second-hand. Did she write it herself? Is it a verbatim account of her address? We don't know.

We are limited to seeing Roman women through the eyes of others, usually men who never met them and who often wrote about them not objectively but who assigned them to a moral stereotype, and created a persona for them that enhances or denigrates the reputation of the emperor or prominent man to whom they were related. So we must be cautious when deciding how much we really know about a woman like Livia, or her imperial successors.

That said, you can’t help but feel excitement at the discovery of what seem like tangible clues and insights into their lives. Although there’s far less evidence for the lives of wealthy Roman women than for their male counterparts, the pieces we have from the literary, artistic and archaeological record are fascinating and often touching – a doll found in a young girl's grave, a letter from a military wife on the Roman frontier, a cosmetics jar containing 2000-year-old moisturiser. One of my favourite sources of information is the Monumentum Liviae – a community tomb [on the via Appia] for the cremated remains of people who had worked in Livia’s household. Each slave or freedman had a niche for their ashes with labels, providing us with many of their names and occupations – Lochias, the woman who mended her clothes; Menophilus who made her shoes, and Parmeno, who...
looked after her purple (most expensive) garments. Such an enormous, specialised personal staff probably contradicts the conceit popularised by Augustus that Livia and his daughter Julia hand-made his clothes – part of a bid to present himself as a regular man of the people, despite his promotion to the rank of Rome’s first emperor.

How did the perception of women in the aristocracy and the imperial family change after that?
After Livia, a string of scandalous women follow in the Roman imperial pantheon, women like Messalina, Emperor Claudius’ teenage bride – whose appetite for sex was said by some Roman sources to have been so voracious that she traded as a prostitute in disguise; and Agrippina, Nero’s mother, who was given a more visibly public role to play in her son’s reign than any woman beforehand until Nero had her murdered in AD 59. It’s no coincidence that controversial emperors like Claudius and Nero tended to have controversial female relatives – then, as now, a political candidate’s family members could be used to denigrate as well as bolster their reputation.

The fact that Messalina and Agrippina were given such critical write-ups in some historical accounts of Claudius and Nero’s reigns reflects how more potent women had become as political targets – if Claudius couldn’t keep his own wife in check, his critics inferred, how could he govern the empire successfully? Whereas during the Republican age in which Hortensia lived, power was concentrated in the all-male world of the Senate. The advent of dynastic rule from the time of Augustus and Livia onwards meant that for the first time women presided over the household in which decisions about the future of the Roman Empire were made. This sparked considerable anxiety among the Roman elite about the appropriate role for a woman to play on the public and political stage, one which succeeding dynasties had to work out in their own way.

How would the lives of women in the lower classes have differed from those of the aristocracy?
Most of the evidence we have about the lives of women in Rome pertains to a small group at the top of society. The lives of middle- and lower-class women, almost invisible in the literary and archaeological record, would have been very different from those of the aristocracy. The Monumentum Liviae provides a snapshot of the hundreds of jobs female slaves may have had, from hairdresser to maid, wet-nurse and weaver. Many women were used for sexual purposes too, at the whim of their household masters or as prostitutes in inns or brothels. Some Roman women went to work in other capacities, on their own or alongside their husbands, their labours captured in stone reliefs showing them working as shopkeepers, craftswomen or midwives. But the primary role of all women was to be mothers and wives. Education, even for the daughters of wealthy men, was rarely extensive. Girls were expected to marry in their teens; after that their main function in life, rich or poor, was to have children and supervise the domestic sphere.

Who are your favourite female figures in the ancient Roman world and why?
Once, I would probably have said Livia, now it’s Hortensia. Even though the Hortensia of Rivals of the Republic is almost entirely the product of my imagination, I love the fact that she’s one of the few women of the Roman world whose voice was heard, and who was acknowledged even by Roman writers of the time for her abilities. People still tend to think of public speaking as a man’s job by default, so I enjoy writing a heroine who confounds those expectations.

I also have a fondness for a 5th-century empress, Galla Placidia, who lived a life you’d find in a racy adventure novel – kidnapped at 20 by the Goths who ransacked Rome in AD 410, held hostage for six years, then married to one of her abductors, for whom she apparently had a fondness. When he was murdered, Placidia was traded back to Rome, married to a more boring husband and had a son, Valentinian III. When he became emperor at the age of six in AD 425, Placidia had to act almost as de facto regent – another first for a woman in the imperial age.

Have you any fiction, or non-fiction books, planned or in progress?
There’s a sequel to Rivals of the Republic in the pipeline, and more are planned in what I will call The Blood of Rome series. I’ll continue to trace Hortensia’s footsteps up to the point in 42 BC, at the dramatic height of the Roman Republic, when she gives her famous speech. Many of the characters in Rivals, including Fabia the Vestal Virgin and Petro, the mischievous forger, will make repeat appearances in the series. I’m also working on another novel, set in the time of the early Empire. I’d love to write another non-fiction book too as I find the intense research required incredibly addictive. It’s not easy finding something that hasn’t already been well covered or that you can approach from a new angle but I have a few ideas on the drawing-board, so we’ll see.

- Rivals of the Republic by Annise Freisenbruch is published in hardback by Duckwork Overlook at £18.99.
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Surveying the
First impressions often have a lasting impact. I first came across the Long Man of Wilmington years ago by chance, driving around the South Downs near Eastbourne seeking a place to walk – and, like many before me, I found myself lured up the steep slopes of Windover Hill by the mysterious chalk figure cut centuries before into the turf on the hillside. When, some time later, I saw Eric Ravilious’ water-colour of the Wilmington Giant – as he called it – I found the painting just as captivating as the real thing. The place I had seen seemed little changed from 1939 when Ravilious had painted the tall, standing figure holding two staves at arm’s length (1). He had known the Wilmington Hill figure from his boyhood, when he lived in Eastbourne. The path and the fence wires framing the figure seem almost identical, even the clouds scudding across the sky casting shadows on the grass.

Britain’s many ancient and prehistoric sites, from monuments of international standing, like Stonehenge, to lesser-known stone circles and megalithic tombs, have fascinated not only generations of archaeologists but also generations of artists. Speaking to us of deep time and the ebb and flow of the many peoples who have shaped our landscape, they are tangible reminders of Britain’s multi-layered history, says Sam Smiles, Emeritus Professor of Art History at the University of Plymouth, and curator of the Salisbury Museum’s latest exhibition, British Art: Ancient Landscapes.

Ravilious (1903–42), who had been fascinated by the chalk hill-figures of southern England since boyhood, painted a number of them during the 1930s. These include: the early, abstract White Horse at Uffington in Oxfordshire, just off the Ridgeway, Britain’s oldest road, and the ithyphallic Cerne Abbas Giant in Dorset. Pondering on the Wilmington Giant’s origin and meaning, Ravilious thought it possibly British or Saxon, representing the sun-god Baldur or even the female astrological figure Virgo, and that it was either holding a pair of staves or pushing darkness aside. ‘The figure has been the subject of much debate,’ says Professor Smiles. ‘In the 1930s people thought it was Neolithic – there is a Neolithic tumulus on the top of the ridge – and that the man was possibly some god-like figure. But modern scholars can’t find references to it before the late 16th or early 17th century.’

The new exhibition explores over two centuries of British
choices. ‘One of the points of this period was to investigate the wide variety of interpretations. It’s a kind of reclamation, over such a long time period,’ he says. ‘It’s a kind of reclamation project on my part. I have long been fascinated by that element of the national legacy, and the ways artists have approached antiquity and attempted to come to terms with it.’

The engagement of artists with prehistoric landmarks has varied over time. Different generations have approached the task with different outlooks, selecting those aspects most relevant to the current preconceptions to make sense of the sites. Smiles’ idea was to explore through art – including paintings, prints, sculpture, photography and film – why people approached antiquity as they did at different periods, not to suggest one approach was superior to another, but to investigate the wide variety of interpretations.

Artists crystallise the assumptions of the time. In the Romantic era, for instance, many artists considered the monuments to be uncouth. The preference was for ruined abbeys at the time, and this limited their choices. ‘One of the points of this exhibition is to move away from the idea that it was only the Romantic artists who were interested in these monuments,’ Smiles clarifies.

The exhibition has more than 50 works by some of the greatest names in British art from the past 250 years, ranging from early antiquarians and topographers to William Blake, JMW Turner, John Constable and others, to 20th-century painters, sculptors and photographers such as John Piper, Barbara Hepworth, Paul Nash, Bill Brandt and Derek Jarman (8), and living artists like Richard Long and Jeremy Deller.

Stonehenge (2) has, of course, taken centre stage in innumerable topographical paintings, prints and drawings over the centuries. As Salisbury Museum is known for its unique archaeology collections, and the city is located at the heart of ancient Wessex, with Stonehenge, Old Sarum, and myriad other prehistoric sites close by, it is no surprise that the exhibition contains a good number of representations of Stonehenge, in sundry stages of ruin or restoration – or imagination. Besides which, the evolving discoveries at Stonehenge over the past decade and more, and the ongoing A303 bypass discussions have thrust our most famous henge monument and its landscape into the public eye. Even so, the show’s geographical reach is somewhat limited. The sites depicted are predominantly in southern Britain – Wiltshire, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall, Wales (4) and so on – with the exception of a solitary stone circle on the Isle of Arran. This is shown in the water-colour (3) by William Andrews Nesfield (1793–1881) made during his 1828 sketching tour in the north of England and Scotland. Availability is the problem, says Smiles, who explains why there are not more from the further reaches of Britain: ‘You can find a scattering of unassuming topographical images but they are not necessarily artistically appealing; they were produced for empirical purposes.’

However, one engraving that does combine both artistic appeal and first-hand observation is William Stukeley’s A scenographic view of the Druid temple of ABURY in north Wiltshire, as in its original, 1743, and it is this image that opens the broadly chronological exhibition, and later inspired Nash (5). Many 18th-century antiquarian scholars recognised the benefits of illustration, especially when at the time most prehistoric sites were little known and vulnerable to damage or destruction.

Stukeley (1687–1765), who was the first secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London, was an able artist with an eye for detailed observation (notwithstanding the occasional foray into Romantic evocation) as well as a pioneering
and meticulous fieldworker. He described his work as ‘preserving the memory of these extraordinary monuments... now in great danger of ruin’. His fieldwork included extensive excavations at Stonehenge and Avebury and he made systematic surveys of each site, publishing the results in two volumes: *Stonehenge, A Temple Restor’d to the British Druids*, 1740, and *Abury, A Temple of the British Druids with Some Others Described*, 1743. Stukeley’s incomparable engraving of the Avebury megalithic complex – part based on fantasy and part fieldwork – exaggerates the curve of the avenues and elongates the design to fit his notions of a great stone serpent temple.

Stukeley’s reputation suffered because of his belief that these structures were Druidic temples, and Smiles thinks he gets harsh treatment as a result: ‘His work was cementing John Aubrey’s notions of Druids from the previous century and, given the dates, it wasn’t entirely fanciful. His beliefs have had a very long legacy, which survives to this day in the solstice ceremonies held at Stonehenge.’

Smiles points out that Stukeley’s fieldwork set back the dates for Avebury and Stonehenge; he reasoned that they were substantially older than the (then) current theories of their Roman or Danish origins, dating Stonehenge to about 460 BC and Avebury to 1859 BC.

Many artists working in the late 18th and early 19th centuries chose to dramatisate aspects of the monuments in order to accentuate their force and power and also because their ambitions were to be artists rather than investigators or topographers.

William Blake (1757–1827) had his own vision, points out Smiles, his own perception of the hidden significance of the land he called Albion. While Blake accepted the link between megalithic structures and Druidism, his views of Druidism were not positive. Blake is too individual an artist to be categorised but, writes Smiles in the exhibition catalogue: ‘His prophetic books provide an exhilarating example of how these monuments might be re-imagined’. Two relief etchings by Blake are in the exhibition. One from a volume of Milton shows a rider dwarfed by a huge trilithon – Blake has exaggerated the megalithic structure’s size to give it greater authority and a dramatic presence to underline its symbolic significance.

Turner (1775–1851) and Constable (1776–1837) did not have Blake’s spiritual ambition, but neither did they wish to be topographers, Smiles explains in the catalogue: ‘Constable wanted to distil the poetic qualities of the monuments, to get to the “essence” of their power and wonder. Nor was Turner to be bound by empirical fact. In his Stonehenge watercolour, of 1827–28, he deliberately moves away from an accurate depiction as he had first sketched to express something beyond the actual. In attempting to express the “ineffable”, in his watercolour of Stonehenge.’

‘Constable likewise goes beyond the topographical to encourage
an emotional response in the viewer. For, as Constable wrote, its “literal representation as a ‘stone quarry’ has been often enough done”.

Smiles wonders if Constable is trying to produce the visual equivalent of the vast age of these monuments. Referring to the date of the painting, 1835, he reminds us that it was painted in the wake of geologist Charles Lyell’s revelations about the age of the Earth. Did Constable employ composition to draw the viewer’s attention to the long passage of time? The hare skittering across the foreground of the Stonehenge watercolour perhaps represents fleeting biological time; the seated man, human presence; the stones, unimaginable age; and the heavens and rainbow above perhaps speak of eternity. Constable’s mezzotint of Stonehenge takes a longer view of the landscape, emphasising its grandeur, the stones relatively diminutive under the infinite sky.

Early 20th-century artists such as Paul Nash (1889–1946), Henry Moore (1898–1986) and John Piper (1903–92) (7) took an imaginative and creative interest in certain ancient sites; Avebury was one of them. Writing to Nash around the time of the Avebury restoration work in the 1930s, Moore spoke of the power and sculptural potential of prehistoric monuments.

This feeling for latent sculptural form influenced Nash who, seeking a different approach to the scientific archaeological interpretation underway at Avebury, produced works such as the Landscape of the Megaliths (6), which is on show at Salisbury. This extraordinary rendition veers between abstraction and representation in a strange aerial view that lingers in the mind, conveying a sense of a deeply enigmatic landscape. When Nash first saw Avebury in the summer of 1933 many of the sarsen stones were still buried by turf, others slumbering in cornfields or copses. He responded to the megaliths ‘in their wild state’, as he later put it, ‘... but they were wonderful and disquieting’.

One of the greatest photographers of the 20th century, Bill Brandt (1904–83), developed his interest in landscape in the 1940s, producing dramatic black-and-white images of Avebury, Stonehenge and the Devil’s Den cromlech, near Marlborough. His Avebury Stone Circle, Wiltshire of 1944, which is included in the show, reveals an affinity with the Romantics in its ability to conjure mood. Brian Graham’s acrylic painting, Winter Menhirs Imbolc (2003) also summons mood but in a very different way. It suggests, rather than illustrates, the Neolithic burial chamber in West Dorset known as The Grey Mare and her Colts, and Imbolc, the Celtic festival that signals the beginning of spring.

Much is left to the imagination in many artworks, just as much about the ancient sites themselves remain unfathomable. Modern archaeological research has brought the monuments and the people who built and used them into better focus, and will continue to do so. Artworks provide vantage points from which to look again at Britain’s ancient monuments: to notice, to ponder, to be mystified and to be inspired by them.

• British Art: Ancient Landscapes is at the Salisbury Museum (www.salisburymuseum.org.uk) until 3 September. The illustrated catalogue by Sam Smiles is published by Paul Holberton Publishing at £25/$35/€30.
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The kingdom of George Frederic Watts lies near the village of Compton, about 30 miles southwest of London, in the rolling Surrey hills. Watts (1817–1904) was a titan of Victorian painting, dubbed ‘England’s Michelangelo’ allegedly by fellow artist Frederic, Lord Leighton. In his last years he built a house and studio here with his much younger second wife, Mary, a talented craftsman who was as convinced of her husband’s genius as he was. Housed in an airy Arts and Crafts barn designed by the 19th-century architect Christopher Hatton Turner, the Watts Gallery is one of the few museums in Britain devoted to a single artist.

“It is the age that makes the prophet!” declared Watts. Truly, for the decades after his death were the age that unmade him. During the 20th century his kingdom declined and nearly fell. The Modernists, errant children of the Edwardian world, ridiculed him from across the gulf that divided them from the values of their childhood; Watts was too optimistic in philosophy, too squeamish about sex, too literal on the canvas. Amid the disillusion caused by the First World War, Watts’ reputation was soon in the firing line. Lytton Strachey put him on his shortlist of subjects ripe for ridicule in Eminent Victorians (1918). Five years later, in Virginia Woolf’s satirical play Freshwater, it is Watts’ bizarre first marriage to the teenage actress Ellen Terry that reveals the hypocrisy of Woolf’s comfortably bohemian childhood.

Later, in 1975, even the then curator of the Watts Gallery, Wilfrid Blunt, joined in by giving his deflationary biography the ironic title England’s Michelangelo. In it, he mocked both Watts’ massive, mystical canvases and the praise that they had received from his contemporaries. This sad decline continued until, by 2000, there were plastic buckets in the Watts Gallery to catch the rain. But empires, as Constantine the Great showed after the disorder of the 3rd century AD, can rise again, and in ways that both sustain and remake them.

This year, revived by private donations and a grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund, the Watts Gallery is celebrating the 200th anniversary of Watts’ birth in style – with a series of exhibitions, displaying the breadth of...
Watts’ talent as a draughtsman, as a painter and as a sculptor. They also confirm the depth of his vision. Watts’ canvas cycles, the pantheon of eminent Victorians in the Hall of Fame portrait series and the shadowy Symbolist allegories of The House of Life, are images from a modern epic. Watts, like his contemporary Richard Wagner, creates a new mythology.

Born in London on 23 February 1817, Watts was the son of a piano-maker. He grew up in a household overshadowed by death and religion. Late in life, he confessed to his second wife, Mary, that his lifelong ‘nervousness’ was the legacy of having lived in fear of ‘daily dread’ word play, deliberate or not, on ‘daily bread’. Apart from some mutually unsatisfying classes at the Royal Academy, most of his training took place in a sculptor’s workshop in Soho, and through his close study of the Elgin Marbles. Watts was a child of what John Stuart Mill called ‘the Age of Change’, the transformation of British society by technology and mass democracy. In the 1840s, the shy, sensitive and self-taught Watts suddenly found himself a part of the Victorian elite. In 1843, his design for Caractacus Led in Triumph Through Rome won a prize in the competition for proposals to decorate the Houses of Parliament. Taken up by the Liberal politician Henry Fox, 4th Baron Holland, Watts became a permanent guest in the MP’s London salon, Little Holland House, and also at Villa Careggi, his house in the Florentine hills where Cosimo de’ Medici and the humanist Marsilio Ficino had reinvented Plato’s Academy.

In 1848, the year whose revolutions catalysed Wagner’s political and artistic development, Watts adopted the role of prophet. He conceived the idea of a vast visual narrative, The House of Life – the story of all life and human culture, from the primordial storm of Chaos, circa 1873–82, to the final encounter with The Sower of the Systems, 1902, (3). His narrative mimics the development of Biblical myth, from Genesis to Revelation although, like Darwin, Watts had lost his Christian faith without gaining the humanist’s hope of reviving the old gods.

As a painter, Watts modelled himself after the artists of the Italian Renaissance, lived by patronage in an aristocratic household, sought to emulate the grandeur of Michelangelo, and even dressed up as Titian, in a Venetian robe and cap. Epic subjects, whether biblical or Classical, suited Watts’ ambition and his sculptor’s eye. Yet in Monumental Murals, the Watts Gallery’s exhibition of his Classical frescoes of the 1850s, the Classical world is no less dead than the Christian one. In Apollo and Diana, 1854–55, now publicly exhibited at Compton for the first time, the figures may be sensuous and sculptural but their golden flesh is as cold as marble.

In Book I of the Odyssey, Homer describes how Agamemnon forces Achilles to surrender the captive queen Briseis to him. In Watts’ massive Achilles and Briseis, 1858–60, Agamemnon leads a partially naked Briseis towards the right margin of the tableau. But the real power in the image is not Agamemnon’s authority, so much as Nature unleashed. At the centre of the scene is Achilles, his muscles stretched and his body contorted. Twisting, he falls backwards into an orgy on the shore, a swirl of bodies and water with the flames of war behind. Deep in the recession opened by the widening gulf between Achilles and Briseis, a man struggles to control a horse – this was the very image that Watts was to use for his monumental sculpture Physical Energy (2), installed in Kensington Gardens in 1907.

These images of separation, isolation and physical stress recur in Watts’ art. In the celebrated marble bust Clytie, 1867, it is not clear if the wife of Pygmalion is, as in Ovid’s Metamorphosis, emerging as flesh from marble, or whether, like a drugged sleeper, she is unable to reach consciousness. And, in Orpheus and Eurydice (4),
a painting dating from the 1870s, Orpheus strains to hold Eurydice’s body upright, but her silvery corpse appears to be dissolving in his arms. Watts turns their faces away even as he exposes the torment of sinew and muscle.

Although in his early study, Self-Portrait as ‘Fear’, 1835–36, (6) Watts drew himself head-on for a study in Classical panic, the strangeness of his domestic life – his role as aesthetic eunuch in Lady Holland’s household, and his two sexless marriages to much younger women – suggests a turning away from physicality, his preference for form over content. The averted face serves the abstract goals of The House of Life. We are looking not at human particulars, but at expressions of pure ideals – abstracted forms called Hope, Death, Life, Love, Progress.

For the same reason, the turned face, that most articulate expression of human life, also obscures Watts’ narrative. The meanings of the symbols in The House of Life are unclear; they are phrases from a myth whose narrative is hidden. In Satan, 1847–48, the demiurge bears a passing resemblance to William Blake’s frontispiece for Milton, 1804, but we cannot see his face because Satan turns his head away. In Blake’s image, a naked Milton walks away from the viewer, into a darkness illuminated by his raised hand. Watts’ Satan raises a hand too, but to protect his face from the light of our understanding. ‘I don’t understand the new picture,’ John Ruskin said of Satan, ‘but it is glorious.’ In Paradise Lost, Milton reconciles Classical and Christian myths. For Watts, though, such a grand synthesis is impossible.

Science, the liberator of human energies, has undone the myths of pagan Greece and Christian Rome. The past is turning away, the present is yet to reveal itself in the new mythologies that science and evolution will produce.

The Creation of Eve, 1865–99, (5) shows a tumble of bodies falling to earth in the shape of a curiously predictive double helix and in And She Shall Be Called Woman, 1875–92 (7), a full-frontal Eve rises from the ground with the explosive force of a rocket hovering over its launch-pad. Her neck is thrown back not by the speed of her ascent, but seemingly by an ecstatic surge of inner power. She rises slowly through a cloud of brown smoke, a halo resembling the kind of fur stole that a wealthy Victorian woman might have worn, but with her breasts fully exposed in the style of a Minoan snake-goddess. The cloud of smoke also resembles the toxic afflatus from another creation of the 1870s, the internal combustion engine.

Watts believes in the legends of his own civilisation – in Progress with Science as its engine. To us, And She Shall Be Called Woman evokes the ignition of a rocket’s engines, or the release of energy after the splitting of the atom. It is as though Eve’s transgression, the theft of divine knowledge, promises to return her and her descendants to the skies – but it is to the blind kosmos, not the heaven of Christianity. ‘You shall create a higher body, a first movement, a self-propelled wheel,’ wrote Nietzsche creating his own mythology in Thus Spake Zarathustra, 1883–85. ‘You shall create a creator.’

Karl Marx, another 19th-century revolutionary, suggested that Prometheus (who paid each day for his theft of divine power) should be appointed as ‘the foremost saint and martyr in the philosopher’s calendar’. Likewise the protagonists of Watts’ Hall of Fame are the winners in Victorian Britain, but they pay the price for their
victory. Watts’ portrait of Cardinal Manning, 1882, depicts the reviver of Catholicism as dessicated, a cold skull in ermine, while in John Stuart Mill, 1873, the head of the optimist of liberal individualism floats in a lonely sea of blackness.

In The Englishness of English Art, 1955, Nikolaus Pevsner writes of the English tradition of ‘preaching’ painters. Watts was one of those preachers; as Pevsner wrote of Hogarth: ‘the story mattered more to him than the art’. The studies in Watts’ Hall of Fame are moral dramas like those in Plutarch’s Lives of the Noble Greeks and Romans.

‘Watts is a good, old-fashioned prophet,’ says Nicholas Tromans, Curator of the Watts Gallery. ‘He is fundamentally disappointed. He thinks that the British... are letting the side down, letting fate or destiny or science down. It’s only the confused special souls, like those in his portraits, who are really confronting their duty.’

Watts said that he aspired to create ‘in the language of Art, Modern Thought in things ethical and spiritual’. Yet, as Tromans writes in his new study, The Art of G.F. Watts, the effects are closer to the work of ‘a modern conceptual artist, whose works are the by-product of original intellectual and social experiments’.

The liberal, humanitarian civilisation of Victorian Britain floats in a vast, obscure universe teeming with terrifying powers and unclear purposes. And if, as in Watts’ most famous painting of all, its face turns towards us, we see it – but it does not see us. In Hope, 1886, (1), a blindfolded woman is seated on a planet like the survivor of a shipwreck on a buoy, haloed in blue mist. She holds a lyre, but the instrument of Orpheus and King David is down to its last string – and what melody can be played on a single string?

Watts had learnt the value of fragments from the Elgin Marbles – the power of incomplete beauty to evoke the perfect and timeless whole, the power of the ruin to evoke the passage of historical time. Like the single string of Hope’s lyre, Watts’ modern mythology sounds in broken phrases. He never completed The House of Life, perhaps because by insisting on artistic work and social progress, he sentenced it to be a work in progress, like the life-forms he sought to represent.

Admiring The Good Samaritan, 1850, Ruskin praised Watts’ ability ‘to walk round the truth, viewing it
from a distance as well as examining it with a magnifying glass. The Modernists rejected Watts’ style, but they developed his implication that the totality of existence could only be shown from multiple perspectives, and in shards of imagery that did not wholly cohere.

Meanwhile Watts’ most popular painting, Hope, has had an interesting afterlife independent of its creator. Martin Luther King referred to it in a sermon, and it is claimed, though not confirmed, that Nelson Mandela had a print of it on the wall of his cell on Robben Island. After the racist Chicago pastor Jeremiah Wright praised ‘the audacity of Hope’ in a sermon, Barack Obama adopted Wright’s phrase as the title of his 2004 Democratic conference keynote speech, and for his second autobiography too.

Later this year, the Watts Gallery will complete its 200th anniversary celebrations by installing a new, full-size bronze cast of Physical Energy on the edge of Watts’ estate. The work was cast once in Watts’ lifetime — for the original in Kensington Gardens — and twice posthumously for statues, one in Cape Town, another in Harare. But soon another gigantic muscular horse and rider, a modern myth of progress built from the ruins of ancient myth, will rise triumphantly above the hedgerows of Surrey.
In 334 BC, as the vessel carrying Alexander of Macedon across the Hellespont neared the Asian shore, the young king threw a spear onto the shore, and claimed Asia as his ‘spear-won land’. Over the next decade, Alexander built, by spear and sword, an empire that changed the course of history.

In *By The Spear: Philip II, Alexander the Great, and the Rise and Fall of the Macedonian Empire*, Ian Worthington argues that the scale of Alexander’s achievements and the glamour that accrued to his name have obscured the figure of Alexander’s father, Philip II of Macedon. It was Philip who turned Macedon from a petty kingdom into an empire, by conquering first his neighbours and, then, Thrace and Greece. And it was Philip who, by planning and launching the expansion of the Macedonian Empire across the Hellespont, placed the spear in Alexander’s hand.

When Philip came to power in 359 BC, Macedonia was ‘a backward, economically weak, and perilously unstable kingdom’. It was ‘prone to invasions from neighboring tribes and interference in its domestic politics by Greek cities’, and defended by ‘a conscript army of poorly trained and equipped farmers’. Over the next 20 years, Philip turned Macedonia into a wealthy and secure empire, with ‘the most feared and powerful army in the Greek world’.

The traditional historiography has tended to follow Alexander’s contemporary Cleitarchus, son of the historian Dinon of Colophon, whose work was adopted by Diodorus Siculus in the 1st century BC. In this narrative, Alexander’s tactical skill and physical bravery are confirmed by anecdotes of his father’s military abilities. But this inverts the chronology.

Worthington incorporates the ancient sources, yet reverses their interpretation. In *By the Spear*, Alexander’s vision and ability derive less from his ambition to create a new kind of empire, than from his desire to emulate and surpass his father.

Philip, Worthington writes, was ‘a great general and strategist’ and ‘a skilled diplomat’ who used Macedonia’s new wealth to subvert the influence of Athens. He lost an eye to a wound at the siege of the Athenian-controlled city of Methone in 355–354 BC. A decade later a near-fatal leg wound acquired while fighting the Aegialei in Illyria left him with a permanent limp. Alexander’s campaigns may have been larger and more exotic, but his personal conduct fits the paternal template.

Philip ‘lived large and drank copiously’. He ‘had no qualms in marrying for political ends’, and accumulated seven wives without divorcing any of them. While these habits recur in Alexander, Philip was more of a ‘traditional Macedonian king’ than his son and a more intelligent emperor. Many of Alexander’s men resented his penchant for Eastern luxuries. Philip bequeathed a smaller but sustainable empire, his son left chaos on a grand scale.

Alexander did not administer wisely his conquered peoples – in particular, his failure to ‘recognise native religious beliefs and customs’ led to open revolt during the last years of his reign. Admittedly, Philip had faced the more manageable challenges of a smaller empire and more familiar subject peoples, but the ultimate test of an ancient empire was its ability to survive the death of its founder.

In 336 BC, Philip was murdered at the wedding of his daughter, Cleopatra of Macedon. His killer, Pausanias, was one of his bodyguards. According to both Cleitarchus and Diodorus Siculus, Pausanias was Philip’s erstwhile lover. Worthington suspects that Philip’s fourth wife, Olympias, the mother of Alexander, ‘may have plotted to kill her husband’. Philip’s empire survived his death – but Alexander’s fell into civil war.

Worthington, with fluent control of the material, uses the biographies of Philip and Alexander to describe the rise and fall of the Macedonian Empire. There is, he writes ‘no doubt that Alexander was the empire’s master builder’. Nor can the reader of *By the Spear* doubt that ‘Philip was certainly its architect’.

Dominic Green
Rufus’ critical examination of Quintus Curtius sought lessons in empire-building from south, the image of Alexander recurred. The new historians depicted Alexander as the embodiment of rational and benevolent European rule – as the ‘first European’ – and held him up as an example for the modern European empires.

In Weltgeschichte (History of the World) 1787, the German scholar Christoph Gatterer identified Alexander's defeat of Darius III at Arbela in 331 BC as ‘the first time global domination moved away from the Asians and into European hands’. Alexander had subdued the ‘tyrants’ of the east, and revitalised the decayed polities of Asia. Now, the implicit argument ran, his European heirs should do the same in an Asia cropped by what Marx was to call ‘Oriental despotism’.

For reasons that Briant cannot fully explain, it was among the French that the Alexander cult first matured. In 1788, as Russia battered the Ottoman Empire, the Comte de Volney advised that France should support Russia because it had not been ‘the most polished of the Greeks who conquered Asia, but the rude mountaineers of Macedonia’. A decade later, in 1798, the European despot Napoleon Bonaparte sought to emulate Alexander by invading Egypt and then pivoting towards Asia; defeated at the Battle of the Nile, Napoleon abandoned his army and sailed for France.

Nor does Briant search for the roots of two other significant variations in European attitudes and politics. The British won a large Asian empire in the late 18th century. Yet though British taste looked to Athens after the arrival of the Elgin Marbles, 19th-century British administrators continued to look to Rome, whose imperial governance had been more stable than Alexander's glamorous, but brief, rule.

So, while 19th-century Germany produced the greatest scholars of the Orient and the greatest quantity of Alexander biographies, Germany had no empire in Asia. The British and German cases suggest that there was no causal link between fascination with Alexander and Asian empire-building, and that European attitudes to Alexander were variable.

The First European has, like Alexander the Great's empire, both a brilliant beginning and a disorderly end. Briant assembles fascinating evidence that European historians had Alexander in mind, but the question of whether their new image of ‘the first European conqueror of the Orient’ drove modern European conquerors goes unanswered.

Dominic Green

In the Name of Lykourgos: The Rise and Fall of the Spartan Revolutionary Movement (243–146 BC)

Miltiadis Michalopoulos (translated by Marion Kawallieros & Maria Anna Niforos)

Pim & Sword

238pp, 9 black-and-white illustrations and 12 maps

Hardback, £25

In The Spartan Mirage, 1933, the French historian François Ollier suggested that because non-Spartans had written the surviving accounts of ancient Sparta, both ancient and modern understandings of Sparta suffer from idealisation and, hence, unreliability. True as this may be, the Spartans themselves also suffered from a kind of ‘Spartan mirage’, an idealised and unreliable view of their polity's mythical origins under the historically insubstantial lawgiver Lykourgos.

Visual distortions and illusions happen at twilight, as well as in the heat of the desert. In the Name of Lykourgos: The Rise and Fall of the Spartan Revolutionary Movement 243–146 BC is a thorough, well researched account of the ‘Spartan twilight’, an era that was less prone to idealisation. Still, as Miltiadis Michalopoulos shows, the image of the past retained its inspirational power even as Sparta’s political and military might weakened, after its defeat in 371 BC by Theban troops at Leuktra.

Despite the loss of prestige and soldiers, and the revolt of the helot population of Messenia, a reduced Sparta staggered through the ‘general economic, social and moral crisis of the Classical world’ during the 3rd century BC. While other city-states accommodated themselves to the states and empires of the Hellenistic world, Sparta endured, even as its warlike traditions led it into disastrous battles first with Macedonia and the Achaean League, then with Rome.

This survival owed much to the revolutionary revival that began in the reign of Agis IV, who ascended the throne of ‘a poor and weak city of seven hundred citizens’ in 245–4 BC. Agis, like many contemporaries, subscribed to the ‘naïve theory’ of revivalism. In Sparta’s case, this meant the ancient traditions of equality and militarisation. His plan to reallocate land brought him into conflict with his cosmopolitan and ‘anti-Lykourgic’ co-monarch Leonidas II. But in 241 BC, Leonidas II’s men strangled Agis.

Leonidas II, then, established a ‘regime of terror and intense censorship’ against anything that smacked of Agis’ ideas, and married his son Cleomenes III to Agis’ widow. Irony being a concept with Greek origins, Cleomenes III continued Agis’ reforms after his ascent to the throne in 235 BC. He reduced the power of the ephorate, the elected component of Sparta’s Lykourgic constitution. He weakened the Gerousia, the Lykourgic council of elders, by creating a rival, a six-member patrinomoi. He also appointed his brother Eukleidas to the vacant throne of Sparta’s other royal house, the Eurypontidai, giving Sparta ‘two kings from the same house for the first time in history’.

In 227 BC, Cleomenes III cancelled debts, increased the citizen body by 3,500, and added his family’s holdings to a land redistribution. He also revived the agora, the programme of military training. To confirm Sparta’s revival, in 229 BC the tiny state went to war with the Achaean League, and supplanted the League as the most powerful alliance in the Peloponnese.

But the revival was too successful, and too Spartan. Cleomenes was a ‘social revolutionary’ for Spartans, not for all the peoples of the Peloponnese. His Sparta stood on as narrow a base as Lykourgos’ original Sparta. The Achaean appealed to Macedonia for help. In 222 BC, Cleomenes’ army was defeated at Sellasia. Captured for the first time in its history, Sparta was incorporated into the Hellenic League. Yet Sparta reclaimed a leading role in Greek affairs under Nabis (207–192 BC), the ‘last of the Spartans’, who continued Cleomenes’ reforms, held off the Achaean, and rebuilt Sparta’s power by playing Rome against Philip V of Macedonia. In 195 BC, the Roman general Lucius Mummius invaded Greece. The mirage of Sparta’s ‘Lykourgic polity’ survived that, too. The strangest of all political acts committed in the name of Lykourgos was the creation of Roman Sparta, a peaceful ‘museum city’ for tourists.

Dominic Green

The Rise of Athens: The Story of the World’s Greatest Civilisation

Anthony Everitt

Amberley

384pp, 40 illustrations (26 in colour)

Paperback, £20

The claim that Athens represents ‘the world’s greatest civilisation’ is a very familiar one. Overlooking conflicts and slavery and
BOOK REVIEWS

**The Rise of Athens**

**Anthony Everitt**

The Rise of Athens: The Story of the World’s Greatest Civilisation

Reaktion Books

208 pages

106 maps, 41 colour and 10 black-and-white illustrations, 2 maps

Hardback, £15

Noteworthy individuals appear throughout the book. We learn about key players, such as Themistocles, Solon, Pericles and Socrates, not just their definitive deeds, but also tales from their lives. Cylon, for example, who attempted a coup, has the glory of winning the *diaulos* (a foot race of about 400m) in the Olympic Games of 640 BC.

*The Rise of Athens* may not offer radical new insights into the *polis*, but it serves as a lively, heartfelt celebration of its achievements and as an introductory history of the ancient city-state for the general reader.

Lucia Marchioni

**Lost Civilizations: The Persians**

Geoffrey Parker and Brenda Parker

Reaktion Books

208 pages

106 maps, 41 colour and 10 black-and-white illustrations, 2 maps

Hardback, £15

The second in the *Lost Civilizations* series from Reaktion Book (the first was Andrew Robinson’s *The Indus*) *The Persians* is also a compact, concise history of a whole civilisation – from its nomadic origins in the 1st millennium BC to its new role as a tourist destination as modern-day Iran.

Shaped by climate, geographical position and being viewed by Europe as ‘other’, part of the mysterious East, Persia has fiercely defended its independence, over centuries influencing and conquering its neighbours in equal measure.

At the height of its power, in 525 BC under Cyrus II, the vast Achaemenid Empire that he founded stretched from Thrace and Cyrene in Libya in the West to beyond Kabul and Samarkand in the East.

According to Herodotus, Cyrus the Great pronounced: ‘We shall so extend the empire of Persia that its boundaries will be God’s own sky... I shall pass through Europe from end to end and make it one land.’ This smacks of hubris (overweening pride which attracts its own nemesis) known all too well to the Greeks who made sure his plans were not successful. Persepolis, built by Darius I, has been described as ‘a gigantic living monument – a conspicuous demonstration of the Persians’ rise from rude nomads to world masters, a colossally modest salute to their own glory’. More hubris – it was destroyed by Alexander the Great in 330 BC after he had defeated Darius III and gone on to conquer the Persian Empire.

There were further defeats by the Arabs in AD 642 and by Tamerlane in 1380. Then, in 1739, the Persian Nadir Shah invaded India, sacked Delhi, took the Peacock Throne home and made it the symbol of the Shahs. The last Shah of Iran was enthroned at Persepolis. Hubris again – do they never learn? He was dethroned by the Iranian Revolution in 1979 and exiled. Tellingly, the book’s useful chronology ends in 2001 with the destruction of the Twin Towers. Today, Iran’s power and influence is far from waning.

Lindsay Fulcher

**London: A Life in Maps**

Peter Whitfield

The British Library

224 pages

106 maps, 70 illustrations

Paperback, £14.99

There is no better way of finding your way around the history of a city than through its historic maps. These onion-skin layers peel back through old roads and lost rivers, through fire and conflict, through commercial and industrial expansions to show how we arrived on the streets we walk today.

This new, redesigned edition of *London: A Life in Maps* comes 11 years after it first appeared. Not only does it bring the story of the post-Olympic city up to date, adding the King’s Cross development, it also has 33 new illustrations. Peter Whitfield is a map specialist who has written books on world cities, the oceans and the heavens. Here, his easy style puts London’s maps into the context of their times, of Shakespeare, Wren, of property developers, pleasure-seekers, merchants and the slum-poor.

The earliest surviving comprehensive picture of the city, drawn with buildings in three dimensions, was by the Flemish artist Anthonis van den Wyngaerde. Made in 1544 during the reign of Henry VIII, its inclusion of the royal palace at Greenwich suggests it was a royal commission. A dozen years later the first known street plan was made. Its origins are uncertain and no contemporary print survives, but copies were made from the metal plates on which it had
CLASSICAL CONUNDRUMS

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

Can you guess the correct definition of these words from the following three options?

1) desaevio (Latin)
   A) to rave furiously, rave away
   B) to be unaccustomed
   C) to tear apart

2) outeter (Ancient Greek)
   A) delicious, tasty
   B) a sandal
   C) one who wounds

3) ioenta (Homeric Greek)
   A) utter joy
   B) rusty, violet-coloured, dark
   C) seaweed

4) confodio (Latin)
   A) to muddle, make a mistake
   B) to transfix, stab; to dig up or over
   C) to decanter

5) sorbilo (Latin)
   A) to grow cold
   B) to become weak
   C) to sip

6) liparos (Ancient Greek)
   A) oily, shining, greasy
   B) charming, agreeable
   C) silent

7) remulcum (Latin)
   A) a tow rope
   B) a little oar
   C) a river bank

8) noton (Homeric Greek)
   A) a counsellor, a giver of advice
   B) a signpost
   C) the back, back portions

9) sufes (Latin)
   A) enough
   B) a judge or chief magistrate
   C) a tablecloth

10) pidakoeis (Ancient Greek)
    A) an altar offering
    B) gushing
    C) a rain shower

11) titubanter (Latin)
    A) diagonally
    B) impulsively, without deliberation
    C) totteringly, hesitatingly, falteringly

12) kalia (Ancient Greek)
    A) a wooden house, hut, cabin
    B) a child's toy
    C) a hedge

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Roger Williams

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ANSWERS

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.
**UNITED KINGDOM**

**BRADFORD**

**Splendours of the Subcontinent: A Prince's Tour of India 1875–6**

As part of the 2017 UK-India Year of Culture, an exhibition of the gifts presented to Albert Edward, Prince of Wales (the future Edward VII) on his 1875–76 visit to India, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Pakistan will tour the UK. This is the first time these exquisite examples of Indian craftsmanship have been on show together since 1876–83 when they toured the UK and Europe. Included are precious gold objects, such as the enamelled gold inkstand (above) presented by the Maharaja of Benares, jewellery, silverware and ceremonial arms; watercolours and photographs also help to tell the story. **Splendours of the Subcontinent** will travel from Bradford to New Walk Museum and Art Gallery, Leicester (July) and to the Queen’s Gallery, Palace of Holyroodhouse (December), before returning to the Queen’s Gallery, Buckingham Palace in 2018. **Cartwright Hall**
+44 (0)1274 431212 (bradfordmuseums.org)

Until 18 June 2017.

**CIRENCESTER, Gloucestershire**

**Fresh Air 2017**

In its 13th biennial sculpture exhibition, a variety of vibrant contemporary works will be on show in the picturesque setting of Quenington Old Rectory’s five-acre garden, beside the River Coln. **Fresh Air 2017** features a mixture of media, styles and scales, with 75 artists (30 new to the show) taking part, many of them focusing on the theme of flora and fauna. Garden furniture, glass-works and ceramics, such as Peter Hayes’ Raku disc with a blue wave (below left) will all be there. **Quenington Old Rectory**
+44 (0)1285 750 358 (www.freshairsculpture.com)

From 11 June to 2 July 2017.

**EDINBURGH**

**Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites**

Love, loss, exile, rebellion and retribution all play a part in this exhibition that tells the real story of a turbulent period in European history, the rise and fall of the Jacobites and Charles Edward Stuart (better known as Bonnie Prince Charlie), which still carries with it a number of misconceptions. He landed on the Isle of Eriskay in 1745, and was the Jacobite Stuarts’ last hope of regaining the crown of England, Scotland and Ireland, after his grandfather James VII (of Scotland) and II (of England) was deposed and replaced by James’ Protestant daughter Mary and her husband William of Orange. But Charles was ultimately defeated in the Battle of Culloden. Many historic artefacts from Scottish collections and from across the UK and France, including spectacular objects given to Bonnie Prince Charlie, like his dress targe, a circular shield (below) presented to him by James, 3rd Duke of Perth, circa 1740, shed light on the Jacobites and their campaigns. **National Museum of Scotland**
+44 (0)300 123 6789 (www.nms.ac.uk)

From 23 June to 12 November 2017.

**Maria Merian’s Butterflies**

The German artist and entomologist, Maria Sibylla Merian (1647–1717), travelled to Suriname in 1699 and spent two years in, what was then, a Dutch colony studying and recording plants and animals, and the little-understood life-cycle of insects. Fine plates of her groundbreaking *Metamorphosis Insectorum Surinamensium* (Metamorphosis of the Insects of Suriname), part-printed and part-painted on vellum by Maria Merian’s own hand and acquired by George III for his scientific library at Buckingham House, tell the extraordinary story of this intrepid artist and her scientific endeavours. One example (above right) of her beautiful illustrations is *Branch of West Indian Cherry with Achilles Morpho Butterfly*, 1702–3. **The Queen’s Gallery, Palace of Holyroodhouse**
+44 (0)303 123 7334 (www.royalcollection.org.uk)


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Minerva May/June 2017
Sargent: The Watercolours

In this exhibition some 80 works by John Singer Sargent (1856–1925) reflect the artist’s technical talents and individuality during his fertile period of watercolour production between 1900 and 1918. Drawn to the flexibility of the medium, which allowed him to paint rapidly and with little preparation, Sargent used watercolour to escape the studio and work en plein air. He travelled through southern Europe and the Middle East, recording landscapes, architecture and people that he saw there. While his watercolours, such as The Church of Santa Maria della Salute, Venice, circa 1904–9 (below), and Rome: An Architectural Study, circa 1906–7, are often viewed and then overlooked as mere travel souvenirs, they actually form an important part of Sargent’s oeuvre as they reveal his distinctive way of seeing and composing, using close-ups, unorthodox and obscured viewpoints and dynamic poses.

Dulwich Picture Gallery
+44 (0)20 8693 5254
(www.dulwichpicturegallery.org.uk)
From 21 June to 8 October 2017.

Tunnel: The Archaeology of Crossrail

Artefacts unearthed at sites across London during the Crossrail project tell the story of 8000 years of human activity in the capital, covering many key historic events. The finds range from a Mesolithic flint scatter to a chamber-pot showing the Victorian sense of humour. Among other highlights are skeletons from the 1660s found buried in a mass grave

Tate Liverpool
+44 (0)151 702 7400
(www.tate.org.uk)
From 23 June to 15 October 2017.

LIVERPOOL

Portraying a Nation: Germany 1919–1933

The works of two artists, painter Otto Dix and photographer August Sander, are being exhibited for the first time, side by side, charting the Weimar Republic and Germany during the interwar years. More than 300 paintings, drawings, prints and photographs are displayed in two exhibitions, Otto Dix: The Evil Eye and ARTIST ROOMS: August Sander. Their work reflects the experimentation and innovation in visual arts during this pivotal period in Germany’s history and also both artists’ preoccupation with representing the extremes of society. Otto Dix’s harsh portrayals of German society – including his Reclining Woman on a Leopard Skin, 1927 (below) – and the brutality of war, mainly produced in Düsseldorf between 1922 and 1925, when he became a leading New Objectivity painter, are complemented by August Sander’s expansive series People of the Twentieth Century. Together they offer a collective portrait of a nation.

British Museum
+44 (0)20 7323 8299
(britishmuseum.org)
From 25 May to 13 August 2017. (Closed from 3-6 July for a partial rotation of the exhibits.)

LONDON

Hokusai: beyond the Great Wave

Perhaps the most famous image in Japanese art is the iconic print The Great Wave, circa 1831, by Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849). The first UK exhibition to focus on the productive last 30 years of the artist’s life, explores his later works both chronologically and thematically. Paintings, drawings, woodblock prints and illustrated books, from the British Museum’s own collection, and loans from Japan, Europe, and the United States (many on show in the UK for the first time), reveal aspects of Hokusai’s personal beliefs and interests. Among the highlights are prints from the famous series Thirty-Six Views of Mt Fuji, such as Clear day with a southern breeze (‘Red Fuji’), 1831 (above), which revived his career in the early 1830s after difficulties in the previous few years. The light sensitivity of some pieces means they can only be shown for a limited period. So for conservation reasons, there will be a rotation of about half of the 110 works on display midway through the exhibition.

Minerva May/June 2017

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PHOTOGRAPH: CAROLYN GALLAGHER, MAKAYA MARSDEN.
near Liverpool Street, which tested positive for the Plague pathogen, and a rare Roman copper alloy medallion of Emperor Philip I (above), issued to mark the New Year celebrations in AD 245, only the second known example from Europe.

Museum of London Docklands
+44 (0)20 7563 9844
(www.museumoflondon.org.uk)
Until 3 September 2017.

Canaletto and the Art of Venice
Joseph Smith (circa 1674–1770), an English merchant and later British Consul in Venice, was the greatest patron of art in the city at the time. In 1762, George III purchased almost all of Smith’s paintings, which made the Royal Collection pre-eminent in 18th-century Venetian art in the world. It includes the largest number of works by Canaletto. More than 200 paintings, drawings and prints by this famous Venetian painter and his contemporaries demonstrate how they captured the allure of the city. Not only did Canaletto and others meticulously record the vibrancy of the city, they also developed the capriccio fantasies, as in Marco Riccis’ Caprice View with Roman Ruins, circa 1729 (below). The Queen’s Gallery,
Buckingham Palace
+44 (0)20 7766 7300
(www.royalcollection.org.uk)
From 19 May to 12 November 2017.

Queer British Art 1861–1967
Marking the 50th anniversary of the partial decriminalisation of male homosexuality in England and Wales, this is the first exhibition devoted to queer British art. It explores lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and queer (LGBTQ) identities in the arts – from the abolition of the death penalty for sodomy in 1861 to the passing of the Sexual Offences Act in 1967. With a variety of works covering the public and the personal, the playful and the political, it looks at the role of queer art in society, ceded desires, women who defied convention, and Sixties Soho. Works by Francis Bacon, Cecil Beaton, Duncan Grant, Evelyn de Morgan, and more are shown alongside films, magazines, personal photographs, ephemera, and objects such as the door from Oscar Wilde’s prison cell.

Tate Britain
+44 (0)20 7887 8888
(tate.org.uk)
Until 1 October 2017.

Alberto Giacometti
Best known for his elongated bronze figures, Alberto Giacometti (1901–66) was also a skilled painter and draughtsman and he sculpted in other materials. More than 250 works, including significant loans from Paris’ Fondation Alberto et Annette Giacometti, chart his career and demonstrate how he has earned his place among the great 20th-century painter-sculptors, such as Matisse, Picasso and Degas. This exhibition examines the Swiss artist’s work with Surrealism and the themes of brutality and sadism, his interest in Egyptian and African art, his fusing of ancient and modern styles, his relationship with the decorative arts, and his interest in scale and perspective. As well as his iconic bronze figures, which in their isolation personify the despair that was rife in post-war Paris, rarely seen fragile plaster works will be on show. One example is the group Women of Venice, 1956 (seen in a photograph with the artist, above), created for the Venice Biennale and now brought together for the first time since then.

Tate Modern
+44 (0)20 7887 8888
(tate.org.uk)
From 10 May to 10 September 2017.

Gilded Interiors: French Masterpieces of Gilt Bronze
In late 18th-century France, gilt bronze was used to create luxurious but useful objects, such as clocks, candelabras and firedogs, and also to embellish furniture and porcelain. But these works, many of which were designed by the foremost architects and modelled by leading sculptors, are often overlooked as an art form. The last word in luxury, gilt bronze works were commissioned and owned by the wealthiest in French society, including Marie-Antoinette, and international patrons, such as the Prince of Wales (later George IV). Alongside the glittering objects on show are highly-detailed drawings by architect and interior designer Pierre-Adrien Pâris (1745–1819) – on view for the first time in the UK – which illustrate how the Classical ruins of ancient Rome provided inspiration both for architects and decorative artists.

Wallace Collection
+44 (0)207 563 9500
(www.wallacecollection.org)
From 4 May to 30 July 2017.
OXFORD

Raphael: The Drawings
Spanning the career of Raphael (1483–1520), from his early years in Umbria to his triumphs in Florence and Rome, this exhibition brings together over 100 works from international collections, in an attempt to transform how we look at his work by focusing on the immediacy and expressiveness of his drawings. Studies for major projects, such as the Vatican frescoes, and for Transfiguration, his final painting, which he worked on up until to his death, with drawings such as Detail of Study of Two Apostles for the 'Transfiguration' (above) reveal his astounding visual language.

Ashmolean Museum
+44 (0)1865 278000
(www.ashmolean.org)
From 1 June to 3 September 2017.

UNITED STATES

NEW YORK, New York

Mummies
The most iconic symbol of ancient Egypt is the mummy. This exhibition reveals the secrets of mummmification using modern scientific techniques, rare artefacts and cutting-edge imagery. Egyptian mummies are displayed alongside others from Peru, where numerous different cultures practised mummmification thousands of years ago.
American Museum of Natural History
+1 212 769 5100
(www.amnh.org)
Until 7 January 2018.

Minerva May/June 2017

Age of Empires: Chinese Art of the Qin and Han Dynasties (221 BC–AD 220)
The fleeting Qin dynasty (221–206 BC) and much longer Han dynasty (206 BC–AD 220) unified China, bringing about political stability, prosperity and a golden age in art, literature and technology. More than 160 works, including terracotta warriors, ceramics, metalwork, textiles, calligraphy, painting and architectural models, on loan from collections in China examine how art helped create a new and lasting cultural identity. Featuring new research and archaeological discoveries from the past 50 years, the exhibition also reveals ancient China’s relationship with other parts of the world.
Metropolitan Museum of Art
+1 20 27 37 45 15
(www.metmuseum.org)

Paradise of Exiles: Early Photography in Italy
Daguerreotypes and photographs from Italy, dating from between 1839 (the year photography was invented) and 1871 (the year Italy became a unified nation), are brought together in this exhibition to give a picture of the country as an important centre of exchange and experimentation in the development of this new medium, with foreign travellers capturing its distinctive monuments and landscapes. One example is Temple of Vesta, circa 1855 (above), a salted paper print by Pietro Dovizielli (1804–85). This show celebrates the little-known contribution of Italian photographers to the early decades of the new art form, and also reflects how they used daguerreotypes and paper negatives to represent their cultural heritage at a time of great political change.
Metropolitan Museum of Art
+1 20 27 37 45 15
(www.metmuseum.org)
Until 13 August 2017.

PHILADELPHIA, Pennsylvania

Cultures in the Crossfire: Stories from Syria and Iraq
Many spectacular ancient sites in Iraq and Syria, such as Nimrud, Aleppo and Ebla, have suffered greatly from being caught in the crossfire in recent and ongoing conflicts. This exhibition looks at the often deliberate destruction of cultural heritage and the work being done by the University of Pennsylvania, the Smithsonian...
Institute, and others in the Middle East to stop this devastation. It also celebrates the diversity of the area, with limestone funerary busts from ancient Palmyra, such as Mortuary Portrait of Yedid, 1st-2nd centuries AD (above), which combines Roman sculptural elements with local stylistic details. Also on show are Arabic manuscripts and works by contemporary Syrian artist Issam Kourbaj.

**Penn Museum**
+1 215 898 4000
(www.penn.museum)
Until 26 November 2018.

**DENMARK**
**COPENHAGEN**

*War and Storm: Treasures from the sea around Sicily* 
Warships destroyed in sea battles and merchant vessels wrecked off the coast of Sicily over three millennia have yielded extraordinary objects that form the basis of this exhibition. Highlighting the importance of the island as a key spot for trade and cultural exchanges as well as the dangers of travelling by sea, Phoenician, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Arab and Norman artefacts are all on show. Helmets and beak-heads speak of naval battles fought long ago, while amphorae, since taken over by coral (below), reflect the trade networks along with grander items, such as a life-size elephant’s foot cast in bronze, which was probably part of a complete bronze elephant, the rest of which remains lost beneath the waves.

**Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek**
+45 33 41 81 41
(www.glyptoteket.com)
From 6 April to 20 August 2017.

**FRANCE**
**LENS**

*The Le Nain Mystery* 
The three Le Nain brothers, Antoine, Louis and Mathieu, made an important contribution to 17th-century French painting, yet questions over attribution gripping art historians. They produced country scenes populated by peasants, large-format religious works, sensuous mythological paintings, such as Louis Le Nain’s *Venus at the Forge of Vulcan*, 1641 (below) and small copperplate etchings. As well as featuring works from across the Le Nains’ careers, grouped together according to style to identify each brother’s artistic personality, the exhibition also examines their legacy.

**Musée du Louvre-Lens**
+33 32 11 86 321
(www.louvrelenz.fr)
Until 26 June 2017.

**PARIS**
**France-Germany, 1870–1871:**
*War, Commune, and Memories* 
In the Franco-Prussian War, Paris was besieged and the Communards took over the city. This exhibition takes a fresh look at the conflict, presenting both the French and German points of view and setting the war in a larger chronological context. Objects, such as this *Aigle du 21e de ligne* (Eagle of the 21st Line) (left), paintings, sculptures, photographs and documents reveal the impact of the war and the political, military and ideological developments that took place as a result.

**Musée de l’Armée**
+33 810 11 33 99
(www.musee-armee.fr)
Until 30 July 2017.

*Picasso Primitive* 
Despite often denying that his work had any relationship with non-European art, Picasso’s personal art collection reveals that he was fascinated by it, and had pieces from Africa, Oceania, the Americas and Asia in his studios. Divided into two sections, *Picasso Primitive* first looks, chronologically, at the documents, letters, objects and photographs that tell the story of the artist’s admiration, respect and, even, fear of non-Western art. The second part compares Picasso’s works to those by non-European artists, focusing on themes such as nudity, sexuality, impulses and loss, rather than simply on stylistic links.

**Musée du quai Branly**
+33 1 56 61 70 00
(www.quaibranly.fr)

**The Power of Flowers: Pierre-Joseph Redouté** 
Often dubbed ‘the Raphael of Flowers’, Pierre-Joseph Redouté (1759–1840), combined science and art in his accurate botanical paintings. He recorded new plants, and art in his accurate botanical paintings. He recorded new plants, collected from all over the globe, that appeared in gardens, reproducing them meticulously and elegantly in watercolour on vellum. Appointed painter to Empress Joséphine and Queen Marie-Amélie, he was also an engraver, a publisher and a teacher. In this, the first exhibition in France completely dedicated to Redouté and his influence, more than 250 works on loan from various museums around the country will be on show.

**Musée de la Vie Romantique**
+33 1 55 31 95 67
(museequeromantique.paris.fr)
Until 1 October 2017.

**MONACO**

*Borderline* 
A dozen vast works by Philippe Pasqua, seven on display for the first time, explore the notion of limits and challenge society’s relationship with nature, particularly the fear of and fascination with the marine world, and commitments to protecting biodiversity in the oceans. Pasqua’s giant silver shark in a piece called...
**EVENTS**

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**THE HAGUE**

The Discovery of Mondrian

As part of the year-long celebration, Mondrian to Dutch design: 100 years of De Stijl, the Gemeentemuseum is, for the first time, exhibiting its entire Mondrian collection – the biggest in the world. More than 300 works covering every stage of his career – from his landscapes, painted in and around Amsterdam and Domburg, to his iconic grid paintings, such as Composition with red, black, yellow, blue and grey, 1921 (below) – will be on show. There will also be letters, photographs and personal belongings (such as the artist’s collection of gramophone records), including objects that are normally considered too fragile to display. To complete the scene, there will also be reconstructions of Mondrian’s Amsterdam, Paris and New York studios.

Gemeentemuseum
+31 (0)70 3381111 (www.gemeentemuseum.nl)
3 June to 24 September 2017.

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**UNITED KINGDOM**

**CAMBRIDGE**

Ancient and Classical Worlds Summer Programme

Learn about the ancient civilisations on courses taught by leading experts on this summer programme at Cambridge’s Institute of Continuing Education. The courses cover topics such as: the rise of civilisation in Mesopotamia and Mexico; the writing of the Old Testament; ancient Egyptian religion; Plato and Aristotle; Augustan poetry; and ancient astronomy. A series of lectures on the theme of Connections and Conflicts in art and ideas across ancient cultures complements the wide range of courses.

Institute of Continuing Education, University of Cambridge
9–22 July
www.ice.cam.ac.uk

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**LONDON**

Classical Archaeology Seminar 2016–17: Global Antiquities and Classical Archaeology

Globalising the Mediterranean’s Iron Age

Tamar Hodos
10 May, 17.00
Room 349, Senate House, University of London

From terra sigillata to china: Globalisations, moving objects and cultural imaginations in North West Europe

Martin Pitts
31 May, 17.00
Court Room, Senate House, University of London

London Roman Art Seminar (supported by the Institute of Classical Studies)

Wives of crisis? Portraits of women and their husbands in the 3rd century AD

Helen Ackers
8 May

How Rome was rebuilt: approaches to architectural restoration in antiquity

Christopher Siwicki
22 May
All seminars are on Mondays at 17.30
Room 243, South Block of Senate House, University of London
www.icls.sas.ac.uk

Royal Numismatic Society Lectures: Deformed Skulls and Buffalo Crowns: The Coinage of the Iranian Huns and their Successors

Klaus Vondrovec
16 May, 18.00
The Warburg Institute

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**UNITED STATES**

**NEW YORK**

TEFAF New York Spring Fair

After another exciting art fair in Maastricht, TEFAF travels to New York for the inaugural TEFAF New York Spring Fair. Although it specialises in modern and contemporary art and design, it includes exceptional antiquities from dealers worldwide. Among the exhibitors are Merrin Gallery, David Ghezelbash Archæologie, Phoenix Ancient Art and Charles Ede Ltd from London whose star items include a 7th-century BC Greek bronze Griffin head protome, and a rare Faliscan impasto ware olla, bearing an abstract depiction of a horse (below), dating from 600 BC.

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**COINAGE IN ROME AND THE ROMAN PROVINCES IV: THE HIGH EMPIRE**

Andrew Burnett
20 June, 18.00 (followed by AGM and Summer Party)

Spink & Son (numismatics.org.uk/society-meetings)

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**VARIOUS LOCATIONS**

**Helen**

Acts of Dionysus are taking Helen, their contemporary interpretation of the myth of Helen of Troy, on a short tour. In this dramatice version, which has a strong physical element and aerial feats, the privileged life of an icon falls apart when her husband is killed in a coup.

Forum Theatre, Malvern
10 and 11 May, 19.45

Bridge House Theatre, Warwick
12 and 13 May, 19.30

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**SWEET ST ANDREWS**, Hove

16 May, 18.00; 17 and 18 May, 13.30 and 19.30; 19 May, 13.30 and 18.00 (www.actorsofdionysus.com)

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**QATAR**

**DOHA**

Imperial Threads: motifs and artisans from Turkey, Iran and India

Exploring artistic and cultural exchanges in Turkey, Iran and India in the early modern era, this exhibition centres on carpets made in Timurid and Safavid Iran, Ottoman Turkey and Mughal India. The Timurids helped shape aspects of the Safavid, Ottoman, and Mughal empires, and introduced new artistic styles and practices, mixing semi-nomadic traditions with existing elements of Persian culture. Manuscripts, metalwork and ceramics all help to set the carpets in their wider historic and artistic contexts.

Museum of Islamic Art
+974 4442 4444 (mia.org.qa)
Until 4 November 2017.

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**NETHERLANDS**

**AMSTERDAM**

Turkish Tulips

Tulips are forever associated with the Netherlands but in this exhibition, curated by British artist Gavin Turk, the trade routes that brought them here from Turkey are traced. Contemporary works featuring them here from Turkey are traced.

Museum Van Loon
+31 20 624 5255
www.museumvanloon.nl
Until 29 May 2017.

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**NETHERLANDS**

**OCEANOGRAPHIC MUSEUM OF MONACO**

2016 (above), www.museumvanloon.nl

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**MINERVA**

May/June 2017

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