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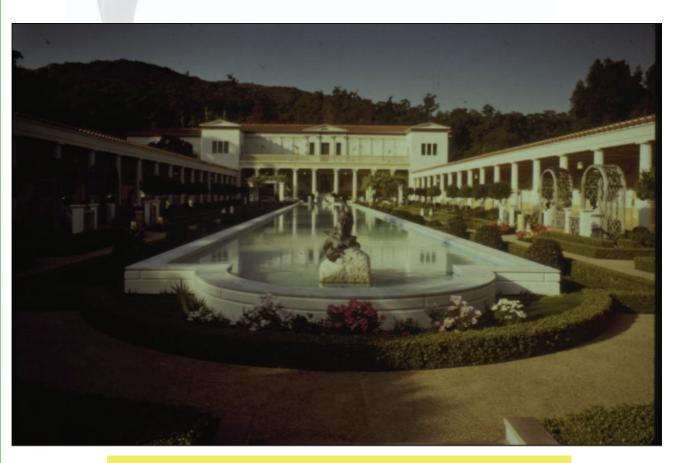
# VILLA, GARDEN, SPA

The theme of this issue of Herculaneum Archaeology is reconstruction: of the Villa of the Papyri, whether it be in tangible form as in the case of the Getty Villa, now reopened after a long period of refurbishment, or using computer technology to create a virtual Villa to enhance our understanding of the site; and reconstruction of the Epicurean philosophy associated with the Villa, a location ideally suited to represent the Garden in which the Epicureans developed their ideas.

Like the Epicureans, the Friends of Herculaneum Society brings intellectual stimulation and wonderful surroundings together. On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of March 2007 the Society held a very successful meeting at the premises of the Bath Royal Literary and Scientific Institution, with talks covering the whole spectrum of interest in the site of Herculaneum. Dr. Shelley Hales spoke on the 'Houses of Herculaneum', Professor la McIlwaine discussed 'A Regency challenge and disappointment: George IV and the Herculaneum Papyri', Professor David Blank considered 'Matching Tops and Bottoms: reconstructing a Herculaneum papyrus and an atomist rhetoric' and Dr. Peter Baxter pondered what will happen 'When Vesuvius erupts again ...' We hope to visit this far-flung outpost of Roman civilization again in the future.

The next event to which Friends may look forward is a conference in Oxford this autumn, sponsored by the Society, on 'The Villa of the Papyri: archaeology, reception and digital reconstruction'. A taste of what is on offer in the last category may be found in Mantha Zarmakoupi's article on pages 4 and 5 of this newsletter. The conference will be held at the loannou Centre for Classical and Byzantine Studies (22<sup>nd</sup> September) and Christ Church, Oxford (23<sup>rd</sup> September). Details of the speakers, the conference timetable and the booking form may be found on our website, http://www.herculaneum.ox.ac.uk/. Members should also note that the Society's Annual General Meeting will be held during this event, at Christ Church on 22<sup>nd</sup> September.

Looking even further ahead, in September 2008 the Society will be sponsoring a conference on Ancient Book-titles, featuring some of the recently recovered books from Herculaneum. For a hint of what is to come, go to Holger Essler's article on the book-titles of the Herculaneum Library on page 6. With the support of Friends, the Society will continue to foster such intellectual and convivial occasions, as it plays its part in the reconstruction process.



Above: The Getty Museum in Malibu, California, modelled on the Villa of the Papyri. Roger Macfarlane discusses the reopened Villa and its history on pages 2 and 3.







### THE GETTY VILLA REOPENED: THE

When you visit the Getty Villa in Malibu, California, I recommend that you aim to visit the Lansdowne Heracles first. Other attractions among the spectacular surroundings will keep you from getting there too quickly; but the Heracles is, in this writer's opinion, the quintessential element of this remarkable museum and the sine qua non of any visit.

Friends of Herculaneum are drawn to this villa because it is modelled upon the design of the Villa of the Papyri as drawn by Karl Weber in the 18th century. Strictly speaking, the Lansdowne Heracles has nothing to do with Herculaneum or the Villa of the Papyri. For the Lansdowne Heracles was copied from a Greek original about a halfcentury after Vesuvius' eruption, and it was discovered in Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli years after most of the statuary had already been extracted from the Villa of the Papyri. Yet the sculpture is intricately connected to the heart and soul of the Getty Villa. The modern building may be seen as a sort of shrine built to house this piece especially - the first authentic piece Getty acquired when he began purchasing classical art in the early 1950s. Like the Malibu Villa itself, the Heracles also manifests its owner's neo-classical zeal and offers a personal reflection of Getty's character.

Although a lift offers access up to the Villa's grounds, ascend the stairs, if you can. They scale a new 20-metrehigh cut on the west wall that is dramatically textured with variegated surfaces to replicate the precipitously cut volcanic matrix from which the Villa of the Papyri now actually protrudes. This entrance thus begins the experience in "comparative archaeology" envisioned by Machado and Salvetti of Boston. The Getty Villa reopened its doors in January 2006 after nearly a decade of extensive remodelling that cost upwards of \$270 million, nearly twenty times the original building's cost in 1974. The refurbished Villa astonishes at every turn.

While the building and its grounds are often regarded as a "strikingly faithful reconstruction" of the Villa of the Papyri, it is more accurate to view the complex as an imitation. The peristyle garden, surrounding a shallow fishpond that runs down its long central axis, is considerably shorter than that of its exemplar on the Bay of Naples. The entire garden complex is built over foundations that formerly held a car park. Some of the bronzes that adorn the garden are technically out of place, such as the "Dancing Faun" copied from the eponymous house in Pompeii; but other replicas from Herculaneum – e.g. the two male "runners", the Drunken Satyr, or the bust of the Polycleitan "Doryphorus" – dot the walkways that lead through the garden to the Villa's southern façade.



Above: View along the colonnade of the Getty Museum, Malibu.

Visitors who knew the Getty Villa before the 1997 closure will note immediately that the western hillside has been developed extensively. The remodelling is especially designed to make a new focal point outside the western flank of the peristyle garden and channelling foot traffic to a new entrance to the museum itself. Auditoriums, a tea-room, and a large bookshop fill the newly acquired space. A simple theatrical hemicycle, faithfully modelled upon the theatron of Segesta, dominates the vicinity of the entrance, the porch of which serves as the theatre's skene. Inside the museum proper, the visitor admires the arrangement of an impressive collection of ancient art with dates from Precycladic to Late Imperial. The upper storey especially, which in the Villa's earlier manifestation had housed paintings and physically lighter objets d'art, is now substantially fortified to bear the weight of classical sculpture. This structure is an engineering masterpiece.



## BUILDING AND ITS BACKGROUND

The upper rooms are filled with natural light that pours through skylights that replicate the *impluvia* known from Herculaneum's houses. The cable-and-steel staircase that conveys visitors up and down in the building, though functional, is less germane. Other features sustain the classical illusion. In the central atrium the bronze *peplophoroi*, replicating the familiar figures sometimes known as the "Dancers", surround a shallow pool. Off this sunwashed atrium, above a floor that copies precisely the polychrome pavement of the belvedere at the Villa of the Papyri as drawn by Karl Weber, you will find the Heracles.

Getty began by collecting classical art, purchasing the Lansdowne Heracles in 1951. Soon he had more pieces than could reasonably be shown in his Malibu Ranch House. Articulating his decision to build a museum, Getty wrote that he wanted to offer visitors an experience unlike replicas or imitations of ancient public buildings. The apparently private dwelling he envisioned was to make "every visitor to feel as if I invited him to come and look about and feel at home". During the project's conception, at least three different responses were prepared by the architectural firm of Langdon and Wilson, who tried versions in Spanish Colonial, in a modernized minimalist classical vernacular of the 1960s, and in a monumental 18th-century neo-classical style reminiscent of Versailles. "I refuse to pay", he wrote elsewhere, "for one of those concrete-bunker type structures that are the fad among museum architects, nor for some tinted-glass and stainlesssteel monstrosity". The final choice was more closely akin to J. D. Rockefeller's Cloisters in New York City, where medieval art is displayed amid imitations of medieval buildings. Although Getty never saw the Malibu Villa itself with his own eyes, he was updated regularly during its construction as an expatriate in England and died in 1976, two years after its opening. Hindsight suggests that Getty could not have made a more natural choice than the plan that imitated the villa attributed to L. Calpurnius Piso.

Years earlier Getty had carefully included Piso as a character in his novella A Journey from Corinth (1955). The narrative tells a fictionalized history of a marble Heracles plundered by Lucius Mummius in the 146 B.C. sack of Corinth and how the sculpture was eventually bought at auction in Republican Rome. The sculpture is clearly the same Heracles, named later after its 18th-century owner the Marquis of Lansdowne, which Getty had purchased in 1951. In the novella Getty portrays Calpurnius Piso in the most admirable light, as "a kind-hearted individual always ready to give happiness". Getty's Piso at first disparages the plastic arts beneath landscaping: "It is surprising", the author makes M. Fulvius Nobilior say, "that Calpurnius Piso, certainly one of the richest men in Italy, takes such little interest in collecting art". Then Piso, having come "to agree that works of art were a necessary part of a fine home", takes the specific advice from his Corinthian landscape architect and purchases select treasures from Corinth

"sold at auction for the benefit of the Army treasury". When Piso has acquired the Heracles, his Greek advisor compliments the shrewd bidding: "I think you now have a good nucleus for a collection. Everything is of first-rate quality". Thus the Corinthian was "delighted that the Herakles now belonged to Piso, and would set it up with other statues on his estate at Herculaneum". Finally "the Pentelic marble statue of Herakles stood on a beside a fountain, and overlooking the sea".

A Journey from Corinth contrives a story of ownership for the Lansdowne Heracles that could not actually have been true in antiquity. For although Getty was aware that his Heracles was a copy of a Greek original - even Piso's advisor informed him that he had "seen some active bidding this week, but it is nothing to what would have taken place had there been an original work" - he seems to have considered his copy to be at least three centuries older than the Lansdowne Heracles actually is. The Journey's closing pages explain that Piso's Heracles was later removed from Herculaneum to the Domus Aurea by Nero and then eventually acquired by Hadrian who sought the most sumptuous decorations from near and far. In reality, Getty's Heracles was in all likelihood created by a Hadrianic copyist specifically for inclusion in that emperor's own grand architectural pastiche at Tivoli.

Getty's Calpurnius Piso, the builder and owner of the splendid villa on the Bay of Naples, acquires the Heracles and establishes an impressive line of connoisseurs that ultimately comes full-circle with a 20th-century Piso, an art collector in the making, "a trifle pompous in manner", "a man of great wealth ... better out of politics than in it". Getty writes himself as the ideal Piso; in the Getty Villa, this latter-day aristocrat betters his Roman forebear, because he ends up holding the Heracles for himself. But, even better, he makes public his splendid "private" home.

Roger T. Macfarlane Brigham Young University

— This article has drawn from S. Howard, *The Lansdowne Herakles* (Los Angeles, 1966), from J. Walsh and D. Gribbon, *The J. Paul Getty Museum and its Collections: a new museum for the new century* (Los Angeles, 1997), and from www.getty.edu. Getty's novella A Journey from Corinth was included with other pieces by him and about him in E. LeVane, *Collector's Choice: the chronicle of an artistic odyssey through Europe* (London, 1955): 287–329.

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# A VIRTUAL VILLA: DIGITALLY RECONST

In issue 3 of *Herculaneum Archaeology*, MANTHA ZARMAKOUPI discussed the use of virtual reality technology as a tool for exploring the Villa of the Papyri. She was awarded the first Friends of Herculaneum Society Studentship in 2006, and in this article she gives an account of her research over the past year.

The Studentship of the Friends of Herculaneum Society enabled me this year to continue working on the digital model of the Villa of the Papyri, a project that I had initiated at the University of California in Los Angeles (UCLA) in 2005.



This year I was finishing my D.Phil. thesis, which focuses on the architecture and culture of the Villa of the Papyri and four other luxury villas around the bay of Naples, and I was teaching at the European College of Liberal Arts (ECLA) in Berlin. During the academic year, I conducted research for developing the digital model of the Villa of the Papyri in Berlin, and in July and August I worked on the digital model and a virtual reality walk within it in the computer lab of the Experiential Technology Center at UCLA.

Previous attempts to reconstruct the Villa have been influenced by the Getty Villa, a twentieth-century imagined replica of the Villa in Malibu. This new digital model incorporates the new data from the excavations conducted in the Villa in the past 20 years and proposes a reconstruction of the Villa that is informed by my doctoral research on the architecture of Roman luxury villas.

In relation to my project on the digital model of the Villa of the Papyri, I have organized a conference on the Villa of the Papyri itself with the generous sponsorship and assistance of the Friends of Herculaneum Society. I have invited specialists to present our current knowledge of the Villa and its finds, address their cultural significance as well as their reception since the eighteenth century and present reconstructions of the architecture and papyri of the Villa. The conference will take place in Oxford on September 22 and 23 2007. In the context of the conference, I will present the new digital model of the Villa of the Papyri to the Friends of Herculaneum Society, who will hold their Annual General Meeting during the conference.



Mantha Zarmakoupi D.Phil. student at the University of Oxford, St. John's College ABD Teaching Fellow at the European College of Liberal Arts in Berlin

Left: Digital reconstruction of the Villa seen from the sea.

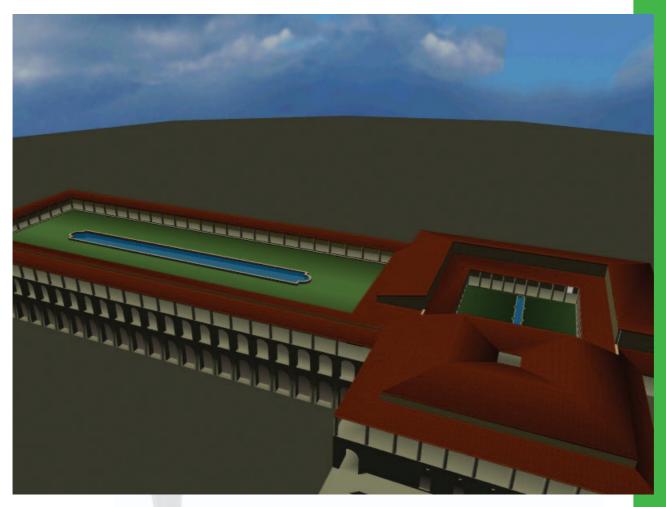
Top right: Digitally reconstructed view of the Villa from above.

Right: Weber's plan of the Villa; views from the peristyle (2) into the atrium (1 and 4) and looking to sea beyond (3).

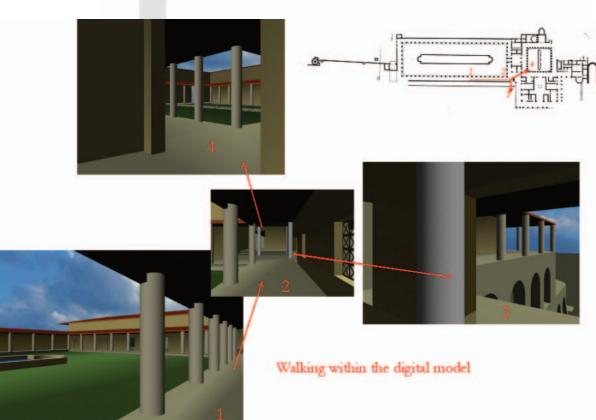
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# STRUCTING THE VILLA OF THE PAPYRI



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### WHAT'S IN A NAME?

#### Why were the books from Herculaneum given their titles?

All we know about the philosophical work of Philodemus is due to the texts preserved in the Villa of the Papyri. Apart from his own works, the library also contained works of the "men". Throughout antiquity the Epicureans were renowned for the reverence and respect they paid to the founder of the school and his fellows. These were the "men", "masters" and "leaders" on their way to happiness. They were a single indivisible authority. "Among these people", says Seneca, talking about the Epicureans (Letters to Lucilius 33) "whatever Hermarchus said or Metrodorus, everything is referred to one, everything that was uttered in this community was said under the auspices and leadership of one." For Philodemus, contradicting one of them is like killing one's father (On Rhetoric I, col. 7, 18–29).

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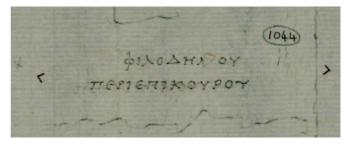
MAITTEPIA

Above: title of P. Herc. 1424, Philodemus, *On Vices*. Below right: title of P. Herc. 1232, Philodemus, *On Epicurus*. Apographs © The Bodleian Library.

Some of the Herculaneum scrolls still bear their author's title at the end, and over the last decades a few initial titles have been discovered. Since the outer part of the rolls was more exposed to damage, there was less chance for them to survive. Sometimes written in very distinct and calligraphic letters, these titles provide important information about the content and scope of the works. They might contain a book number or identify the work in question as part of a larger series. A large part of what we know about the organization of Philodemus' oeuvre is based on titles and self-quotations. Given the prominence and authority of the first masters, their works are also often referred to in his writings. Thus when he is writing on theological matters Philodemus quotes Epicurus' On Gods or On Holiness; the treatise On Household Management contains a quotation from Metrodorus' On Wealth. It is not surprising that thematically related works by the authorities are usually adduced as a source of the main arguments. However, there might be more to it than this.

Thanks to advanced imaging technologies and studies focusing on the subject, over the last decade numerous titles in the Herculaneum papyri have been read for the first time or re-read with much more accuracy. Therefore the general picture of the library and Philodemus' work in particular has become clearer. He can now be seen not only quoting the masters, but also following them in the choice of the titles of his own writings. With one possible exception all of his aesthetical and ethical works can thus be referred to the Epicurean authorities. Most of the titles of Philodemus's treatises are conveniently listed on the society's website (http://www.herculaneum.ox.ac.uk/, navigate to Papyri > The Books from Herculaneum), if the corresponding books are preserved. The earlier Epicureans were less fortunate and we have to rely mainly on collected fragments and book-lists. Some examples of his main works might illustrate the practice followed by Philodemus. Like Epicurus he writes On Music and On Rhetoric, and he also follows the founder of the school in writing On Gods. His On Household Management mentioned above has a counterpart in Metrodorus' work with the same name and the "master's" work is quoted extensively at the end. Both Philodemus and Metrodorus also wrote On Wealth and On Poems.

Another field in which Philodemus could show his loyalty to the first masters was biography. Although worshipping the founder in feasts was a tradition in the Garden which Philodemus is following, for obvious reasons in his *On Epicurus* he could not continue the founder's thought and doctrine by using the same title as he had done. However, Philodemus presents Epicurus' life as a model for others to follow. Instead of treating a topic that the masters had covered, Philodemus takes as his topic the masters themselves.



New discoveries might prove this theory wrong, but it seems that Philodemus in constructing his oeuvre is following his masters literally to the letter. Of course this fidelity does not mean that in his ten books *On Rhetoric* he had nothing more to say than Epicurus had already stated in one. But by keeping to the same topics as his masters, Philodemus continues to tend the philosophical garden that they designed.

Holger Essler University of Oxford





#### LUCRETIUS AND ROMAN EPICUREANISM

Did Lucretius know about the

Herculaneum library? Did its

owners know about him?

A review of: Annick Monet (ed.): Le jardin romain. Épicurisme et poésie à Rome. Mélanges offerts à Mayotte Bollack (Lille, 2003).

A study of Roman Epicureanism has to deal with three principal figures who seem to be in touch only very loosely. Cicero's philosophical writings are determined by a constantly polemical tendency towards the Epicurean school. Philodemus, the Epicurean philosopher contemporary with Cicero, is mentioned only once in *On Ends* in a marginal occasion. In his speech *Against Piso* Cicero never refers to Philodemus by name, although he describes him extensively, mainly depicting him as a superficial although refined poet by excluding his philosophical impact. Lucretius, the third contemporary writer on Epicureanism, fared no better. It is only in Cicero's letters to his brother Quintus that he

makes explicit reference to him. The case looks even worse when we look at the writings of the two Epicureans themselves. Hitherto, no reference by one to the other has been found in their texts. Their writings on first sight

seem to be quite different, given the fact that Philodemus wrote prose treatises on ethical problems in Greek and Lucretius an elaborate didactic poem on Epicurean physics in Latin. Still, reading Philodemus' and Lucretius' texts side by side inevitably raises the issue of how they were related to each other. Did they know each other's writings? Did they even have personal contact? Did Lucretius know about the Herculaneum library? Did its owners know about him?

Le jardin romain. Épicurisme et poésie à Rome. Mélanges offerts à Mayotte Bollack, proceedings edited by Annick Monet (2003) of the colloquium Philodème et Lucrèce: l'épicurisme et la culture littéraire à Rome au le siècle avant notre ère, held in Lille on 28–30 September 2000, focuses on these questions. The volume is a homage to Mayotte Bollack, who is well known to any student of Lucretius and Epicureanism by her books La raison de Lucrèce and La Lettre d'Épicure. Simultaneously it honours Marcello Gigante by containing one of his latest papers ('Philodème entre Catulle et Lucrèce'), which is followed by an obituary (In memoriam Marcello Gigante) stressing his constant commitment to Herculaneum papyrology.

Scholars searching for more grounds for contacts between Lucretius and Philodemus have expected to find a manuscript of *De rerum natura* in the Villa of the Papyri. Knut Kleve (1989) in his article 'Lucretius in Herculaneum' (in *Cronache Ercolanesi* 19 (5–27)) seemed to have identified fragments of three papyri, on which he had identified verses of *De rerum natura*. Therefore, Lucretius' poem had been part of the Epicurean library in Herculaneum. Doubt is cast on this claim by Mario Capasso in 'Filodemo e Lucrezio: Due intellettuali nel *patriai tempus iniquum*'. Capasso puts his finger on two points, which make Lucretius disappear

from Herculaneum again. His main argument takes into consideration that in the papyri of Herculaneum the layers of a roll are carbonized, which makes it difficult to see whether two successive lines belong to one or to two separate layers. Whereas Kleve had claimed his fragment A to be a sovrapposto (overlying fragment) to fragment B, separated from it by about 7 layers of very fine papyrus which are therefore not clearly visible, Capasso reaches the more natural conclusion that fragments A and B actually belong to one single layer. The lines thus read according to Capasso cannot be found in De rerum natura. Secondly, Capasso points to a discovery concerning the archiving of the papyri published by Kleve. In cassetto CXIV, in which the fragments read by Kleve were conserved among others, Capasso discovered a note saying that those other fragments belong to P. Herc. 395. But Capasso can make out no matches with verses of De rerum natura. Drawing the attention to those

fragments of P. Herc. 395 is an important contribution for further discussion according to Daniel Delattre in 'Présence ou absence d'une copie du *De rerum natura* à Herculanum? (Réponse à Mario Capasso)'. Delattre refers to a

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paper given by Kleve at the 23<sup>rd</sup> international congress of papyrologists, held in Vienna, 22–28 July 2001. In this paper, Kleve mounts a further argument for the identification of the fragments of P. Herc. 395 as De rerum natura. His reading of fragment 17C fits (out of the transmitted corpus of Latin texts) only with De rerum natura 2.1080–83. On the basis of letters read on four following lines and verse-markers at the end of each line, defining the text as poetry, one has to admit that there is a very high degree of plausibility to Kleve's identification. However, regarding Lucretius' appearance or disappearance at Herculaneum, one should bear in mind that this question only considers the reception of Lucretius and Philodemus. It cannot give insights on the intellectual influence of either Epicurean writer. It is this ongoing discussion that gives Le jardin romain its greatest interest.

Other contributions take Delattre's reservation into account and consider the cultural context shared by the writers on Epicureanism in Rome. Starting from the relative silence Cicero exhibits about Lucretius, Luciano Canfora in 'La première réception de Lucrèce à Rome' looks for signs of the reception of *De rerum natura* in Cicero's writings. Canfora's position is treated with a variation by Carlos Lévy in 'D' Amafinius à Cicéron. Quelques remarques sur la communication de L.Canfora'. Lévy emphasizes that Cicero might have seen Lucretius more in connection with Amafinius and Catius, other Epicurean writers, who stand for a rather unsophisticated style of Latin prose writing. According to Lévy, shared concepts in Lucretius and Cicero's treatises point rather to a common source than to an influence of Lucretius on Cicero.

Continued on back page.







This approach is taken over by Alessandro Schiesaro in 'Rhétorique, Politique et *Didaxis* chez Lucrèce'. He traces the rhetorical and didactic devices in *De rerum natura* back to contemporary forensic discourse in Rome by comparing them under Cicero's concept of eloquence.

Among other contributions, of special interest in describing the characteristics of Lucretius' and Philodemus' connection with Epicureanism are those by Graziano Arrighetti in 'L' épicurisme de Philodème et de Lucrèce face aux théories littéraires hellénistiques: Quelques problèmes', by Michael Erler in 'Exempla amoris: Der epikureische Epilogismos als philosophischer Hintergrund der Diatribe gegen die Liebe in Lukrez De rerum natura', by James Porter in 'Lucretius and the Poetics of Void' and by Ivano Dionigi in 'Lucrezio ovvero la grammatica del cosmo'. Arrighetti draws on the literary criticism of Philodemus' On Poems and of De rerum natura. This reflection on which criteria make a poem a good poem can be seen in the wider context of the contemporary Hellenistic culture, and of the Epicurean school, in which the discussion on the utility of poetry is firmly rooted. Hence, differences between the approaches of the two writers are to be expected and thus do not necessarily imply ignorance or rejection of the one by the other. Arrighetti stresses that both Lucretius and Philodemus have to be considered as standing on the same side of the argument in their Epicureanism. Erler shows how Lucretius in the so-called diatribe against love in De rerum natura 4.1037–1287 makes use of an ethical concept that is discussed theoretically in Philodemus' On Anger. Porter argues that the perspective taken in De rerum natura is rather from solid body to void than from invisible atoms to the perceptible cosmos. He strengthens his point by illustrating how the fear of void dominates the description of the plague in De rerum natura 6.1138–1286. Support for Porter's argument can be found in the very last words of De rerum natura: "... rather than abandon the bodies." In addition, Porter shows how the topic of the void is affiliated to the aesthetic concept of the sublime. Another crucial topic in Lucretian poetics is the ambiguity of the word elementum, which in Latin means both 'letter' and 'atom'. Dionigi discusses the comparison of the letters building up the poem (elementa vocis) with the atoms that make up the cosmos (elementa mundi). He concludes that it facilitates the legibility of the perceptible world. Reading the world makes it explicable and thus cosmological phenomena become less frightening.

Le jardin romain manages to cover the general field of Roman Epicureanism. Contemporary witnesses are either polemical, as Cicero, or are engaging in polemic against other

philosophical schools, as Philodemus or Lucretius, the latter taking a rather unexpected approach to his own school by choosing poetry as a vehicle. By focusing on Lucretius the volume gives a representative cross-section of the ongoing discussion over Lucretius' philosophical and cultural context. In this, the Villa of the Papyri plays a crucial part.

Beate Beer University of Zürich

#### **CONTENTS**

pp. 2–3: The Getty Villa reopened: the building and its background Roger T. Macfarlane

pp. 4–5: A Virtual Villa: digitally reconstructing the Villa of the Papyri Mantha Zarmakoupi

p. 6: What's in a Name? Holger Essler

pp. 7–8: Lucretius and Roman Epicureanism
Beate Beer

#### OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY

The objects of the Society are:

- to advance the education of the public concerning the World Heritage Site of Herculaneum, in particular to create an archive of materials relating to the World Heritage site at Herculaneum and the work of the Herculaneum Society
- to promote research into Herculaneum, including the continued investigation of the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum, and the publication of the useful results of such research
- to promote the **conservation**, for the benefit of the public, of the artefacts and buildings at Herculaneum

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For more information about the Society, or if you have any comments, suggestions or ideas for articles for the next edition of *Herculaneum Archaeology*, please feel free to contact the editor. We hope you have enjoyed this edition, and thank you for your interest.

Edited by Dirk Obbink Production assistant: Matthew Bladen