Lost tombs of Egypt

Chris Naunton goes up the Nile in search of the missing pharaohs

Here comes the Sun
The story of solar energy – from cuneiform tablets to nuclear fusion – on show at the Science Museum

Strawberry Hill forever
Treasures from Horace Walpole’s collection return to his Gothic fantasy castle in Twickenham
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The return of the light

As the New Year dawns, we focus on the Sun and shine its rays on lost Egyptian tombs, Roman women and many more. His specialist interests are 20th-century and contemporary art. He is spearheading plans to create a sculpture park at the Sainsbury Centre.

The number of new tombs being discovered in Egypt seems to be increasing week by week and, while this is exciting, precise information about them seems to be a bit thin on the ground. So, we asked Egyptologist, writer and broadcaster Chris Naunton to tell us about some of the lost tombs of Egypt that interest him. Everyone knows the story of how Howard Carter discovered the treasures of Tutankhamun, but what about the lesser-known tombs, which may not be full of gold artefacts but which are at least as valuable to those who study them? See what Chris has to say about this on pages 14 to 20.

One of the Ancient Egyptian kings whose tomb has not been located is Akhenaten, the so-called heretic pharaoh, who not only moved the capital from Thebes to Amarna but instituted a whole new religion focusing on the Aten, or the sun-disc. If he were alive today he would, no doubt, be fascinated by an exhibition entitled The Sun – Living with Our Star, currently on show at the Science Museum in London. We were lucky enough to persuade its Lead Curator, Dr Harry Cliff, to write about it for us; as you can see on pages 36 to 41. When Harry is not busy curating exhibitions, he is in Cambridge, carrying out research in particle physics on the Large Hadron Collider.

From the explosive energy of the star at the centre of our solar system, we move on to the dark creativity of the late Dame Elisabeth Frink. When I first saw her work in the 1970s, it made an indelible impression on me. The subjects of her sculpture, ranging from birds of prey to Judas and the Madonna, are all connected with power. Her famously sinister, rather thuggish prey to Judas and the Madonna, are all connected with the late Dame Elisabeth Frink. When I first saw her work in the 1970s, it made an indelible impression on me. The subjects of her sculpture, ranging from birds of prey to Judas and the Madonna, are all connected with power. Her famously sinister, rather thuggish prey to Judas and the Madonna, are all connected with her imagination of the 18th-century collector Horace Walpole who, in 1750, built Strawberry Hill, his ‘little Gothic castle’, in what was then the Thames-side village of Twickenham. The house is a white castellated brick-cake of a ‘castle’ whose interior is a veritable confection of curved arches, gilded decoration and rich colours. In it, he created a medieval ‘gloomth’ that suited his taste and this inspired him to write the first Gothic novel, The Castle of Otranto, published in 1764.

Walpole’s wonderful collection of art, antiquities and curiosities was sold off in 1842, but now some of its treasures have returned home. You can find out more about this amazing house and its eccentric owner on pages 30 to 35. One of his prize objects, that has now returned to Strawberry Hill, is an extremely fine Roman, white marble eagle, dating from the 1st century AD, and this leads us on to our three features on aspects of the Roman world.

Simon Elliott, who has a passion for military history, gives us an insight into the life of Roman legionaries – their equipment, their pay-packets and even their diet – on pages 48 to 51. And, if you are interested in the Roman army, you will be pleased to know that we will have more on this subject in the next issue.

Next, Guy de la Béyodère has traced how certain prominent Roman women, who were to see embody the necessary feminine virtues, maintained the Julio-Claudian dynasty from 27 BC until AD 68. Considering the amount of rivalry and plotting over succession, not to mention the assassination attempts, that went on, this was no mean feat but these feisty females held the line: see pages 8 to 13.

Meanwhile Dalu Jones takes us on a more peaceful tour of the fascinating, but little-visited site of Aquileia, which is not far from Venice. Not just an archaeological site, Aquileia contains a large basilica, whose floor is a huge carpet of intricately designed Roman mosaics, and an impressive museum that has recently been refurbished. You can find out more on pages 42 to 47.

And if you want to find out about interesting art and antiquities exhibitions, fairs and events, have a look at the diverse selection in our Calendar, which touches on every subject from Ancient Egyptian gold sandals to the work of the radical British artists Gilbert & George.

Lindsay Fulcher

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Head is Collections at Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts. He has curated exhibitions on Bill Viola, Francis Bacon, Rana Begum, Antony Gormley, Elisabeth Frink and many more. His specialist interests are 20th-century and contemporary art. He is spearheading plans to create a sculpture park at the Sainsbury Centre.

Guy de la Béyodère
specialises in the Roman Empire. His many books on the subject include: Cities of Roman Italy, 2010; Real Lives of Roman Britain, 2015; and Praetorian: The Rise and Fall of Rome’s Imperial Bodyguard, 2017. His latest is Domina: The Women Who Made Imperial Rome, 2018. He is a Fellow of the London Society of Antiquaries.

Harry Cliff
has held a joint fellowship with the Science Museum and the University of Cambridge since 2012. At Cambridge, he carries out research in particle physics on the Large Hadron Collider. He is the Lead Curator of The Sun – Living With Our Star on show at the Science Museum, where he is spokesperson on physics and astronomy.

Chris Naunton
is an Egyptologist, writer and broadcaster. He was Director of the Egypt Exploration Society from 2012–16, and has presented television documentaries, such as The Man Who Discovered Egypt and Secrets of Tutankhamun’s Treasures. His latest book, Searching for the Lost Tombs of Egypt, was published in 2018.
Housed in a spectacular new building designed by award-winning French architect Jean Nouvel, the new National Museum of Qatar (NMoQ), will open to the public on 28 March 2019, under the patronage of His Highness Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Khalifa, Al Thani (1880–1957), son of the founder of modern Qatar. This building was once both the home of Qatar’s royal family and the seat of government – before it housed the original National Museum.

The new 40,000-sqm museum by Jean Nouvel, who designed the Institut du Monde Arabe in Paris and the Louvre Abu Dhabi, incorporates the old palace of Sheikh Abdullah. It also serves as a modern home for a collection of innovative art, commissioned from Qatari and international artists, rare and precious objects, documentary materials, and interactive learning facilities. His dynamic design echoes the geography of Qatar while also evoking its history and culture.

‘Qatar has a deep rapport with the desert, with its flora and fauna, its nomadic people, its long traditions,’ he explains.

‘To fuse these contrasting elements I needed something symbolic. Then, I remembered the phenomenon of the desert rose: crystalline forms, like miniature architectural events, that emerge from the ground through the work of wind, salt water and sand. The museum that developed from this idea, with its great curved discs, contextualises the impressive array of archaeological and heritage objects, as well as manuscripts, documents, photographs, jewellery and historic costumes.

The museum is organised into three ‘chapters’: Beginnings, Life in Qatar and Building the Nation, in 11 galleries. The visitor’s chronological journey, which extends for more than 2.7km (1.7 miles), starts in the geological period long before the peninsula was inhabited by humans, and continues to the present day. The visitor route passes through a succession of impressive, remarkably shaped spaces until it reaches that symbol of Qatar national identity, the thoroughly restored palace of Sheikh Abdullah.

Oral histories, archival images, artworks, music, storytelling and evocative aromas create an immersive sensory experience that contextualises the impressive array of archaeological and heritage objects, as well as manuscripts, documents, photographs, jewellery and historic costumes.

One of the greatest treasures on show is the renowned Pearl Carpet of Baroda, commissioned in 1865, embroidered with more than 1.5 million of the highest quality Gulf pearls and adorned with emeralds, diamonds and sapphires. It was created in India to fulfil a vow to cover the tomb of the Prophet Mohammad in the holy city of Medina, which is in Saudi Arabia.

Artworks commissioned for NMoQ include a piece by Qatari artist Ali Hassan in the ground-floor public entrance, a work by Qatari artist and arts patron Sheikh Hassan bin Mohammed bin Ali Al Thani at the entrance to the galleries, and a sculpture by Iraqi artist Ahmed Al Bahrani in the outdoor space known as the Howesh, or caravanserai.

Commissioned artworks in the NMoQ park include a monumental installation by the French artist Jean-Michel Othoniel, comprising 114 individual fountains set within the lagoon, with their streams designed to evoke the fluid forms of Arabic calligraphy; and Gates of the Sea, a sculpture by the Syrian artist Simone Fattal, inspired by the petroglyphs found in Qatar at Al Jassasiya. Her Excellency Sheikha Al Mayassa bint Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani, Chairperson of Qatar Museums, commented: “Qatar is an ancient land, rich in the traditions of the desert and the sea, but also a land that hosted many past civilisations. While it has modernised its infrastructure, it has still remained true to the core cultural values of our times. “We look forward to sharing new museum experiences with our proud and diverse communities, as well as welcoming international guests.”


Lindsay Fulcher
Cave art seen in Burgundy

The first evidence of modern humans in eastern France, has been revealed with the discovery in the Saône-et-Loire department of the marks they left behind. Their cave art has been found in the Grottes d’Agnieux above the commune of Rully in the Côte Chalonnaise. Sophisticated techniques have been used to penetrate the palimpsest of intervening millennia, including graffiti left over several centuries by visitors to this corner of Burgundy’s wine lands, 15km northwest of Chalons-sur-Saône.

This bucolic landscape, inhabited as far back as the time of the Neanderthals, has been under investigation for the past 150 years. For the last 20 years this has been carried out by the University of Tübingen in Germany under Harald Floss, Professor of Early Palaeoanthropology and Quaternary Ecology, who made the recent discovery.

‘Because the frequency of Palaeolithic sites is particularly high here, researchers have suspected for some time that there would be a cave with paintings in it,’ explains Professor Floss. ‘The depictions are quite small. An engraved deer, for instance, is about 20cm long.

‘For the paintings, black and red pigment was used. The black colour of the paintings themselves hasn’t been studied yet. It could be charcoal or manganese oxides. We are at the very beginning of our research. Carbon-dating was possible from charcoal deposits found on the roof and over the paintings and engravings, which means they come from the latest possible date the paintings could have been made.’

Working with Juan Ruiz, a specialist in cave art from the University of Cuenca in Spain, the walls were scanned for signs of images beneath the later graffiti. Once discovered, these early figures were reconstructed using image-processing software, and multiple photographs were used to create a three-dimensional image.

‘Early modern humans were guided by rivers as they spread across the continent,’ he explains. ‘They may have migrated here from the east via the Danube and from the south via the Rhône. Our data suggest that Neanderthals and early modern humans could have met here in eastern France.

‘The region was inhabited first by Neanderthals and then by modern humans. We excavated such sites of Neanderthals in Germolles, and Fontaines, for instance. We excavated sites of modern humans there, too – in Saint-Martin-sous-Montaigu.

‘European ice age art generally dates to the Upper Palaeolithic Period (circa 40,000 BC to 10,000 BC). The paintings are at least 12,000 years old, but could be considerably older, by maybe 20,000 or 30,000 years.’ In comparison, the world-famous paintings in the caves at Lascaux were made around 17,000 years ago.

At around the same time that the finds at Rully were being announced, news came in from the discovery made by Griffith University in Queensland of cave art in Borneo. This supposedly dates back 40,000 years, which now makes it the oldest known in the world.

Roger Williams

Gallo-Roman baths uncovered in Calvados

The thermae (baths) of a Gallo-Russian villa in an unexpectedly good state of preservation have been uncovered in Normandy.

At the beginning of 2018, an archaeological diagnosis carried out by a team of the French Institute of Preventive Archaeology (INRAP) – prior to the proposed extension of the La Papillonnière business park in Vire in the Calvados department – revealed the vestiges of the villa on an estate.

The thermae complex, located 6.5m from the villa, which was used between the 1st and the 3rd centuries, indicates that the owner of the estate must have been wealthy, not only because few private individuals could afford such facilities, but also because of its well-thought-out design and good building quality.

However, the thermae were more than just a bathing facility: they were also a place where the owner entertained his guests. The vestibules of nine rooms, covering 160sqm, were clear enough to identify their use: south and east of the thermae was the hot area, including a 30m-diameter circular, heated pool and a large room. The hypocaust (heating system) consisted of a raised floor under which hot air, produced by a wood fire, circulated. The floor slabs were supported by stacks of pilae (tiles). Nearby were the remains of the furnace used to heat the caldarium (the hottest room). In the east, the cold area consisted of a changing-room and the frigidarium (cold room), which gave access to the other rooms. Along the edges of this part of the baths was the service area with furnaces fed by fornacatores (slaves in charge of the fires), and what could have been a water-tank and latrines.

Unfortunately, the site was deemed too fragile to be left open, and preservation work on site would have been too costly. So, at the end of the excavation, Gérard Guillier, the engineer in charge, announced that it was to be filled with soil so that the extension of the business park could go ahead.

A thorough study of the site was carried out in situ, and the data and numerous samples collected will undergo further study. A virtual recreation of the complex will be displayed in Vire Museum when it reopens – it is at present undergoing extensive renovation work.

Nicole Benazeth

Minerva January/February 2019
Trojan city excavated in Greece

The first remains of the lost city of Tenea, reputedly founded by captives from the Trojan War, have come to light. Agamemnon, king of Mycenae, is said to have given prisoners permission to build their own town between Mycenae and Corinth. It took its name from their home of Tenedos (modern Bozcaada), the Aegean island where the Greeks hid their fleet in order to dupe the Trojans into thinking they had departed, and so encourage them to take the Wooden Horse inside the walls of Troy. Evidence of a city, near the village of Chilomodi, has been on the cards since 1846 with the discovery of the Kouros of Tenea, a statue in Parian marble from around 560 BC, now in the Glyptothek in Munich. Two similar statues were apprehended after they had been illegally excavated by two Greek looters in 2010, and were about to be sold for €10m. They are now in the Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth.

The site was, therefore, clearly worth further excavation and, in 2013, systematic investigation, under the direction of Dr Elena Korka, Director of the Office for the Supervision of Antiquaries at the Greek Ministry of Culture, began there. Dr Korka was already aware of its possibilities after discovering a sarcophagus with a female skeleton and offerings, from the Early Archaic period, during rescue excavations in 1984. Subsequent work centred on burial sites and, late last year, nine were excavated, dating from the 4th century BC to Roman times. These yielded a wealth of gold, copper and bone jewellery, pottery and coins.

At the same time, further excavations revealed the residential area of the city. ‘Inside these areas, clay floors, as well as portions of marble and stone floors, were maintained in good condition, while some of the walls were well-crafted and covered with mortar,’ said a statement released with mortar by the Greek Ministry of Culture shortly afterwards. ‘The citizens seem to have been remarkably affluent,’ added Dr Korka.

Tenea was situated on a main trade-route between Corinth and Argos, and in 734 BC or 733 BC, its citizens, along with those of Corinth, founded the colony of Syracuse in Sicily. The city continued to flourish after the Romans completely destroyed Corinth (only to rebuild it in AD 146); Tenea was only spared from the same fate because of its Trojan connections – according to myth, the Trojan hero Aeneas, the cousin of King Priam, was the founder of Rome.

Roger Williams

A farmer finds an unlooted Minoan tomb

A Minoan tomb in an olive grove near the village of Kentri in Ierapetra, on the agricultural plains of south-east Crete, was discovered by chance by a farmer, who has now been excavated. Archaeologists say the tomb dates from the Late Minoan 111A2-B period circa 1400–1200 BC. Yiannis Papadatos, Assistant Professor of Prehistoric Archaeology of Kapodistrian University in Athens, led the excavation project, aided by students from the university.

The Minoan civilisation had its beginnings circa 2000 BC and continued until about 1100 BC, yet it was only brought to light when Sir Arthur Evans began his excavations of the great palace of Knossos in 1900. This ill-fated game of Aegean Bronze Age civilisation, which Evans named after the legendary King Minos of Crete, was one of considerable sophistication as evidenced by the advanced design and construction of the Minoan palaces and by the remarkable frescoes and elegant artefacts they contained.

Carved out of the region’s soft limestone, the newly discovered chamber tomb had remained intact. Reached by a vertical shaft, its entrance had been sealed with large river pebbles. The floor of the tomb now lies 3.3m below ground level. Elliptical in shape, it contains three interior niches and two larnaxes (small, closed coffins). One complete cist-shaped larnax, decorated with images of vegetation, still had its lid in place. Inside it was the well-preserved skeleton of an adult male. This was decorated with a scene of a three-man chariot pulled by a horse led by a human figure. A similar scene has been found on another larnax found in the nearby village of Episkopi in Ierapetra, and archaeologists believe these may be by the same artist. Future research may be able to validate this.

Diana Bentley
Entering the Underworld

What did Ancient Greeks believe happened to them when they died? Was there life after death? For most, the Underworld was a bleak, sombre place where none of life’s pleasures could be enjoyed. This led some to seek a way to secure a more agreeable afterlife. Plato (circa 428–347 BC) wryly commented that individuals ‘dismiss the stories told about what goes on in Hades’ until they face death themselves.

Now, we can examine these stories at Underworld: Imagining the Afterlife, an exhibition on show at the Getty Villa, which examines some of the competing ideas and beliefs, as well as different strategies for ensuring everlasting bliss.

The exhibition explores different depictions of the Underworld in the art of ancient Greece and southern Italy. The centrepiece of the exhibition is a red figure krater (monumental funerary vessel) from Altamura – on loan from the National Archaeological Museum in Naples.

‘Some of the richest evidence for ancient beliefs about the afterlife comes from southern Italy in the 4th century BC, and the magnificent Altamura krater exemplifies the monumental, elaborately decorated vases that were produced at that time,’ says Getty Museum Director Timothy Potts.

‘This important exhibition is the culmination of a two-year conservation project with the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples (MANN) to conserve and display this krater. Our continued partnership with MANN has resulted in several successful collaborative projects including three of their splendid bronze treasures, the Ephebe (Youth) in 2009, the Apollo Saettante in 2011, and the over-life-size sculpture of Tiberius in 2013.’

Dating from around the middle of the 4th century BC, the krater was found in fragments in Altamura in the region of Apulia, south-east Italy, in 1847. The ancient inhabitants of that region buried their dead with pottery and other grave goods, and large vessels were produced for graves of the local elite. Although not Greek by blood, Apulians engaged closely with the culture of Greece, and many of their funerary vases are decorated with scenes taken from its myths. On the krater from Altamura the Underworld is shown populated by more than 20 mythological figures, including Hades and Persephone, the god and goddess of the Underworld, the musician Orpheus, the hero Herakles, the messenger-god Hermes, and Sisyphus, whose eternal punishment was having to roll a giant boulder up a hill.

After its discovery in 1847, the krater was overpainted when it was reassembled in the workshop of the Neapolitan restorer Raffaele Gargiulo (1785–after 1870) in the early 1850s. By 2016, lots of the old repairs needed treatment. In collaboration with colleagues in Naples, Getty conservators have worked for two years to ensure the vase’s structural soundness and future stability. They were also able to identify areas re-created in the 19th century, and the results are shown in the exhibition.

The Underworld (known as ‘the House of Hades’ or simply as ‘Hades’) is a rare subject in Greek art. Athenian 6th-century BC vase-painters usually focused on cursed, unfortunate individuals, like Sisyphus; it is only in South Italian vase-painting, from around 350 BC, that a tradition of richly populated Underworld scenes developed. About 40 Apulian funerary vessels, in mostly European collections, bear detailed representations of the afterlife and the mythological figures associated with it.

‘Around 35 other ancient works have been chosen to highlight the famous inhabitants of Hades and to explore the ways in which individuals sought to achieve a happier afterlife,’ said David Saunders, curator of the exhibition and associate curator of Antiquities at the J Paul Getty Museum. ‘Monumental funerary vessels, such as the krater from Altamura, are painted with elaborate depictions of Hades’ realm, and rare gold plaques that were buried with the dead bear directions for where to go in the Underworld. These works, alongside funerary offerings, grave monuments, and representations of everlasting banquets, convey some of the ways in which the hereafter was imagined in the 5th and 4th centuries BC.’

Most ancient Greeks believed that the soul left the body at death and continued to exist in some form, but this did not mean that goodness would be rewarded and evil punished in the afterlife. Perpetual torment awaited only the most exceptional sinners, while a select few – heroes related to the Olympian gods – enjoyed eternal paradise.

Yet, as this exhibition explores, individuals did seek ways to improve their lot. Initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries, an annual festival in Greece based on the story of Persephone, ensured a good harvest and also a blessed afterlife for participants.

Outside mainstream religious practice, devotion to the mythical poet-singer Orpheus and the god Dionysos also offered paths to a better existence after death. Their rites were shrouded in secrecy and remain little understood today. One of the richest sources of information about them is found on the Lamellae Orphicae, or ‘Orphic tablets’, Greek inscriptions written on thin sheets of gold, named by modern scholars after Orpheus, whose descent and return from the Underworld made him one of the few who could impart knowledge of the afterlife. Deposited in graves, the ‘Orphic tablets’ usually bear a short text proclaiming the deceased’s distinguished status and providing guidance for his or her journey into the Underworld. Three examples are on view in this exhibition, including one from the Getty’s collection.

• Underworld: Imagining the Afterlife is on show at the Getty Villa, Pacific Palisades, CA (www.getty.edu) until 18 March 2019.

Lindsay Fulcher

2. Greek sculptural group of a seated poet and two Sirens, 350–300 BC, terracotta, with white slip and polychromy.
3. A Lamella Orphica, Greek, second half of 4th century BC, gold. H. 2.2cm. W. 3.7cm.
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Following the
The Romans had a very clear idea about what a good woman should be. First of all, she should aspire to unimpeachable Pudicitia, the fragile personification of purity – the slightest questioning of a woman’s virtue could destroy her – and she was expected to be fertile, loyal and supportive, both as a mother and a wife. But women were also believed to be especially susceptible to the ‘effeminate’ temptations of luxury and indulgence, failings that were seen as potentially undermining of the state.

Guy de la Bédoyère tracks the Roman women who were held in high esteem because they exemplified the virtues of the state and thereby ensured the succession of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

1. Detail from marble relief created during the reign of Claudius, AD 41–54, found in Ravenna. It shows the Julio-Claudian dynasty in which Livia played a central role. From left to right: Nero Claudius Drusus, Germanicus, Livia as Venus, with Eros on her shoulder, and the deified Augustus as Mars. H. 104cm. Photograph: John Pollini.

2. Life-sized marble bust of Livia, circa 25–1 BC, found in Italy. H. 28cm.

The Romans had a very clear idea about what a good woman should be. First of all, she should aspire to unimpeachable Pudicitia, the fragile personification of purity – the slightest questioning of a woman’s virtue could destroy her – and she was expected to be fertile, loyal and supportive, both as a mother and a wife. But women were also believed to be especially susceptible to the ‘effeminate’ temptations of luxury and indulgence, failings that were seen as potentially undermining of the state.

When Octavian seized control of the Roman world in 31 BC
and took the name Augustus just four years later, he knew he had to reinvent the whole image of the Roman state. He famously claimed to have restored the Republic, and in a sense he had, but he had also established a monarchy in all but name – where none was supposed to exist. However, he was constantly thwarted in his attempts to make the emperor’s position hereditary.

The Julio-Claudian dynasty (1), of which Augustus was the first of five emperors, lasted from 27 BC to AD 68, and the only reason it endured was because it was handed down through the female line. Women were suddenly more important than they had ever been. Augustus belonged to the Julii family. His mother, Atia, was the niece of Julius Caesar, and when Caesar adopted him, he took the name Gaius Julius Caesar. When he was aged around 23, he married his third wife, Livia Drusilla, after her divorce from the politician Nero Claudius Drusus, with whom she had two children.

Augustus soon realised that women could play a crucial part in promoting his regime, and he was determined that they would live up to the traditional ideals of Roman womanhood, so that their virtues could be synonymous with his rule and the moral reforms he tried to enshrine in law. He played on the fact that his sister, Octavia, and his wife, Livia (2), could be presented as living embodiments of all the female virtues he wanted associated with the state.

Livia contrasted with ‘bad women’ of the times. For example, Fulvia, who had married Mark Antony in 47 BC, had interfered in politics, was involved in her husband’s ambitions, and had outraged Roman historians and the public. More scandalously, Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, had been flaunted in Rome by her lover, Julius Caesar, before she became fatally involved with Antony while he was still married to Fulvia.

The two families had become entwined after Fulvia’s death in 40 BC when Antony had married Augustus’ sister Octavia, who was hugely admired for her virtue. The marriage was part of a political arrangement between the two men, who, with Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, ruled as a Triumvirate following Caesar’s assassination in 44 BC. But when Antony abandoned Octavia for Cleopatra his reputation was severely damaged, while Octavia’s was enhanced.

Both Octavia’s and Livia’s likenesses were used as representations of suitable imperial virtues. Each endowed a porticus in Rome. A porticus was a public facility consisting of gardens, temples, libraries and other facilities that provided the ordinary public with a taste of cultivated living. The Porticus of Livia (7) is lost, but the entrance to the Porticus of Octavia (3) can still be seen in central Rome. And they inspired other women to do this. Eumachia was a wealthy widow of high status in Pompeii in the early 1st century AD. She commissioned her own version of the Porticus of Livia for Pompeii in order to support the political career of her son. Today, the building is
very ruinous but it was once one of the largest in the whole city, with a vast porch, *cryptoporticus*, colonnade, shrine of Concord with a statue of Livia, and a statue of Eumachia herself.

Augustus' greatest problem was establishing his dynasty. He had no son, and he and Livia never had children together. He did, however, have a daughter called Julia (39 BC–AD 14), known as ‘Julia the Elder’, by his first marriage. This left him with three potential lines of descent: Octavia's children by her first husband, Gaius Marcellus, and next by Antony; Livia's children by her first husband; and Julia's children by Augustus' general Agrippa (8).

The preferred male options were Octavia’s son Marcus Marcellus, and Julia's sons Gaius and Lucius. But, by AD 4, all three were dead. That left only Livia’s son Tiberius, who became emperor in AD 14. His mother, who had been deemed so virtuous, proved to be a domineering dowager empress, constantly reminding Tiberius that he was only emperor because of her. Livia’s reputation was enormous (6), however, and Tiberius issued coins that used her portrait to symbolise virtues such as justice (*Justititia*). Having managed her son's accession, she interfered in the law on behalf of her friends, and presided over the state as if it were simply the continuation of Augustus' rule. Yet she died in AD 29, in her late 80s and in her own bed. Few other empresses ever came close to Livia in terms of power and prestige. Tiberius and the other three emperors of the dynasty – Caligula, Claudius and Nero – were all descended from her, whereas only two were descended from Augustus.

Augustus’ daughter, Julia, who bore him grandchildren, turned out to be the opposite of both Octavia and Livia. She was notorious for having affairs, bragging that she only did so when she was pregnant by Agrippa, so she could never be accused of having someone else’s child. Because of the embarrassment that Julia caused to his moral reforms, Augustus exiled her to the island of Pandateria (modern Ventotene) in the Tyrrhenian Sea, where she died, in AD 14, the same year as her father.

The most important dynastic figure in the Julio-Claudian dynasty was Augustus’ granddaughter Minerva.
Roman history

Agrippina the Elder (5) (circa 14 BC–AD 33), daughter of Julia and Agrippa. The empress who never was, Agrippina was hugely popular with both the army and the mob. She was married to the brilliant general Germanicus, the grandson of Livia and Octavia, and they produced six children.

Agrippina was said by the Roman historian Tacitus to have been ‘impatient for equality’. This phrase was bordering on an insult but he admired her for the way she inspired the Roman army by going on campaign with Germanicus, and taking her children with her.

They were the golden couple of the imperial family, but the unexpected death of Germanicus in AD 19 and Tiberius’ subsequent paranoia and jealousy led to Agrippina being exiled and murdered. Nevertheless, when Tiberius died in AD 37, the only acceptable candidate to succeed him as emperor was his great-nephew, Caligula, the son of Agrippina and Germanicus. Since he was descended from Augustus via Julia and Agrippina, and both Octavia and Livia, his pedigree was perfect.

Caligula knew only too well that having a mother of unimpeachable virtue could only enhance his reputation since it was a given in Roman society that a mother, or wife, of immaculate Pudicitia could hugely advantage a man. So he recovered his mother’s bones from Pandateria, where she had starved to death as a result of her exile, issued coins in her honour and had her remains reinterred in the Mausoleum of Augustus – but it did him little good. His madness, arbitrary rule and attempts to assert his authority over the Senate by declaring himself a god, almost guaranteed he would be assassinated – and, in AD 41, he was.

That left the Praetorian Guard, the imperial bodyguard with potentially no prestigious high-paid jobs. They needed an emperor, and they found one in the person of Germanicus’ brother Claudius, who was Caligula’s uncle. Claudius has been sidelined by history. Probably suffering from cerebral palsy, which had left him with a limp, and other awkward physical characteristics, he was widely regarded as an idiot. In fact, he was anything but. The Praetorian Guard’s real interest, though, was his pedigree. Not only was he of solid Julio-Claudian descent through Livia and Octavia, he was also married to Messalina (10 and 11), herself descended from Octavia through her marriage to Gaius Marcellus.

Yet Messalina was not equal to the privileges luck had brought her. Immature and reckless, she seems to have embarked on a demented plan to marry her lover Silius, topple Claudius and seize power. Like Julia, she turned out to be a chronic embarrassment to the regime. When the story broke about her bigamous marriage to Silius, she was caught and executed in AD 48.

So, Claudius, in an extraordinary twist, turned to his niece, Agrippina the Younger, Augustus’ great-granddaughter. Her parents were Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder (9); her pedigree was unmatched. She also had a son, Nero, by her previous marriage. He and his mother shared a phenomenal line of descent back through the female line to Octavia, Julia and Livia.

The fact that Agrippina was his niece and legally unacceptable as a spouse, did nothing to stop Claudius from marrying her. He simply had the law changed, and the Senate meekly acceded to his wishes. Agrippina now embarked on a brilliant campaign to secure absolute power for herself and for her son’s succession. She was highly intelligent, politically astute and totally ruthless, fully prepared to destroy someone so she could seize his possessions. She systematically weaved her way into affairs of state, taking advantage of the fact that as a woman she had no official place in the system. That meant she was not limited by it either.

Agrippina started to appear on coins alongside Claudius (4) in the manner of a joint ruler. This was...
unprecedented. But within three years of her marriage in AD 51 to Claudius, he was dead. Most Roman historians believed she poisoned him, a method she was accused of preferring. As for the succession, Agrippina (14) had her way, and her son Nero (12) succeeded Claudius in AD 54. A preening, narcissistic adolescent, to begin with he was happy to leave his mother in control. But Agrippina had painted herself into a corner. She could not hold power in her own right and she could only rule through Nero.

As he grew older, Nero began to resist her. Animosity reached a climax when he took up with Poppaea (13), a notorious and ambitious beauty. Agrippina was furious and even tried, in extremis, to suggest incest as a means of controlling Nero. He, though, had endured enough of his domineering mother and, in AD 59, ordered her to be killed. The whole exercise turned out to be a farce. Agrippina was supposed to drown on a collapsing boat, but she escaped and swam ashore. Nero had to send armed men to round her up and murder her. With her death, the Julio-Claudian dynasty came to an end. Nero’s reckless rule continued until AD 68. He married his mistress Poppaea in AD 63 but killed her and their unborn child in a fit of rage two years later.

As far as Roman historians, such as Tacitus and Suetonius, were concerned, Agrippina the Younger was the epitome of a ‘bad woman’, who had stepped outside her station in life to pursue ruthless self-interest. The incest stories, true or not, only made the story more believable. Her behaviour was ‘proof’ of Claudius’ and Nero’s failings.

Yet the women of the Julio-Claudian family tower over the dynasty’s history. They became a crucial part of the image of the state but they also discovered how difficult it could be for a woman to function in a system that denied women any formal role, beyond being mothers and wives. Domina literally means ‘mistress of the household’ but some of the senior women of the Julio-Claudians gave it a new meaning – they were the mistresses of the Roman Empire.
Egyptologists are often asked: ‘Is there anything left to find in Egypt?’
The answer is a resounding ‘Yes!’ Dozens of archaeological teams work in Egypt every year, excavating and using other, modern techniques to reveal previously unknown material. Most of the time a new find – a potsherd, a fragment of worked stone, the remains of a wall – though important, will not command much attention in its own right. Cumulatively, however, dozens, hundreds or even thousands of these small finds, revealed over the years, can slowly begin to change how we understand the past.

Of course, what most people have in mind when they ask if there’s anything left to find, is something more sensational. The archetypal archaeological discovery remains that of the tomb of Tutankhamun (2) by Howard Carter in 1922. In this case the impact of what he had found was much more immediate.

A cutting in the rock, the beginning of a descending staircase, was revealed by Carter’s excavators on 4 November. By 24 November they had cleared the staircase, which terminated in a blocked doorway bearing the name of Tutankhamun. Beyond this lay a descending passageway filled with debris, which again ended in a sealed doorway.

‘With trembling hands I made a tiny breach in the upper left-hand corner… At first I could see nothing, the hot air escaping from the chamber causing the candle flame to flicker, but presently, as my eyes grew accustomed to the light, details of the room within emerged slowly from the mist, strange animals, statues, and gold – everywhere the glint of gold,’ wrote Carter.

The treasures he went on to reveal over the course of several years following this have since become perhaps the most famous archaeological objects in the world.

The question, really, is: will there be any further discoveries like that of Tutankhamun’s tomb?

The likelihood is that this tomb will remain a great anomaly, as far as the quantity and quality of grave goods that were preserved within
Egyptologist Chris Naunton travels down the Nile from Amarna to the Valley of the Kings in search of the undiscovered burial places of the pharaohs

having survived, almost unviolated down to modern times. However, every so often, spectacular discoveries are made. In recent months, Egypt’s Ministry of Antiquities has announced the discovery of several tombs: belonging to Ramesses II’s general and another to a goldsmith, the pyramid of a 13th Dynasty princess, and also a workshop where the bodies of the deceased were mummified.

‘Missing’ tombs
For most of the 3000 years of Dynastic history, Egypt was ruled by a monarch, the pharaoh, and from the very earliest times he was buried in a monumental tomb, along with an elaborate assemblage of grave goods. More than 200 pharaohs ruled the country during this time, and archaeologists have uncovered a substantial number of tombs of these kings – but there are still conspicuous gaps. Given the number of royal tombs we do have, the gaps seem even more tantalising, not least as some relate to some of the best known and most intriguing characters from the ancient world, including Imhotep, Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Alexander the Great and Cleopatra.

The tombs of the 1st Dynasty pharaohs are all, almost certainly, located at Abydos. There are a few gaps in the record for the 2nd Dynasty, the tombs of Hetepsekhemwy, Raneb, Weneg and Sened being unknown. The 3rd Dynasty begins with the construction of the first pyramid, the Step Pyramid of Djoser; the pyramid tombs of the following two kings, Sekhemkhet and Khaba, were built at Saqqara and Zawyet el-Aryan; those of the last two kings of the Dynasty, Zasenkh and Huni, are unknown. At this point, from the beginning of the 4th Dynasty in approximately 2550 BC down to the end of the 6th, the record is remarkably complete.

The 4th Dynasty represents the zenith of pyramid-building. It began with an era of experimentation, the first king of the period, Senefru, building at least three pyramids, culminating in the first successful
true – rather than stepped – pyramid, at Dahshur. His son and successor was Khufu, builder of the Great Pyramid at Giza. The tradition of pyramid-building continued for approximately 500 years until the end of the 6th Dynasty around 2150 BC, marking the end of the Old Kingdom and the beginning of a period of decentralisation known as the First Intermediate Period (7th to 10th Dynasties).

The whereabouts of the burials of most of the numerous, ephemeral kings of this time are unknown. Those of the 11th are in Thebes, the city from which this line of kings originated. The royal burial place again shifted to the Faiyum region during the 12th Dynasty. The pyramids of all six kings of this Dynasty have been identified.

There then followed another period of decentralisation, which we know as the Second Intermediate Period, comprising the 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th Dynasties. The 15th Dynasty was the line of notorious ‘Hyksos’ rulers, foreigners, probably of Canaanite origin, who settled in the Delta, and ruled from the city of Avaris (modern Tell ed-Dab’a). They were eventually vanquished by the line of Theban rulers comprising the 17th Dynasty. This is the only group of this period about whose tombs anything is known. Items of the burial equipment of at least five of these pharaohs were found in the Theban hills during the 19th century; at least three of the tombs were mentioned in tomb inspections carried out at the end of the New Kingdom, although only one of these, that of Nubkheperre Intef, has been securely identified – in the Dra Abu el-Naga part of the cemetery. It is highly likely that the others were all in the same area.

The Dynasty’s last king, Kamose, brought an end to the Second Intermediate Period by defeating the Hyksos in battle. The succeeding 18th Dynasty marks the beginning of a new period of stability and prosperity known to Egyptologists as the New Kingdom. One of the defining features of the era was the use of the Valley of the Kings (1), which was inaugurated probably no later than the reign of the third king of the line, Tuthmosis I. The first two pharaohs of the period, Ahmose I and Amenhotep 1 (4), may have been buried in the same part of the Theban necropolis as their 17th Dynasty predecessors. Amenhotep, in deified form, took on a special significance for the community of workmen who cut the tombs in the Valley of the Kings, and the location of his tomb has been the subject of particular scrutiny; various scholars have proposed four different candidates as possible locations.

The majority of the tombs of Amenhotep’s successors have been identified in the Valley of the Kings. But there are exceptions, including those of Tuthmosis II from the early part of the New Kingdom, and Ramesses VIII, who reigned towards the end of the 20th Dynasty.

Akhenaten and the Amarna Heresy
Most intriguingly, it is by no means clear that all the burials of the key players from the time of the so-called Amarna heresy have been found. It was Amenhotep IV, the 10th ruler of the period, who forbade the worship of any god other than the ‘Aten’ (the sun-disk), changed his name to Akhenaten (5) – ‘effective for the Aten’ – and established an entirely new capital city, which he also called Akhetaten, and which we now know as Amarna. Akhenaten also abandoned the Valley of the Kings as the royal burial ground, favouring instead his own version in the wadis (3) east of his new capital. Here, he built a tomb for himself.
his great royal wife, the celebrated Nefertiti, and their eldest daughter Meritaten, but it is unclear whether any of them was ever buried within it. Amarna was abandoned not long after Akhenaten’s death, and the Valley of the Kings then came back into use.

It is unclear exactly who succeeded Akhenaten. Tutankhamun came to the throne not long afterwards but at least two other individuals became pharaoh prior to him. Very little is known of Smenkhkare and Ankhkheperure Nefertitty. They may not have reigned for very long, perhaps only as co-regents alongside Akhenaten, and, as with Tutankhamun and Akhenaten himself, there was a very deliberate effort to erase all trace of them from the records in later times.

The final resting-place of the boy-king Tutankhamun is perhaps the most celebrated in the ancient world, but the whereabouts of the burials of these other individuals remains a mystery. The picture is made more complicated by two very unusual sets of evidence, both discovered in the Valley of the Kings.

In 1907, the English archaeologist Edward Ayrton, working on behalf of the wealthy American Theodore M Davis, discovered a tomb in the Valley of the Kings. A steep staircase led to a doorway which appeared to have been blocked at least twice. Beyond this was a descending passageway and then a single, undecorated burial chamber filled with a mixture of limestone debris and the remains of a considerable quantity of fragmentary burial equipment. This remains one of the most enigmatic deposits ever to have been uncovered in the history of Egyptian archaeology. The material was in poor condition, almost certainly made worse by the excavators in their haste to establish what they had found. The documentation of the situation was not as forensic as would be expected of a modern archaeological team, and vital information may well have been lost.

Scholars have been trying to piece the situation together ever since. The name that was most evident on the surviving fragments of burial equipment was that of Akhenaten’s mother, Tiye. A coffin, with the name of the owner and the face deliberately excised, was found on the floor, to one side of the burial chamber, and contained a mummy. The excavators initially concluded that this must be Tiye and that this was her tomb. When the mummy was inspected by anatomists, however, it became clear that this was the body of a male. It is now believed that Tiye and this male individual were probably buried here by Tutankhamun – his seals were found in among the debris – but without the full ceremony usually accorded to royalty, hence the modest size of the tomb and the absence of decoration and other normally indispensable features such as stone sarcophagi. Both individuals had perhaps been buried once before, possibly in the royal tomb at Amarna.

Recent DNA studies have shown that the male individual was the father of Tutankhamun. Unfortunately, despite the abundance of evidence that we have relating to the boy-king, there is not a single inscription that tells us who his father was. It might well have been Akhenaten, but it could have been Smenkhkare. In any case, the final resting-place of one or the other of these individuals remains a mystery. As for Tiye, if she was buried in KV 55 (7) her
mummy was no longer there by the time the archaeologists reached it. We now have the explanation for this. A few years earlier, in 1898, the French archaeologist Victor Loret (1859–1946) discovered Amenhotep II’s tomb, the 35th to have been discovered in the Valley. The tomb KV 35 was large, elaborate and beautifully decorated; it had been stripped of most of its grave goods in ancient times but the sarcophagus was in place, and the mummy of the king was still inside.

Of much greater significance, however, a side-chamber in the tomb was found to contain a cache of eight further pharaohs of the New Kingdom, their coffined mummies having been removed from their tombs elsewhere in the Valley and re-buried here to protect them from desecration by robbers. In addition, in another side-chamber Loret came across three unwrapped mummies lying side by side. The one in the centre belonged to a young man; those on either side to adult women, one apparently older than the other, leading to the designations ‘the elder lady’ and ‘the younger lady’.

During the 1970s the chemical composition of the older lady’s hair was found to be the same as several locks found inside a nest of miniature coffins in Tutankhamun’s tomb. These were inscribed for Tiye, and the recent DNA studies have since confirmed the identification. So, Tiye’s body, if it had ever lain in KV 55, was subsequently moved to tomb KV 35. The identity of the ‘younger lady’ remains a mystery. It has been claimed that it belongs to Nefertiti. Some scholars suggest that one of the pharaohs Smenkhkare and Ankhesneferuaten was, in fact, Queen Nefertiti, using a different name, having ascended the throne following Akhenaten’s death.

In any case, we are unaware of the location of her tomb. If the ‘younger lady’ is to be identified with Nefertiti, then her tomb cannot be intact, of course; if not, then it may yet lie untouched.
After the Valley of the Kings, the gold of Tanis

The end of the New Kingdom is characterised in part by the division of the country into two, with the successors of the 20th Dynasty pharaohs ruling as the 21st Dynasty based at Tanis in the north-eastern Delta, and the south controlled by a line of powerful Chief Priests of Amun. One of the earliest of these was Herihor, who, though not quite pharaoh, adopted some of the trappings of kingship, enclosing his name inside a cartouche. It was during his reign that much of the work of reburying the mummies of the New Kingdom pharaohs took place. Yet his own tomb has never been found, and almost no trace of his burial equipment has survived.

The transition to the 21st Dynasty was marked by the abandonment of the Valley of the Kings as the royal burial ground. Until the end of the 1930s, there was no firm evidence to show where the new royal burial ground had been. Then, in 1940, the French excavator, Pierre Montet (1885–1966), made a sensational discovery that changed everything.

While excavating, not in a remote desert wadi, but in the south-west corner of the main temple enclosure at Tanis, Montet uncovered a small quantity of gold jewellery and some shabti figures, the funerary dolls whose task was to carry out the wishes of the deceased, bearing the name of a pharaoh named Shoshonq. These were found beneath a paving slab on top of a curious arrangement of stones, which proved to be hollow. Beneath these, Montet entered, via the roof, a multi-chambered tomb housing the burials of several pharaohs of the 3rd Intermediate Period.

Initially, his work located the tombs of Takeloth I, Hekakheperre Shoshenq IIa (9) and Osorkon II of the 22nd Dynasty. He had also discovered inscriptions of the 21st Dynasty king Psusennes I and, the following year, his tomb was also found. The tomb of one further pharaoh, Amenemopet (8), was eventually revealed along with the burial of a prince, Hornakht, and a general named Wendjebauendjed. Altogether, Montet had found the tombs of a good number of the pharaohs of the 21st and 22nd Dynasties, and they had all been largely intact.

Though the tombs themselves were smaller, less elaborate and less beautifully decorated than the tombs of the Valley of the Kings, the burial equipment was extremely fine, many items representing some of the greatest achievements in ancient metalworking. Most spectacularly, Montet found several solid gold death masks, that of Psusennes I (6) bearing a striking resemblance to that of Tutankhamun.

The 22nd Dynasty was initially a period of reunification in Egypt, the first few kings of the line holding sway over both north and south,
but the situation seems not to have lasted. For many years it was thought that power was shared by rival lines all based in the Delta. It is now recognised, however, that at least some of the kings whose names are preserved in the monumental record had influence only in the south. Their tombs, should therefore be sought there, too, some perhaps in Thebes.

The pharaohs of the 26th Dynasty, however, had their capital in the western Delta city of Sais. They have never been found, although tantalising clues have emerged from the excavations in recent years, and there may yet be more to recover.

Alexander and Cleopatra

The 26th Dynasty was eventually supplanted by a first wave of Persian invaders under Cambyses and his successors, who ruled Egypt as the 27th Dynasty for just over a century. There followed a period of just over half a century of native rule by the pharaohs of the 28th to 30th Dynasties, the tombs of all of whom are unknown. Egypt was subsequently conquered for a second time by the Persians, this time under Artaxerxes III. This second period of Persian rule lasted only a decade before Alexander the Great rid Egypt of them for good.

Alexander was welcomed by the Egyptians as a hero and, unlike the Persians, he chose to adopt all of the traditions of kingship in becoming pharaoh, enclosing his name in a cartouche, notably on the shrine that was created in his name at the Luxor temple. Although he would stay in Egypt for only a few months and never returned during his lifetime, he was buried there.

Following his death in Babylon some 10 years after he been in Egypt, there was no consensus on who should inherit his empire, nor where or how his body should be buried. One of his generals, Ptolemy, who had set his sights on claiming Egypt for himself, stole a march on the others by arranging for the body to be taken out of Babylon by Philip Arrhidaeus, Alexander’s half-brother, and he and his army then joined the procession to escort the body to Egypt. Ptolemy initially took it to Memphis, still the capital city of Egypt, while construction of Alexander’s new city, Alexandria, was yet to get underway. It seems likely that his body was given a proper burial in Memphis, where it may have lain for as much as half a century before being transferred to newly built Alexandria.

Textual sources tell us that the body was eventually lain to rest in a mausoleum built decades later still, by Ptolemy IV, to house not only Alexander’s body but those of the Ptolemaic kings as well. It seems therefore that Alexander may have been buried once in Memphis, then twice in Alexandria. Sadly, there is no archaeological evidence of any of these tombs, but there are clues…

The Ptolemies ruled Egypt for 250 years, the last of their line being Cleopatra VII (10) who, having skilfully allied herself first to the most powerful figures within Egypt, then to Julius Caesar (by whom she had a son, Caesarion), then Mark Antony, was finally supplanted by Octavian. The latter’s defeat of Mark Antony led Cleopatra to commit suicide, and her final days were described in a number of Classical texts, which also describe the mausoleum she had built for herself in Alexandria. Like the mausoleum in which Alexander is thought to have been buried, no firm evidence of this has ever been found.

Prospects for the future

It is, of course, likely that some of the lost tombs will be lost for good, that no trace of them has survived. But it seems unlikely that nothing has survived of any of them. Recent archaeological work shows very clearly that the sands of Egypt still have a great deal to offer archaeologists. The Valley of the Kings has still not been fully excavated, and very little thorough excavation work has ever been undertaken in Alexandria, thanks to the modern city getting in the way. What is the chance of finding a king under a car-park there?

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10. Relief showing Cleopatra VII and her son Caesarion (by Julius Caesar) on the rear wall of the temple of Hathor in Denderah, circa 44–30 BC.

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WORLD RENOWNED HISTORIANS • GREAT CUISINE • CONVIVIAL ATMOSPHERE
Dame Elisabeth Frink (1930–93) is one of the most important British sculptors of the 20th century. Independent, highly original, expressive and imaginative, she produced a remarkable body of work, which addresses some of the most profound and fundamental questions concerning human behaviour. Now an extensive exhibition at the Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts in Norwich, entitled Humans and Other Animals, aims to provide a new critical analysis of the artist’s work and a timely reappraisal of her contribution to the art of the last century. Perhaps for the first time, her work is considered in relation to wider cultural, political and social concerns. Always alert to the wider atmosphere of her times, her sculpture simultaneously bears witness to the influence of popular culture, mass media and current events. There are parallels between her art and post-war literature, most notably in the work of Daphne du Maurier, her near-contemporary Ted Hughes and Federico García Lorca, whom she much admired.

Frink’s work is placed in the context of other major modern and contemporary artists who shared many of her preoccupations, such as Germaine Richier, Alberto Giacometti, Auguste Rodin, Henry Moore and Pablo Picasso. In addition, the exhibition proposes a new equivalence with artists such as Francis Bacon and Louise Bourgeois, who shared thematic concerns; and with contemporary artists such as Rebecca Warren and Douglas Gordon. Centrally, though, it explores Frink’s representation of animals, often in the form of metaphor, or as an avatar to carry expression from the imagination. It juxtaposes this with older traditions of using animal forms to express meaning – whether sacred or profane – in ancient and pre-Modern art. Frink’s work can be firmly placed in the context of European International post-war art. Yet, like her contemporary Louise Bourgeois, she worked at some remove from the post-war characteristic art movements, such as Abstract Expressionism, Pop, Minimal or Conceptual Art.

Instead she found her place in the post-war milieu of Giacometti and Bacon, and explored more or less the same themes throughout her life. But, like Bourgeois, she was effectively denied access to established canonised movements. During her lifetime, like many women artists, Frink felt isolated, an outsider, marginalised due to gender rather than any self-determined notion of working in isolation. She herself refused to self-mythologise or orchestrate her reputation, or to enter into any form of self-aggrandisement. She could be reticent, laconic even, in her refusal to choreograph her legacy. She simply wanted to get on with her work as a sculptor.

Her reputation is going through a significant revival at this time and there is renewed interest in, and study of, her work. This is in stark

Calvin Winner, curator of Elisabeth Frink: Humans and Other Animals at the Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts, puts the great sculptor’s work in the context of post-war art and literature, and shines a light on her darker obsessions – from birds of prey to assassins.
These larger-than-life-sized heads explore the extremes of human behaviour – as aggressor in the **Goggle Heads** and as victim in the **Tribute Heads** contrast to the past: Frink has been excluded from all major surveys of British sculpture since she was included in the major Tate sculpture show in 1965. Within discussion about British art, she is now most commonly associated with the ‘Geometry of Fear’ artists of the 1950s, as defined by the critic and curator Herbert Read at the seminal exhibition in the British Pavilion at the 1952 Venice Biennale.

This association Frink largely accepted, although at the time of the exhibition she was still at art college and was therefore too young to be considered for inclusion. But her work had commonality with artists such as William Turnbull, Eduardo Paolozzi and Lynn Chadwick, and the current exhibition aligns Frink firmly with the ‘Geometry of Fear’: this was an exceptional generation of artists who were internationally recognised, and Frink quickly became assimilated and was shown alongside them. They were artists who felt deeply the fragility of humanity and collectively feared the culmination and abrupt impending end of the Anthropocene, the epoch of humanity. The arctic chill of the Cold War only seemed to offer a post-apocalyptic ending, an environment shattered and blasted following a nuclear war, devoid of life apart from bacteria and less-complex life forms that are able to scuttle and hide.

In the 1950s Frink’s work shared an identity with contemporary tendencies associated with the Institute of Contemporary Art (ICA) in London, most significantly the artists named by architectural critic Peter Reyner Banham – both in his paper *The New Brutalism* (1955) and in his book, *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic* (1966) – such as Magda Cordell and Eduardo Paolozzi. How closely Frink would have aligned herself with Banham’s project is a matter of conjecture. However, she greatly admired Paolozzi, and in her work of the late 1950s the treatment of the human body – disfigured and beyond time-flux – inhabits the brutalist sphere of Cordell, Paolozzi and Turnbull. Frink’s work of this period shared a fascination with the human-machine complex but, later on, the hybridity in her sculpture gave way to a coalescing of humanity and nature.

Despite these shared concerns, Frink remained adrift from critical discourse of the period, although by the time she died at the age of 62 she had become one of the most celebrated British sculptors of her generation, yet dislocated from the accepted trajectory of Modern Art. For a while, making sculpture as Frink understood it was aggressively dismissed as anachronistic, while she saw herself as a modern artist who happened to stay with figuration. Her legacy until now has been bound up with the naturalistic and sympathetic sculptures of domesticated animals that were produced in the last two decades of her life. Often produced as public or private commissions, these popular depictions have perhaps obscured the work that she produced directly from her own imagination and expressed through sculptural form.

There is a deeper and darker Frink, which she herself acknowledged, but found impossible to articulate in words. This exhibition seeks to reveal this other Frink of the 1950s and early 1960s, and her life in bohemian London, where she lived and worked and produced many of her most urgent sculptures. When she moved to the South Minerva January/February 2019
of France in 1967, she found solace and renewed energy to create some of her most original and remarkable works, exploring extremes of human behaviour, the brutal and the brutalised. Her work responded to the times in which she lived. ‘We are becoming brutalised; we no longer respond properly to the atrocities,’ she told the writer and critic Bryan Robertson in an interview published in Elisabeth Frink: Sculpture, Catalogue Raisonné (Harpvale Books, 1984).

Frink came to prominence in 1952 when, after leaving Chelsea School of Art, she exhibited her Expressionist predatory bird-motif sculptures. These bird-monsters and human-animal hybrids are perhaps best described as a form of psychological Gothic based on ravens and crows, and for her evoked ‘strong feelings of panic, tension, aggression and predatoriness’.

The bird-form became a vehicle, or avatar, to explore the Cold

The iconic Running Man is... an image of humanity’s ability to strive against adversity, with its endurance, stoicism and physiological strength
War and the climate of fear that shadowed the post-war period. These works evoke an extreme sense of menace, fear and panic.

They also express a deep sense of the macabre, based on first-hand experience as she explained to Bryan Robertson: ‘We used to go up to the local kennels and see dead horses being cut up for the hounds. I saw flayed carcases and piles of bones. It was gruesome but fascinating.’

This aspect of Frink’s work was identified by film director Joseph Losey when he placed her sculptures in his science-fiction film The Damned (1963) where they heighten the psychological drama.

The exhibition’s title, *Humans and Other Animals*, reflects Frink’s lifelong obsession with the human–animal condition and the interdependent relationship between humans as domesticated animals. It was her enduring theme, and one that she returned to throughout her life. Her countryside upbringing in Suffolk meant that she understood this close bond, which was once commonplace. She was fascinated by the way the relationship with hounds or horses has been nurtured over millennia; and by how animals in general have been depicted in art since the last Ice Age and found in the earliest paintings ever made, in the caves of Lascaux in France and Altamira in northern Spain. As an animal-lover, she intuitively recognised how the behaviour of domesticated animals such as hounds or horses can instinctively seem human-like and she empathised deeply with her subject, notably in her more naturalistic works. And she reflected on how animals such as hounds express love and affection while retaining their capacity to kill or inflict pain for pleasure.

However, *Humans and Other Animals* is also intended to provoke...
Frink’s interest in the warrior reached its most fertile moment in the Riace Figures from the 1980s

characteristics of human behaviour in her work of all periods, but most significantly in the 1960s. The sculpture *Judas*, made in 1963, she considered one of her most important. It provided her with an opportunity to explore the contradictory forces found in human nature.

Frink depicts *Judas* simultaneously on the offensive and recoiling in self-defence, reflecting the complexity of culpability, betrayal, guilt and denial. She rendered him blind, perhaps as a metaphor for his denial and the essential weakness in his betrayal.

It was a breakthrough and led directly to the remarkable *Goggle Heads*, her most famous and unique theme, and to the *Tribute Heads* that followed them. These larger-than-life-sized heads explore extremes of human behaviour – as aggressor in the *Goggle Heads* and as victim in the *Tribute Heads*. She explores these binary attributes of human behaviour with the pathos of few other artists in the modern period.

The sinister *Goggle Heads*, created between 1967 and 1969, represent the face of evil and oppression, the capacity for extreme acts of violence and the perpetrators who dehumanise their victims. Frink questions how it is that urbanite bipeds, responsible for creating sophisticated societies and cultures, can behave so extremely towards each other. There is an innate capacity for extreme acts of kindness, nurturing, empathy and unconditional love, particularly towards offspring.

But there is a darker side of foibles and shortcomings. The capacity for extreme violence, brutality, cruelty and aggression remains as much a part of human behaviour and is unchanged by thousands of years of agrarian settlement, ingenuity and technological enhancement.

Frink’s examination of the darker aspects of human behaviour reminds us of the terrifying truth that the natural state of humanity might well be war and aggression, rather than something more benign.

The horrors that humanity is culpable of committing can appear overwhelming, but Frink seemed determined to redeem her species by creating the series of *Tribute Heads*. Made between the mid-1970s and the 1980s, they commemorate by contrast the victims of acts of brutality or the martyrs to a cause who are prepared to risk everything for what they believe. They are a metaphor for the victims, and express a profound sense of compassion and empathy.

The iconic *Running Man* is an extension of this sentiment and an image of humanity’s ability to strive against adversity, with its endurance, stoicism and physiological strength. It is one of the most impressive creations produced in art of this period and stands out defiantly against the prevailing mainstream trajectory of art during this time.

Frink’s interest in the warrior reached its most fertile moment in the Riace Figures from the 1980s, which are the culmination of her interest in the contradictory forces of masculinity and vulnerability. In the male figure she was fascinated by inherent raw strength, but also by sensual and sexual prowess. ‘I enjoy looking at the male body; this has always given me the impetus and the energy for a purely sensuous approach to sculptural form. I like to watch men walking and swimming and running and being,’ she told Bryan Robertson.

Frink came from an army family, and the Second World War was her formative experience in life. She had a profound sense of empathy for the war hero as victim, and perhaps she was resigned to the fact that war and aggression were a natural consequence of the human condition. That a warrior could also be somebody’s lover or father reveals a greater complexity in understanding human relationships.

Her work is about the psychological and physical nature of humanity, and their behaviour with each other. To her, art should always have an emotional aspect. Frink resolutely refused to engage with art that is self-reverential. Drawing was a necessity and a constant activity for her, and her drawings are rightly considered a major part of her oeuvre. From an early age her proficiency in draughtsmanship was acknowledged, and her drawings have been compared to two-dimensional carvings. The
Exhibition writer Laurie Lee stated: ‘The drawings are like glacial writings on rock or the panic scratched by the nails of a dying man.’ (From Motif: A Journal of the Visual Arts, No 1, Shenval Press, 1958.)

She was an unapologetic figurative artist, in a period when many in the art world deemed figuration regressive. Her early work was expressive, and certainly abstracted form to explore ideas and feelings about the body. But unlike many of her contemporaries who moved deeper into abstraction, and away from the body, Frink was never persuaded to abandon figuration, and indeed her later work became belligerently more naturalistic. This alone seems to suggest an unrepentant self-belief in the power of her art to communicate and connect with the spectator. Her human figures often convey a profound sense of survival, endurance and alertness, which for an artist living through troubled times offered at least some hope.

At the time of her death she was working on the theme of the Green Man, a pagan deity who was popular in medieval England. This proved terribly poignant. When she was seriously ill and knew she was likely to die, she found solace in the enduring theme known since antiquity as a symbol of rebirth and new life, and in the relationship between humanity and nature.

Elisabeth Frink: Humans and Other Animals is on show at the Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts (scva.ac.uk) until 24 February 2019. The catalogue, edited by Calvin Winner, is published by the Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts, in paperback, at £20. This feature is an edited version of Calvin Winner’s introductory essay.
GUEST OF HONOUR: GILBERT & GEORGE
As some of the highlights from the collection of Horace Walpole, antiquary and pioneer of the Gothic Revival, return for a once-in-a-lifetime exhibition to grace his summer villa, Strawberry Hill, Dominic Green immerses himself in this 18th-century fantasy castle.

\[\textbf{Wish me joy,}\] Horace Walpole wrote to his fellow collector Horace Mann in 1772. ‘I have changed all my Roman medals of great brass, some of which were very fine, particularly a medaglioneino of Alexander Severus, which is unique, for the uniquest thing in the world, a silver bell for an inkstand made by Benvenuto Cellini.’

Horace Walpole (1717–97) was a unique sensibility in search of its most unique expression. The son of Sir Robert Walpole, who had invented the office of prime minister on behalf of George I, Horace was an antiquarian, an art historian, a connoisseur of architecture, the author of the first Gothic novel, the builder of the first Gothic Revival house. But, above all, he was a gentleman, bound by the code of sprezzatura to strike the pose of dilettante. Though he presented the ‘joy’ of acquisition and contemplation as ends unto themselves, Walpole’s collecting...
was historically conscious and aesthetically coherent.

Seeking a summer villa in the country beyond south-west London, in 1747, Walpole bought Chopp’d Straw Hall, a lodging-house in the Thameside village of Twickenham. Between 1750 and 1773, he rebuilt the house as ‘a little Gothic castle’, in collaboration with the two close friends he called his ‘Committee on Taste’, designer Richard Bentley and the connoisseur-architect John Chute, and renamed it Strawberry Hill. Packed with paintings, prints, antiquities, books, coins and curios, the house became the social, aesthetic and architectural heart of the 18th-century Gothic Revival. Walpole wanted the house to serve both as a retreat for study and a showcase for parties. But soon, his moody, light-shifting sequence of rooms and engaging collections made it so popular that he felt obliged to write a guidebook, and allowed his housekeeper to admit ticketed visitors, four at a time.

In 2010, Strawberry Hill (1) was restored to its ‘Gothic’ splendour, crenellated battlements and all, but modern visitors experience more ‘gloomth’ than Walpole intended. The gilded tracery still gleamed, the trompe l’oeil still fooled, the hand-painted wallpapers had not looked better in two centuries, but its theatrical rooms were still empty stages. When Walpole (3), a childless

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1. Strawberry Hill House, Horace Walpole’s ‘little Gothic castle’, is in what was once the Thameside village of Twickenham. Photograph: Killian O’Sullivan.

Hill forever
bachelor, died in 1797, the house passed to his cousin, the sculptor Anne Seymour Damer, and thence to his Waldegrave relatives. In 1780, he had commissioned from Reynolds The Ladies Waldegrave (2), a charming portrait of his great-nieces, to be the centrepiece of his dining-room. Gothically and somewhat prophetically, Walpole had envisaged his collection’s demise in a poem, The Entail. In 1842, his fears were fulfilled. His spectacular collections were sold on the lawn at Strawberry Hill in one of the century’s greatest auctions. After 24 days, the only remaining item was the Jacobean chair on which the catalogue-seller had been seated.

Now, an exhibition entitled Lost Treasures of Strawberry Hill reunites more than 150 of his paintings, sculptures and curiosities and places them in their original settings for the first time in 176 years. More than 30 items have come from the Lewis Walpole Library at Yale University. ‘Lewis Walpole’ is not a person, but an amalgam of Walpole and Wilmarth ‘Lefty’ Lewis, who edited Walpole’s letters in 48 volumes, forgetfully signed cheques in Walpole’s name instead of his own, and acquired items from elderly Waldegrave descendants with a skill that one of them, ex-Conservative minister William Waldegrave, describes as ‘not far short of that of a bandit’ in his memoir, A Different Kind of Weather (2015).

Curated by Strawberry Hill curator and trustee Michael Snodin and research curator Silvia Davoli, the exhibition may present a fraction of the original collections – Walpole owned some 2,000 paintings and 6,000 prints – but its effect is akin to the artful beams of sunlight that penetrate Walpole’s shadowed rooms. ‘Walpole’s collection was largely formed to be shown in the environment of Strawberry Hill,’ explains Michael Snodin. ‘When the building and the collections are brought together, you can understand how they originally worked. It’s rather revealing.’

Strawberry Hill is an autobiog-raphy in white plaster and paint, an aesthetic counterpoint to the 4,000 letters that made Walpole one of the sharpest correspondents of an epistolary age. The paintings and curios are a ghostly reflection of his refined and ambiguous personality. ‘Because he was a gentleman, he

‘I almost begin to be ashamed of my own magnificence,’ Walpole joked, after completing the astounding Long Gallery
couldn’t be seen to be trying too hard,’ Snodin comments. ‘But that was a pose. Walpole was a secret geek. He cared immensely, but only revealed his geekiness to his antiquarian friends. He wrote to them in immense detail on historical subjects, but he didn’t talk to his fashionable connections like that.’

Walpole described Strawberry Hill as ‘the castle (I am building) of my ancestors’. His unprecedented construction of a ‘little Gothic castle’ from scratch was a flight of historical imagination, and a flight into it.

Horace’s father, Robert Walpole, Britain’s first prime minister, had retired as an earl to a Palladian palace, Houghton Hall in Norfolk. But Horace felt closer to his mother, Catherine, and preferred the uncharted territory of medieval ‘gloomth’ to the rational clarity of Rome, or the Renaissance. He commissioned landscapes of the country around Strawberry Hill, as if the house had always been there, but mostly he collected portraits, an invented company of ancestors and companions. Now, the old familial faces are back, by Van Dyck, Ramsay, Lely and Joshua Reynolds – The Ladies Waldegrave once again preside over the dining-room. ‘It’s rather astonishing,’ Snodin says of the portraits. ‘You see a house full of people, staring back at you. Here is a person who lives on his own, and he’s in a house with thousands of people in pictorial, sculptural and print form. It’s like he was living in a crowd of historical and contemporary characters.’

Walpole was a connoisseur of the medieval uncanny. He slept in the bed in which his father had died. The study where he wrote his letters contains Hogarth’s portrait of the triple murderer, Sarah Malcolm in Prison – he had sketched her a few days before she was executed in 1733. Dubbing a dark green room ‘The Star Chamber’, Walpole placed there an Italian Mannerist head depicting, he believed, the death agony of Henry VII. He called the dining-room ‘The Refectory’, because it sounded monkish. In 1764, after having a nightmare about a disembodied hand descending
the staircase of the Hall, he wrote the first Gothic novel, *The Castle of Otranto*. "Walpole's interest in the medieval past is part of a general move in the 18th century," notes Snodin. The English, pushed by the long series of wars with France and pulled by the appeal of Romantic historiography, were redefining the emphasis of their history away from French roots and towards Germanic roots. In this patriotic narrative, the Saxons had introduced a distinct tradition of English liberty. So the gardens at Stowe celebrate the Augustan restraint of Whig patricians, but also included a mediaeval tower and John Michael Rysbrack's carved heads of Saxon kings.

"Walpole added a storytelling element, heavily influenced by Shakespeare," Snodin observes. "But he was also a proper historian, genuinely interested in researching and publishing medieval manuscripts. For him, the past was an imaginary space, akin to the memories of childhood. He preferred the past to the present."

Walpole used the Classical world as a kind of sounding-board, the better to produce the weird medieval echoes of Romanticism. He owned one of his era's greatest Roman sculptures, a magnificent marble eagle (5), which took seven years to arrive by sea from Italy, and he collected antiquities like any other Grand Tour traveller. He knew that Charles Towneley had obtained the vase that stood in his cloister at Strawberry Hill, but not that Piranesi had contrived the vase from various materials and fixed it to a repaired altar. Nor did Walpole know that the 'Cellini bell', for which he exchanged his Roman brasses, was actually made not by Cellini, but by his contemporary, the German goldsmith Wenzel Jamnister (1508–85).

His interest in Classicism, ancient or Renaissance, was instrumental, a staging for medieval effects. In 1744, he bought all the archaeological objects he needed in a single purchase, catalogue included, from Dr Conyers Middleton (1683–1750), the unorthodox theologian whom he had met at Cambridge. 'This saved Walpole from having to collect all the items himself,' explains Snodin. 'It was a completely watertight collection of small bronzes, lamps and fragments.'

The 'Tribune' (6), designed in 1758 as a 'cabinet in the manner of a little chapel', is the quintessence of Walpole's autobiographical bricolage. John Chute's design combines a Classical square plan with four semi-circular additions, giving an effect reminiscent of the apse of a Renaissance church. The coloured glass in the windows, rather than illuminating a Christian motif, casts what Walpole called a 'golden gloom' into the vaulted space. Only later, in 1781, did Walpole conceptualise the result as 'The Tribune', in tribute to the Tribuna, the Medicis' cabinet in the Uffizi.

Antique souvenirs collected by Walpole on his Grand Tour are displayed alongside specimens from Conyers Middleton's haul in two cabinets of 'principal curiosities'. The 'Cellini' bell is next to what Walpole believed was 'an Egyptian hieroglyphic hand', but which is now known to be connected to the cult of Sabazius, ancient god of fertility and vegetation. A cabinet, designed by Walpole in the Palladian style (7), is decorated with Neoclassical ivories by James Francis Verskovis (d. circa 1750), after originals by Flemish sculptor John Michael Rysbrack (1694–1770). It is surmounted by figures representing the three heroes of modern Classicism: Inigo Jones.
(1573–1652), Andrea Palladio (1508–80) and the Flemish sculptor François Duquesnoy (1597–1643). The statues of the Venus de Medici and the Apollo Belvedere in the niches are 19th-century copies; so is the object of veneration, Walpole's dead mother, a copy of whose funeral monument is lodged in a niche alongside her classical forebears.

The Tribune is a post-Christian shrine, and an aesthetic autobiography. In this imaginary space of the past, Romantic self-consciousness grows like fronds of ivy up the clean lines and public morality of the Classical foundations.

‘The world is a tragedy to those who feel, but a comedy to those who think,’ Walpole wrote, anticipating Oscar Wilde. Walpole was highly serious except for when he was not. He wrote the first history of English art but, retaining the pose of aristocratic sprezzatura, titled it Anecdotes of English Painting, as if it was simply a collection of after-dinner stories. His only play, The Mysterious Mother, was a five-hour marathon of double incest. It is rarely performed.

An able tracer of provenance, Walpole delighted in spoofing the history he loved. ‘This was a present from Henry 8th to Anne Boleyn,’ he wrote of a golden clock, now temporarily restored to the Library, ‘and since, from the lady Elizabeth Germaine to Mr Walpole.’ The chimneypiece in the Round Room, he said, was after the tomb of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey, only ‘improved’ by Robert Adam.

‘He took the model of Classical revival and imposed it on the Gothic,’ says Snodin. ‘In his architecture, Walpole used prints to create his supposedly authentic Gothic house, rather than studying ruined Gothic buildings. Classical or Gothic, a print shows a building in its less damaged, more complete form. He borrowed print sources for his Gothic Revival just as his contemporaries borrowed print sources for Classical Revival buildings.’

Walpole attributed some baronial weapons and armour over the stairs to his Crusader ancestors, knowing that visitors would identify the modern Scottish origin of the broadsword. He built the first consistent recreation of a 16th-century queen’s closet, then offset his Holbein copies with purple flock and a red cardinal’s hat, which he attributed to Cardinal Wolsey. To receive a group of French guests, he donned a carved limewood cravat and a pair of James I’s gloves. Yet Walpole also had a taste for contemporary wallpaper, French furnishings, and what he called ‘modern refinements in luxury...’ ‘I almost begin to be ashamed of my own magnificence,’ Walpole joked, after completing the astounding Long Gallery, with its dripping white papier-mâché ceiling, mirrored recesses and, once again, the rare portrait, Catherine de’ Medici and Her Children by the studio of François Clouet of 1561. Few Georgian evenings can have been more enjoyable than a candlelit tour of Sir Horace’s cabinets and closets. Now that some of their contents have returned home, we know their creator a little better. He had serious taste, and a serious sense of humour.

Lost Treasures of Strawberry Hill: Masterpieces from Horace Walpole’s Collection is on show at Strawberry Hill House (www.strawberryhillhouse.org.uk) until 24 February 2019. The catalogue, by Silvia Davoli, is published in paperback by Scala at £12.95.

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Here comes the Sun

Dr Harry Cliff, Lead Curator of *The Sun – Living With Our Star*, a new blockbuster exhibition at the Science Museum in London, traces the trajectory of our solar knowledge.
On 6 November 2018 at about half past three in the morning, a spacecraft the size of a car plunged into the atmosphere of our Sun. At that moment it set a new record for the closest human-made object to the Sun and the fastest in history, racing through the solar corona at 343,000 kilometres per hour. NASA’s Parker Solar Probe is on a seven-year mission to unlock the secrets of our local star, which, despite all the progress of science and technology, remains a source of mystery and awe.

Parker represents the first time in history that human beings have reached out and touched the Sun, a celestial object that has inspired fascination and reverence since our ancestors first looked up at the sky. Now the story of our changing understanding of the Sun is told in the Science Museum’s latest exhibition, The Sun – Living With Our Star, through a display of artefacts drawn from more than 3000 years of human history.

Long before anything resembling modern science had been used to study the Sun, people around the world recognised its crucial role in making life possible. Its annual retreat and advance across the heavens shaped the seasons, hunt and harvest, and, in an age before artificial light, its rising set the schedule of daily life. Our ancestors were far more keenly aware of its changing position in the sky than we are today, when most of us live in towns and cities where buildings crowd the horizon.

The shifting positions of sunrises and sunsets on the landscape were used to track the changing seasons, plan agriculture and set the times for religious festivals. Megalithic structures aligned with solstices can be found all over the world, from Stonehenge in the UK to the Naqada Playa in Egypt. These monuments clearly had a calendrical function, but their vast scale and the enormous effort involved in their construction suggests a powerful spiritual significance. Indeed, the two are hard to separate.

Given its dominating influence on human life, it is unsurprising that worship of the Sun can be found in numerous cultures from across the globe. The exhibition opens with a display of beautiful artefacts from the solar religion of the Nordic Bronze Age, which was practised in Denmark more than 3000 years ago. Although these ancient people left no written records, much can be gleaned from the material culture they left behind, which often features solar symbols. The most famous of these artefacts is the Trundholm Sun Chariot, a bronze sculpture of a horse pulling a gilded sun-disk. It is thought that the Nordic people had a rich belief system that described the daily motion of the Sun through the sky, with the Sun transported by both ships and animal helpers. It has even been suggested that artefacts such as the Sun Chariot, may have been used in religious ceremonies designed to keep the Sun on its course.

Most cultures, including the people of Bronze Age Denmark, believed that it was the Sun that moved. European thought was dominated by the work of Claudius Ptolemy, a Roman citizen living in the 2nd century AD, who wrote in Greek and lived in the city of Alexandria in Egypt. On display in the exhibition is an early Latin translation from the 15th century of his famous treatise, Almagest, in which he laid out a mathematical description for a cosmos with the Earth at the centre. In Ptolemy’s cosmology the Sun was one of...
the seven classical planets in orbit about the Earth, which agreed with the Christian Church’s belief that God had placed humankind at the centre of his creation.

Things began to change in 1543 when the Polish astronomer, Nicholas Copernicus published *On the Revolution of the Heavenly Spheres*, in which he laid out the literally revolutionary view that it was the Sun that was the true centre of the universe, with the Earth and planets in orbit around it. Copernicus’s bold idea didn’t gain immediate traction, partly because it clashed violently with Christian teachings, but also because it simply wasn’t as successful as Ptolemy’s model in calculating the motions of heavenly bodies. Copernicus insisted that the Earth and planets orbit in perfect circles, while in reality they move in ellipses. Ptolemy’s more complex model, with circles-on-circles, did a better job at matching what people saw in the sky.

It was only in the latter half of the 17th century that the Sun-centred model won out. The clincher was Isaac Newton’s universal law of gravitation, which provided a physical explanation of why the Earth and planets orbit the Sun. Around this time, physical models of the new solar system began to be produced, including mechanical devices that could be wound to demonstrate the motion of the Earth and Moon.

The most famous of these was made for Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrery by the London instrument maker John Rowley. The Earl of Orrery’s model became so popular and well known that all subsequent solar system models became known as ‘orreries’, the original of which is on display in the exhibition next to a rare first edition copy of Copernicus’s revolutionary book.

It was during this period of change that the Sun first began to be studied in its own right. The Sun is unique among astronomical bodies in that it is its sheer brilliance that makes it almost impossible to observe without specialised equipment. However, there are hints of solar observations going back far further in history than you
might expect. On display in the exhibition is an ancient Babylonian tablet from the 7th century BC. Made of clay and covered in cuneiform script, the tablet is part of a book of solar omens, which would have been used to translate solar observations into astrological predictions. Remarkably, this tablet makes reference to spots on the Sun long before the invention of the telescope. Such observations are occasionally possible early in the morning or late in the evening when the Sun shines through a cloud or bank of fog. If conditions are just right, enough of the Sun's light is screened so that its surface can be safely viewed with the naked eye, and if large sunspots are present then they, too, can be observed.

However, it was the invention of the telescope in the early years of the 17th century that allowed the Sun to be studied in detail for the first time. Using a technique whereby an image of the Sun is projected from a telescope onto a screen, astronomers including Thomas Harriot, Galileo Galilei and Christoph Scheiner discovered that the Sun was pockmarked with dark spots that seemed to change shape and move across its surface. This was a shocking discovery; the accepted Aristotelian cosmology adopted by the Catholic Church taught that the heavens were ordained by God and made of an incorruptible fifth element known as aether. If the Sun had blemishes, then this was as great a challenge to the Church's cosmology as saying the Sun was the centre of the universe.

In 1611 the Jesuit astronomer Christoph Scheiner observed sunspots through his telescope and wrote to Galileo about his discovery. There followed a bad-tempered exchange of letters in which Scheiner, who, at first, was wedded to the Aristotelian view of the Sun and heavens, argued that sunspots were the shadows of...
planetoids passing across its face, while Galileo believed that they were part of the Sun itself. Eventually, Galileo persuaded Scheiner that sunspots really were part of the Sun, but so vicious was their debate the Scheiner would later give evidence against Galileo during his trial for heresy.

Scheiner published his great work on sunspots, *Rosa Ursina*, in 1630, a beautifully illustrated book, which became the standard work on sunspots for over a century. The discovery of sunspots was a huge step forward in our understanding of the Sun, but nonetheless the nature of the Sun itself remained a mystery well into the 19th century. In 1801 William Herschel, famous for the discovery of Uranus, argued that sunspots were openings in the Sun’s luminous clouds, revealing the dark, rocky surface below. He even went so far as to argue that the Sun was inhabited by living beings.

One of Herschel’s other suggestions was that the appearance and disappearance of sunspots affected crop yields. He compared his own record of sunspot numbers against grain prices in Adam Smith’s *The Wealth of Nations*, concluding that there was a clear link. Although Herschel’s hypothesis was ridiculed by many of his peers, the idea that sunspots affected crop yields persisted into the latter years of the 19th century. Solar observatories were established by the British government at South Kensington and at Kodaikanal in India, in part due to the mistaken belief that Indian famines were caused by sunspots, when in fact they were caused by British misrule.

During the 19th century, there was an explosion in solar science, as both professional and amateur astronomers turned their attention to the Sun. The final section of the exhibition contains a rich display of solar imagery – sketches, paintings, prints and photographs – including an otherworldly oil painting of a giant sunspot by James Nasmyth, a Scottish engineer famous for the invention of the steam hammer, who used his fortune to build his own observatory in Kent. The display is dominated by a large solar telescope – the Kew Photoheliograph – the first designed specifically to photograph the Sun. In 1860 it was taken on an expedition to Spain to capture one of the first photographs of a total solar eclipse. At the time, there was a debate about whether the bright filaments, known as prominences, seen at the limb of the Sun during total eclipses, were features of the Sun or perhaps some artefact of the Moon or the Earth’s atmosphere. By capturing the moment of totality and comparing the photographs with images of the same eclipse produced elsewhere, the astronomer Warren De La Rue, was able to conclude that these prominences really were part of the Sun.

The physical makeup of the Sun itself had seemed a question that would lie forever beyond the reach of science, until the discovery of a brand new astronomical technique – spectroscopy. In 1801 William Wollaston discovered that close examination of the rainbow spectrum produced when sunlight is passed through a prism revealed a series of dark lines, which were later realised to be the characteristic signatures of different chemical elements present in the Sun’s atmosphere. By comparison with spectra produced in the lab, astronomers were able to discover that the Sun contained many of the same elements as the Earth,
including oxygen, calcium, iron, carbon and hydrogen.

In 1868 Norman Lockyer and Jules Janssen discovered a new line in the yellow part of the spectrum, and Lockyer proposed that it was due to a new element, which he named helium after the Greek sun-god Helios. The beautiful brass, seven-prism spectroscope that Lockyer used in his discovery is on display in the exhibition, alongside the prism used by Wollaston to discover spectral lines.

Another unexpected breakthrough came on the morning of 1 September 1859, when the astronomer Richard Carrington had been sketching the Sun from his private observatory at Redhill in Surrey. He had just finished his sketch, when he was startled by a searing white light that appeared over a particularly large sunspot. Around 17 hours later, skies across the globe lit up with the most spectacular auroral display on record. The northern and southern lights, usually only visible close to the poles, spread as far as the tropics and in some places were bright enough to read newsprint by in the middle of the night. At the same time, the telegraph network across North America and Europe was severely disrupted; sparks flew from equipment, fires started at some telegraph stations and one operator even received an electric shock to the forehead.

Carrington, suspecting a link between the light he had seen on the Sun and the global geomagnetic storm, visited the Kew Observatory a few days later to consult their records of the Earth’s magnetic field, discovering a spike at the exact moment that he had seen the light on the Sun. We now know that what Carrington saw was a solar flare; a violent release of electromagnetic energy with the power of trillions of nuclear bombs. The flare had been accompanied by a huge eruption of physical material from the Sun – a coronal mass ejection – which had barrelled through the solar system and engulfed the Earth 17 hours later, causing the aurora and telegraph disruption.

Today, in a modern world reliant on satellites and electricity grids, a solar storm on the scale of 1859 could bring global catastrophe, with the loss of power, communication and navigation in some regions for days, weeks or even months. Governments now regard a major solar storm as one of the most severe threats to modern societies and both the USA and UK have established space weather centres that keep watch on the Sun 24 hours a day. Motivated in large part by the threat of solar storms, NASA and the European Space Agency (ESA) are embarking on two of the most ambitious solar missions ever attempted. The Parker Solar Probe began its seven-year mission to the Sun in August, during which time it will sniff and sample the atmosphere of the Sun up close, enduring temperatures approaching 1400 degrees Celsius. Following hot on its heels in 2020, ESA’s Solar Orbiter will fly within the orbit of Mercury carrying a suite of instruments that will reveal our local star in ever more stunning detail.

Together, these two missions promise to transform our understanding of the Sun and allow us to better anticipate its violent outbursts. The exhibition concludes with a large-scale, mesmerising display of film footage taken by NASA’s Solar Dynamics Observatory, revealing the dynamic, violent and awesome body that is our Sun. The scale and power that this footage reveals is a reminder that despite all our scientific and technological ingenuity, we remain utterly at the mercy of the star around which all our lives revolve.

*The Sun: Living with Our Star is on show at the Science Museum in London (www.sciencemuseum.org.uk) until 6 May 2019.*
Italy has more archaeological sites, monuments and works of art than any other country in Europe, yet, while Venice sinks under the weight of millions of tourists, and queues of visitors snake along the walls of the Vatican and of the Colosseum in Rome, and Renaissance Florence is hidden behind fast-food stalls, many of this country’s artistic riches remain relatively unexplored. This is all to the advantage of the discerning visitor who enjoys savouring masterpieces far from the madding crowd. So, next on such a visitor’s list should be Aquileia, once one of the largest and richest of the Mediterranean cities in the Roman Empire and, in Christian times, the seat of an Ecumenical Patriarchate, which is, paradoxically, only 100 kilometres from Venice. Located near the mouth of the

A safe haven and harbouring place

Dalu Jones explores the legacy of Aquileia, a lesser-visited archaeological site in Italy, with a fine basilica, containing a rich array of mosaics, and a newly refurbished museum.
River Natisone on the uppermost shores of the Adriatic Sea, Aquileia is an artistic and historic treasure-trove, with a large and still partly unexcavated archaeological site. It has been a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1998, and its newly refurbished Archaeological Museum is filled with intriguing and beautiful works of art. Some of which come from the large basilica of Santa Maria Assunta, circa AD 1000, which itself contains Late Antique mosaics of monumental size with a fascinating iconography.

Aquileia was founded in 181 BC by the Roman Republic as a military outpost to guard against the Barbarians. Its position on the river, lagoons and waterways close to the Adriatic Sea, now some 10km away, helped it to grow rapidly into an important port and wealthy trading-post that thrived until Attila the Hun (AD 406–53) laid siege and sacked it in AD 452.

It had maintained its importance and wealth – a mint was established in AD 294 – throughout the previous centuries, when it acted as one of the hubs of the strategically vital military and commercial network linking northern and southern Europe, the Balkans and Byzantium. The Via Postumia, a consular road built in 148 BC, connected Genoa on the Tyrrhenian sea with Aquileia on the Adriatic Sea across the Po river plain. It was a major city that was often visited by emperors who held court there while supplying their armies from the city’s granaries.

Here, there was once an imperial palatium (palace) where the future emperor Constantine I (AD 272–337) is said to have received a precious helmet as an engagement present from Fausta, his wife-to-be, who perished in AD 326, allegedly in an overheated bath by order of her husband, for reasons still mysterious.

The city’s forum, basilica, market, baths, amphitheatre, circus and defensive walls are still partly visible as are the ruins of the river port, complete with piers and capacious warehouses renovated by Emperor Constantine.

The new layout of the museum, which opened after extensive refurbishing last summer, is dramatic. It emphasises the wealth of the ancient city through outstanding works of art and refined objects of daily use.

The first time any archaeological items went on display was when Canon Gian Domenico Bertoli (1676–1763) showed his collection of finds in his house. These were published in Venice in *Le antichità di Aquileia profane e sacre* in 1739. In 1807, under the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy, Aquileia’s first public museum of antiquities was opened in the basilica’s baptistry and named after Napoleon’s stepson and Viceroy of Italy, Eugène de Beauharnais (1781–1824).

Napoleon’s incursion was a
brief interruption in Austria’s 500-year dominion over the city, during which a considerable amount of looting occurred. As interest in Aquileia’s Classical and Christian remains increased in the 19th century, valuable antiquities were being taken to Vienna’s Kunsthistorisches Museum, or sold to antique dealers. In 1882, the remaining artefacts were re-housed in the Faraone-Cassis Villa and its adjoining garden, and the opening was attended by Archduke Karl Ludwig of Austria.

After the area returned to Italy in 1918 (the killing fields of the First World War are ever present in this disputed region), local citizens demanded a new museum in the Faraone-Cassis Villa to put a stop to the looting, and this is where they are displayed today alongside finds from more recent excavations.

Today, in the museum, Roman marble statues and vivid portraits stand beside gods and goddesses, some related to the oriental cults of Antinous, Isis and Mithras. Among them is a 1st-century AD official likeness of Emperor Augustus (63 BC–AD 14) with his head covered, and statues of Emperor Claudius (10 BC–AD 54) (4) and of Claudius’ mother Antonia Minor (36 BC–AD 37). A marble copy of a Hellenistic original, a pretty statue of a Venus Pudica (6), circa 1st century BC–circa 1st century AD, was found in the garden of a local domus. A late 1st-century BC portrait of a stern-faced elderly man made of local stone, stands out for its realistic rendering of a stoic Roman worthy, as does another, softer depiction in marble of a pensive youth named Lucius.

The leisure and ease of every-day life of the wealthy citizens of Aquileia is illustrated by a variety of objects including funerary goods and mosaics previously held in the museum deposits and recently restored. There are striking sculptures and architectural elements (3), beautiful jewellery, exquisite and modern-looking glass (5) produced in Aquileian workshops between the 1st century BC and the 4th century AD, lovely carved amber rings – Aquileia was at the receiving end of the Baltic amber trade-route – mirrors and even boxes for make-up.

It is the mosaics, though, that...
are outstanding; they decorated the rooms of the distinguished and cosmopolitan administrators and traders of Aquileia whose domus are still being excavated. Among them are a delightful, long frieze made of minute tesserae showing a Nereid riding a bull (7) and another with a large silky bow and vine leaves (8). Others display intricate geometric designs. Pride of place is given to a rare asarotos oikos, or ‘unswept floor’, mosaic, inspired by an original by Sosos of Pergamon from the 2nd century BC, which has a peculiar type of trompe l’oeil of the leftovers from a lavish meal strewn across the floor. What appears at first glance to be a vulgar sign of the owner’s wealth is actually a reference to a carpe diem theme and the concept of a Greek symposium where the brevity of life would be a philosophical topic discussed by guests interpreting the symbolism of the scraps of food.

These mosaics give visitors an inkling of what awaits them in the nearby Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta that stands slightly away from the centre of the Roman city. This Christian church and its imposing 73-metre-high bell tower was built in 1031 over a 4th-century religious complex damaged by an earthquake and by invasions. Bishop Theodore (d circa AD 319) built and consecrated the first basilica, ‘with the help of God and of the herd provided by heaven’, as recorded in the dedicatory mosaic inscription. Originally claimed to have been founded by St Mark the Evangelist, the patriarch of Aquileia was second only in rank to the Pope.

As the visitor enters the church, the impression of an enormous multicoloured shimmering carpet is overwhelming. The 4th-century mosaic (10) (circa 37m long by 20m wide) covers the whole floor of the southern hall of the original paleo-Christian basilica. Its traditional symbols, such as the Good Shepherd, are rendered in the Late Antique style of marine and...
bucolic scenes that were popular in contemporary Syria and North Africa. Amazingly, the mosaic – all 750sqm of it – was not discovered until 1909, when the flooring covering it was removed. The mosaic divides the width of the nave into three horizontal sections containing nine squares divided by borders with garlands, and a fourth, larger one – nearest to the apse – dedicated entirely to a marine scene (9), which acts as a background for the story of the Old Testament prophet Jonah.

The variety and vividness of details is enchanting. In the fishing scene by the Sea Master, fishermen – some shown as cupids – chase dozens of fish that represent the people who are listening to the Gospel, while the boat symbolises the church, and the net the kingdom of heaven. This relates to the text in the New Testament, in which Jesus said: ‘Follow me and I will make you fishers of men’ (Matthew 4, 19) and also ‘The kingdom of heaven is like a big net that was cast into the sea...’ (Matthew 13, 47).

A youthful and naked Jonah is first thrown overboard into the sea and swallowed by a sea monster that throws him up. He is finally seen resting under a trellis with hanging gourds, an allegory of death, resurrection and ascent to heaven, after receiving an unhoped-for salvation from God. Other motifs include a battle between a fighting cock (the Christian symbol meaning ‘the light of a new day’) and a tortoise (whose name in Greek means ‘dweller in darkness’) (11); and the Good Shepherd, bearing the lost lamb on his shoulders, surrounded by animals from land, sea and air, because his flock is composed of all men of ‘good will’. There are portraits of donors and a winged Victory with a laurel crown transformed into the Christian Victory, or Chi Ro Christogram.

The mosaics in the North Hall around the base of the bell-tower repeat some of the motifs in the South Hall but with interesting additions, such as two baskets – one containing mushrooms and the other one snails – which may have been inspired by Gnostic texts. Next to the 11th-century Romanesque chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, at the beginning of the north aisle, mosaic flooring of different periods can be seen: the lowest is from a 1st-century AD Roman villa; the upper one, with black marks from the fires caused during Attila the Hun’s attack, has geometrical decoration.

The wall paintings in the church are equally extraordinary for their dating, condition and rarity. The apse was painted in the first half of the 11th century AD and shows figures of saints, such as Hilarius, Tatianus and Mark, and Poppo, the 57th Patriarch of Aquileia (AD 1019–1045), who is offering the Virgin a model of the basilica. The ‘Crypt of Frescoes’ under the presbytery is from the 9th century and is decorated with 12th-century images that reveal
A unique combination of Eastern and Western Christian painting styles, depicting the origins of Christianity in Aquileia and the history of Saint Hermagoras, the first bishop of the city (d AD 70).

The façade of the basilica is connected by a portico to the ‘Church of the Pagans’ and the remains of the 5th-century baptistry. Here, the frescoes were painted at various times: during the 4th century in St Peter’s chapel in the apse area and in the 11th century in the apse itself. Sarcophagi and fragments of 4th-century mosaics are also on show.

Sometimes taking a detour from well-charted tourist routes is well worth the effort. Those who do so may find themselves rewarded with a cornucopia of unexpected pleasant surprises. Aquileia is one of them.

• Museo archeologico di Aquileia (visit: www.aquileia.net/en/visita-la-citta/musei)
Roman legionaries were the elite fighting soldiers of the ancient world. Their image, clad in helmet and banded iron armour, carrying a rectangular body shield, lead-weighted javelin and a vicious stabbing sword, has come to symbolise the might of the Roman Empire. However, the story of how this warrior rose to the pinnacle of martial prowess is more complicated than commonly thought. The evolution of the legionary, including his arms and armour, and his everyday life both on campaign, and in camp, follows.

The first Roman elite line of battle troops were Etrusco-Roman and dated to a time before the Republic. Because of this Etruscan connection they were armed in the same manner as Greek-style hoplites, with interlocking aspis, large round body shields, early style hoplite helmets, and carrying a long spear used in an over-arm thrusting fashion. Such troops fought in a dense, organised formation, up to eight ranks deep, called a phalanx.

This system was formalised by Servius Tullius, king of Rome from 575 to 535 BC. His Servian Constitution divided Roman society into seven different classes. Each class had a different military commitment,
based on wealth. Top of the tree were the *equites*, these being the wealthiest citizens, who could afford a horse and thus formed the cavalry. Next were the First Class, comprising the Etrusco-Roman phalanx with hoplite centuries. Five classes of increasingly poorer troops followed. The system was put to the supreme test at the beginning of the 4th century BC against the Senones Gauls when, at the Battle of Allia, in 390 BC, it catastrophically failed. The Romans were not only defeated but nearby Rome was sacked.

In short order, the Tullian system was dumped in favour of the much more flexible manipular system. This was introduced by the statesman and soldier Marcus Furius Camillus and it is from this time that we can use the term ‘legionary’. His legions each numbered 3000 men, although this quickly increased to 6000.

Within the Camillian legion were three classes of legionary their classification was based on experience and age rather than wealth. The classes were the *hastati*, *principes* and *triairi*. The first were veterans, wearing helmet and body armour and carrying the new *scutum*, or full body shield. They were armed with the *hasta*, or thrusting spear. Next came the *principes*, who were older, experienced warriors. They also wore a helmet and body armour and carried the *scutum*.

Over time, the *hastati* were replaced with *pila*, heavy throwing javelins of Spanish origin. These featured a barbed head and long iron shank, with a lead weight sitting behind the socket, which joined the shank to the wooden shaft of the weapon. This combination gave the *pilum* tremendous penetrating power. Each legionary carried two, one light and one heavier. Finally came the *triairi*, ‘the flower of young men’, and these were equipped like the *principes*.

All three classes formed up in a looser formation than the old Tullian *phalanx*, allowing the free use of sword and shield. The original Camillian legionary *scutum* was a large curved rectangle, up to 120cm in length and 75cm in width, made from planed wooden strips that were laminated together in three layers, with an *umbro*, or iron boss, attached to the centre. This shield was very heavy, weighing up to 10kg. It was held by a horizontal grip using a straightened arm, and could be used offensively to unbalance an opponent. For body armour Camillian legionaries wore a square bronze pectoral covering their heart and upper chest. As the Republic progressed, many replaced this with a *lorica hamata* (chain mail shirt) of Gallic origin. Meanwhile, the Camillian helmet was made from bronze, fitting the cranium and providing good overall protection. Popular designs at the time included styles called Etrusco-Corinthian, Montefortino and Attic.

The Camillian legion was organised into units called *maniples* and deployed in three lines. First came the *bastati*, then the *principes* and, finally, the *triairi*. The latter often acted as a tactical reserve. A final, and no doubt welcome, innovation of Camillus was to pay his legionaries. This was in the context of the long siege of the Etruscan city of Veii that ended in 396 BC. To compensate his troops for their time off work, Camillus introduced a legionary stipendium cash allowance.

The manipular legion further evolved into what historians call the Polybian system, after Rome’s conflict with Pyrrhus of Epirus and his Hellenistic army in the early 3rd century BC. This used the same manipular system and three classes of legionary as the Camillian system, but it was larger. The key change was the introduction of that most famous legionary weapon, the *gladius Hispaniensis* sword, which replaced earlier designs. It remained the standard legionary sword through to the 3rd century AD. The weapon was of Spanish origin, and rather than being the short, stabbing sword of popular legend was actually a cut-and-thrust design with a blade up to 69cm long and 5cm wide with a tapering sharp stabbing point. It was worn on the right-hand side except by an officer.

Otherwise, the *principes* and *bastati* continued to carry their *pila*, and the *triairi*, their *hasta*. The defensive equipment also remained the same, though the helmet began to evolve into designs more familiar to us as legionary types. Specifically two new types appeared, the Coolus design, with a round cap of bronze and a small neck guard, and the iron Port type with a deep neck guard. Both were Gallic in origin, with the latter evolving into the classic ‘Imperial’ helmet often...
associated with the Principate Roman legionaries of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD (4 and 6).

The most important reforms of the legions prior to the Principate were those carried out by the great statesman and warrior Gaius Marius (157–86 BC) in 107 BC during the Cimbrian War. He turned each individual legion into a self-contained fighting force, standardising the legionary on the gladius and pilum-armled principes and bastati, these terms now being dropped, and the spear-armed triarii disappearing entirely.

From this point on, all of the fighting men in the legion were called legionaries, numbering 4800 out of a total 6000 men in each legion. The remaining 1200 troopers were support personnel. Additionally, Marius replaced the old manipular system with centuries, each with 80 legionaries and 20 support staff. These were sub-divided into units of 10 (eight legionaries and two non-combatants) and each century was commanded by a centurion.

The Marian legionaries lived, fought and ate together, with each legion developing its own identity around its eagle standards (aquila) and guard duty. He later extended their own equipment on campaign, earning them the nickname muli mariani (Marius’ mules). To us, these troops would look like modern Olympic weight-lifters, square in build and all muscle.

Their training particularly focused on martial skills, often based on the methods used to instruct gladiators. For example, for the vital sword drill a large stake the size of an opponent was set up in the training ground. The legionary then practised his gladius and scutum-based fencing technique, using a wooden replica sword and wicker shield.

For equipment, these Marian legionaries were all equipped in the same way, with scutum, lorica hamata (chain mail hauberk), developments of the Coolus and Port type helmets, two pilum javelins, the gladius sword and a pugio dagger. The standard deployment in battle remained the three lines of the earlier manipular system.

The next reform of the legions was carried out by Augustus (63 BC–AD 14), who first tackled the huge number he had inherited from the recent civil wars, around 60. He reduced this to 28 (this fell to 25 after Varus’ losses in Germany in AD 9), with the total hovering around 30 for the next 200 years. The Principate legions (1) of Augustus first had five centuries of 160 men, the other cohorts having six centuries of 80 men. Each normal century was broken down into 10 eight-man sections, called contuberni, whose men shared a tent when on campaign and two barrack block rooms when in camp.

The numbering and naming of the legions seems confusing. Because they were raised by different Republican leaders and emperors and at different times, many shared the same legion number (always permanent) but had different names. For example, there were five 3rd legions. Others shared the same name but had different numbering, for example Septimius Severus’ foundings I, II and III Parthica.

Principate legionaries (2) could be volunteers or conscripted, the latter under a levy called the dleuctus. Those recruited by either means were exclusively Roman citizens for most of the Principate, originally all Italian at the end of the Republic though increasingly from Gaul and Spain as citizenship spread. The recruiting base for legionaries then increased dramatically with the Edict of Caracalla in AD 212 as this made every free man living in the Roman Empire a citizen. Meanwhile, throughout the Principate the height requirement for a legionary was 1.8m (5ft 11in).

The term of service for the Principate legionary was initially 20 years, set by Augustus as part of his military reforms, with the last four as a veteran excused fatigues and guard duty. He later extended

Minerva January/February 2019
The term of service to 25 years, with five as a veteran, which lasted until the end of the Principate.

From the time of Caesar, each legionary received 225 denarii a year, out of which deductions were made for food, clothing, arms and armour. The latter remained the same as that carried, or worn, by Augustus’ legionaries well into the Principate, though with the addition of the option to wear the new lorica segmentata, or articulated banded iron armour (5 and 7). It is in this that legionaries of this period are most often depicted.

The salary was increased to 300 denarii by Domitian (r AD 81–96), and remained at this level until the reign of Septimius Severus, who increased it to 450 denarii. His son Caracalla increased the pay by a further 30 per cent. This basic pay was frequently increased through donatives, for example, the 75 denarii left by Augustus to all of his legionaries in his will.

On retirement, the legionary also received a praemia gratuity. This was paid either in money (3000 denarii in the late 1st century BC, rising to 5000 denarii by the time of Septimius Severus); or in land, in the form of centuriated land parcels; or in coloniae (settlements in conquered territory to secure it). Butrint (3), for example, is where Caesar settled his veterans after defeating Pompey in 48 BC.

Like all armies, the legions marched on their stomachs. Vegetius gives some insight into their diet in his late 4th-century AD military manual, which says troops should never be without corn, wine, vinegar and salt. This was the same for Roman troops of all periods, with bread, eggs, beans, porridge and vegetables forming the core diet.

Meat would be eaten on feast days, with the wider diet being supplemented by local hunting and produce. When on campaign, the daily staples were hard tack and whole-wheat biscuits, together with bread baked at the end of the day’s march after the marching camp had been built.

Religion also played a key role in the daily life of the legionary. Given that he was a citizen of Rome, he was always obliged to honour the gods of the Roman pantheon, in particular Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. To these we can add Mars, the god of war, while the worship of gods associated with the location of a given legion’s place of origin was also common. Certain gods also had a specific association with the military – the eastern deity Mithras, for example, was popular with Roman soldiers across the Empire. Legionaries were officially forbidden to marry until they retired, though they often contracted technically illegal marriages. This was changed by Septimius Severus who granted soldiers the right to marry.

The legions from the early Principate were led by a Senatorial-level legatus legionis, with a tribunus laticlavius acting as a second-in-command. The latter was a younger man gaining the experience needed to command his own legion in the future. The third-in-command was the praefectus castrorum (camp prefect), a seasoned former centurion responsible for administration and logistics.

The evolution of a Roman legionary to the form seen most often in the context of the Principate is due to two of the most Roman of traits. The first was grit, the ability to come back from defeat and, ultimately, to win. The second was to learn from their opponents, often adopting their tactics, such as the testudo, or tortoise (8), and their technology to improve their own military skills. This is why the Roman legionary truly was the elite soldier of the ancient world.

L’ARMÉE DE ROME
LA PUISSANCE ET LA GLOIRE

MUSÉE DÉPARTEMENTAL ARLES ANTIQUE
EXPOSITION DU 15 DÉCEMBRE 2018 AU 22 AVRIL 2019

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The historian Lucien Febvre wrote that seeking the origins of civilisation is a series of 'sondages hasardeux' ('dangerous excavations'). Wherever civilisation is excavated, its shadow, barbarism, will be detected, and the digging and analysis will be thick with assumptions. In *The Clash of Civilizations*, 1995, the American political scientist Samuel Huntington puts forward his hypothesis that people's cultural and religious identities will be the primary source of conflict in the post-Cold War world. Each is convinced that the lines of battle must be pushed into the other's territory, as historians of the later Renaissance interpreted the Greek cosmopolis as a community forever expanding into a barbarian periphery. That said, anyone who does not recognise barbarism when he or she sees it is not paying close enough attention.

The status of the ancient Near East, the University College London archaeologist David Wengrow writes, in such perceptions is 'paradoxical'. The ancient Near East is the 'cradle' or 'birthplace' of Western civilisation; the modern Near East is a sump of violence and destruction. In 2016, after Russian-supported Syrian troops had dislodged the barbarians of ISIS from the ruins of Palmyra, a concert by the Mariinsky Symphony Orchestra was staged in the Roman theatre there lately used for mass executions. The ancient Near East retains its symbolic power. Examining the origins of Western civilisation as the authoritarian governments of the ancient Near East disintegrate, Wengrow defines ancient civilisations not by the top-down authority of 'centralised government, monarchy, literate bureaucracy, taxation, standing armies, even slavery', but by a characteristic familiar to the democratic revolutionaries of Early Modern Europe, the bottom-up 'voluntary coalition'. Civilisation is not a style of politics or a level of technological advancement, but 'the capacity of society to form a moral community – an extended field of exchange and interaction – despite differences of ethnicity, language, belief systems and territorial affiliation'.

In this reading, civilisation in the Middle East is older than the ancient civilisations of academic tradition; it is the 'cultural milieu' from which the 'superpowers' of Sumeria and Egypt developed. Wengrow, dealing a sideswipe at Huntington's argument for the 'close interdependence between the kingdoms of the great river valleys and less numerous peoples of the surrounding deserts and highlands'. The riverine and coastal populations recorded those desert- and highland-dwellers as barbarians, yet the putative enemies of civilisation also produced essential supplies of metals, minerals, coloured stones, fine timber and even the incense with which the low-lying populations propitiated their gods.

But what do the ideas in *What Makes Civilization?* mean for us? Wengrow suggests that historians of the ancient past need to establish the lost roots of interdependence. In *Civilization*? the authoritative governments of the ancient Near East are the primary source of conflict in the post-Cold War world. Each is convinced that the lines of battle must be pushed into the other's territory, as historians of the later Renaissance interpreted the Greek cosmopolis as a community forever expanding into a barbarian periphery. That said, anyone who does not recognise barbarism when he or she sees it is not paying close enough attention. In 2016, after Russian-supported Syrian troops had dislodged the barbarians of ISIS from the ruins of Palmyra, a concert by the Mariinsky Symphony Orchestra was staged in the Roman theatre there lately used for mass executions. The ancient Near East retains its symbolic power.

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Examining the origins of Western civilisation as the authoritarian governments of the ancient Near East disintegrate, Wengrow defines ancient civilisations not by the top-down authority of 'centralised government, monarchy, literate bureaucracy, taxation, standing armies, even slavery', but by a characteristic familiar to the democratic revolutionaries of Early Modern Europe, the bottom-up 'voluntary coalition'. Civilisation is not a style of politics or a level of technological advancement, but 'the capacity of society to form a moral community – an extended field of exchange and interaction – despite differences of ethnicity, language, belief systems and territorial affiliation'.

In this reading, civilisation in the Middle East is older than the ancient civilisations of academic tradition; it is the 'cultural milieu' from which the 'superpowers' of Sumeria and Egypt developed. Wengrow, dealing a sideswipe at Huntington's argument for the 'close interdependence between the kingdoms of the great river valleys and less numerous peoples of the surrounding deserts and highlands'. The riverine and coastal populations recorded those desert- and highland-dwellers as barbarians, yet the putative enemies of civilisation also produced essential supplies of metals, minerals, coloured stones, fine timber and even the incense with which the low-lying populations propitiated their gods.

But what do the ideas in *What Makes Civilization?* mean for us? Wengrow suggests that historians of the ancient past need to establish the lost roots of interdependence. In *Civilization*? the authoritative governments of the ancient Near East are the primary source of conflict in the post-Cold War world. Each is convinced that the lines of battle must be pushed into the other's territory, as historians of the later Renaissance interpreted the Greek cosmopolis as a community forever expanding into a barbarian periphery. That said, anyone who does not recognise barbarism when he or she sees it is not paying close enough attention. In 2016, after Russian-supported Syrian troops had dislodged the barbarians of ISIS from the ruins of Palmyra, a concert by the Mariinsky Symphony Orchestra was staged in the Roman theatre there lately used for mass executions. The ancient Near East retains its symbolic power.
BOOKREVIEWS

Trojan War, whether through genealogy leading back to survivors of Troy (as in Speculum Regum) or more general positing as the hearth of Classical Greek civilisation (as in the case of the film Troy). Intriguingly, both also examples of works in which ideas about the Iliad and the Trojan War were more important than the actual poem; Godfrey had no access to the text, nor is Troy intended as a faithful adaptation of the epic.

When considering tradition, historical context is of the utmost importance, and the book provides an interesting account of the filming of Troy against the backdrop of the ‘War on Terror’ and post-9/11 American foreign policy. Should we see the Greeks as the USA and the Trojans as the Middle East? The book’s analysis deftly puts forward the case for the film’s political edge, with its quest for the causes and motivations of the conflict and its critique of Greek leadership that is, however, no more than in the Iliad.

Covering such diverse engagements with the Trojan War tradition, this is a thought-provoking, carefully considered series of case studies that make it a worthwhile read for anyone with an interest in Classical reception.

Lucia Marchini

Hannibal: The Life and Legend
Eve MacDonald
Yale University Press
332pp, 10 black & white illustrations
Paperback, £12.99

As the implacable and vastly gifted foe of Rome, the Carthaginian military commander Hannibal Barca established his place as one of the most illustrious figures of antiquity. His astonishing daring, military genius and singular achievements have awed succeeding generations. Yet the man behind the myth remains relatively obscure. Little wonder, then, that the Romans were more interested in their own accomplishments.

Several years after his illustrious father’s death, Hannibal assumed the military command in Iberia. There, he soon displayed the strategic brilliance, outstanding organisational ability and charismatic leadership that were so pivotal to his success and his longevity as a military commander.

In her gripping biography, Eve MacDonald, Lecturer in Ancient History at Cardiff University, convincingly conveys the tremendous upheaval of the period, the boundless energies and talents of the Barcid family, the brutality of the Iberian conquest and the sense of foreboding of the tumult to come. With both Rome and Carthage intent on expansionist policies in the Mediterranean arena, a second titanic conflict between the two seemed inevitable. Hannibal determined to take the next war to Rome and embarked on his legendary march to Italy over the Alps, a stunning achievement of breathtaking audacity. Once in Italy, he famously inflicted devastating defeats on the Roman forces, the most catastrophic of which occurred at Cannae in 216 BC.

Consumed by panic, the Romans resorted to such measures as human sacrifice to appease the gods they believed had deserted them. But here, they also showed their mettle. Refusing to make peace, they fought on with Hannibal in their midst for over a decade, avoiding pitched engagements with him and learning from his strategies. The question of why Hannibal never attempted to seize Rome has generated continuing discussion. Yet, by remaining in Italy, Hannibal had prevented larger Roman forces being deployed in Iberia and Africa. MacDonald deftly handles the continuous political machinations and military endeavours of Hannibal’s ensuing long years in Italy.

The account of his last years there make for sobering reading. The defeat and death of his brother Hasdrubal, who had been coming to his aid, MacDonald says, shook Hannibal to the core, and according to Livy, ‘he now saw clearly the destiny of Carthage’. Following his recall to Carthage in 203 BC, his inferior forces were crushed by Scipio Africanus at the battle of Zama, which signalled a forlorn end to his illustrious military career. When, at Rome’s request, he was outlawed at Carthage, Hannibal fled to spend the remainder of his days in exile in Asia Minor. Most accounts of his death aged 63, circa 183 BC, maintain that he committed suicide to prevent capture by the Romans. Some 36 years later, Carthage was comprehensively destroyed by the Romans. Until the 11th century Hannibal’s tomb was a place of pilgrimage. A monument to him (built by Atatürk in Gebze 35 miles east of Istanbul) is believed to lie near the site.

MacDonald provides a compelling account of the life and career of one of the most important figures in antiquity. Few challenged the nascent supremacy of Rome as Hannibal did. Little wonder, then, that the Romans both admired and feared their peerless foe.

Diana Bentley

I Object: Ian Hislop’s Search For Dissent
Ian Hislop and Tom Hockenhull
Thames & Hudson/British Museum
224pp, 201 colour and black & white illustrations
Hardback, £25

Among the holdings of the British Museum is a clay brick, stamped in cuneiform with the name of Nebuchadnezzar II (circa 605–562 BC), second king of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty, and remembered today as the builder of the Hanging Gardens of Babylon. Not that Nebuchadnezzar actually did the gardening. We do, however, know the name of at least one of his workmen. Before the clay on this brick dried, one of the men scratched onto its obverse face in rough Aramaic capitals the name ‘Zabina’.

Perhaps Zabina thought it would be funny if he autographed the brick before it was placed in a palace wall; a joke for the brickmakers, or the builders. Perhaps he was impelled by the absent-minded urge to leave a mark on the great world that still animates the inner Kilroy in all of us. Perhaps, like Byron, Zabina was conscious of his relative powerlessness. Placing his small name next to that of Nebuchadnezzar II was a small act of dissent against the way of the world, and the probability that, while his labours were likely to preserve the king’s name for eternity, they were unlikely to do the same for his own name

Dissent is a perennial impulse, and the objects of dissent are manifold. I Object (an exhibition at the British Museum until 20 January 2019) displays the history of dissent, from ancient to modern, from Aramaic graffiti to social media. The curators, Tom Hockenhull, the curator of Modern Money at the British Museum, and Ian Hislop, the habitually impertinent editor of Private Eye magazine, have gathered more than 180 objects, all created to question, mock and attack what the Romans called the status quo,

Minerva January/February 2019
or at least to leave a personal mark on it. Apart from political propaganda, whose motives are tediously clear, the motives of the objectors are often obscure, even in major works like the Strangford Shield, a Roman marble copy of the lost shield of the gold-and-ivory statue of Athena that stood in the cella, the inner chamber of the Parthenon. We can imagine why Pheidias, as Plutarch claims, included himself with his patron Pericles in the shield’s relief depicting the Amazonamachy, the battle of Greeks and Amazons. We can imagine why Pheidias tactfully depicted Pericles with an arm raised, to hide his face. But what possessed Pheidias to add himself to the myth, depicting himself beside him as what Plutarch describes as a ‘bald old man lifting up a stone’. Betrayed by an employee, a latterday Zabina, Pheidias ended up in prison, and possibly died there. This, at least, is how Plutarch tells it. There were rumours that Pheidias had embezzled some of the gold that was supposed to have adorned the statue. But if Plutarch is right, then Pheidias’ subtle demand that we recognise his Sisyphean labours resembles that of Zabina in Babylon more than it resembles, say, the cartoonist who, sensibly remaining anonymous, depicted George III squatting with his breeches around his knees, red-faced with exertion as he strains to fertilise his own fields, in a cartoon, of 1794–96, captioned Farmer Looby Manuring the Land.

That cartoon is only one of the arresting and thought-provoking images in the companion volume to the exhibition. Hislop and Hockenhull’s rich and fascinating account of the nose-thumbing, raspberry-blowing impulse is a book to dip into and to return to again and again, possibly while assuming the posture of Farmer Looby in the smallest library of the house.

**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) empukadzo (Ancient Greek)
   A) to wrap up in
   B) to interrupt
   C) to defame, to slander

2) flavesco (Latin)
   A) to grow weary
   B) to become fiery
   C) to become yellow or gold-coloured

3) daskios (Ancient Greek)
   A) quarrelsome, contentious about trifles
   B) thick-shaded, bushy
   C) sullen, shy and repellent in manner

4) gurgustium (Latin)
   A) a downpour
   B) a whirlpool
   C) a hole and corner; a dark hovel

5) epiteteor (Homeric Greek)
   A) a guardian
   B) the forefinger
   C) someone who feasts or lives upon the industry of others

6) sandyx (Latin)
   A) light blue
   B) a bright red, a vermilion
   C) violet coloured

7) peras (Ancient Greek)
   A) an end, limit, boundary
   B) anything badly formed or out of shape
   C) a brother; a comrade

8) flebiliter (Latin)
   A) high-spirited, proud
   B) careless, reckless, happy-go-lucky
   C) with tears; dolefully

9) epitedes (Homeric Greek)
   A) intently; quickly
   B) secretive
   C) sullenly angry; depressed in spirits

10) gulosus (Latin)
    A) drunk
    B) glutonous, dainty
    C) having a pearly lustre

11) kapto (Ancient Greek)
    A) to gulp down
    B) to weep
    C) to insult

12) solamen (Latin)
    A) a solemn vow
    B) a pathway up to a steep hill
    C) a comfort, relief, solace

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

**ANSWERS**

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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he sketched Freud. To mark the 80th anniversary of this encounter, the sketches and the painting are all on show in an exhibition that looks at Freud’s influence on Surrealism, as well as his views on painting. 

**Freud Museum**
+44 (0)20 7435 2002
(www.freud.org.uk)
Until 24 February 2019.

**Alfred Munnings: War Artist, 1918**

During the First World War, Sir Alfred Munnings (1878–1959) was commissioned by the Canadian War Memorials Fund as an official war artist and, in 1918, he worked with the Canadian Expeditionary Force on the Western Front. There he painted some 40 works – pastoral landscapes, portraits and, most importantly, equine compositions. These have all been brought together to show his record of the conflict and his burgeoning talent, which led to admittance to the Royal Academy of Arts a year later, in 1919.

**National Gallery**
+44 (0)20 7747 2885
(www.nationalgallery.org.uk)
Until 10 February 2019.

**LONDON**

**Freud, Dalí and The Metamorphosis of Narcissus**

It took Dalí several attempts to meet Freud, whom he admired greatly, and when he finally did meet him, in July 1938, he made the most of the occasion. Dalí brought along his recently completed painting *The Metamorphosis of Narcissus* with the intention of initiating a discussion on the psychoanalytical theory of narcissism and, while they talked, he sketched Freud. To mark the 80th anniversary of this encounter, the sketches and the painting are all on show in an exhibition that looks at Freud’s influence on Surrealism, as well as his views on painting.

**Freud Museum**
+44 (0)20 7435 2002
(www.freud.org.uk)
Until 24 February 2019.

**LONDON**

**Don McCullin**

Ever since he started taking photographs in the 1950s, Sir Don McCullin has dramatically captured landscapes, still life, and scenes of conflict around the world on film. This major retrospective presents more than 250 photographs, all printed by McCullin in his own darkroom, ranging from his first images taken around Finsbury Park and his forays into photojournalism, to definition of his feelings, emotions and ideals, instead of being a mere highway for them, this makes him pre-eminently a psychologist… The personal, emotional and psychological aspect of Lottolo’s work is explored in this exhibition, the first devoted to his remarkable portraits. As well as the richly coloured paintings of a range of middle-class sitters that span the entirety of his career, the exhibition includes objects (such as carpet, a dress, books, and pieces of Classical sculpture) relating to items included in the portraits to bring out the sitters’ identities and back stories. For example, Portrait of Andrea Odoni, 1527 (above) shows the 16th-century antiquities collector clutching a statuette of Diana of Ephesus which is displayed nearby.

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Christian Dior and the House’s six subsequent artistic directors (Yves Saint Laurent, Marc Bohan, Gianfranco Ferré, John Galliano, Raf Simons, and Maria Grazia Chiuri) through rare Haute Couture garments, photography, film and vintage perfume (including Miss Dior, launched in 1947 alongside the very first show). The exhibits reflect the importance of flowers in Dior’s designs, as well as other sources of inspiration, including global travel and 18th-century decorative arts. Of particular interest is the section charting Dior’s relationship with British manufacturers, such as Dents the glovemakers, established in 1777, and Lyle & Scott, the Scottish knitwear firm set up in 1874; and for notable clients, such as Nancy Mitford, Margot Fonteyn and Princess Margaret, who wore a dress designed by Dior for her official 21st birthday portrait (left) taken by Cecil Beaton (1904–80).

From 2 February to 14 July 2019.

NORWICH

Ken Kiff: The Sequence

Ken Kiff started his vast series The Sequence in 1971 and worked on it intermittently until his death in 2001. The result is a set of almost 200 acrylic paintings on paper, 60 of which will be hung together in the largest-ever display of works from The Sequence. They track Kiff’s development in interconnected themes and a blend of abstract and figurative imagery, and pinpoint the place of the series in his oeuvre. The artist’s compositions draw on everyday life, his personal experience of analysis – as seen in Talking with a psychoanalyst: night sky, circa 1975–80 (below) – and myths, as well as folktales from a range of cultures.

Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts
+44 (0)1603 593199
(www.scva.ac.uk)
Until 23 April 2019.

CHICAGO, Illinois

Painting the Floating World: Ukiyo-e Masterpieces from the Weston Collection

In 17th- and 18th-century Kyoto, Osaka and Edo (now Tokyo), people of all ranks headed to city districts, where there were kabuki theatres, brothels and seasonal festivities, in search of entertainment. This realm of pleasure-seeking became known as ukiyo or the floating world, and was captured in one-off paintings by leading artists, such as Katsushika Hokusai (1768–1849) and Kitagawa Utamaro (1753–1806), both renowned for their woodblock prints. The Weston Collection, amassed by Robert Weston over the past 25 years, focuses on bijinga, or ‘pictures of beauties’, that represent the ideals of style and sophistication that reigned in the floating world, as in Woman Writing a Poem on a Fan, 1789–1801 (below), by Chobunsai Eishi (1756–1829).

Art Institute of Chicago +1 312 443 3600 (www.artic.edu) Until 27 January 2019.

LOS ANGELES, California

The Renaissance Nude

The use of live models and Classical sculpture were equally important in the training of Renaissance artists, which ultimately led to the prominence of the nude in the art of 15th- and 16th-century Europe. Both female and male nudes were painted, and in 15th-century Italy it was the male nude that was pre-eminent appearing, for example, in images of St Sebastian. Whether Christian figures, such as Jean Fouquet’s Virgin and Child, circa 1452–55 (above right) or pagan Classical subjects, such as the goddess Venus, celebrations of ideal beauty and explorations of the human form as it advances from youth into old age, the naked body appears in a wide range of media – prints, paintings, sculpture, drawings, and illuminated manuscripts – produced in Rome, Florence, Venice and Nuremberg, and lesser-known centres in northern Europe. Among the many great artists featured in this colourful exhibition are Leonardo, Raphael, Michelangelo, Dürer, Lucas Cranach the Elder and Jan Gossart. J Paul Getty Museum +1 310 440 7300 (www.getty.edu/museum/) Until 27 January 2019.

Underworld: Imagining the Afterlife

Specialists at the J Paul Getty Museum have recently conserved a spectacular red-figure vase from an elite grave in Altamura in Apulia, southern Italy, showing more than 20 figures from Greek mythology including Persephone, Hades, Orpheus, Hermes, Herakles and Sisyphus, who is shown eternally pushing his boulder up a hill. The newly conserved 4th-century BC krater, which is on loan from the National Archaeological Museum in Naples, is now at the centre of an exhibition investigating Ancient Greek attitudes towards death and the afterlife. Dionysos – who is shown on an Apulian funerary vessel, circa 350–325 BC (below) – and Orpheus could offer an improved afterlife to those initiated into their Mystery cults, but little is known about these secretive rites. Illustrating the arcane and archaic connection between these figures and death are the gold Orphic tablets and the proliferation of Apulian funerary vessels on which the god Dionysos is depicted, either in relation to symposium scenes or in the Underworld (see also page 6).

NEW YORK, New York
Jewelry: The Body Transformed
Exploring jewellery as a universal and personal art form, this show brings together a stunning selection of pieces, dating from 2600 BC to the present. Head-dresses, belts, brooches, ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, rings and other items of personal adornment have a transformative impact on the body that wears them. This aspect of transformation is brought out further by the photographs, prints, sculptures and paintings that accompany the jewellery. Highlights of the exhibits include: the regalia of the rulers of Calima (Colombia); ivories and bronzes from Benin; gold sandals and toe stalls, circa 1479–1425 BC (above) from the ancient Egyptian tomb of the three foreign wives of Thutmose III in Thebes; and finely crafted gold ear-rings, showing Ganymede and Zeus in the form of an eagle, from Hellenistic Greece.
Metropolitan Museum of Art
+1 212 535 7710
(www.metmuseum.org)
Until 24 February 2019.

In Praise of Painting: Dutch Masterpieces at The Met
Since the early days of the Met, Dutch Golden Age paintings have been an important feature of the museum’s collection. Stunning 17th-century paintings by the likes of Rembrandt, Hals and Vermeer were part of the Met’s founding purchase in 1871, and the museum has since acquired many more. Some 67 works from the permanent collections are on show, demonstrating both the refined skill of the Dutch artists and illustrating the key concerns of the day, such as religion. Landscapes, portraits, still lifes, and comic scenes all appear, as do paintings of women observed in everyday domestic settings, a major theme in 17th-century Dutch art best exemplified by Vermeer. Rembrandt is central to the exhibition, and his influence on his students, and other artists, is explored. Rembrandt’s Portrait of Gerard de Lairesse, 1665–67, is juxtaposed alongside Lairesse’s Apollo and Aurora, 1671 (below), which evoke some of the tensions between realism and idealism at the time.
Metropolitan Museum of Art
+1 212 535 7710
(www.metmuseum.org)
Until 4 October 2020.

VERO BEACH, Florida
Michael Craig-Martin: Present Sense
In the second annual exhibition at the Windsor, part of a three-year curatorial partnership with London’s Royal Academy of Arts, the work of Royal Academician Michael Craig-Martin is on show. It includes prints and sculpture as well as his characteristic brightly coloured paintings, including Untitled (lightbulb blue), 2017 (above) and four new ones, completed in 2018, reflecting the artist’s interest in the everyday, and, increasingly, technological objects of our time, such as laptops, iPhones, and wireless headphones.
The Gallery at Windsor
+1 772 388 4071
(www.windsorflorida.com)
From 29 January to 25 April 2019.

AUSTRIA
VIENNA
Spitzmaus Mummy in a Coffin and other Treasures
Since 2012, the Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna has invited various prominent cultural figures to work with museum curators to present a personal selection of objects and artworks, which will offer a new perspective on their impressive collections of more than 4 million objects. For the third instalment of these exhibitions, Texan cult film director Wes Anderson and the writer and illustrator Juman Malouf (below) have brought together more than 400 objects, which include artefacts from Ancient Egypt – such as the 4th-century BC shrew (spitzmaus) mummy (that lends its name to the exhibition) – and from Greece and Rome, Old Master paintings, coins, musical instruments, armour, natural history specimens and much more.
Kunsthistorisches Museum
+43 1 525240
(www.khm.at)
Until 28 April 2019.

BELGIUM
BRUGES
Mummies in Bruges: Secrets of Ancient Egypt
In this exhibition, human and animal mummies (some of which have been scanned) from the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden’s collection are on show alongside statues, stelae, burial gifts, papyri from the Book of the Dead, magical amulets, scarabs and compelling painted golden mummy masks (above), all of which shed light on Ancient Egyptian ways of life, their rituals, their burial customs, and their beliefs about the afterlife.
Oud Sint-Jan Exhibition Centre
+32 50 47 61 00
(www.xpo-center-bruges.be)
Until 1 September 2019.
FRANCE
PARIS
A Dream of Italy: The Marquis Campana’s Collection
Between the 1830s and the 1850s Giampietro Campana amassed the 19th century’s largest private collection, with more than 12,000 archaeological artefacts, paintings, sculptures and objets d’art, both ancient and modern. The collection was dispersed in 1861, and many items ended up in the Louvre and the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg. Both institutions have joined to create an overview of the collection through a range of more than 500 works, including The Sarcophagus of the Spouses (above), an Etruscan terracotta masterpiece dating from circa 520–510 BC.
Louvre +33 1 40 20 50 50
(www.louvre.fr)
Until 18 February 2019.

NETHERLANDS
AMSTERDAM
All the Rembrandts of the Rijksmuseum
To commemorate the 350th anniversary of Rembrandt’s death, the Rijksmuseum has declared that 2019 is the ‘Year of Rembrandt’. The celebrations begin with an exhibition entitled All the Rembrandts of the Rijksmuseum which, as the title suggests, displays all 22 paintings, 60 drawings, and more than 300 prints by the artist from its permanent collections. With such a large assortment of works (it houses the largest collection of Rembrandt paintings in the world), the Rijksmuseum is able to offer a comprehensive tour through the artist’s career. As well as fragile and rarely exhibited drawings, there are self-portraits, depictions of his wife Saskia, and of figures from society around him. His compositions based on episodes from the Old Testament show his great gift as a storyteller. Highlights of the show include his much-loved paintings, The Night Watch, 1642, (below), The Jewish Bride, 1667, and the exquisite pair of wedding portraits of husband and wife, Marten Soolmans and Oopjen Coppit, 1634.
Rijksmuseum +31 20 674 7000
(www.rijksmuseum.nl)
From 15 February to 10 June 2019.

SPAIN
BILBAO
Alberto Giacometti: A Retrospective
With their long, sinewy forms the sculptures of Giacometti (above) are easily recognisable. The artist often worked in bronze, but, as this exhibition shows, he also had a great interest in more malleable, fragile materials, such as plaster. His work in different materials, paintings and drawings have been brought together to chart his creative output over 40 years. There is a particular focus on the art and insightful archival material gathered together by his widow Annette, now in the Fondation Giacometti in Paris.
Guggenheim Museum +34 944 35 90 80
(www.guggenheim-bilbao.eus)
Until 24 February 2019.

MADRID
Dali and Surrealism in the ABANCA Art Collection
Spanish artists, notably Salvador Dalí (1904–89) and Joan Miró (1893–1983), played an important part in Surrealism. This show of 13 Surrealist paintings from the ABANCA art collection tracks the development of the movement from the 1920s to the 1970s, with artists from both Spain and further afield. Works by Miró, executed at two different stages in his career, in the 1930s and 1976, demonstrate the evolution of his style; while paintings by Italian artist Giorgio de Chirico (1888–1978) clearly show that he was an influential forerunner of the Surrealist movement. Among the highlights are dream landscapes by Dalí, such as West Side of the island of the Dead/Cour ouest de L’île des morts – obsession reconstitutive d’après Böcklin, 1934 (above). The ABANCA Art Collection is one of the most important corporate artistic initiatives in Spain and it currently holds 1,343 works by 239 artists.
Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza +34 917 91 13 70
(www.museothyssen.org)
Until 27 January 2019.

Minerva January/February 2019
EVENTS

UNITED KINGDOM
LONDON
Accordia Lectures
Graffiti at Monte Sant’Angelo sul Gargano (Puglia): meaning, identity and belonging in the early Middle Ages
Helen Foxhall-Forbes, University of Durham
15 January
Joint Lecture with the Institute of Classical Studies
Room G22/26 Senate House, Malet Street

Buried spaces and painted dimensions in the tombs of Etruscan Tarquinia
Matilde Marzullo
19 February
Joint Lecture with the UCL Institute of Archaeology
Room 612, UCL Institute of Archaeology, Gordon Square

Moving bodies and making place: rethinking pilgrimage in early Roman Latium
Emma-Jayne Graham
12 March
Joint Lecture with the Institute of Classical Studies
Room 349, Senate House, Malet Street

The Accordia Research Institute’s Italy Lectures are all held at 5.30pm on Tuesdays
www.ucl.ac.uk/accordia

The 2019 Rumble Fund Lecture in Classical Art
Looking East: Early Christian Art outside the world of Christian Hegemony
This year Jas Elsner, Professor of Late Antique Art at the University of Oxford, will examine the early history of Christian material culture asking us to rethink our Eurocentric narratives that place 4th- and 5th-century Rome at the centre of Christian artistic supremacy. By looking at aspects of visual and material culture in less obvious places, such as Sasanian Persia and Tang Dynasty China where Christianity was not dominant within the state, his talk will offer a broader view of early Christian art.
13 March, 6.30pm
Bush House, King’s College London
kcl.ac.uk/classics

The Origins of Writing
Early evidence of writing occurs in different parts of the globe – so did it arise independently in distant lands such as Mesopotamia, China and Easter Island, or was there a single place of origin from which it was transmitted around the world? In this talk, writer and historian Andrew Robinson delves into the puzzling origins of the world-changing invention of writing.
14 January, 6.30pm
British Museum
britishmuseum.org

GLASGOW
Classical Association of Scotland –Glasgow & West Centre Events
Hunting churchmen: pleasure and religious authority in Byzantium
Maroula Perisanidi
14 January

Lucian on originality
Calum Maciver
4 February

What’s blood got to do with it?
Athenian citizenship law and Demosthenes 57
Kerry Phelan
18 March

Meetings at 7.30pm on Mondays in the TalkLab (Room 306, Level 3)
Glasgow University Library
cas.wp.st-andrews.ac.uk/glasgow-and-west

UNITED STATES
NEW YORK
Winter Antiques Show
High-quality works of art, antiques and antiquities are on offer at this leading American fair, held as an annual fundraiser for East Side House Settlement, a community-based organisation that champions education and technology as a way to open up economic opportunities. Works from all periods are shown. Representing the ancient world is London dealer Charles Ede, who will exhibit a fine Roman marble head of Apollo (above) dating to 2nd–3rd-century AD.
The Winter Antiques Show will also present a loan exhibition called Collecting Nantucket /Connecting the World, which will feature the diaries kept by captains’ wives, art inspired by the whale hunt, and portraits of the island’s diverse people collected by the Nantucket Historical Association over the past 125 years. Coinciding with the bicentenary of Herman Melville’s birth, this exhibition includes the only extant material from the whalship Essex, which was destroyed by a whale in 1820 and inspired parts of Moby-Dick.
Park Avenue Armory
18–27 January 2019
thewintershow.org

NETHERLANDS
MAASTRICHT
TEFAF Maastricht
Presenting 7000 years of art history, 276 dealers and experts in ancient art, design, paintings, works on paper, tribal art, fine jewellery and more will be exhibiting in the 32nd edition of TEFAF Maastricht. After a recent and extensive review of the fair’s selection processes, 38 new exhibitors will be joining the event in the ancient art section including: Galerie Eberwein from France, specialists in Egyptian antiquities; Galerie David Ghezelbash also from France, specialists in Greek, Roman, Egyptian and Asian archaeological artworks; and Kallos Gallery from the UK, who will exhibit a Greek bronze panoply of a cavalry man, circa late 4th century BC (above), and an Attic black figure eye-cup circa 550–510 BC (below).
MECC Maastricht
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