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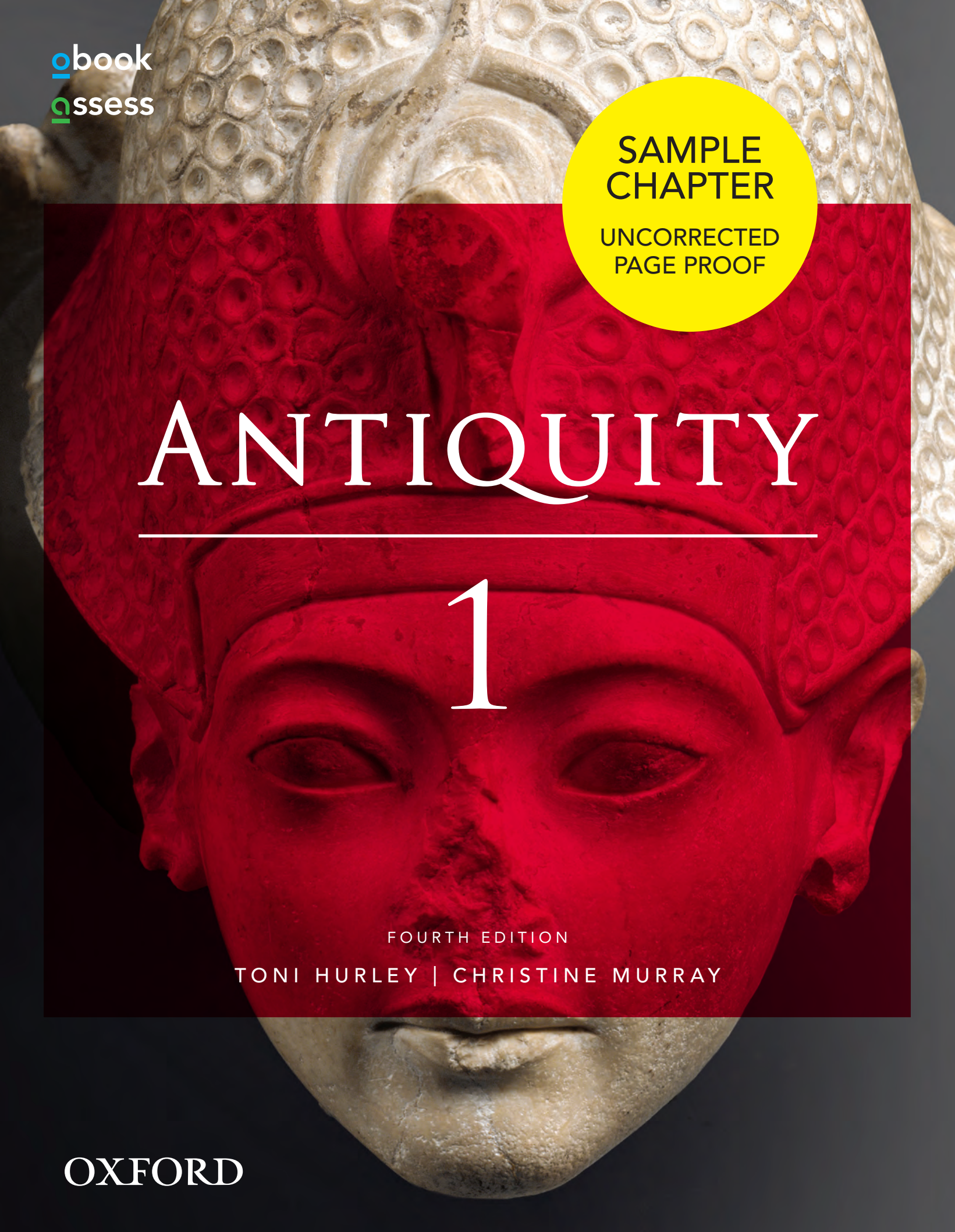

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YEAR ELEVEN

FOURTH EDITION

TONI HURLEY | CHRISTINE MURRAY | PHILIPPA MEDCALF | JAN ROLPH

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS
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Published in Australia by
Oxford University Press
253 Normanby Road, South Melbourne, Victoria 3205, Australia

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First published 2018
Fourth Edition

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National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication entry

Hurley, Toni, author.

Antiquity 1 Year 11 Student book + obook assess / Toni Hurley, Christine Murray, Philippa Medcalf, Jan Rolph.

4th edition.

ISBN: 9780190302955 (paperback)

For secondary students.

History, Ancient–Textbooks.

Civilization, Ancient–Textbooks.

Rome–Textbooks.

Murray, Christine, author.

Medcalf, Philippa

Rolph, Jan

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Edited by Ingrid De Baets
Cover design
Text design
Typeset
Proofread by Diane Fowler
Indexed by Nikki Davis
Printed

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Using Antiquity

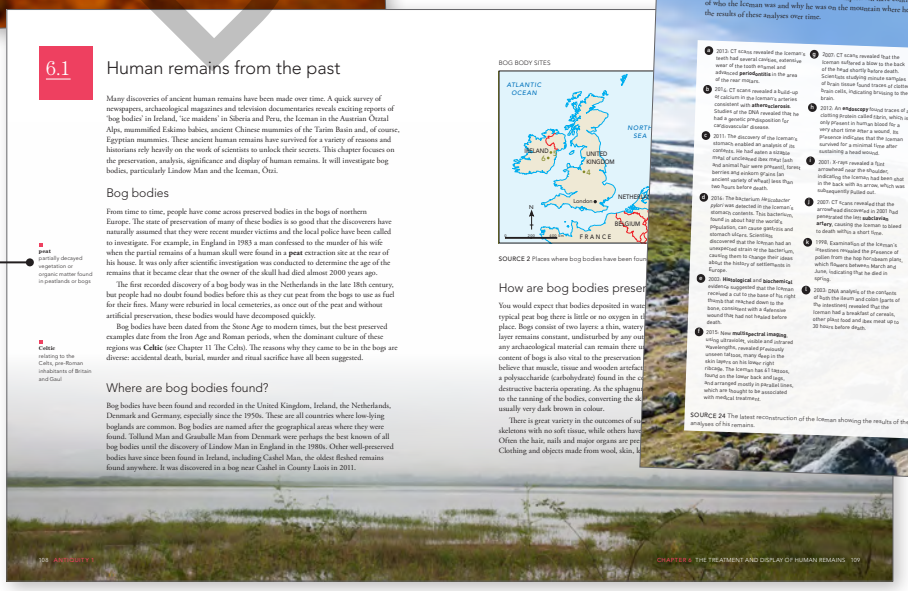
New South Wales' most trusted Ancient History series has been updated for the new Ancient History Stage 6 syllabus. The first of a two-volume series, *Antiquity 1* offers complete support for Year 11 teachers and their students, providing unparalleled depth and coverage and a range of new chapter features that will give students of all abilities the best chance of achieving success in Ancient History.

Key enhancements:

- All content has been explicitly aligned to the new Ancient History Stage 6 syllabus (Year 11).
- Subject experts, Toni Hurley and Christine Murray, have developed comprehensive, engaging and appropriately levelled content.
- Unambiguous language is used throughout the book, with visuals on every spread to engage students and support learning.
- obook assess provides comprehensive student and teacher digital support including answers to every question in the book, detailed teacher notes, support for assessment and exam preparation, videos and more.

'Focus questions', 'Focus concepts and skills', and 'Learning outcomes' are clearly stated at the beginning of each chapter to guide teachers and students through the content.

Content includes the latest scientific developments, up-to-date case studies, maps, and rich visual and written source material.



Margin glossary definitions help students easily find the meaning of unfamiliar words and assist with their understanding.

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Many chapters feature a 'Profile' which allows for more in-depth learning about a historically significant person, event or phenomenon.

'Understanding and using the sources' questions throughout each chapter enhance student understanding of how to use and critically analyse historical sources.

Answers to every question in the Student book are provided on Teacher obook assess.

'Check your learning' questions are given for each topic.

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Antiquity 1 is supported by a range of engaging and relevant digital resources via obook assess.

Students receive:

- a complete digital version of the Student book with notetaking and bookmarking functionality
- targeted instructional videos by a team of Australia's most experienced Ancient History teachers
- interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quizzes
- access to work assigned by their teacher, such as reading, homework, tests and assignments
- the ability to use their cloud-based obook anywhere, anytime on any device.

In addition to the student resources, teachers also receive:

- detailed course planners and teacher notes
- answers to every question in the Student book
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- the ability to set up classes, set assignments, monitor progress and graph results, and view all available content and resources in one place.

3

The representation of the ancient past

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FOCUS QUESTIONS

1 What are the different ways in which the past can be represented in the modern world?

2 How have significant people and events been represented over time?

3 How can we account for differing representations of these people and events?

4 How can available sources be used to evaluate different representations of the past?

FOCUS CONCEPTS & SKILLS

Perspective and representations

A person's perspective is shaped by the time in which they live, and their age, gender, social status, values and motivations. To evaluate representations of the past, we must recognise that they may reflect different world views from our own. For example, the ancient Romans had very different ideas about the role of women in society than are common today. This has to be taken into account when we evaluate Roman representations of the Celtic queen Boudicca.

LEARNING OUTCOMES

1 Discuss the different ways in which the past can be represented in the modern world.

2 Examine how significant people and events have been represented over time.

3 Explain the reasons for differing representations of these people and events.

4 Critically evaluate different representations of the past using available sources.

SOURCE 1 This metal statue in Colchester, Essex, UK is a modern representation of Boudicca

3.1 The past in the modern world

Today we are bombarded by a range of representations of the past in a variety of media. Blockbuster museum exhibitions of Tutankhamun artefacts and Egyptian mummy extravaganzas are frequent events. Television series such as *Rome* or *Vikings*, and films such as *Troy* and *Gladiator* are modern interpretations of past eras. These productions are designed to appeal to mass audiences, more often reflecting modern values and world views than those of the eras they portray. Even television documentaries on ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome, for example, are representations. Documentary makers are highly selective in their choice of material and usually represent their contemporary perspectives.

When we examine these representations we must consider the perspectives of those who produce them and the sources or interpretations they have used. We will explore various ancient and modern representations of people and events from the past. Our first case study will focus on Boudicca, Celtic queen of the Iceni, who waged war against the Romans during their occupation of ancient Britain. In our second case study we examine fascinating modern representations of the Egyptian pharaoh Tutankhamun. Our third case study involves an examination of ancient and modern representations of the Roman siege of Masada in ancient Judaea in the 1st century AD, and the ways in which it has been represented in modern Israeli history.

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Interrogating the sources

Before beginning a study of the representations in this chapter revisit the questions that need to be asked of archaeological and written sources (see Chapter 1 for more information).

SOURCE 2 Questions to ask of sources

INTERROGATING ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES	INTERROGATING WRITTEN SOURCES
1 What is it? 2 What was its context? 3 Can it be accurately dated? 4 How does its condition affect its interpretation? 5 Is it valuable in providing evidence about the past? 6 What evidence does this source provide about the past?	1 What type of text is it? 2 What is the context of the writer? What is their perspective? 3 What is the writer's purpose? 4 Who is the intended audience? 5 Is it trustworthy? 6 Is it valuable in providing evidence about the period?

3.1 Check your learning

1 Conduct some research and find five further examples of films, documentaries and television series that are examples of modern representation of the ancient past.

2 Choose one of the examples you listed in question 1 and complete the following:

- **a** Suggest reasons why this subject was chosen by the film or documentary maker.
- **b** Identify the modern perspectives – e.g. in terms of attitudes, values, world views, that are evident in the construction of this representation.
- **c** Suggest reasons why the people or events in your chosen film or documentary are represented as they are.

3.2 Representing Boudicca

Ancient and modern sources on the Briton queen Boudicca (also spelled Boudica or Boadicea) offer an opportunity to study changing representations of a personality from the 1st century AD to now. This woman, who was demonised in her own time, has become, almost 2000 years later, a symbol of British national pride.

The Romans in Britain

annex
to incorporate, add territory to a country or state, often by military means

In the 500 years before the first attempted Roman invasion by Julius Caesar in 55 and 54 BC, the British Isles were inhabited by a number of different Celtic kingdoms and tribes who were often at war with each other. In AD 43, the Romans finally conquered Britain. They named this new province Britannia, and it remained a province of the Roman Empire until AD 410.

The Roman invasion of Britain divided many of the Celtic kingdoms and tribes. Some supported the Romans, others fiercely opposed their occupation and suffered dreadfully for their resistance. Boudicca was queen of the Iceni, a local tribe during the Roman occupation. She led a revolt against Roman rule in AD 60.

CELTIC BRITAIN AND NORTHERN GAUL, 1ST CENTURY BC

Source: Oxford University Press

The revolt of the Iceni began after the death of Prasutagus, Boudicca's husband. Prasutagus had ruled as a nominally independent ally of Rome and left his kingdom jointly to his daughters and the Roman emperor in his will. However, when he died, his will was ignored, and the kingdom was **annexed** by the Romans. When Boudicca protested against this treatment, the Romans responded by having her flogged and raping her two daughters. In retaliation, Boudicca mobilised a large army and attacked several Roman settlements. They defeated the Roman Ninth Legion and destroyed the capital of Roman Britain, then at Colchester. They went on to destroy London and Verulamium (modern St Albans). The Romans were forced to call in reinforcements to quash the rebellion. According to the Roman sources, Boudicca either took poison or died of wounds sustained in battle.

SOURCE 3 The location of Celtic kingdoms and tribes, and the route of Boudicca's rebellion

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Ancient representations of Boudicca

We have no written sources recording events from the perspective of Boudicca and her people. Our only knowledge of Boudicca's rebellion comes from two Roman writers, Tacitus and Cassius Dio. Tacitus (c. AD 56 – c. 117) was a famous Roman historian of the **imperial period**. He also served as a **senator** in the **imperial service**. He wrote two histories: *The Annals of Imperial Rome*, a year-by-year account of Roman history from the death of the emperor Augustus in AD 14, and *Agricola,* a biography of his father-in-law, Agricola, governor of Roman Britain in AD 77–85.

imperial period
the period of time when Rome was rules by emperors (27 BC – AD 284)

senator
a member of the senate, an advisory body for the emperor

imperial service
Romans of rank and wealth who served in the civil and military administration of the Roman Empire

Cassius Dio (c. AD 150 – c. 235) was a Roman historian of Greek origin, Greece being a province of the Roman Empire in this period. He was a senator in the reign of Commodus (AD 177–192) and served as governor of Smyrna, an eastern province of the Roman Empire. His 80-volume *Roman History*, of which little survives, covered the history of Rome from its foundation to AD 229.

In Source 4, Tacitus gives an account of Boudicca's speech to her forces before the final battle against the Roman army. In Source 5, Tacitus sketches the historical background of Agricola's governorship of Britain. Source 6 is Cassius Dio's description of Boudicca and her rebellion.

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SOURCE 4

Boudicca drove around all the tribes in a chariot with her daughters in front of her. 'We British are used to women commanders in war,' she cried. 'I am descended from mighty men! But now I am not fighting for my kingdom and wealth. I am fighting as an ordinary person for my lost freedom, my bruised body, and my outraged daughters. Nowadays Roman rapacity does not even spare our bodies. Old people are killed, virgins raped. But the gods will grant us the vengeance we deserve! The Roman division that dared to fight is annihilated. The others cower in their camps, or watch for a chance to escape. They will never face even the din and roar of all our thousands, much less the shock of our onslaught. Consider how many of you are fighting – and why. Then you will win this battle, or perish. That is what I, a woman, plan to do! – let the men live in slavery if they will.'

Tacitus, *The Annals of Imperial Rome*

SOURCE 5 An 18th century engraving of Boudicca showing her as the leader of the Iceni tribe against the Romans.

SOURCE 6

Rousing each other by this and like language, under the leadership of Boudicea, a woman of kingly decent (for they admit no distinction of sex in their royal successions), they all rose in arms. They fell upon our troops, which were scattered on garrison duty, stormed the forts, and burst into the colony itself, the headquarters, as they thought, of tyranny. In their rage and their triumph, they spared no variety of a barbarian's cruelty. Had not Paulinus on hearing of the outbreak in the province rendered prompt succour, Britain would have been lost.

Tacitus, 'The life of Agricola', The Works of Tacitus, trans. by Alfred J. Church and William J. Brodribb, Macmillan, London, 1864–1877

SOURCE 7

A terrible disaster had taken place in Britain. Two cities had been sacked, eight **myriads** of Romans and of their allies had perished, and the island had been lost. Moreover, all of this ruin was brought upon them by a woman, a fact which itself caused them the greatest shame … But the person who most stirred their spirits and persuaded them to fight the Romans, who was deemed worthy to stand at their head and to have the conduct of the entire war, was a British woman, Buduica, of the royal family and possessed of greater judgement than often belongs to women. It was she who gathered the army to the number of nearly twelve myriads and ascended a tribunal of marshy soil made after the Roman fashion. In person she was very tall, with a most sturdy figure and a piercing glance; her voice was harsh; a great mass of yellow hair fell below her waist and a large golden necklace clasped her throat; wound about her was a tunic of every conceivable color and over it a thick **chlamys** had been fastened with a brooch. This was her constant attire.

Cassius Dio, *Roman History*

myriad
a countless or extremely great number

chlamys
cloak

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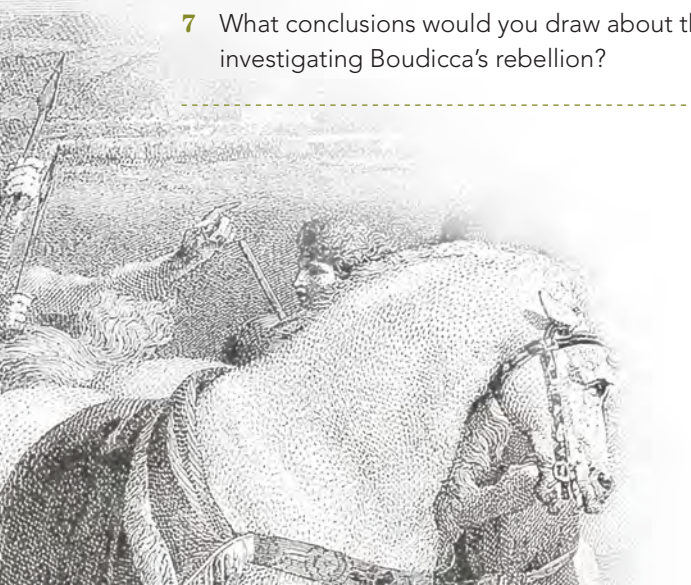
3.2a Understanding and using the sources

1. What information does each source provide about Boudicca?
2. What do all the sources agree about?
3. Are there any differences? How do you account for them?
4. What examples of bias (see Chapter 1) can be found in these sources? Explain them.
5. What is the significance of the fact that both Tacitus and Cassius Dio present a Roman perspective?
6. What impression of Boudicca does Cassius Dio convey in Source 7? Why does he emphasise her appearance?
7. What conclusions would you draw about the value of these accounts for the historian investigating Boudicca's rebellion?



Modern representations of Boudicca

appropriated
taken for one's own purpose, usually without the owner's permission

nationalism
the belief that one's own nation is better than other nations, marked by a devotion to the culture and interests of one's nation

Boudicca has been **appropriated** throughout British history for a variety of purposes. At different times she has become a symbol for British **nationalism**, motherly devotion and military leadership. For example, Boudicca has been invoked to represent Elizabeth I, the 16th-century English queen. Like Boudicca, she fought against foreign occupation, this time an attempted invasion by the Spanish Armada.

For late 19th-century Victorian England, Boudicca became a perfect model of British nationalism and **imperialism**. She was identified with Britannia, represented as a female warrior figure in ancient dress. Britannia was both the name and symbol of the British Empire, which was the most powerful empire of its time. Sources 8, 9 and 10 are modern representations of Boudicca, drawing on some of the themes mentioned here.

SOURCE 8 Britannia is often depicted with a lion, the animal that featured on the coats of arms of England, Scotland and the Prince of Wales.

SOURCE 9 This statue in Brecon, Wales, depicts Boudicca clutching a Celtic sword and trampling a Roman shield while sheltering her daughters.

SOURCE 10 The Thomas Thornycroft statue of Boudicca and her daughters was placed near the British Houses of Parliament at Westminster in 1902, the year after the death of Queen Victoria.

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imperialism
a policy of extending a country's power and influence through military conquest, colonisation or other means

posterity
descendants, future generations

sway
control or influence

3.2b Understanding and using the sources

1. What aspects of the original story of Boudicca are represented in Sources 8, 9 and 10?
2. What is ironic about the identification of Boudicca with British imperialism?
3. Explain the significance of the following lines from 'Boadicea: An Ode' by William Cowper inscribed on the base of the Thornycroft statue: 'Regions Caesar never knew, Thy **posterity** shall **sway**'.
4. Discuss the representations of Boudicca and her daughters in Sources 9 and 10.
5. What is the significance of the location of the Thornycroft statue of Boudicca?

Boudicca in the 21st century

The question now being asked by some is whether Boudicca is still a relevant symbol for Britain today. The days of empire are long gone and Britain now faces different challenges. Source 11, written in 2010, raises some of these questions.

SOURCE 11

The Boadicea statue in Westminster was placed in 1902. Designed by Thomas Thornycroft, it is a beautiful and thrilling work of art, but it is becoming rapidly out of date against our modern sensibilities. Britain is now a country which welcomes guests from abroad and co-operation with other nations. It would be a tragedy if that statue was lost and little kids no longer asked parents 'Who is that?'. But perhaps now it would be right to move it elsewhere, where it does not cast its shadow of violence and xenophobia onto the home of our government. Perhaps a better place would be back in Boudicca's native Norwich or on the site of her great final battle, should we ever find it. There it could live solely as a reminder of a compelling historical figure, a wife and mother, who briefly bested the might of Rome.

Nick Gilbert, 'Is Boudicca a poster girl for intolerance and British nationalism?', *The Independent*, 16 March 2010

3.2c Understanding and using the sources

1 Why does Gilbert argue that the Boudicca statue at Westminster is out of date? Where does he suggest the statue should be moved to and why?

2 How useful would each of the sources in this case study be to a historian studying the impact of Boudicca on British history?

3.2 Check your learning

1 In 2003, a film was made of the Boudicca story starring Alex Kingston and Emily Blunt. You can watch the full-length feature online by entering 'Boudica Warrior Queen' in your browser.

2 How has modern **feminist history** influenced the construction of these representations of Boudicca?

3 Use what you have learnt about the ways in which Boudicca has been represented over time to write a response to the following: 'Evaluate ancient and/or modern representations of Boudicca.' (Evaluate: Make a judgement based on criteria; determine the value of.)

To help you plan your response:

- identify criteria on which to base your evaluation, e.g. perspective, purpose, audience
- use these criteria to structure your answer
- make judgements about the representations of Boudicca based on your chosen criteria
- use specific evidence to support your explanation.

feminist history the interpretation of history from a female perspective

SOURCE 12 A scene from the film *Warrior Queen*, a modern representation of Boudicca

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3.3

Representations of Tutankhamun

As well as knowing about the lives and times of people in the past, we are also curious to know what they looked like. Until quite recently, we have been limited to artists' representations of their appearance. Beginning in the 1980s, the science of facial reconstruction has given us much more accurate representations based on the bone structure of the face and other features.

Sophisticated techniques such as **CT scans** and **computer-generated imaging (CGI)** are now providing even more accurate results, but they are not without their limitations. A degree of interpretation is still required. Sometimes, the same remains can produce widely different representations. Tutankhamun, the boy-king of Egypt, is a good example of this. Not only do the latest representations differ markedly from the originals, they have aroused hostile responses from a range of **stakeholders**.

CT scan
computed tomography scan; an imaging method using digital geometry processing to produce a 3D image of the inside of an object or body

computer-generated imaging (CGI))
the application of computer graphics to create or contribute to images in a variety of media

stakeholder
someone who has a particular interest an issue, project or organisation

Facial reconstruction of ancient remains

The facial reconstruction techniques for ancient human remains differ little from those used for people from the present. Forensic facial reconstruction of modern humans requires maximum accuracy. However, for ancient people, the focus is on producing the most likely representation. In many cases the archaeologist suggests the most probable hairstyle and hair, skin and eye colour from written and pictorial evidence, if available. Sometimes there is sufficient soft tissue left to suggest some of these features. DNA can also supply hair and skin colour. CT scans can be used to produce a 3D digital model, and even replica skulls may be produced from digital data. Three-dimensional digital models of the skull can also be imported into computer-based facial reconstruction programs, such as with the facial reconstructions of Tutankhamun.

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Facial reconstruction contested

Among the best known reconstructions of ancient human remains are those of Lindow Man and the Iceman (see Chapter 6), whose likenesses, as reconstructed, have generally been widely accepted.

However, the technique of facial reconstruction is subject to contestability. In fact, it is one of the most controversial techniques in the field of forensic anthropology. It is based on a combination of artistry, forensic science, anthropology and anatomy. It has been argued that it is too subjective, too reliant on the artistic skill of the practitioner. The reconstructions may also be influenced by the cultural, political or other agendas of those who commission them.

SOURCE 13 The latest representation of the Iceman's face under construction. Note the pegs used to determine the depth of muscles at different points on the face.

Representing Tutankhamun – 2005

The remains of Tutankhamun have been used to create representations of his face and most recently, his entire body. These representations have been very controversial. In 2005, a recently reconstructed head of Tutankhamun made headline news around the world. Everyone was keen to see what the young king had looked like before his death over 3000 years ago. This representation (Source 14) depicted Tutankhamun as a dignified, good-looking young man. Read how one news site reported the story of the 2005 facial representation of Tutankhamun in Source 15.

SOURCE 13 The representation of Tutankhamun produced in 2005

SOURCE 15

Under the leadership of Zahi Hawass, secretary general of Egypt's Supreme Council of Antiquities, National Geographic has used the CT data to show the world how Tut looked the day he died, some 3300 years ago …

Using the CT data from scanning done in January, a 'rapid prototype model' of the skull was made and provided to French forensic anthropologist Jean-Noel Vignal, of the Centre Technique de la Gendarmerie Nationale. Vignal … determined from the skull that the person had been male, 18 to 20 years old, with Caucasoid features. 'Caucasoid' describes a major group of peoples of Europe, North Africa, the Near East and India …

From the CT data, Vignal and his team determined basic measurements and features of Tut's face. For example, the size of the narrow nasal opening … allowed them to fix the size range of Tut's nose. Other data guided them on the position of the king's mouth and his receding chin. Vignal also used the data to calculate the correct thickness of skin on Tut's face.

Vignal's skull 'map' then went to one of the world's leading anthropological sculptors, Élisabeth Daynès of Paris. Daynès's job was to combine the science with art to create the most accurate, lifelike face of Tut ever … Daynès used tissue-depth information to lay clay over the plastic skull models and build toward a human image with flesh, filling in the king's eyebrow thickness, precise shape of the nose and lips, as well as the approximate shape and size of Tut's ears.

Finally, Daynès made a plaster mold of her clay sculpture and created a flesh-toned silicone cast. Attentive to the tiniest detail, she placed glass eyes and implanted a head of hair with surgical precision. … Eyelashes, eye makeup known as 'kohl', and even jewelry were added to adorn the king as he was in life.

National Geographic Society, 'The fresh face of King Tut: famous pharaoh's features reconstructed using high-resolution CT scanner', *ScienceDaily*, 11 May 2005

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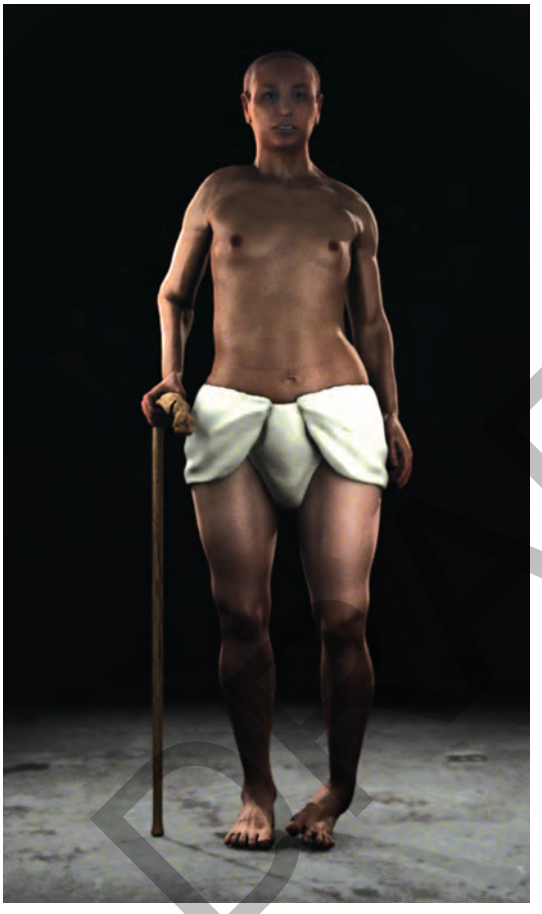
Representing Tutankhamun – 2014

In 2014, a team carried out a 'virtual autopsy' of the young pharaoh by combining over 2000 digital scans of his body. These scans were used to create a new, full-body image of Tutankhamun (see Source 16). It depicts a very different young man from the 2005 face. The face in this representation is less than attractive, and the young king's body clearly shows a club foot and feminine features.



SOURCE 16 The 2014 representation of Tutankhamun

This representation, used in a 2014 documentary titled *Tutankhamun: The Truth Uncovered*, made world headlines like its predecessor in 2005. Some headlines include:

- 'Virtual autopsy' reveals Pharaoh Tutankhamun was the ugly outcome of incest
- Tut, Tut: New View of King Tutankhamun Sparks Debate
- 'Virtual Autopsy' of King Tut Paints Unflattering Picture
- King Tut Re-Creation Presents a Shocking Image.

This representation is dramatically different from the likeness of Tutankhamun as depicted in his famous funerary mask (see Chapter 8, Source 1), which the world has come to accept as a true portrait of the young king. It also differs markedly from the 2005 facial reconstruction shown in Source 14. Some Egyptian archaeologists were very upset by the new representation of Tutankhamun. Zahi Hawass described it as 'a malicious slander on ancient Egyptian civilisation'. His response continues in Source 17.

SOURCE 17

This golden boy has entered the hearts of people all over the world, and this person [a scientist appearing in the documentary] wanted to take him out of our hearts. This person and the film producer have made a huge mistake and in so doing they have lost the respect of all reasonable people. Scholars all over the world disagree with them, and, again, instead of revealing the truth all they have done is to propagate lies.

The UK's *Daily Mail* newspaper has published an article on the new documentary on Tutankhamun, produced by STV and already aired. The documentary distorts what Tutankhamun looked like: the boy king, whose treasure and tomb still fascinate people across the world, was presented in a completely fantastic way, humiliating not only the Egyptian king but also rewriting the history of the ancient world.

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The face of the king was reconstructed by a French team that rebuilds the features of the dead using special computer programmes. This reconstruction was not based on science or on the study of the anatomy of the face of the mummy, however. Another Egyptian-American team had already reconstructed the king's face, but for some reason the [documentary] used the image produced by the French.

Zahi Hawass, 'The truth about Tutankhamun', *Al-Ahram Weekly*, 13 November 2014

3.3 Understanding and using the sources

Sources 14, 15, 16 and 17

1. Describe the contributions of the forensic anthropologist Vignal and the forensic sculptor Daynès to the construction of the 2005 representation of Tutankhamun.
2. How does the article in Source 15 suggest that this representation is 'the most accurate, lifelike face of Tut ever'?
3. How does Zahi Hawass represent Tutankhamun in Source 17?
4. What features of Source 16 is Hawass referring to when he says that the documentary 'distorts' Tutankhamun's appearance?
5. Use the skills you have developed to interrogate a source to analyse Hawass' attack on the 2014 representation of Tutankhamun. Choose examples of his language that support your analysis.
6. How does Zahi Hawass' particular context shape his interpretation?

3.3 Check your learning

1. Find out more online about the techniques used in forensic facial reconstruction.
2. Look for the three facial representations (1993, 1998 and 2011) of Ötzi the Iceman made since his discovery in 1991. How have facial reconstruction techniques changed over the years? Which representation do you prefer? Why?
3. Why do you think the representations of Tutankhamun have resulted in worldwide attention?
4. Suggest reasons why the reconstructions of Lindow Man and the Iceman have not aroused the same controversy as the reconstructions of Tutankhamun.
5. Find out more about the documentary *Tutankhamun: The Truth Uncovered*. It claims to have solved the mysteries of Tutankhamun. Do you think it has?
6. Use the work you have done in this section to write a response to the following question: 'Explain the issues involved in the representation of the remains of Tutankhamun.' (Explain: Relate cause and effect, make the relationships between things evident, provide why and/or how.)

   To help you plan your response:

   - identify one or more of the issues involved in the representation of Tutankhamun
   - use these aspects to structure your answer
   - say how and why these aspects are contested
   - use specific examples to support your answer.

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3.4 Representing the Siege of Masada

Masada, a fortress in the Roman province of Judea (modern Israel), is famous as the site that was besieged by Roman troops in the 1st century AD as part of the First Jewish–Roman War. The Jewish defenders were members of a group called the Sicarii, who were opposed to the Roman occupation of Judea. In AD 70 they fled Jerusalem and occupied the Roman fortress on the isolated rock plateau of Masada. Three years later the Romans besieged the fortress, building a surrounding wall and huge ramp that enabled them to use a battering ram to breach the walls.

The site has been excavated and interpreted in modern times. In present-day Israel it is a very significant site, not only for its archaeological and historical interest, but also because it has taken on national and political symbolism in the context of Israel's contemporary history.

client king
a king who was nominally independent but, in return for Roman support, contributed financial or military resources to Rome or its army

Historical context

Judea became part of the Roman Empire in 63 BC when it was conquered by the Roman general Pompey. The Romans installed a local leader, Herod (74–4 BC) who ruled as a **client king**. Herod carried out a large-scale building program. It was during his reign that the fortress at Masada was built. The plateau on which Masada is situated occupies an area of about 550 metres by 270 metres. Herod built a wall around the top of the plateau with many towers, and the fortress included palaces, storehouses, barracks and cisterns that were filled with rainwater. Three narrow, winding paths led from below up to fortified gates.

Ten years after Herod's death, Judea came under direct Roman administration. Growing anger against Roman rule resulted in sporadic violence, which escalated into a full-scale revolt in AD 66. Roman forces finally quashed the revolt. In AD 70, Jerusalem was destroyed and the last outpost of resistance at Masada was eventually defeated in AD 73. The outcome of the siege was an apparent mass suicide of its Jewish defenders in the face of imminent defeat.

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SOURCE 18 The fortress of Masada is located on an isolated rock cliff in the Judean Desert overlooking the Dead Sea. There is a sheer drop of about 450 metres to the sea on the eastern side and on the western edge it is 100 metres above the plain below.

The ancient written source: Josephus' representation

Our only ancient written source for this event is the account of Flavius Josephus, a contemporary Jewish-Roman historian. He was a Jewish general who had led the Jewish forces against the Romans during the First Jewish–Roman War until his defeat and **defection** to Rome in AD 67. The Roman leader Vespasian retained him as a slave and interpreter before granting him his freedom two years later. Josephus was granted Roman citizenship and adopted the name Flavius, the family name of Vespasian.

defection
abandoning your own country, organisation or cause

Josephus himself was not an eyewitness of the siege and based his account on the reports of the Roman military commanders who were in charge. Josephus records that when the Romans eventually entered Masada, they found the buildings on fire and most of the defenders dead. He tells of two women who had hidden themselves to escape the mass suicide and who were therefore able to relate what had happened. According to their account, the leader of the Jewish defenders, Eleazar ben Yair, had **exhorted** his followers to draw lots and kill each other in turn so that the last man only would commit suicide. Source 19 is from Josephus' account.

exhorted
strongly urged

SOURCE 19

Now as Eleazar was proceeding on in this exhortations, they all cut him off short, and made haste to do the work, as full of an unconquerable ardor of mind, and moved with a demoniacal fury … so great was the zeal they were in to slay their wives and children, and themselves also! … Nor was there at length any one of these men found that scrupled to act their part in this terrible execution, but every one of them despatched his dearest relations. Miserable men indeed were they, whose distress forced them to slay their own wives and children with their own hands … They then chose ten men by lot out of them to slay all the rest …

Now for the Romans, they expected that they should be fought in the morning, when, accordingly, they put on their armor, and laid bridges of planks upon their ladders from their banks, to make an assault upon the fortress, which they did; but saw nobody as an enemy, but a terrible solitude on every side, with a fire within the place, as well as a perfect silence. So they were at a loss to guess at what had happened. At length they made a shout, … the women heard this noise, and came out of their underground cavern, and informed the Romans what was done … yet [the Romans] did not easily give their attention to such a desperate undertaking, and did not believe it could be as they said; they also attempted to put the fire out … and they came within the palace, and so met with the multitude of the slain, but could take no pleasure in the fact, though it were done to their enemies. Nor could they do other than wonder at the courage of their resolution, and the immovable contempt of death which so great a number of them had shown, when they went through with such an action as that was.

Flavius Josephus, *The Genuine Works of Flavius Josephus*, trans. by William Whiston, New York: Robinson, Pratt & Co., 1841, pp. 158–60

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3.4a Understanding and using the sources

1. What impression does Josephus give of the decision of the Jewish defenders to commit suicide and their subsequent actions? What is suggested by the term 'demoniacal fury'?
2. According to Josephus, what was the Roman reaction? Consider expressions such as 'courage of their resolution' and 'immovable contempt of death'.
3. In assessing the accuracy and reliability of Josephus' account, what questions need to be asked about his context and perspective?

Modern archaeological investigation of Masada

The site of Masada was excavated during the 20th century. The major excavation was conducted between 1963 and 1965 by Israeli archaeologist Yigael Yadin. Many artefacts discovered appeared to confirm the broad outlines of Josephus' story, such as scrolls, clothing, living quarters, Jewish coins and weapons. Yadin found two ritual baths and a synagogue at the foot of the mountain. Traces of the Roman siege walls, the ramp built to bring the battering ram up to breach them and the Roman camps were also uncovered. Yadin uncovered two adult skeletons and one of a child within the fortress, as well as 25 skeletons of men, women and children in a cave nearby.

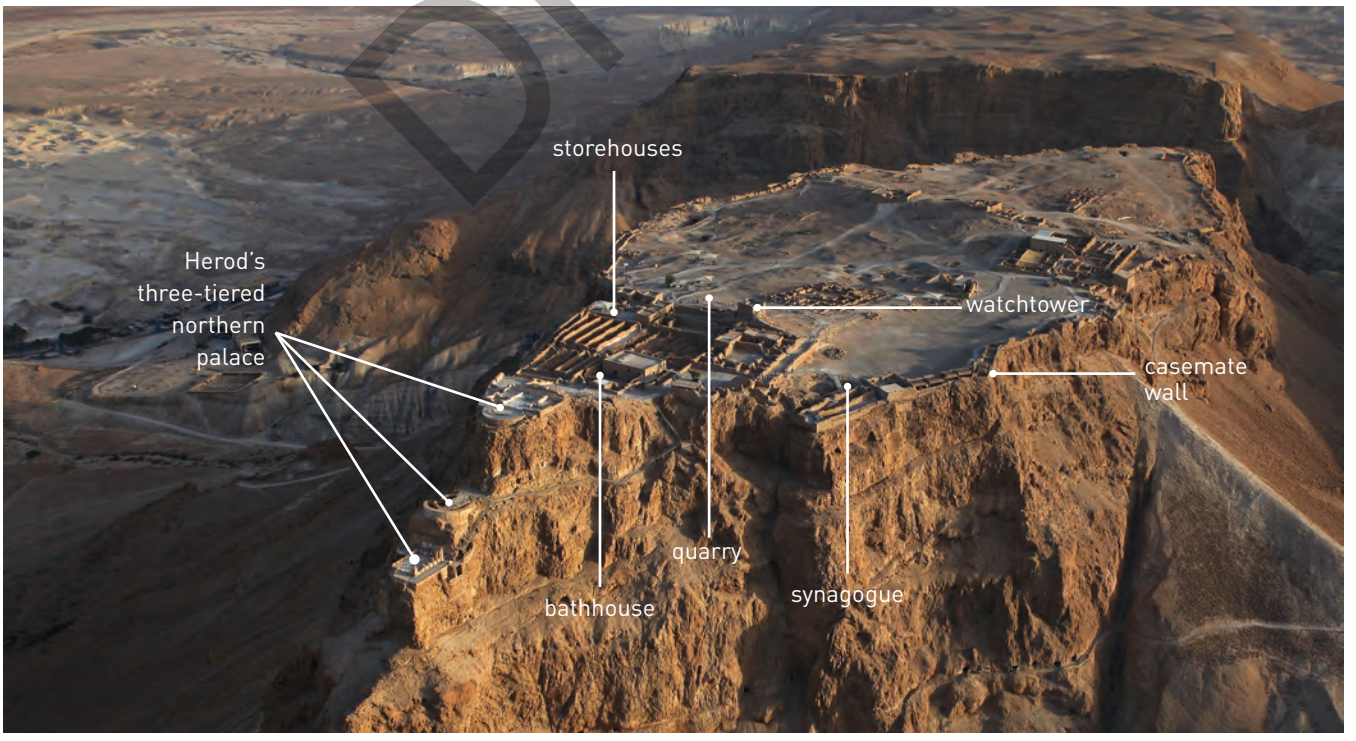
sovereign state a state or country that administers its own government and is not dependent on, or subject to, another power

SOURCE 20 Yigael Yadin, Israel's famous archaeologist and statesman

Yigael Yadin, warrior, scholar and nationalist

Yigael Yadin, was a nationalist and former chief of operations of the Israel defence forces at the time of the 1948 War of Independence, which created the modern state of Israel. This was a culmination of the mass exodus of Jews from Europe in the years immediately following the Holocaust and the end of World War II. On leaving the military, he pursued a career in archaeology and excavated some of the most important sites in the region, including the Qumran Caves, Masada, Hazor and Tel Megiddo.

Yadin returned to public life as military adviser to the Israeli prime minister during the Six-Day War in 1967. This war was fought between Israel and Egypt over Israel's right to exist as a **sovereign state** in the Middle East. Israel saw itself as besieged by enemies on all sides who were committed to its destruction.



SOURCE 19 An aerial view of the excavations at Masada showing the main features of the site

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3.4a Check your learning

1 Find out more about what Yadin's excavations revealed about Masada. Search online for 'Masada Yadin excavations'.

2 New excavations at Masada began in 2017 under the directorship of Dr Guy Stiebel. Investigate the most recent findings by searching online for 'Masada new excavations'.

Issues of contestability

The focus of this study is an exploration of how the siege of Masada has been represented over time and the disputes associated with these representations. The following are some of the key issues of contestability.

The Sicarii

The defenders of Masada have been variously represented in both ancient and modern accounts. They have been described as rebels, freedom fighters, **insurgents**, an extremist **splinter group** and terrorists. Some modern commentators have portrayed them as **uncompromising** patriots, refusing to negotiate with the Roman oppressors despite the ethical and religious issues raised by their mass suicide. – a forbidden practice in Judaism.

The name Sicarii means 'dagger men' and refers to the small daggers they hid in their clothing and used at public gatherings to attack Romans and other Jews they saw as collaborators. They would then melt into the crowd and join in the general outcry. During the First Jewish–Roman War, they carried out violent attacks in Jerusalem in an attempt to force the local population to take up arms against the Romans. Josephus records that the Sicarii also raided the Jewish settlement of Ein Gedi, near Masada, and massacred 700 of its inhabitants. Today such actions might be regarded as urban guerrilla or terrorist activity.

insurgent
a person fighting against a government or invading force; a rebel or revolutionary

splinter group
part of an organisation that breaks away from the main body, usually owing to a disagreement

uncompromising
unwilling to negotiate or make concessions to others

The accuracy of Josephus' account

The context, perspective, motives and sources of Josephus' account of the siege should be analysed. The fact that he was a Jew who had defected to the Romans raises questions about his perspective. We do not know what his purpose was in writing his account. Josephus was not personally involved in the siege, but relied on the accounts of survivors. Did he hear these firsthand or were they reported to him?

Discrepancies between Josephus' account and the archaeology

Another contested issue concerns some differences between the account of Josephus and the evidence revealed by modern excavation. These include:

- mention of only one palace by Josephus, while in fact there were two
- some inaccurate description of the northern palace
- exaggerated figures for the heights of the walls and towers
- discovery of the remains of only 28 people compared to the 960 Jewish defenders recorded by Josephus.

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Yadin's excavation and interpretation

Dead Sea Scrolls
a collection of ancient manuscripts discovered in the Qumran Caves in modern Israel, near the Dead Sea; the texts are of great historical, religious and linguistic significance

Yigael Yadin is a significant figure in modern Israel. He is best remembered for his discovery and interpretation of the **Dead Sea Scrolls** at Qumran (see Chapter 2). His excavations succeeded in capturing the public imagination and gave the Israeli people a greater sense of their ancient past. However, Yadin has been criticised for manipulating the findings from his excavation at Masada to give Israelis a heroic narrative on which to base their national identity. For example, the ethnicity of some of the human remains he unearthed is uncertain because the associated evidence suggests that they may not have been Jewish defenders. Despite some dispute over the identity of these remains, they were buried at Masada with full military honours in 1969. Other scholars feel that it is unfair to judge Yadin's 30-year-old archaeology by today's standards, particularly considering the political situation in Israel at the time. In 1967, Israel had fought the Six-Day War with Egypt. This was soon followed by hostilities with Palestine, which remain unresolved to this day. The Israeli people felt their right to exist was being challenged on all sides.

Yadin published the results of his excavation at Masada in a book entitled *Masada: Herod's Fortress and the Zealot's Last Stand.* Source 22 is from a speech given by Yadin at Brigham Young University in the United States in 1976.

SOURCE 22

One of the strangest phenomena in human history is the struggle of the Jewish people for their spiritual independence, always the few against the many. And one of the most amazing, heroic, alas tragic episodes in this struggle is no doubt the story of Masada.

mausoleum
a stately or impressive building for burial of the dead

Masada is not just another archaeological site. For many of us it is a sort of **mausoleum** of the nation's martyrs.

Masada today, for many of us, for all of us in Israel … is a symbol, it is a challenge, and it is also a reminder. This is why to this very day, three or four times a year, the recruits of the armored corps of the Israeli army take the oath of allegiance to the state of Israel on top of Masada, saying three times, 'Masada shall not fall again'.

Yigael Yadin, 'Masada: Herod's fortress and the zealot's last stand', BYU Studies Quarterly, vol. 36, issue 3, Article 3, 1996. p. 17

DRAFT

3.4b Understanding and using the sources

1. What does Yadin consider to be the significance of Masada? How can we account for his view?
2. Comment on the language used by Yadin. Consider his purpose and audience.
3. What does Yadin mean when he says 'Masada shall not fall again'?

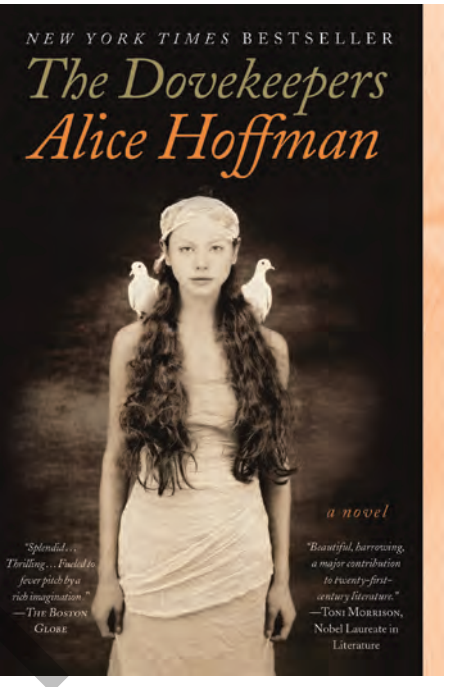
3.4b Check your learning

1. How does the modern Israeli heroic representation of the Sicarii fit with the description of their actions at Masada?
2. What questions do we need to ask about the written and archaeological sources about Masada? For example, if 960 people died at Masada at the end of the siege, where are their remains? What possible explanations are there?
3. Read the full text of Yadin's speech at Brigham Young University. Enter 'Masada: Herod's Fortress and the Zealot's Last Stand' in your browser.

Representations of Masada in popular culture

The identification of Masada as the symbol of the struggle of the Jewish people for a national identity was already being developed in the early 20th century as part of the **Zionist movement**. The poem 'Masada', written by Yitzhak Lamdan (1899–1954), comes from this time. Lamdan was a Russian-born Israeli poet, translator, editor and Hebrew columnist. He migrated to Palestine in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution and the wave of **anti-semitic pogroms** across Eastern Europe. The famous line from this poem, 'Masada shall not fall again', became a rallying cry for Israeli nationalists for decades to follow.

The siege at Masada has also been depicted in film. The 1981 Hollywood production *Masada* starred Peter Strauss as the leader of the Jewish rebels, Eleazar ben Yair, and Peter O'Toole as the Roman general Flavius Silva who defeats them.



SOURCE 24 *The Dovekeepers* by Alice Hoffman and was published in 2011. Based on Josephus' account, it tells the story of life and death at ancient Masada through the eyes of four of the Jewish women who were present during the siege.

Changing representations of Masada over time

Today, in response to changing political developments in Israel, some voices are challenging the continued symbolic use of the heroic interpretation of the Masada story with its emphasis on lack of compromise. Referring to this story as a fable or myth, these voices call for a new interpretation, seeing the refusal of the ancient Jewish defenders to negotiate as the cause of their own destruction. Parallels are drawn with current **hardline** government policies on the **occupied territories**, for example, which leave no room for negotiation. For these new voices, Masada offers a compelling reminder of the importance of the need for compromise. In fact, the term 'Masada complex' is sometimes used to refer to those advocating such hardline policies.

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3.4c Check your learning

1. Watch the 1981 film *Masada* by entering 'Masada the movie' in your browser.
2. Find out more about changing Israeli views of Masada. Look up 'Masada complex' online.
3. Paul Bahn, a well-known archaeologist, calls Yadin's excavation of Masada, 'the late 20th century's most potent example of a "political" excavation'. Do some research on the excavation to find out what evidence Bahn uses to support this view.
4. Write a response to the following question: 'Explain the issues of contestability in the ancient and/or modern representations of Masada.' (Explain: Relate cause and effect, make the relationships between things evident, provide why and/or how.)

   To help you plan your response:

   - identify the issues involved in the ancient and modern representations of Masada
   - use these issues to structure your answer
   - say how and why these aspects are contested
   - use specific examples to support your answer.

Zionist movement a Jewish nationalist movement that supports the creation and development of a Jewish homeland

anti-semitic pogroms organised massacres of Jews based on discrimination against them as a religious, ethnic or racial group

hardline referring to an uncompromising or unyielding stand, especially in politics

occupied territories the territory occupied by Israel after the Six-Day War of 1967 (originally included the Syrian Golan Heights, the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula and the Jordanian-occupied West Bank)

Chapter conclusion

A variety of representations of the ancient world have been explored in this chapter. You should now have a better understanding of the concepts of perspective, interpretation, representation and contestability, and the links between them. We have seen how modern representations of ancient human remains, particularly those of Tutankhamun, have recently been the subject of widespread debate. Political and cultural agendas have been responsible for much of the debate around the representations of personalities and events such as Boudicca and the Siege of Masada. An interesting feature of these studies is the way in which the representations of both have changed over time. In each case, contemporary national interests have played a significant role in their development. Both Boudicca and Masada have been adopted in modern times as symbols of national identity in their respective countries.

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FOR THE TEACHER

Check your obook assess for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers
Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile task* in this chapter

Teacher notes
Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

Class test
Comprehensive test to review students' skills and knowledge

assess quiz
Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension