From Eden to Empire

Thomas Cole paints the rise and fall of civilisation
The Trojan War – an enduring epic for all time
Classical buzz – bees in the Roman world
Nîmes museum – history in a glass toga
Ötzi – the Iceman in fact and on film
Burne-Jones’ Pre-Raphaelite vision
The Goddess – in Neolithic idols
ROMAN MARBLE RECTANGULAR OSCILLUM: EROS RIDING A DOLPHIN

Reverse: Nude Dionysos and Ampelos. The bearded god of wine, having over-imbibed, holds a rhyton (wine cup) in his right hand, a chlamys over his shoulder. His nude companion, the young satyr Ampelos, supports him while stroking a panther. Mounted to revolve on a wood base.

Ca. 3rd Century AD       L. 18 1/8 in. (46 cm.); H. 12 1/4 in. (31 cm.)

Ex Nicholas Koutoulakis, Geneva, in the 1970’s, thence by descent.

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Idols, empires & ice

From inspirational goddesses, visionary artists and an enduring iceman to ancient bee-keeping, Gallic-Roman culture and the myth and reality of Troy

With its sparkling white marble buildings, the fantastical city on our cover could be the capital of Atlantis, or even Utopia. In fact, it is part of the third painting in a series of five works entitled The Course of Empire, by the Anglo-American artist Thomas Cole (1801–48). The first painting, The Savage State, shows nature wild and untamed; in the second, The Pastoral or Arcadian State, people are beginning to make an impact on the landscape, engaging in agriculture, rudimentary architecture, ship-building and other crafts. The third, entitled The Consummation of Empire (our cover image), presents us with a gleaming vision of a great prosperity tipping over into decadence: an emperor is conveyed across a bridge in a golden chariot and the whole city bathed in blinding sunlight. But all good things come to an end; as can be seen in the final two works entitled Destruction and Desolation.

Cole was inspired by the work of Claude, Constable and Turner but the impulse to paint this series came from visiting the ruins of the Roman Empire, which he saw during a trip to Europe from 1829–32. Dominic Green, who lives in the United States, draws some interesting parallels between past empires and their modern counterparts; turn to pages 14 to 20. You can see Thomas Cole’s work at London’s National Gallery till 7 October and decide for yourself whether he was a prophetic or visionary painter.

On pages 34 to 40, Dominic writes about another, very different ‘visionary artist’ – Edward Burne-Jones. Unlike Cole in both style and inspiration, his vision was not ecological, political or historical, but aesthetic and mythical. Burne-Jones (1833–98) is an artist whom people either seem to adore or abhor. One of the great Pre-Raphaelites, he was lionised in his day, then fell from favour until his centenary in 1933, and the 1970s when his work became extremely popular again. The show at the Tate, which opens on 24 October, is the first major retrospective of his work for more than 40 years. You can read about Burne-Jones, on pages 34 to 40 and decide if you find his work beguiling or boring.

Artists are often idolised but, on pages 22 to 27, we look at some ancient objects of veneration, idols from prehistory which embody the ‘Great Goddess.’ They have inspired artists and poets, such as Picasso and Robert Graves, and anthropologists, notably Marija Gimbutas whose theory of the dominance of early matriarchies reigned supreme during the 1970s.

Whether Ötzi the Iceman lived in a matriarchy is not known – what is sure is that he would have to have been a pretty macho chap to have survived in the Alps 5300 years ago. Ötzi, you may remember, was the name given to a mummified male body discovered by some German hikers in a glacier in 1991. He was named Ötzi after the Ötzal Alps where he was found and he now resides in the specially built South Tyrol Museum of Archaeology. An unusual film, ICEMAN, that tries to recreate his life – and even his language – is reviewed by archaeologist David Miles on pages 28 to 33.

Ötzi was frozen in the ice but most evidence of past civilisations is buried underground. Troy, for example, written about so eloquently by Homer in the 8th century BC, turned out to be much more than fictional. It was excavated in the 1870s by Heinrich Schliemann, who used clues from the Iliad to locate it. He not only found the site of the fabled walled city (or cities – for there are many Troys built one on top of the other) but also discovered gold jewellery and treasure. Archaeologists, though, are still trying to find out who exactly laid siege to its mighty walls; see pages 8 to 12.

Another great ancient poet, namely Virgil (70–19 BC), used Troy as a starting-point for his epic, the Aeneid. He also wrote about agriculture and life in the Roman countryside in his much-loved poem, the Georgics. But when Virgil tells us about bees and bee-keeping he is not simply giving us a natural history lesson, there is a political message embedded in that buzzing hive. Turn to pages 42 to 45 to discover what it is.

Another way to find out more about life under the Romans is to visit the splendid new museum at Nîmes in southern France. The integration of the local Gallic people into the Roman Empire was brought about not only by military force but by gradual cultural absorption – although not all the local beliefs and practices were forgotten, as you can see on pages 46 to 50.

For our wise and witty book reviews turn to pages 52 to 55; our very useful Calendar is on pages 56 to 61.

Lindsay Fulcher

Lucy Shackleton

is a teacher of Classics at the Godolphin and Latymer School in Hammersmith where she has taught since 2005. She holds an MA Honours degree in Classics from Girton College, University of Cambridge. Her teaching career has also taken her from Watford to China and Colombia. She now lives in southeast London with her husband and three children.

David Miles

is an archaeologist and author, who spends his time between the UK and southern France. His most recent book is The Tale of the Axe (Thames & Hudson); his next, The Land of the White Horse: a prospect of England and beyond (Thames & Hudson) will be published in 2019.

Naoise Mac Sweeney

is an Associate Professor of Ancient History at the University of Leicester. Her research focuses on Greek myth and Greek interactions with the Near East and on both the ancient and modern history of Turkey. Her most recent books, Troy, Myth, City, Icon, and Homer’s Iliad and the Trojan War, were both published this year by Bloomsbury.
Following the refurbishment of the Sir Joseph Hotung Gallery of China and South Asia, which opened in November 2017, it is the turn of the British Museum’s outstanding collection of Islamic art to be displayed in an exciting new setting.

Set out in a specially designed first-floor space, the Albukhary Foundation Gallery of the Islamic World is named after its Malaysian-based philanthropic organisation that has funded it and replaces the John Addis Gallery of Islamic Art near the museum’s North Entrance.

The new gallery will have low-light areas for the display of light-sensitive materials, such as the stunning 14th-century Persian and 16th-century Mughal manuscript paintings, such as Emperor Akbar’s *Hamzanama*, and magnificent Ottoman and Central Asian textiles. The exhibits come from all areas of the Islamic world: Spain, the Middle East, Africa, India, Central Asia and Moslem South-East Asia. These will be displayed in chronological order, from the 7th century to today.

Other treasures on display include: rare 9th-century fragments of figurative wall-paintings from Samarra in Iraq and a 13th-century incense-burner made of intricately inlaid metalwork from Damascus.

Relations between European and Islamic culture, the place and role of non-Moslem communities, including Hindu, Zoroastrian, Jewish and Christian groups, and the paramount importance of trade and patronage, will all be examined. This is in line with the Albukhary Foundation’s policy that was behind *Hajj: Journey to the heart of Islam*, a highly successful exhibition held in the museum in 2012, which won an award because it displayed ‘... shared values by paying tribute to major institutions, leading figures and sponsors active in the promotion of values of peace and coexistence’.

Venetia Porter, Assistant Keeper of Islamic and Contemporary Middle East. She is also the curator of the new gallery, where visitors can discover how Islamic art developed from the middle of the 19th century onwards and also see examples of modern and contemporary Islamic art.

As Venetia Porter explained: ‘We want to explore how our collections represent what happened after the collapse of the Ottoman empire, colonialism and the formation of the new nation states taking us right up to the present day. This gallery, placed right at the heart of the museum, will demonstrate how all our cultures interconnect and... we hope will enable people to look at the cultures of Islam from Spain to China in a deep and different way.’

In fact, the Albukhary gallery reflects both Porter’s wide-ranging and scholarly interests and her inventive and adventurous spirit. Her knowledge of the Middle East is first-hand because she grew up in the Lebanon with her mother, the celebrated fashion designer Thea Porter, who introduced the exotic fabrics and intricate patterns of the Islamic world to London fashion in the 1970s.

Another temporary display, from the Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia in Kuala Lumpur, explores the arabesque, an abstract vegetal motif that was popular across the Islamic world for over 1000 years.

• The Albukhary Foundation Gallery of the Islamic World will open to the public on 18 October.

Dalu Jones

Minerva September/October 2018
Expanded interiors

Contemporary artworks have been installed inside the ‘House of the Beautiful Courtyard’ in Herculaneum and the ‘House of the Cryptoporticus’ in Pompeii. These sites are the backdrop for Expanded Interiors, a project aiming to create a dialogue between contemporary art, Roman wall-painting and archaeological remains.

The driving-force behind it is Catrin Huber, a visual artist and senior lecturer in the Fine Art Department at the university of Newcastle. She has assembled a team of experts in archaeology and digital technology, including Professor Ian Haynes, Dr Thea Ravasi and Alex Turner and, in contemporary art, Rosie Morris, – all from the university – in order to explore the relevance of Roman art and artefacts for today’s artists and to see how they respond to the layered history of these two iconic sites within a contemporary context. Expanded Interiors combines archaeological investigation, 3D digital scanning and printing to further explore and understand the two ancient houses.

The £270k venture promises to be an arresting experience: ‘The project will enable people to see contemporary art in a unique and truly inspiring setting,’ said Huber, ‘and we will use this once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to create work that responds to the two Roman houses, and to Herculaneum and Pompeii. ’Both houses feature beautiful wall paintings, and this will inspire us to explore the design and purpose of these houses. The digital techniques we use will also help to promote fresh ways of exhibiting artefacts at archaeological sites.’

The exhibition at Herculaneum focuses on Roman objects and their artistically altered replicas, concentrating on female figures, and brings reproductions of exquisite, rarely seen artefacts from store-rooms back into the public arena. This contemporary installation also works with encoded messages relating to the history and context of the site; the ‘House of the Beautiful Courtyard’, for example, was home to an Antiquarium (or small museum) opened there in 1956 by Amedeo Maiuri, the archaeologist and director of the site at the time.

The exhibition at Pompeii responds to the recently restored wall paintings in the ‘House of the Cryptoporticus’, where two installations of Huber’s wall paintings incorporate Roman objects. One painting is in the underground passageway, or cryptoporticus, decorated with a frieze that is part of a sequence of painted panels and herms.

Huber’s work juxtaposes the Roman frieze with the painted colonnade incorporating replicas of objects such as oil lamps and face-pots, bridging the ancient and contemporary worlds.

A second contemporary installation, in the ‘House of the Cryptoporticus’, is a room of contemporary wall paintings. These relate to the rare Roman bathroom area of the house, with its richly painted, complex and illusionistic architectural designs. The contemporary paintings respond to a complex play of 2D and 3D space, open and closed walls, inside and outside space, and perspectival shifts.

• Both exhibitions are open to the public until January 2019. (www.expandedinteriors.co.uk)

Lindsay Fulcher

A ‘phenomenal’ find in Suffolk

Archaeologists who unearthed a ‘phenomenal’ Neolithic henge complex, near Woodbridge in Suffolk, six months ago have been uncovering exciting finds. The 4000-year-old henge – a circular monument dating to the Neolithic and Bronze Ages – consists of a ditch with an external earthwork and a burial mound at the centre, explained the Project Manager Vinny Monahan of Archaeological Solutions in Bury St Edmunds. The henge ditch has a ‘perfectly preserved’ walkway, said Monahan, made of wood that, in some places, is ‘as good as the day it was placed in the earth. You can see tool marks, and… whether they were left-handed or right-handed,’ he added. The discovery of this large ceremonial complex is, he said ‘phenomenal’ and one of ‘international significance’.

Radiocarbon dating has revealed that the wood laid down for this Neolithic trackway dates to circa 2300 BC. Timber posts found suggest that the walkway may have led to a platform. The team has also uncovered the horned skull of an aurochs, a large, now extinct, wild ox, which seemed to have been cut so that it could sit on top of a pole or be used in a ritual. The skull has been dated as 2300 years older than the trackway itself, which suggests that it was a revered object that had been brought here deliberately. Part of a second horned skull, of a deer, has also been discovered and was probably used for similar ritual purposes, like those found at Star Carr in Yorkshire.

The natural water springs near the dig kept this trackway in good condition, and their presence may also explain why this particular site was chosen as ‘a special place’ more than 4000 years ago.

The henge area was found along East Anglia ONE, a cable route for an offshore wind farm, funded by Scottish Energy Renewables said that as a result of the finds, it was altering the 23-mile (34-km) cable route to go round the excavated area, which is 30 miles (48km) off the coast. As the site is one of 50 along the cable route, soon archaeologists may make other ‘phenomenal’ discoveries.

Lindsay Fulcher

Minerva September/October 2018
Lake Titicaca museum

Plans backed by UNESCO are advancing in Bolivia to create a €8.5 million underwater museum beneath Lake Titicaca. It will house some of the 20,000 objects retrieved from 20 submerged ritual sites, prehistoric ports and drowned villages, that have come to light in the past few years.

Speaking at the recent launch of the project, Bolivian culture minister Wilma Alanoca said: ‘It will be both a tourist complex and a centre for archaeological, geological and biological research, which will make it the only one in the world.’

Archaeological excavations have been conducted by Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB), led by Christophe Delaere, in collaboration with the Bolivian Minister of Culture. Last year archaeologists, from both Bolivia and Europe, uncovered the largest find of 10,000 pieces, including bone artefacts and kitchen utensils. The artefacts date from the pre-Tiwanaku period (AD 300–1150), which is thought to be the oldest culture in the Americas, to the Inca period (AD 1400–1532).

The lake, which is shared with Peru, was sacred to the Incas, particularly the Isola del Sol, near Copacabana, where Manco Capac, the son of the Sun God, and his wife Mama Ocillo, emerged to found the city of Cuzco. The population around the lake was far greater during the Inca period than it is today.

In late 2013 stone pumas and gold leaf fragments hammered into anthropomorphic forms were found off the island at around seven metres deep. ‘The pieces have incredible historical value, because they’re the first pieces of gold we discovered,’ said Delaere. The discovery led to a three-year exploration programme, and the ratification by Bolivia of the UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage.

‘The real problem with underwater archaeology is that nobody can go to see it,’ says UNESCO’s Paris-based Ulrike Guerin, whose responsibilities for the organisation’s marine archaeology include the proposed underwater museum off Alexandria, Egypt.

‘It is important that the local population is really involved,’ explains Guerin. ‘All the communities around the lake are taking an interest in the project.’

The 3200-square mile (8300-sq km) freshwater lake is 3810 metres above sea level, and reaches depths of around 1000 metres. For many decades, French oceanographer Jacques Cousteau, have been interested in what it holds.

Its water levels have risen and fallen over the centuries and, besides the build-up of silt from the rivers that feed the lake, the cold waters have protected the archaeological evidence from the corrosive effects of sunlight and oxygen.

There are about two months a year when conditions are suitable for exploration, which is expected to continue for at least a decade.

The museum will be sited at San Pedro de Tiquina, just to the south of Copacabana, near the spiritual and political centre of Tiwanaku culture. Part of the complex will be built on land, and a second building with a glass bottom will be half-submerged in the lake.

Roger Williams

Face to face with Julius Caesar

Was it love at first sight when Cleopatra tumbled out of a rug and instantly enchanted Julius Caesar? What was her initial impression of the man she felt compelled to take to bed to secure her place on the Egyptian throne?

The face (above) may have been close to what she saw on that fateful day in Alexandria in 48 BC. Here was a man in his early 50s (she was nearly 40), brown-eyed, slightly gaunt with narrow lips, a saddle-shaped crown, furrowed brow and receding, greying hair.

This new look Caesar is on show at the Dutch national archaeological museum, the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden. It was unveiled at the launch of Caesars in the Low Countries, a book by an archaeologist called Tom Buijtendorp, who is involved in this new reconstruction.

His research suggests that far from being the victorious general as he portrayed himself in Commentarii de Bello Gallico (The Gallic Wars), Caesar fought a substantial part of the Gallic Wars in northern Gaul, suffering his greatest defeat in the Low Countries, possibly near Maastricht. In fact, recent archaeological evidence indicates that the Romans’ bid to capture all the territory west of the Rhine was met with such resistance from the Belgic tribes that his plans to invade Britain were affected.

Dubbed Caesar in the Low Countries, the bust, made by physical anthropologist Maja d’Hollosy, is based on a bust of Caesar in Leiden museum’s collection. ‘Normally I make facial reconstructions based on the skull,’ says d’Hollosy. ‘This was the first based on a bust, and I had to rely on other people’s work.’

Her other sources were images thought to have been made in Caesar’s lifetime: the Tusculum bust in Turin and the image of Caesar on the silver portrait denarius struck by moneyer Marcus Mettius in Rome in 44 BC. Historical documents suggest his skin and eye colour. Most of the time, d’Hollosy says, she followed the museum’s bust, while reducing the unrealistically large size of the eyes and the Adam’s apple. In his book, Buijtendorp concludes that the skull of the Tusculum bust shows Caesar had a difficult birth, which resulted in an asymmetric skull. Combined with a receding hairline, this makes the bust more realistic.

‘Though questions about his appearance remain,’ admits Buijtendorp, ‘Cleopatra would have recognised this less heroic-looking Caesar better than the image we are used to.’

He hopes that his research will serve as a basis for further studies. ‘Given the growing fund of clues for Caesar’s presence in the Low Countries,’ he says, ‘new work lies ahead.’

• The new bust goes on show in The Netherlands in Roman Times at the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden from 4 September.

Roger Williams

Minerva September/October 2018
The Rothschild Pentateuch

The Rothschild Pentateuch is making its debut in a new exhibition showcasing the sacred texts of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The practitioners of these three faiths have been called ‘people of the book’ for their shared belief in the importance of divine word, rendered in medieval manuscripts in glowing gold and luminous colours on parchment.

Three spectacular examples from the Getty’s permanent collection, including a Christian Bible and a Qur’an, together with the newly acquired Torah, will be featured in this spotlight show. The acquisition of the Rothschild Pentateuch was made possible with the generous support of Jo Carole and Ronald S. Lauder.

‘The Art of Three Faiths: A Torah, a Bible and a Qur’an is on show at the Getty Center until 3 February 2019. (www.getty.edu)’

Lindsay Fulcher

The J Paul Getty Museum in California has acquired the Rothschild Pentateuch, the most rare and spectacular medieval Hebrew manuscript to become available in more than a century.

‘The Rothschild Pentateuch will be the greatest High Medieval Hebrew manuscript in the United States, and one of the most important illuminated Hebrew Bibles of any period,’ says Timothy Potts, Director of the J Paul Getty Museum.

‘Its richly illuminated pages – a great rarity in the 13th century – make it a work of outstanding quality and importance that represents the pinnacle of artistic achievement of its day. It will be one of the most signal treasures of the Department of Manuscripts and, indeed, of the Getty Museum overall.’

Created by an unknown artist and dated 1296, the manuscript’s pages are filled with lively decorative motifs, hybrid animals and humanoid figures, and astonishing examples of micrography – brilliant displays of minute calligraphic art in elaborate patterns and designs.

The vibrant colours and gleaming gold make this manuscript stand out from most other medieval Hebrew books, which followed a largely textual tradition. It also stands apart because of the quality and subject of its illuminations.

The text contains features that indicate it may have been written in France for Jewish emigrés who had been expelled from England in 1290. The illumination was probably completed in France or Germany. The Pentateuch contains the central sacred text of Judaism – the Torah in the strictest sense – comprising the Five Books of Moses: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy.

‘The manuscript’s lavish illumination divides the text into sections to be read weekly, so that the entire Torah would be read over the course of a year. The opening of each of the five books is celebrated with monumental Hebrew initials intertwined with lively marginal figures and, in one case, a full-page illumination.

With its seemingly endless variety of illuminated motifs, ranging from the imposing to the whimsical, the Rothschild Pentateuch is a prime example of the heights of originality and magnificence that Hebrew illumination achieved; it is the most extensive illuminated example of any northern European Hebrew Bible to survive from the Middle Ages.

In a rare deviation from the rest of the manuscript’s aniconic approach, there is one illumination featuring full human figures that was added at a later date. In the second half of the 15th century one page was replaced with a new insertion, carefully replicating both the text and commentaries. The folio can be identified as the work of Joel ben Simeon, one of the most celebrated Jewish artists known from the period. The replacement miniature represents the sole figurative narrative in the Rothschild Pentateuch, but was inspired with the same kind of ingenuity that characterises the rest of the manuscript.

‘This acquisition allows us to represent the three Abrahamic religions of the period, and for the first time brings a medieval Hebrew illuminated manuscript to the Los Angeles area,’ says Elizabeth Morrison, Senior Curator in the Getty’s Manuscripts Department.

The Rothschild Pentateuch was created six years after the Jews were expelled from England, perhaps for an English patron. It was carried through the centuries from France or Germany to Italy and Poland, and was eventually acquired by Baron Edmond de Rothschild at some point before 1920, and then given after the Second World War to a German-Jewish family, who later settled in Israel, as part of an exchange agreement.

‘The storied voyage of this manuscript follows the history of the Jewish diaspora across time and space. This newest addition to our collection will allow us to present a more inclusive story of the Middle Ages at a time when the Getty is increasingly looking to a global approach in the visual art,’ adds Morrison.

The Rothschild Pentateuch is making its debut in a new exhibition showcasing the sacred texts of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The practitioners of these three faiths have been called ‘people of the book’ for their shared belief in the importance of divine word, rendered in medieval manuscripts in glowing gold and luminous colours on parchment.

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‘The Art of Three Faiths: A Torah, a Bible and a Qur’an is on show at the Getty Center until 3 February 2019. (www.getty.edu)’

Lindsay Fulcher

Minerva September/October 2018
A substantial gold oval pendant with double granule beaded rim forming a border of gold wire wave pattern with gradule beads between each loop. Set to the centre a large sardonyx cameo deeply cut with a very fine bust of the god Cupid (Greek Eros) Estimate: £2,000 - £3,000
Troy story
Naoise Mac Sweeney examines our fascination with the tale of the Trojan War, which has held us in thrall ever since Homer’s *Iliad* was recited during the late 8th century BC, and continues today, as facts and findings from the site of Troy in Western Turkey are still being unearthed by archaeologists.


2. Heinrich Schliemann (1822–90), excavator of Troy and Mycenae.

The face that launched a thousand ships. A Trojan horse. An Achilles heel. The story of the Trojan War is so densely woven into the fabric of our culture that it is embedded in both language and idiom. From Birmingham to Beijing, people around the world have heard of the fateful passion between Helen and Paris, the gruelling war that lasted a decade, and the eventual sack of Troy. There are few stories that are so widely known, and few so widely loved.

When it comes to Troy, one question has consumed scholars and commentators for over a century – is the story true? The Turkish government officially designated 2018 as ‘The Year of Troy’, to mark both 20 years of the inclusion of the site on the UNESCO World Heritage Site list and the opening of the long-awaited Troy Museum in Çanakkale in August.

Media and popular interest has revived the search for an historical basis for the myth, with a major Hollywood documentary on the topic – *Myths and Mysteries* with Megan Fox on the Travel Channel – scheduled to air this autumn.

Yet our obsession with the truth of Troy is nothing new. The desire to prove the historicity of Homer’s *Iliad* drove the 19th-century businessman and adventurer Heinrich Schliemann to excavate at Hissarlik, a site in the Troad region that has since been confirmed as ancient Ilion (‘Ilion’ was an alternative name for Troy).

In antiquity, the geographer Strabo (63 BC–AD 23) debated the original location of the ill-fated city; the late 2nd-century BC scientist Hestiaeia researched the silting of rivers to determine the placement of the Achaean camp; and, in the 5th century BC, historian Herodotus argued that Helen spent the duration of the war in Egypt. But, unlike these early enquirers, today we have at our disposal a wealth of evidence – both archaeological and documentary – that can help us to get closer to the truth.

When the *Iliad* was composed in the late 8th century BC, the story of the Trojan War was already an old one. The myth was set in an earlier heroic era, at the transition between the Bronze and Iron Ages in the late 13th and early 12th centuries. Archaeological evidence suggests that Troy was a prosperous city around this time, a thriving hub for industry and trade, with a large population defended by strong fortifications. This level is known as ‘Troy VT’. This city seems to have been destroyed in a catastrophic event circa 1300 BC, when buildings collapsed, walls were knocked off their alignments, and parts of the settlement were ravaged by fire. Although early excavators thought this damage was evidence for the sack of Troy, it was more probably caused by an earthquake or other natural disaster. No weapons or remains of dead bodies were found in this level, and there are no signs of warfare. Perhaps most tellingly, the site was rebuilt almost immediately, without any significant cultural break.

In contrast, the destruction of the next phase of the site, known as ‘Troy VIIa’, is a much better candidate as the victim of hostile invasion. Evidence for burning can be found across the settlement, as can arrowheads and other projectile points. Even more dramatically, some of the dead were left where they fell, buried under debris and collapsed buildings. Someone had clearly sacked Troy at this point – but was it the Homeric Achaeans?

The societies of Late Bronze Age, or ‘Mycenaean’, Greece built palaces at some of the seats of the Homeric kings. These include Pylos and the palace of Nestor; Ayios Vasileos just outside Sparta, home of Menelaus; and Mycenae, itself, the seat of Agamemnon. Yet, despite best efforts, Mycenaeans remain have yet to be discovered either on Odysseus’ island home of Ithaka or in Achilles’ kingdom of Phthia in Thessaly. So, could the rulers...
of Mycenaean Greece, then, have been responsible for the sack of Troy VIIa? Unfortunately, the dates don’t match up. The sack dates to circa 1180 BC, more than 50 years after the Mycenaean centres of the Aegean were themselves burned and destroyed. So whoever razed Troy VIIa to the ground, it was not the kings of the Mycenaean Aegean. Some 70 years or so later, circa 1050 BC, the city was destroyed again. By this time, Troy was a smaller and more modest settlement, now known as ‘Troy VIIb’. As the surviving evidence is scant, it is hard to conclude much about the nature of this destruction.
although, once more, excavators suggest that it is far more likely to have been an earthquake than violent conflict. This third destruction, no less than the previous two, is a poor match for the myth of the Trojan War.

But archaeology is not the only source that can tell us about the Late Bronze Age wars at Troy. Among the archives of the Hittite Empire, to the east on the Anatolian plateau, are documents – in the form of baked clay tablets that bear writing in the cuneiform script – which mention a place called ‘Wilusa’, a name etymologically linked to ‘Ilium’, and which, following the geographical descriptions of the texts, must be located in the Troad.

The Hittite documents record no fewer than four conflicts fought in or around Wilusa. The first of these was in the late 15th century BC and involved Wilusa joining an alliance of western Anatolian states known as the ‘Assuwa Coalition’, an alliance that sought, unsuccessfully, to resist Hittite expansion. Although this conflict does seem to have resulted in defeat for Wilusa, it is unlikely to have inspired the tale of the Trojan War, as Troy’s attackers came not from the Mycenaean west but from the Hittite east. Intriguingly, a later mid-13th-century BC text, known as the ‘Tawagalawa Letter’, suggests that a Mycenaean king may even have fought on the side of the Assuwa Coalition in this particular war.

After this experience, Wilusa seems to have aligned itself strategically with the Hittites, and we next hear of a Hittite army coming to Wilusa’s aid against an unnamed enemy in the ‘Manapa-Tarhunta Letter’, written in the early 13th century BC. Although there is no way of knowing whether the unidentified aggressors were Mycenaeans, this conflict is also a poor correlation to the Trojan War because it apparently ended in victory for Wilusa and its Hittite allies, and not in a catastrophic sack of the city.

Comparably ill-matched is the next of Troy’s wars, fought within a generation of the last. Wilusa was not destroyed and, indeed, later rulers made a point of remaining loyal to the Hittites – as we hear in the mid-13th-century Alaksandu Treaty. This conflict, like the previous two, does not fit the pattern of the Trojan War. The same can be said of the fourth and last of Wilusa’s historically-attested wars. Towards the end of the 13th century, dynastic rivalries and the ascent of an anti-Hittite ruler to the Wilusan kingship led to Hittite military intervention, the removal of the usurper, and the installation of the Hittite’s preferred candidate on the throne.

Where does this leave us with finding an historical basis for the Trojan War? Frustratingly, although we have evidence for many wars at Troy around this time – at least one in the archaeological record and four documented in the Hittite cuneiform tablets – none is a good fit for the Homeric myth. Crucially, they show no firm evidence for the defeat and/or destruction of Troy by an Aegean-based power or coalition. Of course, this does not mean that such evidence will never be found – only that after a century and a half of dedicated research, we have yet to uncover it.

If the myth of the Trojan War is not based on an historical event, then where did it come from? Is it pure invention? An epic fiction? This quick survey of the evidence suggests that the story was not entirely the result of poetic imagination. Troy was the evidently the location of many different conflicts during the heroic age, the memories
of which must have been passed down in the oral tradition through the centuries. Early evidence for some of these traditions can be found at the site of Troy itself.

During the 11th and 10th centuries BC, in the layer known as ‘Troy VIIb3’, dramatic rituals focused on the surviving Bronze Age remains involved feasting, drinking and carefully staged bonfires. In the 9th century, in the earliest phases of what is known as ‘Troy VII’, the first temple was built, incorporating prehistoric walls and the Bronze Age fortifications into a sacred precinct. By the time the *Iliad* was composed in the late 8th century, Troy had been celebrating its heroic past for centuries. Perhaps over this time, the many wars of Bronze Age Troy came to be remembered as a single, larger-than-life conflict. And yet a sense of the multiple and complex nature of this history may have been preserved in the multiple and complex portrayals of the Trojan War myth in this early period. Although the *Iliad* may be the only epic telling of the tale that has survived today, there were many other contemporary poems that recorded different, and sometimes conflicting, versions of the story. We have fragments and the titles of some of these – the *Cypria*, the *Ilioupersis*, the *Aethiopis* – but many others must have existed. Some of these unknown works have left their mark on the poetry of the *Iliad*, in the rhythms and turns of phrase, and in the inclusion of linguistic patterns from different Greek dialects, as well as from indigenous Anatolian languages. Just as the wars of Troy were multiple, the story of the Trojan War was also multiple for the first few centuries of its existence, at least.

It was not until the 6th century BC that a single canonical text – the *Iliad* as we know it – emerged as the unchallenged and authoritative version of the Trojan War myth. From this point, it became a key educational and cultural reference point, first across the Greek world, and then later across the Roman empire. Indeed, it is impossible now to think of the story of the Trojan War without thinking of the Homeric vision of it, with its focus on human mortality; the tragedy of war; and the transcendence of *kleos* (glory or fame).

Perhaps we should be less concerned about the historicity of the Trojan War, and less worried about the possible factual underpinnings of the *Iliad*. Instead there is a deeper truth in the myths – a truth that lies not in the detail but in the wider insights about humanity, society and culture.
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From Eden to Empire

Dominic Green finds parallels between what is depicted in *The Course of Empire*, a series of epic paintings by the 19th-century Anglo-American artist Thomas Cole, that are currently on show at the National Gallery in London, and the political direction in which the United States seems to be heading today.
The course of empire never did run smooth. Violent in rise, agonised in decline, painful in fall, poignant in recollection, the imperial syllabus seems to follow its own rhythm, and teach its lessons regardless of its pupils’ preference. In his poem "Recessional," composed for Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee in 1897, Rudyard Kipling advised us to cultivate ‘A humble and a contrite heart,’ for if British power was at its apogee, then there was now only one way down: ‘Lo, all our pomp of yesterday Is of one with Nineveh and Tyre!’

The ascent to empire has many paths – even the path taken in a fit of absent-mindedness – but the downward slide is often more straightforward than the struggle to the summit, and often much faster than expected. The ‘captains and the kings’ always depart, and the fire must always sink on ‘dune and headland’. Enlightenment historians synthesised a theory of universal history from the grim record of imperial decline. Empires, they concluded, were an organic process, subject to natural laws.

The nature of American power, its resemblance and divergence from the classic imperial model, has fascinated and troubled Americans and non-Americans throughout American history. America fought and was founded against an empire, yet Thomas Jefferson conceived of it as an internal empire in the making, and New York remains the Empire State. The 20th century saw the extinction of European empires, yet it was also the ‘American century’, in which the United States attained unparalleled global influence.

Today, however, analysts and politicians sound the notes of "Recessional." Barack Obama tried to reduce America’s ever-growing global footprint and committed the United States to ‘nation-building at home’. Donald Trump campaigned with a similar theme, yet now he exhorts America’s allies to share the burden of sustaining the Western system. Is the arc of empire a fact of life, or simply an act of fate to be modified by wise choices?

London’s National Gallery is a fine medley of imperial architecture with its Graeco-Roman portico and Indo-Moorish towers. A perfect setting, then, for the contemplation of an exhibition of empire and of arts, "Thomas Cole: Eden to Empire." This collaboration between the National Gallery and the Metropolitan Museum of Arts in New York City presents 58 works, many shown for the first time in Britain. Its centrepiece is the series of five canvases depicting Cole’s epic imperial meditation, The Course of Empire, 1834–36.

Americans know Thomas Cole (1801–48) as the founder of the American landscape tradition and the inspiration of the Hudson
River School, still cherished for its epic portrayals of the Romantic wilderness in its Western aspect. Massive and dramatic vistas, such as View From Mount Holyoake, Northampton, Massachusetts after a Thunderstorm – The Oxbow, 1836, depict nature as powerful yet vulnerable, pristine yet easily violated. The environmental implications are obvious to the modern eye. They were also visible, albeit in a more explicitly political sense, to Cole’s contemporaries. He gloried in the unique terrain of the American Northeast, but he knew that most Americans gloried in its extensive and easily exploitable resources.

We can clearly see warnings of ecological collapse in Cole’s work but he also painted warnings of political failure, partly through mismanagement and moral failure, partly because, as the universal historians of the 18th century had discovered, history was itself a natural process. In the early 19th century, a network of towns was established across the Northeast, but the typical Northeasterner lived on a farm. This yeoman ideal from the Old World underpinned the ‘Jacksonian democracy’, which was advocated by the populist president Andrew Jackson.

Already, the days were passing in which a squirrel could climb up a tree on the coast of Massachusetts and, according to early settler legend, not have to touch paw to ground until it reached the Ohio River. New England had already lost most of its tree cover, felled to allow agricultural activity, for building and for firewood.

The new republic’s wide variety of natural resources and its infinite human resources in its fertile population, fuelled by perpetual immigration, propelled American society along a different line of development. In the 1830s, the balance of political and economic power began to shift towards cities and factories. That fault line was to recur in American politics, most recently in the struggle between ‘populists’ and ‘globalists’.

As the British journalist David Goodhart, the founder of Prospect magazine, has recently suggested, modern Western societies are divided between people from ‘somewhere’ and people from ‘anywhere’. That, though, is not a new or unique condition. It is a recurring presence in imperial societies.

Historians identify tension and incomprehension between the metropolis and the margin, the centre and the periphery. Long before Trump and Brexit, relations between the cosmopolitan Roman administrator and the brutish British tribesman, the monocultural British administrator and the multilingual Indian monarch, expressed recurring structural weaknesses in imperial systems.

Cole moved between two English-speaking worlds – one old, one
new. Today the British hardly know him, even though he was one of them. A self-taught artist, born in Bolton, Lancashire, in 1801, he learnt in early life what industrialisation looked and felt like, for his early training was as a worker in textile mills. From 1811 to 1816 he witnessed the rebellion of the Luddites and their burning of the hated mechanised mills. Then, in 1817, he emigrated to the Ohio Valley. In 1829, the businessman and patron Luman Reed sent Cole back to Europe in order to obtain a belated education in art. Over the next three years, Cole immersed himself in artistic society in London, Florence and Rome – in a living empire and a dead one – and in the work of his contemporaries, artists such as John Constable and JMW Turner.

Soon after arriving in London, Cole saw Constable’s Hadleigh Castle, The Mouth of the Thames – Morning after a Stormy Night, 1829. The tumbled rocks of the castle and the rough stones of the landscape form a single pattern, all eroded by the wind and washed by the rain. At dawn, the humans and the sheep are moving in ecological time, whether they know it or not. The tableaux of Claude Lorrain, with their departures at sunset from half-fantastical imperial ports, carried a similar sense of historical time and process. Cole also visited Claude’s English admirer JMW Turner, but they failed to hit it off. For, like a heroine in a Henry James novel, Cole had come to Europe in search of gentility, and was disappointed by the coarseness of one of the locals.

Arriving in Florence in 1831, Cole worked at figure drawing and plein-air sketching for eight months before moving to Rome in order to study the campagna, the countryside favoured by Claude. In Aqueduct near Rome, 1832 (1) the marching file of arches is broken, and foliage snakes up a tower. In Interior of the Colosseum, 1832 (7) the process is seen close-up, as natural vegetation eats into the mighty Roman landmark.

Inspired and chastened by his encounters with new art and old empires, Cole returned to New York in 1832. Over the next five years, he produced his most important and accomplished work. Cole tended more to the fatalism of Thomas Carlyle than the optimism of Carlyle’s American friend Ralph Waldo Emerson. If, Cole felt, America developed as an urban, commercial empire, rather than a nation of agrarian yeomen, then its rise would be a race towards destruction – out of Eden and into the Fall. This is the story and warning of The Course
The title of Cole's visionary sequence refers to Bishop Berkeley's optimistic Verses on the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America, written in 1726, but not published until 1752: "Westward the course of empire takes its way; The first four acts already past, A fifth shall close the drama with the day; Time's noblest offspring is the last."

The mood of Cole's vision is, however, closer to the pessimism of Byron's Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, written between 1812 and 1818: "Tis but the same rehearsal of the past, First Freedom and then Glory – when that fails, Wealth, vice, corruption – barbarism at last.

In the first canvas of The Course of Empire, The Savage State (2) a man clad in animal skins hunts at dawn in a wild, wooded landscape by the sea. In the second, The Arcadian or Pastoral State (3), the sun is up. Civilisation has reached the ideal of the Georgian antiquarian, as refined in the canvases of Claude. In this arcadia, trees have been felled for boat-building and part of the land cleared for farming, a miniature Stonehenge has been erected on a headland. The inhabitants play pipes and dance, while a child draws on a slab of stone and an old man traces lines in the dust.

In the larger, central canvas, The Consummation of Empire (4) the perspective has shifted to the other side of the bay, and we are on the far shore of history. It is noon, and the whole valley is thick with a forest of Classical marble columns. An emperor is carried in triumph across a bridge topped with gilded statues.

For all the Roman trappings of their political architecture and the spectacle of their public life, most Americans are uncomfortable with the idea that, since 1917, it has been their turn to don the imperial swords and sandals.

The fourth canvas, Destruction (5), resembles a Biblical apocalypse worthy of John Martin (1789–1854) – whose work Belshazzar's Feast, 1820, is included in the show. As a storm rages and clouds of smoke obscure the sun, the city is invaded by barbarians. The inhabitants flee for their lives, but the government has not maintained the infrastructure, and the bridge that was their escape route has collapsed. By the last picture, as the title tells
us, we have reached Desolation (6). The bay is placid as the moon rises and the long light of evening is reminiscent of Venetian decay. The overgrown ruins of the fallen city are merely picturesque, a prelude, perhaps, to an unpainted sixth canvas called Cultural Tourism.

For all the Roman trappings of their political architecture and the spectacle of their public life, most Americans are rather uncomfortable with the idea that, since 1917, it has been their turn to don the imperial swords and sandals. The United States is an empire to its own people, not an imperial ruler of other peoples. Yet America’s economic and military scale creates quasi-imperial relations with other countries. Donald Trump is only the latest president to express America’s discomfort and double vision on this point. Where does the United States now fall in the arc of empire? Perhaps we are on the hinge between the third and fourth paintings, between the orgiastic hedonism of The Consummation of Empire and the collapse of infrastructure and civility in Destruction. If you watch a lot of cable news, you may feel that we are well into Destruction, with more than a hint of Desolation in the rural ‘flyover country’ between the affluent coastal cities.

The founders of the United States knew their Tacitus and their Livy. The United States is an empire to its own people, not an imperial ruler of other peoples. They designed the Constitution to replicate the Roman republic’s better parts, and to pre-empt its worst outcomes – the inevitable slide into decay, despotism and civil war. They knew how poor management by the aristocratic Optimates led to the rise of the Roman Plebeian tribunes who ‘favoured the people’. They knew how populism accelerated the republic’s decline into oligarchy. Perhaps George Santayana, the Spanish-born philosopher (1863–1952), who is credited with the oft-quoted adage ‘those who cannot remember the past are doomed to repeat it’ was wrong, and Thomas Cole was right. Are even those who know their history still doomed to repeat it?

Thomas Cole: Eden to Empire is on show at the National Gallery (www.nationalgallery.org.uk) until 7 October.

Thomas Cole’s Journey: Atlantic Crossing, edited by Elizabeth Mankin Kornhauser and Tim Barringer, is published by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, at £50/$65.
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Robert Graves was obsessed by the White Goddess and projected his idealised image of divine femininity on to many of the women (he called them his ‘muses’) in his life – which caused him more than a few problems. Now, we have the chance to see her image embodied in many Neolithic figurines – made of different materials yet all riveting in their elegant simplicity of form and powerful, enigmatic presence – when they go on show in Venice on 15 September.

Entitled Idols: The Neolithic Revolution and the Representation of the Human Figure (4000 to 2000 BC), the exhibition is promoted by the Ligabue Foundation. This was created three years ago by Inti Ligabue, in memory of his father Giancarlo Ligabue (1931–2015), a palaeontologist, scholar, collector and businessman, who had dinosaurs named after him. Its purpose was to sponsor research in the sectors of archaeology and anthropology inspired by the 40 years of activity of the Ligabue Study & Research Centre in Venice.

Idols covers a wide geographical area and a long temporal spectrum from the Mediterranean world and Egypt to Iran and the Indus Valley, and from the late Neolithic period to the Bronze Age (circa 4000 major museums and private collections internationally, and also from the Ligabue collection itself. ‘Neolithic Revolution’ is a term coined in 1923 by the Australian archaeologist and philologist Vere Gordon Childe (1892–1957) who used it to describe the first in a series of social changes in Middle Eastern history when new agricultural practices were gradually adopted through a process that took place between 10,000 and 8000 BC.

This transition seems to be associated with a shift from a largely nomadic hunter-gatherer way of life to a more settled agrarian-based one that included the domestication of animals.

The Neolithic Revolution marks the passage from restricted local clans and tribal entities to more complex societies with large urban settlements. Here, new technologies, including metallurgy and writing, could develop while regular sea and east–west land routes brought new contacts and spread ideas.

Neolithic cultures worldwide are, however, still comparatively little known, and the relationship between the various regions of Europe, the Middle and Far East, which appear to share a similar system of beliefs and possibly even kindred social structures, are still shrouded in mystery. So it is a little disappointing that this otherwise remarkable exhibition does not include Neolithic anthropomorphic artefacts from the Far East, which have many traits in common with those on show.

This is especially true for the jade figurines with bulging eyes repre- sented sitting with their hands on their knees, and the clay statuettes of pregnant women found at Niuheliang, a site of the Hongshan culture in China (circa 3500–2000 BC), where archaeologists found stone foundations of ritual or ceremonial structures and a partly underground structure, believed to be a ‘Goddess Temple’.

Equally relevant are the Dogü, bizarre anthropomorphic low-fired clay artefacts made in Japan from the middle to the late Jomon period (circa 3000 to 1000 BC) and even

Dalu Jones pays homage to a diverse but powerful collection of imposing Neolithic goddesses on show in Venice

All saints revile her, and all sober men
Ruled by the God Apollo’s golden mean –
In scorn of which we sailed to find her
In distant regions likeliest to hold her
Whom we desired above all things to know,
Sister of the mirage and echo.

earlier. These take many forms including apparently pregnant female figures crouching, perhaps about to give birth.

In fact, the most recent archaeological evidence points to the existence of a Neolithic continuum of ritual traditions and forms shared by very distant peoples. Imported materials used to shape cult figures have been unearthed in different contexts away from their place of origin: obsidian found in Sardinia and Anatolia, lapis lazuli from Afghanistan and ivory from Africa. A good example of this kind of interaction is a rare figure made entirely of lapis lazuli, excavated at Hierakonpolis in Egypt, now in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (1). It dates to the Proto-Dynastic Period Naqada III (circa 3200–3000 BC).

Many Neolithic objects were found in tombs or within a ritual structure – a temple maybe – where they might have been worshipped, or used as ex-votos and special offerings to a superior being. As they embody myths and beliefs that were of paramount importance to the people who fashioned them, they provide key markers in the reconstruction of social and religious ceremonies. So far, however, we can only make conjectures on their symbolic, religious and ritual significance and on who they really represented.

Although similar in shape, idols differ according to the skill of those who made them. From the Aegean islands in Greece to western Anatolia, from the Iberian peninsula to Sardinia, Syria and Mesopotamia, come the ‘mother goddesses’, female earth deities with large breasts and hips.

The abstract and geometric Sardinian (2) and Cycladic marble statues were much admired by 20th-century artists. Others include the curiously ‘plank-shaped’ clay figurines with rectangular heads, sometimes double-headed (7, 8 and 9) and the cruciform ones (14) from Cyprus (2000–1800 BC), the peculiar so-called ‘goggle eyed’ artefacts (3) as well as more naturalistic representations of the female figure (12).

The sexual attributes of these figurines are emphasised, especially the pubic triangle, but sometimes they can be singularly ambiguous, like the androgynous figurines from Cyprus and Anatolia that show female and male organs on the same body (11). The ‘Lady from Lembá’ (10) from the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia is a female figure with a phallus for a head, indicating coexisting primeval...
forces at play. Alternatively, a simple triangle with eyes and breasts representing the whole female figure appear in Central Asian terracottas.

Male figures more commonly bear emblems of power. Crowns and weapons are often part male and part animal, like the naked bull-man from Mesopotamia, sculpted in the round in a soft yellowish-green alabaster (now in the George Ortiz collection) which has a counterpart in the National Museum of Baghdad.

Among the more intriguing objects in the exhibition is the Ligabue Venus (4) , one of a group of similar statuettes of the Bronze Age Oxus culture (2300 BC–1800/1700 BC) which flourished in present-day northern Afghanistan, eastern Turkmenistan, southern Uzbekistan and western Tajikistan, along the Amu Darya (River Oxus). Another example from this area is the Oxus Lady (5).

These female figures were made of dark and light stone, often chlorite and limestone, assembled together. Although small, they seem monumental. Ample mantles cover them entirely and give them a volumetric solidity that contrasts with the delicacy of their features and hairstyles.

Two opposite but contemporaneous and complementary styles for rendering human figures seem to prevail worldwide in Neolithic periods: one is naturalistic, the other abstract, favouring well-defined geometric volumes that evoke a schematic rendering of the human body. At times some features are omitted while others, such as the eyes and sexual organs, are magnified, creating a visual short hand whereby a part of the body
stands for the whole (15, 16, 17 and 18).

Among the most beautiful and best-known Neolithic artefacts are the breathtaking marble figures unearthed on many Greek islands of the Aegean Sea. Part of their fascination is the purity of their linear forms and luminous white colour, although they were originally brightly painted. Some are not abstract idols but representations of musicians, such as pipe-players or harpists, such as the one on loan from the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe (6).

Most of these Greek figurines, however, represent nude women with their arms folded, the right arm below the left (13), the legs bent. Many with rounded bellies and pointed feet should actually be seen lying down, not standing, and they might represent pregnant women in labour. However, archaeological evidence suggests that these images were regularly used in funerary practice since they have all been found in graves of men and women.

Exhibition

12. Female figure, style VII (circa 2700–2500 BC), terracotta, from Mehrgarh. H. 15cm. W. 6cm. Ligabue Collection, Venice.

13. Female figurine of the Dokathismata type, Early Cycladic II (2400–2300 BC), marble, from the Cycladic islands. H. 7cm. W. 5.1cm. Ligabue Collection, Venice.

14. Cruciform figurine, Middle Chalcolithic (3400 BC–2700 BC), picrolite, from Souskiou-Vathyrkakas, tomb 85/1, Cyprus. H. 12.5cm. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

equally. While these idols are most frequently found laid on their backs in graves, larger examples may also have been set up in shrines or dwelling places.

Some scholars have questioned the identification of Neolithic figures as female when they were not clearly distinguished as male. Their overall labelling as ‘goddesses’ was favoured by the Lithuanian-American archaeologist and anthropologist Marija Gimbutas (1921–94) in her influential and controversial books, The Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe (1974), The Language of the Goddess (1989) and The Civilization of the Goddess (1991). Based on her archaeological findings, these beautifully illustrated books articulate her conclusions about Neolithic cultures across Europe and what she saw as the differences between an Old European system, which she considered goddess-centred and woman-dominated, and the Bronze Age Indo-European patriarchal culture that supplanted it. According to her, matriarchal societies were peaceful and allowed for economic equality, but the androcratic, or male-dominated Kurgan peoples from the steppes north of the Black Sea invaded Europe around 4500 BC and imposed upon its natives the hierarchical rule of male warriors.

Critics of Gimbutas’ work have pointed out that in prehistory, just as in modern history, social control and the implementation of power were much more ambiguous and nuanced than it would appear in a simple conflict between matriarchal and patriarchal systems.

Nevertheless, as the American scholar of comparative religion and mythology, Joseph Campbell (1904–87), wrote in his foreword to Gimbutas’ book, The Language of the Goddess, her documentation of several thousand artefacts from Neolithic village sites certainly enables us to understand Neolithic Europe. It was comparable, he wrote, to the ‘Rosetta Stone’ in establishing a glossary of hieroglyphs, a valuable key to access the treasury of a very remote past.

Through her painstaking work, the names and roles of diverse Neolithic female deities can be identified and grouped together: bird goddess, mistress of animals, queen of the mountains, snake goddess, deer mother, bear mother, life-giver, craft-giver, birth-giver, nurse, pregnant earth or earth mother, double goddess (mother-daughter), goddess of death, triangle-hourglass goddess, frog goddess, hedgehog goddess, fish goddess, bee and butterfly goddess. They are probably all local variants of one paramount ‘Great Goddess’.

In later Hindu and Greek mythologies the various manifestations of female energy took shape in different goddesses, each identified by their own attributes and worshipped in their separate shrines or temples and with their own special rituals.

Whether Gimbutas’ theories on early matriarchal versus later male-dominated societies correspond to historical facts is debatable, some think they might be the result of 1970s’ feminist...
wishful thinking. Nevertheless, traces of the worship of the Mother Goddess, in all her many forms, can still be found in beliefs held and rituals still practised today, under various religious guises, in many Mediterranean countries – giving added poignancy and relevance to these pre-historical figurines.

The curators of Idols have concentrated more on the aesthetic qualities of the goddesses than on their importance as anthropological and historical documents, charting turning-points in the evolution of human societies. Neolithic craftsmen were often truly talented artists, capable of creating icons of haunting beauty while, at the same time, being respectful of established canons and ritual needs. Aesthetic excellence bridges the gap of millennia between our common ancestors and ourselves, bemused modern viewers of these divine female representatives of a remote and elusive past.

‘[Picasso]... was holding (an ancient) violin-shaped idol from the Cyclades and looking at it... He was saying: “From time to time I think: There was a Little Man from the Cyclades. He wanted to make this really terrific piece of sculpture, just like that, right? Exactly like that. He thought he was making the Great Goddess, or something to that effect. But what he made was that. And I, here in Paris, I know what he wanted to make: not a god but a piece of sculpture. Nothing’s left of his life; nothing’s left of his kind of gods; nothing’s left of anything. Nothing. But this is left, because he wanted to make a piece of sculpture.”’

Life was nasty, brutal and short in the prehistoric Alps, according to the new film *ICEMAN*, directed and written by Felix Randau. The mummified, frozen body, now known as Ötzi the Iceman (named after the Ötztal Alps in which he was found) was discovered by German hikers on 18 September 1991. News of his discovery soon travelled around the world and Ötzi has rarely been out of the news since, thanks to controversy, personal and national ambitions, and developing forensic science, which finds new ways to extract information from the body of the man who bled to death from an arrow wound in his left shoulder, 5300 years ago on a glacier in the mountains.

Now Ötzi is the hero or, perhaps we should say, the protagonist of his own feature film: not a documentary but a dramatisation of his last days. When Hollywood film-makers tackle historical subjects, accuracy usually goes out of the window. Admittedly, films like *Braveheart* and *Gladiator* are exciting and spectacular but they are also historical bunkum. So how does the film *ICEMAN* stand up in the accuracy stakes? Pretty well, given the limited budget. This is, after all, a European art-house movie not a Hollywood blockbuster. There are no soaring super-heroes or CGI techniques. German director Felix Randau has obviously consulted the archaeologists at the South Tyrol Museum, where Ötzi now lies in perpetual cold.

Ötzi, played with dogged persistence by Jürgen Vogel, carries all the right gear: a bow made of birch, chert-tipped arrowheads, a copper axe and fire-making equipment. The axe, complete with wooden haft, leather binding and birch-tar adhesive is a remarkable survival: the best example we have from the Neolithic. The haft provided the samples for the radiocarbon dating which showed that the Iceman and his axe were surprisingly early.

In the film Ötzi surveys the dramatic scenery of the Ötztal Alps, where the real-life Iceman’s frozen body was found by German hikers in 1991 and from where his name is derived. 1. Ötzi, played by Jürgen Vogel, crosses the high alps, wearing several layers of warm clothing, a bear skin hat, and carrying his bow and backpack. 2. In the film, *ICEMAN*, Ötzi surveys the dramatic scenery of the Ötztal Alps, where the real-life Iceman’s frozen body was found by German hikers in 1991 and from where his name is derived. 3. Ötzi, played by Jürgen Vogel, crosses the high alps, wearing several layers of warm clothing, a bear skin hat, and carrying his bow and backpack.

The film gets such details right – though, to my eyes, Ötzi looks more like a Palaeolithic hunter than a Neolithic farmer who was a pioneer of new copper technology. I couldn’t quite figure out how the economy of Ötzi’s village worked – there were a few goats and pigs, but not enough people out in the fields and keeping cattle. Their timber buildings also seemed rather ramshackle – considering that they were clearly expert woodworkers. But to return to the action: after some quick and interrupted carnal relations with his wife (a Neolithic village is not big on privacy), Ötzi buries a young woman who dies in childbirth and hands the newborn baby to his wife (so avoiding the need for further coitus interruptus). Then he sets off for the hills to hunt chamois.

While the cape repels water and breathes. Similar garments were worn until recently by Central European shepherds and Japanese farmers. The outfit is topped off by a bearskin cap, held by a chin-strap of ox leather. On his feet he wears snow-shoes made of several types of animal skin.

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By now we have figured out one of the most remarkable aspects of this film: prehistoric people do not say much; they are a taciturn bunch and when they do speak it is in an extinct language. Specialists have attempted to re-construct...
Old Rhaetic – the language spoken in the prehistoric Eastern Alps – and there are no subtitles. This is a brave attempt to distance the modern audience from prehistoric people who were as intelligent as us but lived very different lives.

Randau is not the first to use a dead or exotic language in a feature film. Back in 1976 Derek Jarman’s film Sebastiane, about the martyrdom of a Christian Roman soldier – an overtly gay icon – was released. The actors were all male, beautiful, naked and spoke in Latin. Since then more commercial directors such as Mel Gibson with Apocalypto (in Mayan) and The Passion of the Christ (in Aramaic, Hebrew and Latin) have added an exotic flavour, relying on subtitles to help the audience.

But ICEMAN reminds me most of Dersu Uzala, a film by the great Japanese director Akira Kurosawa. Dersu Uzala is the name of a Siberian tribesman, assisting a team of Imperial Russian geologists. He dresses rather like Ötzi and faces similar climatic challenges. Kurosawa’s film is a masterpiece
that relies on remarkable visual imagery, the sounds of nature and cinematic techniques, rather than words, to tell the story. So using an incomprehensible language is a risky move for the director of ICEMAN – but it works. I do not know if Randau has seen Dersu Uzala but he has mastered the same techniques as Kurosawa: telling a dramatic story of frail human beings in a vast elemental landscape. The sound effects in ICEMAN are superb – especially the birdsong, the rushing Alpine streams, the thunder in the mountains, helped by a score of violins, violas and cellos. The film is a sensuous pleasure even if characters are not always admirable. The main message seems to be: a man’s gotta do what a man’s gotta do. The plot is a simple one and I will not spoil it by giving away too much although we all know the ending: Ötzi lies dead on the mountain – that’s a fact. Felix Randau concocts a story (probably based on an idea put forward by the late Professor Konrad Spindler, head of the Iceman investigation team at Innsbruck University) to explain how Ötzi arrives at his fate. Raiders attack his village while he is away. He sets off in pursuit. A favourite Hollywood trope: the strong silent man seeking revenge. It could be John Wayne in The Searchers, for John Ford’s film, like ICEMAN, features the landscape as a character – though his landscape was false. The Staked Plains of the Comanche raiders looked nothing like the dramatic landscape of Monument Valley, where Ford set his film. Randau doesn’t need to indulge in such deception. The Alps of the South Tyrol are magnificent and the film is worth seeing for the mountain views alone.

The film ICEMAN is a drama, not an everyday story of Neolithic farming folk. There are no heroes and villains. Just people trying to survive. Ötzi doesn’t. However, I am glad that Randau allows us one
good guy in the cast – the elderly mountain man, who appears briefly, the ultimate Mr Cool, played (beneath the hair) by Franco Nero, who starred as the ultimate hero in the 1966 Spaghetti Western Django. So ICEMAN, the film, appeals on many levels and is well worth seeing.

Now, back to the real Iceman. There is no way the film could be completely up-to-date, archaeologically speaking, because research is still on-going. After 5300 years in the ice, Ötzi emerged to face a frightening legion of white-clad scientists. Unfortunately they were not there when he was found. The first people on the scene were hikers, climbers, police and officials who assumed the body to be that of a relatively recent victim of a mountain accident. So the ‘crime scene’ was well and truly trampled and bashed about. The Iceman’s fabulously well-preserved equipment was damaged and the body was thoroughly contaminated with modern DNA. It is a shame that archaeologists arrived late on the scene, and when they did arrive they squabbled over the spoils.

There is a particular problem with finding a body in a melting glacier on a mountain ridge. Which country is it in? It was eventually decided that Italy’s South Tyrol region should take possession of Ötzi and, very sensibly, the region developed a new Museum of Archaeology in Bolzano, which opened in 1998 to house their now world-famous guest. In the early years, however, there was a failure to mount a systematic campaign of research, leading to international complaints.

On 28 March this year, the museum welcomed its five millionth paying visitor. So Ötzi has proved to be a remarkable attraction. The museum also claims that he has attracted more than 500 scientific researchers. I can believe it. The latest article on Ötzi that I read had 41 co-authors. Techniques improve
of course, but it has taken a long time to achieve some of the results.

Only after a decade was it discovered that Ötzi had received a mortal arrow wound to his left shoulder, which probably caused him to bleed to death. When my colleagues excavated an Early Bronze Age burial near Oxford they found the fatal arrow head in about three hours. Perhaps because they were looking for it. Ötzi’s arrow was visible years ago on X-rays but went unnoticed by medics who, perhaps, were unfamiliar with arrow wounds.

In 2012 came the publication of his genome, which showed that he had a genetic disposition for cardiovascular disease, though for a 45-year-old he had an extremely lean, tough physique, the body of a mountain runner.

The most recent article (the one with 41 authors) in Current Biology (12 July 2018) analysed Ötzi’s last meal. Again, this took a long time because they only recently identified his stomach. Shortly before his death Ötzi had eaten a well-balanced meal including cereals, probably einkorn. He also ate the fatty meat of ibex and red deer meat. The meat had probably been smoked. The scientists expressed surprise that Ötzi was aware of the need to eat fat in cold, hard conditions but, then, perhaps they haven’t done much walking in the Alps.

Palaeolithic hunters and the Inuit understood the need for fat. The end of the winter can be fatal when prey animals are ultra-lean. It seems that Ötzi was in the mountains in spring, when there was still much snow about.

Once when I hiked up to a glacier in the French Alps, on the trail below me a strange sight appeared – a line of black figures each with a ‘stick’ projecting above their heads. Around 20 minutes later the column arrived: a group of nuns from Brittany. Each nun carried a backpack with a baguette sticking out of it. They sat near me, pulled out saucissons and knives, tore off chunks of bread and cut off slices of meat. Like Ötzi, the nuns knew what to eat in the mountains.

The other news from Ötzi is that the copper from his axe came from Etruria. This is surprising as there was plenty of local copper in the Alps. Metallurgy was beginning to make the world a smaller place: it promoted communication and exchange among different communities. Clearly confrontation and arguments could still occur.

The film ICEMAN provides us with one scenario. The forensic evidence continues to accumulate. But who killed Ötzi and why remains a fascinating mystery.

• ICEMAN (www.bulldog-film.com/films/iceman/) is on general release and streaming. The DVD will be released later this year.
• South Tyrol Museum of Archaeology, Bolzano, Italy (www.iceman.it).
By their collectors shall ye know them. Notable collectors of the work of Edward Burne-Jones (1833–98) include Sir Andrew Lloyd Webber, the impresario of the popular musical, and Jimmy Page, the guitarist and songwriter for Led Zeppelin. The common resemblances are visible or audible in their work: mythic resonances and Romantic pomp, a Wagnerian business with one eye on the gods and the other on the box office. It was Burne-Jones’ contemporary, Walter Pater, who wrote that all art aspires to the condition of music. In the epics of Lloyd Webber and Page, we hear music aspiring to the condition of Burne-Jones’ art.

In 2008, Page, an avid collector of Pre-Raphaelite and Arts & Crafts work, ran out of wall space in his many mansions. So the hammer of the gods fell on the auctioneer’s block. Page was obliged to sell a massive Burne-Jones tapestry depicting King Arthur’s vision of the Holy Grail, _The Attainment: The Vision of the Holy Grail to Sir Galahad, Sir Bors and Sir Percival_ (1890–94). Woven in William Morris’ workshop, and described by Morris as ‘our largest and most important work’, _The Attainment_ is seven metres long, and one of a series of six. Page also sold off a set of Burne-Jones’ stained-glass panels, and a round table with matching chairs that might have been props for an as yet unwritten Lloyd Webber musical, set in the court of King Arthur.

‘No picture I know, the Mona Lisa...’
1. The Rose Bower from the Legend of Briar Rose cycle, 1885–90, oil on canvas. 1250cm x 2310cm. The Faringdon Collection Trust.

Dominic Green is awed by the poetic power of the work of the eminent Pre-Raphaelite artist Sir Edward Burne-Jones, that goes on show at Tate Britain in late October. Included, has such a haunting enigmatic female face as the mermaid in this, the first of two versions of this subject,’ said Lloyd Webber in 2014 of his favourite among his Burne-Jones’ collection, The Depths of the Sea, 1886 (2). In this Romantic metamorphosis, narrative becomes myth, beauty becomes divine, and the epic becomes strangely human – physical yet insubstantial, touchable yet ghostly, almost like a phantom of the opera.

Two other Burne-Jones cycles, Perseus and Briar Rose, will be reunited and shown together for the first time in Burne-Jones, Pre-Raphaelite Visionary, opening at London’s Tate Britain in late October. Curated by Alison Smith and Tim Batchelor of Tate Britain, the exhibition gathers together more than 150 works in different media, including painting, stained glass and tapestry, to trace Burne-Jones’ ascent from self-taught outsider to eminence in the European fin-de-siècle, and lasting influence on the strain of mythic fantasy in 20th-century British literature and music. Six of the paintings are loaned by Lloyd Webber. ‘Burne-Jones was always relevant,’ says Alison Smith, ‘and it’s about time we looked at him.”
The Tate last presented a Burne-Jones solo exhibition in the centenary year of 1933. The last London exhibition was at the Hayward Gallery in 1975, following the Pre-Raphaelite revival of the 1960s; the last British exhibition of his work was in Burne-Jones’ home-town of Birmingham in 1998, to mark the centenary of his death.

Smith sees Burne-Jones as an authentic Pre-Raphaelite and consummate Victorian, but also oddly familiar in his working methods and mentality. Emulations of Botticelli’s beauties, like the mournful and modest Laus Veneris (6) of 1873–75, mingle with elaborations of Tennyson’s verse as in King Cophetua and the Beggar Maid, 1894.

Yet Burne-Jones’ nostalgia bears a nervous charge of radicalism and neurosis, as in Phyllis and Demophoön, 1870, in which Demophoön, rather than promising that he will return to his lover as in the Ovidian and Chaucerian precedents, seems to be writhing away from her in fear. Meanwhile, Burne-Jones’ production methods, in emulating those of the Renaissance workshop, look forward to the workshops of modern and contemporary artists, like Andy Warhol or Damien Hirst.

‘Burne-Jones was a genuine Pre-Raphaelite,’ Smith observes. ‘He got to understand the early Renaissance artists when he made four seminal visits to Italy, in 1859, 1862, 1870 and 1871. These gave him the opportunity to look at works in situ in churches and in galleries like the Uffizi. He was quite unusual, in that he was influenced not only by the visual appearance of the works, but also by how they had been made technically.’

If Burne-Jones had only impersonated Renaissance techniques, he would have produced mere kitsch. Rather, he wanted to emulate the visual effect of early Renaissance techniques.
Like William Blake, whose work he knew through Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Burne-Jones painted with words in mind.

art, and the workshop environment in which it had been produced. The result was, to our eyes, an incipiently modern studio, a mixing of collaborators and media.

"In some ways, Burne-Jones was out of his time," Smith says. "He wanted a workshop, led by a master craftsman working with assistants. He arrived at a modern equivalent: a large studio, employing assistants on the workshop model to transfer his designs to canvas or enlarge them for stained-glass cartoons. They also did some of the preliminary underpainting." Burne-Jones amplified this idiosyncratic
approach by being largely self-taught. Born in Birmingham to a mother who died days after his birth and an ever-grieving father, Burne-Jones went up to Oxford in 1852 to study theology at Exeter College. There he found his plans for the ministry derailed by art and the influence of Dante Gabriel Rossetti and William Morris (7).

As Smith notes: ‘He wasn’t conventionally trained. He didn’t go to art school. He didn’t go through the years of training, studying from the antique and then studying from life. So he came to art from a university intellectual background, rather than a practical one.’

In fact Burne-Jones trained as an intellectual, not a draughtsman. Like William Blake, whose work he knew through Rossetti, Burne-Jones painted with words in mind. His images serve their narrative, and this creates a distance from his visual material. That distance creates monumental, sculptural effects in his compositions; Burne-Jones’ *Atlas Turned To Stone*, 1878 (4) uses Blake’s palette.

Smith sees Burne-Jones as Blake’s inheritor, an English visionary. ‘Blake saw himself as a modern prophet,’ she says. ‘He wanted art to have a transformative power in society, and he was aware of the expressive power of the body. Burne-Jones’ figures also have a latent energy within them, a nervous energy and androgyny.’

Burne-Jones’ representations of the male body deviated from Victorian notions of upright and muscular masculinity. His males are ephebic and introverted, uncomfortable with the demands of the mythic role. In *Love Among the Ruins*, 1894 (3), featuring Burne-Jones’ lover Maria Zambaco, the male figure seems unable to hold her attention and, in *The Doom Fulfilled*, 1888–88 (9), Andromeda seems to be shrinking away from Perseus. In *The Rock of Doom*, 1885–88, the hero, hopping nervously from foot to foot, appears quite incapable of freeing or even touching Andromeda, while in *Perseus and the Sea Nymphs*, 1877 (5), he looks distinctly uncomfortable in the women’s presence.

Burne-Jones was working on the cusp of the new mythology of psychoanalysis. In 1900, two years after Burne-Jones’ death, Freud’s *Interpretation of Dreams* was published. The artist seems to have been aware of the motive forces of sexuality, but unaware of their implications. Burne-Jones’ women are latently erotic but are caught in the slumber of death, as in *The Rose Bower* (1) or *The Garden Court* (10) – both from the Legend of Briar Rose cycle, 1885–90. Within a few years, *The Death of Medusa*, 1888, (11 and 12) would be interpreted less as a revival of myth than an expression of voyeurism and castration anxiety.

For Burne-Jones, though, the story is always larger than the
subject’s dilemma. This emotional abstraction drives the human drama towards the mythic narratives of the religion of art.

‘People often said that his paintings didn’t look like paintings, they looked more like tapestries or jewels,’ explains Smith. ‘He saw his art as part of a fixed environment, as part of architecture. He loved how Renaissance churches had frescoes on the walls and canvases embedded into their interiors. He wanted the work to become part of the fabric of the building, as in the Middle Ages, when altarpieces were the centrepieces of church architecture.’

In early Pre-Raphaelite paintings, the visual field is often centred, often accidentally or sometimes in an uncontrolled manner. With Burne-Jones, the effect is deliberate, part of a controlled battery of effects. Similarly, the often crude impersonations of the first generation Pre-Raphaelites are technically outclassed by Burne-Jones’ complex refashioning of Renaissance precedents.

In The Garden Court, he combines the flatness of the early Renaissance fresco with fixed perspective, but where the Renaissance fresco artist worked quickly on to ‘fresh’ wet plaster, Burne-Jones applied paint slowly in layers. And while Renaissance fixed perspective established a single viewpoint, his layering of the paint decentralises the painting, and forces the viewer to ‘read’ the story in the imagery.

‘In the whole Briar Rose cycle, the spatial effects are extraordinary,’ Smith explains. ‘On one hand, you have this sense of flatness, with everything pushing up against the picture’s surface. It’s almost proto-Cubist. Yet he’s also embroidering with paint, by building up very thick layers. He wanted the same effect in oil or watercolour as when he was working in mosaic or stained glass.

‘Everything has this hard, gem-like quality. That creates these extraordinary visual effects, in which everything is equally important. So rather than there being a centre of the composition, we’re invited to read across the entire surface, in the non-hierarchical way of a tapestry.’

Burne-Jones was well-versed in Classical languages and texts from his time at King Edward VI’s school in Birmingham. He also knew Classical re-workings and translations, such as Chaucer’s retellings of Ovid. His interpretations of antiquity emphasise the journey, the quest that cannot be attained, in this case for beauty without complication. His Grail is not the paganised Christianity of Wagner, where the world is redeemed by sacrifice. For Burne-Jones, the individual alone is redeemed by the experience of aesthetic perfection. By the time of his death in 1898, Burne-Jones was a global figure.

‘Visual culture was international in the late 19th century, through international exhibitions and exhibiting societies, as well as photograpic artworks and other productive media,’ Smith explains. ‘These images had a huge appeal. Whatever people’s religious beliefs, they tapped into archetypal themes and ideas.’

Internationally, Burne-Jones was seen as a ‘Celtic’ mythologist, like the young Yeats or Joyce, both of whom absorbed Symbolism in their youth. As did the young Picasso, who hoped to go to London, city of Burne-Jones, but got waylaid in Paris. Still, the Symbolist influence is clear in the Blue Period.

It was in mythological literature, however, that Burne-Jones had the greatest influence. ‘Look at Tolkien, who went to the same school as...’
Burne-Jones, and The Lord of the Rings,’ Smith says. ‘The idea of Middle Earth and the quest, and the mixing of mortals and elves, is pure Burne-Jones.’ She also traces the influence of Burne-Jones on the visual imagery of The Waste Land, 1922. We are usually think of TS Eliot’s mix of the mythic, the religious and the literary as a response to the First World War, but the roots of this poem lie in the pre-1914 world: in the comparative religious studies of Max Mueller, the comparative mythology of Sir James Frazer’s The Golden Bough of 1890, and in Symbolist verse.

Burne-Jones really reworked the Pre-Raphaelite ideal of truth to nature. From time to time, he even had objects constructed, including fantasy armour, in order to represent them. His subjects are solid and realistic but, at the same time, fantastical and mythological. ‘What enthralled me was the majesty of their drawing and of the execution of the tapestries by those unbelievably skilled craftsmen,’ said Jimmy Page, in 2012, when he lent The Attainment and another Burne-Jones tapestry to Tate Britain for its Pre-Raphaelites: Victorian Avant-Garde exhibition. ‘The attention to detail of the subject matter and even the background of verdure and flora is still quite astonishing to me.’ Here, the stadium rocker’s judgement accorded with that of a quieter critic – Henry James who wrote, for all its fantastical content and other-worldly feel, a Burne-Jones painting depends upon ‘a vast deal of “looking”’. ■

• Edward Burne-Jones, Pre-Raphaelite Visionary will be on show at Tate Britain, London (www.tate.org.uk) from 24 October 2018 until 24 February 2019.
• The catalogue Edward Burne-Jones is edited by Alison Smith and published by Tate at £40.
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magnanumque dius
Mors, et Studia, et
tenus labor: at tenus
Numina, laxi sinunt,
Principio sedes apibus.
Lucy Shackleton lifts the lid on bee-keeping in the ancient world and sees how Virgil’s presentation of bees symbolises the role of the collective over the individual in Augustan Rome.

For the ancients, the bee was a by-word for industry and collective activity, an idea introduced by Aristotle in the 4th century BC. In his Historia Animalium he refers to bees as civic (politikai) – an idea that was later developed by Roman apiarists, Varro, Virgil, Pliny the Elder and Columella.

Bee by-products, such as honey and wax, were two essential commodities for everyday life in Roman society. Their usages ranged from the honey cheese bun (libum) which was offered to the household spirits (lares), to the waxen ancestral death masks (imagines maiorum) worn by actors at funerals to fill in the gaps in a family’s genealogy.

There is a certain level of practical, didactic advice for the beekeeper in the fourth book of Virgil’s agricultural poem, the Georgics (1) on matters such as where to site your hive and potential pests and diseases.

But bees also transcend the everyday world of the apiarist through mythological allusions, and are presented as having a share in the divine world – they are liminal and are presented as having a share through mythological allusions, every day of the apiarist’s potential pests and diseases.

Virgil’s depiction of bees as part of the divine mind is their close association and reciprocity with Jupiter, which builds on the well-known mythology of his birth:

Now come and heed.

The Natural Gifts that Jupiter himself apportioned to the bees
I will set forth.

(Georgics IV, 149–50, translated by Kristina Chew)

Keen to spare her sixth child from the fate of her other five offspring who were eaten alive by their father Saturn, his quick-witted wife Ops substituted the infant Jupiter for a stone wrapped in a swaddling blanket, which Saturn unsuspectingly swallowed. Jupiter was then whisked away and raised in a cave on Mount Dicte on Crete, where two nymphs, Amalthea, who supplied the goat for his milk, and Melissa the bees for his honey, nurtured him. Guarding him were the Curetes, the mythical first inhabitants of Crete, who banged their shields together to drown out his crying, so that Saturn would not be able to find him (2).

This association between bees and loud, discordant noise was carried down in advice that Virgil gives to beekeepers, recommending ‘the noise of Rings and Jingles and Striking the Great Mother’s cymbals’ (Georgics IV, 64–65, as before) as a means of attracting a swarm and getting it to settle in a particular place.

In another myth, depicted on an Attic amphora dated to 540 BC, four men dressed in armour and lured by the honey within the cave, staged a raid. But on seeing the omnipotent baby’s cradle, the joints of their armour burst and it fell off, leaving them naked and defenceless against the nearby swarms of bees.

If bees were believed to have some connection with the divine spirit then it is not surprising that the Romans believed that a product that tasted as exquisite as honey had divine origins. Georgics IV opens with the line ‘aerii mellis caelestia dona’ (‘the heavenly gifts of honey of the air’) – the belief that honey fell from the air as dew found support in the writings of both Virgil and Pliny the Elder.

In the section of his Natural History on the qualities of honey, Pliny the Elder writes: ‘At early dawn the leaves of the trees are found covered with a kind of honey-like dew... Whether it is that this liquid is the sweat of the heavens, or whether a saliva emanating from the stars, or a juice exuding from the stars, or a juice exuding from the stars, or a juice exuding from the stars...’

1. Hiving the bees, 1654, by Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–77), one of a series of copperplate engravings made for Virgil’s Georgics IV. Woven wicker was one material used by Romans to make beehives.

2. Line drawing of a terracotta relief by Wilhelm Heinrich Roscher (1845–1923). It shows the Curetes, the first mythical inhabitants of Crete, who banged their shields together to drown out his crying, so that Saturn would not be able to find him (2).
The ancient bee-writers perpetuated misconceptions about the insects, too, one of them being that the ruler of the bees was a male; this went undisputed until the Dutch naturalist Jan Swammerdam looked at these insects under a microscope in the 1660s. Another belief held by all ancient writers, except Aristotle, was that a swarm of bees could be spontaneously regenerated from the carcase of an ox, known as the bugonia — from the Greek bous (ox) and gonos (offspring).

Originating in Egypt, as described in Georgics IV, this process involves taking a bullock, sealing it in a dark and airless shed, heating it so that its entrails are loosened but its hide left intact and, finally, leaving it to putrefy on a bed of thyme. The bees were then meant to be born from the warm liquid. But how did this belief of the rebirth of the bees come about? There are two possible explanations: first, in hot countries like Egypt, bees may have lived in dessicated animal carcases; secondly and more likely, the ancients confused the bee with a drone fly, which often does breed in rotting flesh.

This idea is explored in Rudyard Kipling’s poem The Bees and the Flies, where an Augustan farmer, on reading Georgics IV, follows the advice on how to carry out the bugonia, but ends up with a rotting corpse seething with blow-flies.

Straddling the description of the lives of bees and the Orpheus and Eurydice episode in Georgics IV is the epyllion, about Aristaeus and how he discovered the method of obtaining a new swarm of bees from the carcase of a bull. Aristaeus was the son of Apollo and the nymph Cyrene who, through his upbringing by the Horae, the goddesses of the seasons, learned how to construct beehives and make cheese, arts that he passed on through his teaching while travelling. Aristaeus came to Thrace where, in Virgil’s version of the myth, he fell in love with Eurydice who, while being pursued by him, was fatally bitten by a snake (3).

As a punishment for this, Orpheus and the mountain nymphs brought about the death of Aristaeus’ swarm and he was instructed by his mother, Cyrene, to visit the sea-god Proteus and to bind him in chains to gain advice on how to put things right. What Proteus tells him to do is, however, a slightly different ritual to that of the Egyptian bugonia. Aristaeus is advised to carry out a traditional Graeco-Roman sacrifice of four bulls and four heifers at the sanctuaries of the nymphs on Mount Lycaeus in Arcadia. From the oxen’s liquefied inwards comes the miracle of bees buzzing and bursting forth.

While Egyptian bees were reborn...
through the mystical and impossible marvel of the bugonia, civilised (ie Greek) society represented by Aristaeus must continually restore itself by maintaining the relationship between gods, humans and animals through a sacrifice: in other words, constructive and purposeful violence.

This concept of constructive violence leading to renewal for the benefit of the community is a theme that resonates throughout the Georgics and the Aeneid, and is one where bees represent the idea of rebirth and the collective over the individual.

In Aeneid I, Dido, having suffered the brutal and impious murder of her husband, Synaesus, at the hands of her brother Pygmalion, is overseeing the construction of a new city for her exiled people in Carthage. It is the very violence of her past that leads to new beginnings and it is bees that represent this idea of positive renewal and collective productivity and to whom the workers building Carthage are compared: ‘They were like bees at the beginning of summer, busy in the sunshine all through the flowery meadows’ (Aeneid, translated by David West).

Similarly, rebirth and renewal are the ultimate goals for the souls of the dead in Aeneid VI, flocking to drink from Lethe, the river of forgetfulness, before they gain a second body. Prior to this, they have undergone the violence of the purification process, by the ravages of either fire, wind or water, to rid the body of ingrained ills. As the souls swarm along the banks of the River Lethe they are compared to bees in a meadow on ‘a clear summer day, settling on all the many-coloured flowers and crowding round the gleaming white lilies’ (Aeneid, as before).

This comparison is appropriate because bees were believed to be capable of traversing the worlds of both the living and the dead. But, as well as representing souls, bees were also the symbols of fertility and productivity, hence the florid imagery as the Latins trapped in their city and under attack from the Trojans are compared to bees being smoked out of a rock by a shepherd.

Embedded in these examples of renewal through violence is the wider message of Augustus’ regeneration of Rome after the turbulence of the civil wars of the 40s BC. This one man presiding over Rome and its citizens (Quarites) mirrors the community of bees in the Georgics with its one ruler; an homogeneous mass devoted to performing tasks through industry and toil for the benefit of the collective.

This collective of bees, while efficient and admirable with its thriftiness and good order could be viewed as impersonal, dispassionate and lacking individuality: as Virgil (4) writes, the bees neither yield themselves to love nor experience the langours of passion. This is brought starkly to life through the juxtaposition of the work of the bees and the tragic love story of Orpheus, whom we know loses Eurydice, the love of his life, goes to the underworld to fetch her back but, because he does not follow instructions, fails to do so. Aristaues, who follows the instructions of Proteus, however, successfully renews his bees from the oxen, a miracle that could serve as a symbol for Rome’s renewal under Augustus. In both transformations the collective is prioritised over the individual, the few are sacrificed for the many. So could Virgil be saying that the suffering in the story of Orpheus and Eurydice emphasises that individual desires come second to that of the state community?

Perhaps so, when read alongside the final lines of Georgics IV, where the work of Augustus, safeguarding the boundaries of the Roman Empire through his Eastern campaign for the benefit of the collective, with the conquered people willing to accept Rome’s government, is set against the ignoble leisure of the poet Virgil, the individual, who plays around with pastoral verse. This, in turn, translates into a darker and more unsettling view of that industrious collective of bees.
As the 19th-century French poet and politician Jean Reboul said, the Roman imprint on Nîmes is everywhere to be seen. During a 30-minute walk you can take in a whole host of Roman remains, from the monumental – such as the exceptionally well preserved amphitheatre and Maison Carrée – to the practical – such as the ramparts and the Castellum (the water distribution station, the only other known example of which survives in Pompeii).

Despite this density of Roman architecture, which has formed the basis of Nîmes’ recent candidature to become a UNESCO World Heritage Site, it has only

Le Nimois est à demi Romain... ‘The Citizens of Nîmes are half-Roman, their city is also built on seven hills, and a beautiful sun shines there on grand ruins.’ Jean Reboul (1796–1864)

The romanitas heritage of Nîmes

Bijan Omrani visits a stunning new museum in southern France that tells the story of an ancient Gallic settlement that became a thoroughly Romanised city.
been with the opening of the new Nîmes Musée de la Romanité (1) that the city has had a museum that properly tells the story of the Roman presence.

The museum’s name belies the full extent of the permanent exhibition. Chief curator, Dominique Darde, who has worked for more than 10 years to bring the museum into being, says that she wants people to remember that ‘Nîmes is not just Roman… Many things came before them, and many things afterwards.’ However, it is only with an understanding of this wider context that one can appreciate how the Romans changed the area with their arrival in 125 BC, and how their presence—which lasted for more than half a millennium— influenced the region during the following centuries, right up until today.

The care that has been taken to set the Romans in the wider local context is a particular merit of the museum. A highlight in the pre-Roman section is the full-scale re-creation of an Iron Age Gallic dwelling dating to 420 BC, which was recently excavated at Gailhan, in the countryside 30km west of Nîmes. An important message from this exhibit is that by the time of the Romans’ arrival, the ordinary people of the region were already becoming integrated with a broader trading network linked to the Mediterranean, bringing influences from Italy, Greece and North Africa. Although the inhabitants of Gailhan were dependent on local agriculture for survival, they produced enough of a surplus to import wine and ceramics from the Greek colony of Marseille, nearly 200km away. This increasing appetite for prestige goods from the Mediterranean world changed Gallic society over time and ultimately made it culturally ready for the annexation of the region by the Roman Empire.

Other striking exhibits show the melding of wider Mediterranean and local Gallic cultures before the coming of the Romans. The first known occurrence of Nemausus, the city’s Roman name, is in the person of Nemausus, and the Nemausian Mothers, Gallic god and goddesses of a sacred spring, seen in a Gallic inscription in Greek letters (4), dating to the 2nd century BC.

Several 6th- and 5th-century BC sculptures of Gallic warriors (2)—visually some of the most arresting pieces in the collection—betray influences from Etruscan and Archaic Greek models. Even the Gallic custom of chieftains hanging the severed heads of defeated rivals on their doorposts found artistic expression through an imported Greek sculptural medium: a stone door lintel ornamented with carved heads. Recently discovered at Cailar, southwest of Nîmes, it shows that Gallic chieftains had found a more seemly way to allude to their savage custom, although real severed heads discovered here show that the old tradition lasted until Roman times.

Dominique Darde says that...
she was eager for the museum to reflect as much as possible the contemporary state of archaeological research. This is particularly successful in the Roman section where a variety of well-documented recent finds have considerably enhanced our understanding of the Roman colony.

Some of these finds have changed our appreciation of how soon Roman material culture became ensconced in the region after its 2nd-century BC annexation by the Empire. Among these are three early mosaics from the 1st century BC, one of which is displayed in a re-creation of a Roman bedroom to show its probable original context.

Other recent finds on display include those from a rescue excavation undertaken in 2007 at the Avenue Jean-Jaurès car-park in the south-east of Nîmes. These show the rapid transformation of an artisanal district in the 1st century BC into a high-class residential area at the time of Augustus in the 1st century AD when the Roman colony was made capital of the province of Narbonne and fortified with 6km of ramparts. The spacious and elegant houses, which emerged from the 6,500-square-metre site spanning eight streets, may have belonged either to Roman colonists, or to aristocratic native Gauls who attempted to gain prestige by adopting Roman culture and religion – a bronze head of the goddess Minerva was found in 1823 (11).

The finds show that this adoption of Roman ways in the city was far from superficial. One of the best artefacts of this period is a magnificent 35 square-metre mosaic (7) showing the death of Pentheus at the hands of his mother, Agave, from Euripides’ tragedy, The Bacchae. The mosaic was probably designed for a banqueting room where symposia, Graeco-Roman style drinking feasts, took place in imitation of those held by educated and wealthier echelons of Roman society. The depth of literary allusion portrayed suggests that the house’s inhabitants were either acquainted with the original text, or perhaps had encountered a version of it in one of the city’s theatres.

The architectural fragments from the Jean-Jaurès and other recent excavations, many of which have not previously been on public display, testify to the opulence of Nîmes in early imperial times. These include mosaics (9), erotic wall-paintings reminiscent of those in Pompeii, and large sections of magnificently carved stonework in marble and local limestone. A further superb find from the Jean-Jaurès excavation was a statue of Neptune (6), which formed part
of a fountain and basin.

The adoption of Roman material culture was not a one-way process in the region. One outstanding group of statues from the 2nd century AD, found on a burial ground east of Nîmes, close to Beaucaire, shows Gallic artisans taking up imported Roman pastoral motifs – including nymphs, shepherds and Silenus figures (3), perhaps to suggest the Elysian fields of the afterlife – but realising them in a distinctive local style.

Likewise, the Romans did not remain impervious to cultural influences from the locality.

The region was a melting-pot, and Roman newcomers were happy to show devotion to indigenous Gallic gods, or to mix the worship of Roman and Gallic divinities. One altar (5), for example, is dedicated by a Roman to the spirits of the Fons Ura (the modern-day Fontaine d’Eure just outside Uzès), which fed the 50-km aqueduct that led to Nîmes via the spectacular Pont du Gard. Although the dedication is to non-Roman gods, the altar shows a priest clad in the most traditional Roman fashion (in a toga, with covered head) making a libation in the most traditional Roman way.

Another 1st-century AD altar, set up by a centurion named Caius Julius Tiberinus, is dedicated both to Jupiter Heliopolitanus (whose cult centre was at Baalbek in northern Lebanon) and to Nemausus, Gallic god of the local spring at Nîmes.

The museum shows how the mixture of local Gallic gods with those imported by the Romans was used as propaganda to advance loyalty to the Emperor Augustus, the Roman state, and the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

Nîmes’ collection of inscriptions, which bear witness to this religious ferment, is of international importance. The new museum allows significant space for its display and uses innovative techniques, including the video projection of translations on to the stones themselves, to engage visitors. Many of the inscriptions, a number of which are from funerary monuments, show the significance of Nîmes in the wider Roman Empire. Some attest to local notables who played a role in the imperial administration.

Others, by contrast, show how Roman culture was taken up by even the lowest members of society. One of the most poignant inscriptions is the tombstone of a vine dresser, named Vallonus, engraved with a picture of his pruning hook. There are also several tombstones of gladiators who died in the city’s amphitheatre. So even those at the lowest rung of the social ladder were thought worthy of a Latin memorial in stone that would include their trade or profession.

Just as the permanent collection lays out the wider context before the Roman era, it also devotes significant space to its lasting cultural impact on the city after the fall of the Empire. It offers examples of Christian stonework from the late Roman and Visigothic periods,
but perhaps most interestingly a range of Romanesque and medieval carvings. These show that Classical motifs from the Roman buildings that were still standing continued to be used by craftsmen and to play a part in ideas of decoration and architecture well into the High Middle Ages. It also continued to be a place where ideas from different cultures mixed.

The highlight of this part of the collection is a beautifully carved, medieval Corinthian-style capital (8) from the 12th century, orthodox in design save for carved male heads nestling amongst the acanthus foliage. We do not know if these spring from a cultural memory of the earlier Gallic practice of displaying the severed heads of their enemies, but it is a possibility.

This latter part of the collection also traces the scholarly rediscovery of Roman Nîmes from the 18th century onwards. In this regard, Nîmes was of national and international importance. Thomas Jefferson was obsessed with the Maison Carrée and used it as a model for the Virginia State Capitol. An excellent display looks at the rediscovery of the sanctuary of Augustus at the spring of Nemausus, and its development as France’s first public garden, the Jardins de la Fontaine, by Jacques Philippe Mareschal in 1740, preserving much of the original Roman layout.

The imaginative design of the museum by the Franco-Brazilian architect Elizabeth de Portzamparc, is in itself intended to follow this tradition by incorporating the museum into Nîmes’ Roman cityscape. The sinuous glass cladding of the upper stories is meant to evoke the folds of a Roman toga. Beyond this, an archway leads into a garden behind the museum, which has been planted with flora common in Gallic and Roman times, and where a stretch of the city’s Roman ramparts is on view.

Although the museum’s architecture and design are ultra-contemporary, they are worthy of a city which is proverbially ‘half-Roman’, and it allows Nîmes to rival other French cities, such as Arles, Lyons and Marseille, with similar internationally renowned museums of Roman antiquity.

### 8. Medieval Corinthian column capital, 12th century AD, with a carved head reminiscent of the pre-Roman severed head tradition. Mixed pre-Roman and Roman motifs were frequently used in Nîmes during the medieval period.

### 9. Mosaic showing Europa and the bull, 2nd century AD, from a villa site near Nîmes.

### 10. Pediment from the Augusteum (Sanctuary of Augustus), early 1st century AD, which stood by the spring of Nemausus on the site of the modern-day Jardins de la Fontaine.

### 11. Roman head of Minerva, 1st–3rd century AD, discovered in Nîmes in 1823. © Ville de Nîmes.

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- Musée de la Romanité, Nîmes (https://museedelaromanite.fr/).
- The first temporary exhibition, Gladiators, heroes of the Colosseum, is on show until 24 September 2018.
Iris Love seemed a shaft of sunlight in a world that was about to be changed forever. Her academic standing had been established by the discovery of the Lion of Cnidus, a marble statue that she had found in ancient Turkey. However, her controversial behaviour and the way she handled the discovery had led to a huge breach of academic etiquette.

Her reputation never fully recovered. She had taken a dramatic turn that would make her name to be forgotten to archaeology. However, she became the most famous archaeologist of the 20th century, and the first and only female archaeologist to achieve such status.

Iris published in the American Journal of Archaeology, and her work was equally admirable from every angle. Other archaeologists admired her efforts, and the excavations continued for 11 years at Cnidus.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the BM saw this as a huge breach of academic etiquette. Dennis had only recently been identified with a huge breach of academic etiquette. Dennis and by a colourful social life in New York.
Greece in the Ancient World
Jeremy McInerney
Thames & Hudson
368pp, 223 colour illustrations and 47 line drawings
Hardback, £35

Rome in the Ancient World: From Romulus to Justinian
David Potter
368pp, 149 colour illustrations and 51 line drawings
Hardback, £24.95
A 3rd edition will be published in Jan 2019

A character in Aldous Huxley’s Those Barren Leaves, 1925, observes that to the modern reader, the language of Milton’s Paradise Lost is ‘hanging like musical stars in the lap of nothing’. Time has eroded the theological framework that mattered so much to Milton. What remains is a magnificent architecture of language, immune to the decay that attacks physical architecture, but abstracted from the reality that created it.

Anyone who first encountered Greek and Latin in the schoolroom knows that feeling. The conjugations and declensions retain their glory and their grandeur, but the world from which they came seems absent. A similar experience awaits those who attempt the alternative route to the summit. Standing sweetly amid the rubble of the Agora in Athens will not necessarily bring you closer to understanding Socrates.

What the new student needs, and what the old student will always need, is a one-volume guide that weaves together history and ideas to create a cradle for those ‘musical stars’ of language and art. A century ago, our guides were The Glory That Was Greece, 1911, and The Grandeur That Was Rome, 1912, both written by John Clarke Stobart, a Classics teacher at Merchant Taylors’ School, London.

Today, you can still pick up a Stobart in most second-hand bookshops, and read him for profit but if you want a modern equivalent, you need Thames & Hudson’s single-volume accounts, Greece in the Ancient World and Rome in the Ancient World (a 3rd edition of will be published in January 2019). These volumes are perfect for the perplexed first-timer and the old hand in need of refreshment.

Stobart’s Glory and Grandeur broke new ground by incorporating the latest photographic illustrations into a clear and accessible text. These two guides generously update this template. The authors (Jeremy McInerney on Greece; David Potter on Rome) are professors with a superb range of technical background, but their prose has the clarity that comes with real expertise. There are dozens of colour illustrations, and plenty of maps too.

There will be no more wondering where Bocotis is, or how to tell the difference between a volute and a bell krater. No more wondering what a vomitorium is, or how Marcus Claudius Marcellus obtained the highest battlefield honour, the spolia optima. It’s all here, from economics to religion, war to peace, theatre to politics. Nothing is taken for granted, and nothing is left out.

‘The Greeks valued truth and beauty. Sometimes this can be difficult for us to grasp; the beauty of their poetry, for example, often eludes our ears, since it depends on complex metrical schemes that are closer to opera than our beat-driven metres,’ says McInerney in his introduction. ‘When studied in large numbers, coins offer very important evidence for the structure of the economy,’ writes Potter. ‘Because they are often encoded with low-level propagandistic messages – much as postage stamps often are today – they can also show how people might be taught to envisage their leaders, some significant events of the past, or even the jobs of their leaders.’

McInerney follows his metrical observation by discussing Homer. Potter moves his numismatic summary into a detailed study of how junior magistrates controlled minting operations in the Roman republic. Step by step, the reader is introduced to the historical complexities and a web of understanding woven around the ancient languages. Thi, in turn, makes the learning of the languages easier. No excuses, back to your grammars.

Dominic Green

The Rome We Have Lost
John Pemble
Oxford University Press,
192pp, 17 black and white illustrations
Hardback, £18.99

‘Rome – the city of visible history,’ wrote George Eliot in Middlemarch in 1872, ‘where the past of a whole hemisphere seems moving in funeral procession with strange ancestral images and trophies gathered from afar.’ But another Rome was already taking shape when Eliot penned these words – the Rome of the Risorgimento, the unification of the Italian peninsula, and the creation of the modern Italian state.

John Pemble’s The Rome We Have Lost is what the Victorian historian JA Froude would have called ‘a short study of a great subject’. After 1870, the Eternal City underwent a sudden metamorphosis. Everything about Rome was massive – sometimes oppressively so in the ancient style, sometimes absurdly so in the fascist. Pemble cuts through the layers of rubble and rock to describe exactly what happened when ‘Old Rome, the Rome of the sovereign popes’ became ‘... New Rome, the capital of the kings and presidents of Italy’.

The details of Pemble’s account are intrinsically fascinating, because the story of the Old Rome is the story of the art and thought of modern Europe. His conclusions, however, are surprising, and all the more alarming for being well argued.

Old Rome, writes Pemble, is the remains of ancient Rome and the Nova Urbs (New City) is first named in a descriptive guide of 1510. The new city was known as ‘New Rome’ until the end of the 19th century, when another New Rome, the modern city, was built. At which point, the early modern Nova Urbs joined Old Rome in the visitor’s imagination. ‘Everything about Old Rome was old, and only its ruins were older than its ruling dynasty of sovereign popes,’ writes Pemble, of how Romantic poets and early Baedeker tourists saw Old Rome. ‘The visitor breathed an atmosphere of relics and improbable survival, absorbed an afflatus of antecedence and antiquity... To go to Old Rome was to be afflicted by the wreckage of empire and by gyn intimations of mortality; yet at the same time it was to be consoled by sights, sounds and silences that transcended the banes of circumstance and time.’

Between 1870 and 1950, Rome’s population grew tenfold, from 200,000 to 2,000,000.

Minerva September/October 2018
The 19-kilometre boundary of Aurelian’s walls became a 50-kilometre ring road, connected to radial motorways by spaghetti junctions leading to the suburbs that have eaten up the rural campagna. The cultural signature of our New Rome was in ‘journalism, fashion, films and football’. The visitor breathes an affluxus of exhaust fumes, is afflicted by the sight of cheap construction, and finds a havoc of too many sights and sounds, and not enough silence.

Rome was not Eternal. In the 20th century, Rome’s ‘momentum of self-repetition’ failed. Pemble links this failure to ‘a huge tectonic disturbance in the collective thinking of the Western world... a critical loss of cultural weight and anchorage’. Rome had been at what Goethe called ‘the centre of the centre’; the heart of European history, religion and politics. Now, it is ‘at the margins of Western consciousness’, and it is even suspected of being a culprit, the precedent and ideological template for 20th-century tyranny.

In a crucial sense, we might have lost Old Rome, but we have not found a New Rome. Pemble suspects that Rome’s marginality creates a vacuum at the heart of Europe, and that this contributes to the failure of the European Union, which offers its subjects administrative centres in Brussels and Strasbourg, but has failed to establish a spiritual or aesthetic capital in Rome, as previous rulers of the Continent once did.

Pemble’s Venice Rediscovered, 1995, is an indispensable account of how 19th-century outsiders recast the image of Venice, from a paradise lost to a decadent relic of a despoiled tyranny to a deathless repository of aesthetic liberations. The Rome We Have Lost is a magnificent companion to this volume. Lucid and authoritative, Pemble shows how Rome, even when absent from history as a ‘heritage site’, remains a shaping presence.

When George Eliot honeymooned in Italy, her husband fell out of a window in Venice and landed in a canal. Pemble makes us wonder whether modern Europe has thrown out its baby with the bathwater of kings, popes and empires.

Dominic Green

September/October 2018
BOOK REVIEWS

– to the west – was Philistine territory. Behind us was the Kingdom of Judah. This was a bloody border. ‘We drove on, following the Philistine line of retreat to Gath. Then on to Ashdod and Ashkelon, their cities on the coast. Not surprisingly, Professor Aharoni went on to write The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography, 1979. What none of us knew at the time was that immediately above where we stopped on the north side of Elah Valley were the ruins of Khirbet Qeiyafa. So why is this tumble of stones important? It is because here, for the first time, archaeologists have revealed the extensive remains of a well-planned, fortified late 11th- to early 10th-century city belonging to the Kingdom of Judah, at the time of King David.

Professor Aharoni’s generation of heroic archaeologists developed what was a generally accepted chronology and historical narrative for this period. Unfortunately, there was an element of circularity about their logic based on unsound Biblical foundations. The Bible is not a basis for dating archaeological remains. By the 1980s their assumptions were under attack. The ‘minimalist’ school rejected the historicity and reliability of the Bible story. David was seen as a kind of King Arthur figure – more myth than reality, even if he is mentioned more often in the Bible than anyone else. If he existed he probably resembled a Bedouin chieftain, more at home in a tent than a palace. The ‘minimalists’ put more trust in the contemporary inscriptions, of Assyrians, Babylonians and Egyptians, than in the Bible – and these sources do not mention anyone called David.

Now history is being revised again. Here, the authors explain why traces of the Kingdom of Judah, or David, Solomon and their successors are so elusive. In Jerusalem or in tel sites, such as Lachish, the deposits are deeply buried or destroyed. But absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. In 1993 the Tel Dan stela was found. Its Aramaic inscription records the defeat of the King of Israel and the King of the ‘House of David’. The stela suggests that David was no myth. But what kind of ruler was he?

This fascinating book describes the large-scale, open-area excavation of a fortified city. Its plan is distinctly of the Kingdom of Judah, with thick casemate walls around the inner perimeter. The occupants left huge quantities of animal bones but none of the porcine variety. The cult-rooms contained no icons of human figures – as usually occur on Philistine or Canaanite sites – and a pot sherded found inscribed in Hebrew, included the phrase ‘thou shalt not’. There were also lots of iron weapons – still a rarity in the region at that time. Clearly these people were ahead in the local arms race. Stingstones were for the birds. The excavation reveals the emergence of a centrally governed, urbanised society and the radiocarbon dates fit the time of King David. Recent excavations at Lachish and nearby Khirbet Qeiyafa paint a similar picture.

All this proves that King David is not simply a mythical folk hero but, more importantly, the authors also provide a well-considered and absorbing account of the shifting geo-politics of this important region of the Middle East 3000 years ago, as complex and conflicted then as, unfortunately, it is today.

David Miles

Paths to the Past: Encounters with Britain’s Hidden Landscapes

Francis Pryor

Allen Lane

T39pp

Hardback, £16.99

The topographical diversity of Great Britain has long been a selling-point for the heritage industry. Packed into a mere 80,000 square miles is an astonishing narrative of geological upheaval: an epic history, albeit on an intimate scale, of desert, volcano, glacier and atavistic eruption. The distinct but neighbourly features of mountain and moorland, chalk down, tidal creek, ancient woodland and rolling dale are all part of a thoroughly hybrid geographical entity that reflects the varied origins of the people who live in it: a panoramic smorgasbord and melting-pot that has shaped us, the perpetually incoming populace of the United Kingdom, as much as we, over the centuries – farming, herding, cultivating, building, taming and domesticating – have in our turn shaped it.

This intimate connection between a unique physical environment and its mongrel peoples has in the last several years generated a lively output of reflective writing that straddles travel, biography, natural and cultural history and archaeology, sometimes all at the same time. Robert Macfarlane is one of the most prominent writers in this genre of ‘British landscape reflection’ and now the distinguished archaeologist, Francis Pryor, adds his voice to the genre. Paths to the Past is an affectionate, beguiling take on the landscapes of Britain by someone superbly qualified to look beyond the obvious and the visible to what is literally under our feet.

The book consists of 24 short chapters, each of which addresses an aspect or feature of the rural or urban topography that speaks of something significant about the lives and purpose of those who interacted with it. In revealing this intent, Pryor is able to make telling observations about the landscape itself. We learn for instance that stretches of Hadrian’s Wall were painted white to render them even more visible and impressive, and that, as the author discovered while he was working with the BBC’s Time Team, Branodunum in north Norfolk was no mere outlier to defend Roman Britain against the Saxons, but rather a major military installation that had a large oval training arena, or gyne, for its cavalry regiment.

Whether examining the indentations left in the landscape after the Ice Age at Star Carr in Yorkshire, musing on the significance of the King Arthur myth at Tintagel, meditating on the possible ritual meanings of Seallenge or feeling overwhelmed by the vast chamber of the Great Orme Bronze Age copper mines, Pryor brings at all times a warm (if resolutely secular) sympathy to these topographies of the past. He is the sort of agreeable companion you would want to sit down with for a pint after a ramble at Malham Cove.

For Pryor, landscapes are here to inform but also to inspire us. They reflect who we are and testify to shifting patterns of human behaviour. The point of examining hidden landscapes – ‘from Whitby Abbey to the navy camp at Riselhill in Cumbria, from Tintagel to Tottenham’s Broadwater Farm’ – is to arrive at a common physical inheritance helping future generations in landscape management and understanding.

Though this book skips around and is arguably too episodic, it adds up to an enjoyable, richly informative meditation on treasures that even Britain’s more obscure landscapes reveal and what they might mean.

Alex Wright

Minerva September/October 2018
Celebrities were as powerful in ancient times as they are now. In the 2004 movie, *Troy*, Brad Pitt headed up a starry cast in the role of the Greek hero Achilles and, in the eight-part BBC1 television series, *Troy: Fall of a City*, shown this year, the actress who played Helen (‘the face that launched 1000 ships’) bore a striking resemblance to Victoria Beckham. These are just two of the recent films inspired by Homer’s *Iliad*; before them came *Helen of Troy* (1956), *The Trojan Horse* (1961) and *The Fury of Achilles* (1962). *Troy* is a story that has everything: lust, war, revenge and violence – all the ingredients for a box office blockbuster – and that’s just *Troy* in fiction, add facts and it gets even more glamorous.

Enter Heinrich Schliemann, a businessman with a passion for Homer, who, using clues in the *Iliad*, located the site of Troy at Hissarlik in Asia Minor. There, in 1873, his workmen found gold objects dubbed ‘Priam’s Treasure’ and gold jewellery, fetchingly modelled by his wife Sophie. Schliemann smuggled the bling back to Athens and, later, exhibited it at the British Museum where it caused a sensation. Eventually he presented it to a Berlin museum where it remained until the end of the Second World War when Russian troops took it back to Moscow. Subsequent digs at Troy are mentioned to bring us right up to date with Manfred Korfmann, the archaeologist who has been responsible for the site since 1988. All this is aptly reflected in the title of Nick McCarty’s *Troy: The Myth and Reality Behind the Epic Legend*. Written for a popular readership, packed with time-lines, illustrations and explanations, including who was who in the ancient world – it powers through a story that needs no embellishing.

Lindsay Fulcher

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**CLASSICAL CONUNDRUMS**

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

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

1) **supplodo** (Latin)
   A) to burst out, to blossom (of a flower)
   B) to stamp the foot
   C) to shout out

2) **linoporos** (Ancient Greek)
   A) sail-wafting
   B) wool taken from a dead sheep
   C) carrying on one’s back

3) **pullulo** (Latin)
   A) to gobble (as of turkeys)
   B) to rebound
   C) to sprout, spring forth

4) **outidanos** (Homeric Greek)
   A) tall; lanky
   B) worthless
   C) exhausted; worn out

5) **prolubium** (Latin)
   A) a bribe
   B) fancy, inclination
   C) a bath; a plunge

6) **pappoos** (Ancient Greek)
   A) pointing oars upwards when rowing
   B) at full gallop
   C) from one’s grandfathers

7) **percarus** (Latin)
   A) a wild boar
   B) without, lacking
   C) very dear, very costly, very much beloved

8) **proion** (Homeric Greek)
   A) early in the morning
   B) attractive, comely
   C) offspring

9) **thelemes** (Ancient Greek)
   A) happy, content, joyful
   B) singing in soft strain
   C) the braying of a donkey

10) **obuncus** (Latin)
    A) bent, hooked
    B) an earwig
    C) bare of leaves or twigs (of trees)

11) **occlamito** (Latin)
    A) to accuse
    B) to keep on bawling at
    C) to close, to shut

12) **eumelos** (Ancient Greek)
    A) handsome
    B) well-intentioned
    C) rich in sheep

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**ANSWERS**

1A) bent; hooked; 1B) to keep on bawling at; 1C) rich in sheep
2A) sail-wafting
3C) to sprout, spring forth
4B) worthless
5C) a bath; a plunge
6C) from one’s grandfathers
7B) without, lacking
8C) offspring
9B) singing in soft strain
10A) bent, hooked
11B) to keep on bawling at
12C) rich in sheep

*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.*

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UNITED KINGDOM
CAMBRIDGE
Designers and Jewellery 1850–1940: Jewellery & Metalwork from The Fitzwilliam Museum
Showcasing a various 19th-century and 20th-century styles from the Fitzwilliam's extensive collections of jewellery and metalwork, this exhibition celebrates the work of leading craftspeople, such as Castellani, Giuliano, Robert Phillips, John Brogden and William Burgess. One splendidly designed Egyptian revival brooch (above) made of gold and white gold, with blue, green and red cloissonné, set with a moonstone carved into a Pharaonic head, was made by renowned London jewellers Watherston & Son, circa 1906.
Fitzwilliam Museum
+44 (0) 1223 332900
(www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk)
Until 11 November 2018.

EDINBURGH
Rembrandt: Britain’s Discovery of the Master
The status of Rembrandt (1606–69) as one of the leading figures of the Dutch Golden Age is well secured, and the story of the appreciation and admiration for the artist in Britain, from the 1630s to the present, is a fascinating one. His portraits and landscapes were particularly popular in Britain and he was at the height of his popularity in the 18th century. Exploring both the history of collecting and Rembrandt’s influence on the imagination, this exhibition brings together major works by the Dutch artist and by later artists in Britain that he inspired, from Hogarth and Reynolds to Epstein, Paolozzi and Auerbach.
Scottish National Gallery
+44 (0)131 624 6200
(www.nationalgalleries.org)
Until 14 October 2018.

LONDON
The Past is Present: Becoming Egyptian in the 20th Century
As Egypt underwent great changes in the 20th century, the nation looked to its past. This latest display, sponsored by Japanese publisher Asahi Shimbun, focuses on how motifs from the ancient world were repurposed in modern times. Objects collected through the museum’s Modern Egypt project – including a 1960s milk-bottle with a Cleopatra logo (below left), pasta and cigarette packaging with pyramid designs, posters, and signs – that all show how ancient Egypt was present in both public and private life during the 20th century as a visual culture distinct from European Egyptomania.
British Museum
+44 (0)20 7323 8299
(www.britishmuseum.org)
Until 30 September 2018.

Empire of the Sikhs
The Sikh Empire (1799–1849) under the one-eyed ‘Napoleon of the East’ Maharaja Ranjit Singh stretched across much of Pakistan and northwest India and was both an ally and opponent of the British. Splendid jewellery, weaponry and personal items belonging to Ranjit Singh and his family tell the story of the Empire and its annexation as well as the British acquisition of the Koh-i-Noor diamond.
British Museum
+44 (0)20 7323 8299
(www.britishmuseum.org)
Until 23 September 2018.

London in its Original Splendour
The latest contemporary art show above Roman London’s temple of Mithras sees Argentinian artist Pablo Bronstein cover the gallery space in 3D-rendered wallpaper that draws inspiration from the history of the site. Whether drawing, choreography or performance, Bronstein’s work focuses on imagined architecture, and this installation (above) presents a fantasy view of the architecture of London based on archaeological artefacts from the Mithraeum and the nearby designs by Christopher Wren, John Soane, Edwin Lutyns, and James Stirling.
London Mithraeum Bloomberg SPACE
+44 (0)20 7330 7500
(www.londonmithraeum.com/bloomberg-space)
Until 12 January 2019.

Courtauld Impressionists: From Manet to Cézanne
A mile down the road from the National Gallery, the Courtauld Gallery is closing this September for a major redevelopment. But works from their collection will be on show in an exhibition at the National Gallery uniting purchases made by the Gallery through the Samuel Courtauld Fund with the Impressionist acquisitions of Samuel Courtauld (1876–1947). The exhibition examines how the industrialist built up his collection, from the first Impressionist exhibition to the death of his wife Elizabeth in 1931, when he stopped buying paintings; and how he influenced the formation of the national collections and the acceptance in Britain of modern art. Highlights include: Manet’s A Bar at the Folies-Bergère, Toulouse-Lautrec's Jane Avril in the Entrance to the Moulin Rouge, and Cézanne's Still Life with Plaster Cupid, circa 1894 (below).
National Gallery
+44 (0)20 7747 2885
(www.nationalgallery.org.uk)
From 17 September 2018 to 20 January 2019.
Oceania
The Royal Academy of Arts was founded 250 years ago, in 1768, the year of Captain James Cook's first Pacific expedition on the Endeavour. Marking these two anniversaries, the RA is staging the UK’s first major survey of Oceanic art, with some 200 works spanning over 500 years and nearly a third of the world’s surface, from New Guinea to Easter Island, Hawaii to New Zealand. With an eye on the history of the region and present-day issues, the exhibition celebrates the rich and diverse cultures of Oceania and explores three key themes: voyaging and water, place-making and settlement, and encounter, trade and exchange. Highlights include extraordinary works such as cloaks made of feathers, carved canoe paddles, ceremonial bowls and wooden carvings, including the Tā Moko panel, 1896-99 (below) by Tene Waitere, one of the most important Maori sculptors.

Royal Academy of Arts
+44 (0)20 7300 8027
royalacademy.org.uk
from 29 September to 10 December 2018.

Oxford
Spellbound: Magic, Ritual & Witchcraft
Visitors entering this exhibition can choose whether or not they will walk under a ladder. They will then face questions about the role of ‘magic’ in their daily lives. The use of talismans reveals a fascinating range of artefacts reflecting magical practices from the 12th century to the present day. Among them is an intricate brass prognosticator, circa AD 1500 (above), which was used to calculate propitious times for blood-letting, according to the position of the moon. Crystal balls, and books of spells are displayed alongside poigniant accounts of witch trials and prosecutions, including that of Helen Duncan in 1928, who was imprisoned for nine months under the Witchcraft Act of 1735 (which was not repealed until 1944, who was imprisoned for nine months under the Witchcraft Act of 1735 (which was not repealed until 1944). There are also gruesome objects on show, such as a pierced bull’s heart, just one of thousands kept in houses for protection.

Ashmolean Museum
+44 (0)1865 278000
(www.ashmolean.org)
Until 6 January 2019.

St Ives, Cornwall
Patrick Heron
Recently named the Art Fund’s Museum of the Year 2018, Tate St Ives is exploring more than 50 years of work by the British artist Patrick Heron (1920–99) in its new top-lit gallery. Colour remained a key concern throughout Heron’s career, but his abstractions, best seen in his ambitious, expansive paintings, demonstrate how he responded to everyday light and shapes. Although he never depicted the garden and landscape around his Cornwall home and studio, these spaces have left their mark on his work.

Tate St Ives
+44 (0)1736 796 226
(www.tate.org.uk)
Until 30 September 2018.

Minerva September/October 2018
and sailors in uniforms, graduates in caps and gowns, and new parents with their babies and children.

Metropolitan Museum of Art
+1 212 535 7710
(www.metmuseum.org)
Until 8 October 2018.

Nedjemankh and His Gilded Coffin
Nedjemankh was a high-ranking Egyptian priest of the ram-headed god Heryshef of Herakleopolis in upper Egypt. When he died in the 1st century BC he was buried in a spectacular, richly decorated, gilded coffin. Recently acquired by the Met, it is now the centrepiece of an exhibition that brings together other artefacts from the museum’s extensive Egyptian collections, adding detail, setting his role as a priest, putting his burial and the ornamentation of his coffin in context. The show examines how the coffin’s scenes and texts, in thick silver foil on the interior of the lid, assists with rebirth in the next life, and the eyes of Heryshef.

Metropolitan Museum of Art
+1 212 535 7710
(www.metmuseum.org)
Until 21 April 2019.

WASHINGTON DC
Water, Wind, and Waves: Marine Paintings from the Dutch Golden Age
With its many canals and great maritime trading tradition, the Netherlands has always been a master of both the high seas and the low country. This is reflected in the art of the Dutch Golden Age, with paintings, drawings, prints, rare books and an extraordinary set of intricate ship models, which all chart the multifaceted relationship between people and water in daily life; as is shown in works such as Hendrick Avercamp’s A Scene on the Ice, circa 1625 (above). Water offered a place for recreation, whether for swimming in ponds, canals or rivers or, when frozen, skating, sleighing or playing games like kolf – golf on ice – in the harsh winters of what was called the ‘Little Ice Age’, circa 1645–1715. Images of Dutch naval might, transport, and the economic assets of the Dutch East India and West India Companies are also on show.

National Gallery of Art
+1 202 737 4215
(www.nga.gov)
Until 25 November 2018.

DENMARK
COPENHAGEN
Odilon Redon: Into the Dream
Over 150 works, including, Pegasus and the Hydra, circa 1907 (below), by French symbolist, graphic artist, and painter Odilon Redon (1840–1916) have been brought together for an immersive journey through his dreamlike and narrative-filled world. His art conveys his interest in both science and progress, and the inexplicable world of darkness, dreams and myths. Organised in collaboration with the Kröller-Müller Museum in Holland, the exhibition includes loans of works by Redon from a range of public and private collections in Europe and the USA. These are set alongside pieces that highlight his influences, such as painting by Pierre Bonnard and Van Gogh, and artefacts from ancient Egypt and ancient Greece. The music and literature that inspired Redon can be heard from ‘soundposts’ throughout the gallery. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek +45 33 41 81 41
(www.glyptoteket.dk)
From 12 October 2018 to 20 January 2019.

FRANCE
LENS
Love
Love has been a plentiful source of inspiration for countless artists and writers since the first pens and paint brushes were ever employed. ‘Through artworks from a number of cultures over time, this nuanced exhibition traces the history of what we see as love and romance, from ancient statuary to paintings by Fragonard and Delacroix, to free love and libertine behaviour. There has always been an intriguing concern with the powerful dangers of feminine seduction, whether by Pandora in ancient Greece or by Eve in the Garden of Eden. In contrast, divine female icons, such as the Virgin Mary, are worshipped. Romanticism and the rituals of courtship and marriage, the pleasures of the flesh and the equality of partners are all addressed through an array of art.

Louvre Lens
+33 3 21 18 62 62
(www.louverlen.fr)
From 26 September 2018 to 21 January 2019.

PARIS
Archaeology goes Graphic
The latest offering in the Petite Galerie, the Louvre’s space devoted to art and cultural education for all, examines the relationship between archaeology and the art of the comic book, known in France as the ‘9th art’. With archaeological discoveries, such as a terracotta nude from 2340–1500 BC (above), and comics and drawings, visitors can learn about the work of the archaeologist from the 19th century onwards. Sketchbooks have their place in archaeology as in graphic art, but as well as this tool, the two subjects have more in common. While archaeologists are not the most frequent characters in comics, they do occasionally appear along with excavations and their spectacular discoveries, in imaginative illustrated stories that combine fact and fiction, mythical figures, places and objects.

Louvre
+33 1 40 20 50 50
(www.louvre.fr)
From 12 October 2018 to 1 July 2019.

Jakuchu: The Colourful Kingdom of Living Beings
As part of Paris’ Japonismes 2018 cultural programme, celebrating 160 years of diplomatic relations between France and Japan, the Petit Palais is mounting a special display of the entire series of 30 hanging scrolls called Dōshokusai-e (The Colourful Kingdom of Living Beings). It is the first time all 30 of the scrolls have been on show in Europe, and owing to their extreme fragility they will only be on view for one month. The scrolls are considered the masterpiece of Edo artist Ito Jakuchū who painted them, between 1757 and 1766, using
subtle brushwork and vivid colours to capture cockerels, peacocks, fish, ducks, phoenixes and blossoming trees, with a great sense of realism and precision. A pious figure, Jakuchū donated the scrolls to the Shōkoku-ji Buddhist temple in Kyoto where they no longer hang. This presentation resembles the artist's original intention of how the work should be seen together.

**Petit Palais**

+33 1 53 43 40 00

(www.petitpalais.paris.fr/en)

From 15 September to 14 October 2018.

**Qatar Museums Collection**

PHOTO QM

Until 25 September 2018.


Modern Art

Mathaf: Arab Museum of

Left and the Right in politics.

progress, East and West, and the explorer the contrast between the and the square (above), Melehi forms such as the wave, the circle modern society. With colourful and political systems in a changing

that the political and spiritual dimension of his work was at its strongest. Mathaf: Arab Museum of

DOHA

Mohammed Melehi: 1959–1971

As one of Mathaf's 'Focus' exhibitions that explore the work of pioneering regional artists in the museum's permanent collection, this show will centre on Moroccan artist Mohammed Melehi (b 1936). Through a chronological survey of 13 of Melehi's works created during a period of life that saw him study in Rome, live in New York, and return to Morocco nine years after independence was restored, visitors will be able to trace his interest in the various ideological, scientific and political systems in a changing modern society. With colourful forms such as the wave, the circle and the square (above), Melehi explores the contrast between the artificial and organic, tradition and progress, East and West, and the Left and the Right in politics.

Mathaf: Arab Museum of Modern Art

+974 4402 8855

(www.mathaf.org.qa/en/whats-on)

Until 25 September 2018.

**Moscow**

Pearls: Treasures from the Seas and the Rivers

Naturally forming pearls, found in a range of colours, have been highly prized for many centuries and as a result incorporated into exquisite pieces of jewellery, whether earrings, tiaras, ropes of pearls or pendants. The rivers and lakes of Russia have yielded large quantities of freshwater pearls that are not widely known, but they adorned icons in churches and clothing for the nobility. Pearls are therefore an ideal subject for an exhibition as part of the Qatar–Russia 2018 Year of Culture, for which Qatar Museums has loaned an extraordinary collection of 100 pieces of pearl jewellery. Highlights include designs by Cartier and the dazzling tiara of Archduchess Marie-Valerie of Austria (above left), made by Kochert circa 1913, and five other tiaras from European royal houses.

State Historical Museum

+7 495 692 40 19

(www.shm.ru)

Until 1 October 2018.

**Spain**

**Bilbao**

*Art and China after 1989: Theater of the World*

In 1989, the Tiananmen Square protest and the resulting military crackdown on the student protest movement marked the end of a decade of comparative political, intellectual and creative freedom in China – how did artists respond? With works by some 60 artists and groups from across the country and the rest of the world, this exhibition investigates artistic experimentation between 1989 and the 2008 Beijing Olympics, a period defined by great reforms, globalisation and the rise of China as a world power. The art on show includes performance, painting, photography, installation and video art, which deal with issues concerning the legacy of Chinese history, identity, equality, ideology and control. It shows the prominent role of dissident Chinese artists, such as Ai Weiwei, in the development of global contemporary art. His three gelatin silver prints *Dropping a Han Dynasty Urn*, 1995 (below) are included in the show.

**Guggenheim Museum**

+34 917 91 13 70

(www.guggenheim-bilbao.eus)

Until 23 September 2018.

**Madrid**

*Monet/Boudin*

While not as famous as Monet, (1840–1926), Eugène Boudin (1824–98) had a great influence on him. Paintings by both artists, who first met in 1856, shown side by side, reveal Boudin’s impact on Monet in his formative years. Both were interested in the effects of light on water and were attracted by the wild coasts of Brittany and Normandy. Although their friendship began to cool in the 1870s, Boudin continued to admire Monet’s work, such as *A Seascape, Shipping by Moonlight*, circa 1864 (above).

Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza

+34 917 91 13 70

(www.museothyssen.org)

Until 30 September 2018.
EVENTS

UNITED KINGDOM

HARROGATE

The Northern Antiques Fair

More than 40 UK art and antique dealers are coming together for the Northern Antiques Fair hosted in Harrogate. The stands present paintings, sculpture, antique furniture, antiquities and more. Among the highlights are a rare 18th-century oak lambing chair (offered by Elaine Phillips Antiques) and a 5th/6th-century BC Greek pottery child’s rattle in the shape of a pig (above), whose sound would soothe an infant and ward off evil spirits (offered by Odyssey, who are at the fair for the first time).

4–7 October

Harrogate Convention Centre
northernfair.com

LONDON

Asian Art in London

Leading international art dealers, auction houses, museums and institutions celebrate the riches of Asian art at this successful annual event that has been running for the past 21 years. This year the 10-day programme features exhibitions, auctions, lectures, symposia and workshops, sharing some of the finest Asian art from antiquity to the present day. The event also includes the 2018 AAL Gala Party (on Thursday 1 November, tickets must be booked in advance), where the results of the Emerging Artist Award will be announced, and late-night openings on Saturday 3 November in Kensington Church Street, Sunday 4 November in St James’s, and Monday 5 November in Mayfair. After its successful launch at last year’s AAL, The AAL Contemporary Satellite Event will be returning on 5–9 November. Works from China, Japan and South-East Asia will be on show at the Design Centre Chelsea Harbour, along with a non-selling exhibition from a private collection of South-East Asian art.

1–10 November

Multiple venues

www.asianartinlondon.com

Frieze Masters

Now in its seventh year, Frieze Masters (running alongside Frieze London and Frieze Sculpture) returns to Regent’s Park with more than 130 galleries covering 6000 years of art history. This edition will see Old Master galleries and Asian specialists represented strongly. Antiquities (including spectacular ancient Chinese bronzes), tribal art and 20th-century art will also be on view. The talks programme curated by Tim Marlow presents all-female international artists, while the Spotlight section showcases the work of avant-garde revolutionary artists, such as the flamboyant Turkish artist and opera-singer Semih Berkoşy (1910–2004), whose striking work, Salome, 1962 (right) will be displayed by Vigo, London.

5–7 October

Regent’s Park

frieze.com/fairs/frieze-masters

SOAS Specialist Art Courses

These short art courses at the School of Oriental and African Studies consist of lectures by leading experts and curators as well as visits to museums. The autumn course, running from 5 to 8 November, Maritime Silk Route: Across the Seas of Asia, examines this trade network in surviving texts, early maps, paintings (right) and objects recovered from shipwrecks. Next year’s courses include: The Art of the Book, 11 to 14 February; Collectors and Collecting of East Asia, 28 to 31 May; Arts of Eastern Christianity: Part II, 8 to 11 July.

For further details contact Denise Axford on 020 7898 4451 or email asianart@soas.ac.uk.

Various dates in 2018 and 2019

School of Oriental and African Studies

soas.ac.uk/art-short-courses

Martin Randall Travel Lecture Afternoon 2018

Six of Martin Randall Travel’s lecturers will be giving talks at this educational afternoon event, which includes refreshments and a canapé reception. The lectures are on a diverse range of subjects including: the place of Andean civilisation in human history; visiting country houses; late medieval pilgrimage; Parisian art and design in the interbellum period; Sarajevo; and Mozart and the piano in 1777.

27 October

Royal Society

www.martinrandall.com/london-lecture-afternoon

PAD London

Galleries focusing on art, design, decorative arts, tribal art and collectible jewellery, both vintage and contemporary, are gathering together for the 12th edition of this acclaimed fair for art and design. Antiquities will also be available, including an Attic

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Marriott

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© VIGO GALLERY 2018
and also travelled to Rome as a young man. His work extols the wild landscapes of the Hudson Valley and the Catskill Mountains, but warns of industrialisation and its consequences. The study day consists of two morning lectures and an afternoon visit to the National Gallery’s exhibition Thomas Cole: Eden to Empire, where Cole’s celebrated painting The Oxbow is on display in the UK for the first time.

12 September
The Linnean Society
www.ciceroni.co.uk

Tribal Art London
As the only tribal art fair of its kind in the UK, each year Tribal Art London brings together specialist dealers from across the globe. It features a rich and diverse mix of works, including books, textiles, sculptures, ceramics and jewellery from the regions of Oceania, Africa and Asia.

5–8 September
Mall Galleries
tribalartlondon.com

WEST DEAN
Byzantine Icon Painting
You can learn the techniques of Byzantine icon painting with Peter Murphy, an expert in traditional medieval painting practices, who has undertaken a number of commissions for UK churches. The course covers the basic principles of the design, water gilding, mixing and applying egg tempera, and dry brush modelling. There will also be an illustrated talk on the spiritual reasons for the styles used in icon painting (right).

7–12 October
West Dean College of Arts and Conservation
www.westdean.org.uk/study/short-courses/

HONG KONG
Fine Art Asia & Ink Asia
Fine Art Asia brings together a wide array of exhibitors from the region and beyond. Covering more than 5000 years of art works from ancient Chinese bronzes to contemporary photography, the fair includes 100 dealers offering high-quality silver, jewellery, antiquities, Impressionist and modern paintings, and more. For the third year, there will also be a special section focusing on photography; and this year Fine Art Asia is exhibiting alongside Ink Asia 2018, the world’s first art fair devoted to art in ink, launched in 2015. Ink Asia celebrates contemporary works in and inspired by ink, which blend tradition and innovation.

29 September to 2 October
Hong Kong Convention and Exhibition Centre
www.fineartasia.com/www.inkasia.com/hk

UNITED STATES
NEW YORK, New York
TEFAF New York Fall 2018
Collectors, museum curators, interior designers and connoisseurs from across the world all come together each year for TEFAF New York. With more than 90 exhibitors (including 10 new participants), the fair showcases a carefully considered selection of fine and decorative arts from the ancient world to the early 20th century. It sets out to provide an enhanced, immersive experience through varied programmes and institutional collaborations, as well as artfully curated booth presentations. Among the exhibitors presenting antiquities are: Galerie Cybele (taking part for the first time), Didier Aaron, Cahn International, Galerie Chenel, Rupert Wace Ancient Art and Charles Ede Ltd, who is offering a beautiful ancient Egyptian sarcophagus mask of a woman (above) that was once in the collection of Thebes, circa 943–716 BC (below).

27–31 October
Park Avenue Armory
www.tefaf.com

TOURING
Jasmin Vardimon: Medusa
Jasmin Vardimon Company is celebrating its 20th anniversary with a tour of a new production Medusa, commissioned for the 20th anniversary of the opening of the (6th) Sadler’s Wells Theatre (on the same site). A Sadler’s Wells Associate Artist, Jasmin Vardimon (left) considers the powerful feminine symbol of Medusa, her snaky myth, the notion of reflection, and the sea, the home of jellyfish, which are known in Spanish as medusas. Tour venues include:

Gulbenkian, Canterbury: 13–15 September
Northcott Theatre, Exeter: 3–5 October
Cambridge Junction, Cambridge: 10 October
Dance East, Ipswich: 18–20 October
Sadler’s Wells, London: 22–24 October
For further information visit: jasminvardimon.com
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