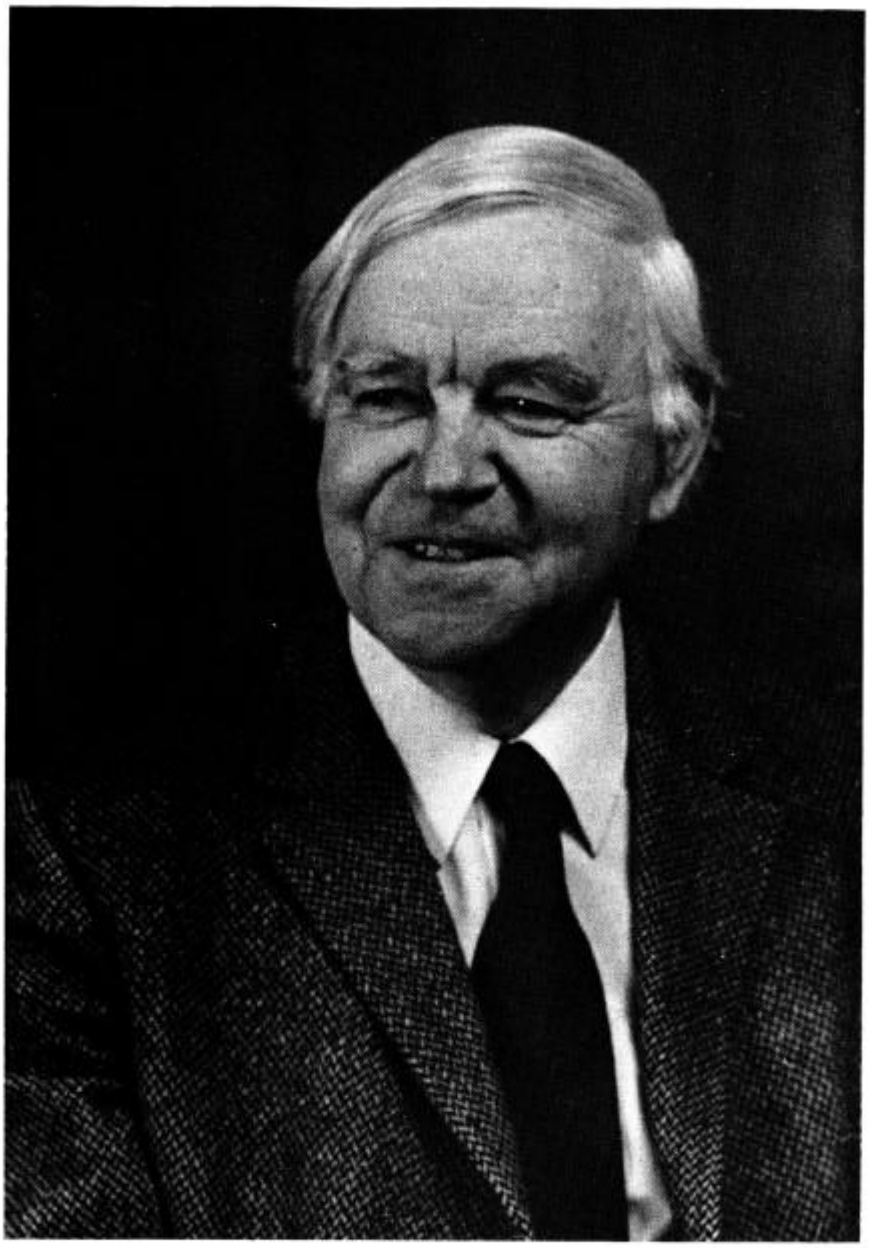
PLATE XX



J. B. WARD-PERKINS

JOHN BRYAN WARD-PERKINS

1912–1981[1]

LATE in the summer of 1939 the twenty-seven-year-old Professor of Archaeology in the Royal University of Malta returned to England for military service. The subsequent war years, which took him to North Africa and Italy, turned in a new direction what had been a rapidly advancing career in Archaeology centred on Britain and France. He was not to return to England for permanent residence until 1974, the year of retirement from the Directorship of the British School at Rome, which he held for twenty-eight years. The large and varied scholarly output of Ward-Perkins during almost three decades at the centre of Italian and Mediterranean archaeology on its own permits a suitably high estimate of his achievement which will sustain his *fama* among generations to come. Yet a true understanding of his post-war successes can only remain imperfect unless due attention is accorded to the pre-war years. In this account of his achievement it is intended that Iron Age Oldbury in Kent be matched with Villanovan Veii, Lockleys Roman villa in Hertfordshire with the Hunting Baths at Lepcis Magna in Tripolitania and the catalogue of medieval Ldon with studies of the fortified hill towns of medieval Etruria: *Caelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.*

John Bryan Ward-Perkins was born in Kent on 3 February 1912 and died in Cirencester on 28 May 1981. His early years were spent with his mother's parents until his father, Bryan Ward-Perkins, retired from the Indian Civil Service (Burma) and returned to England in 1922. With his parents returned his younger brother Neville (C. N. Ward-Perkins, the Oxford Economist) and his early years of loneliness ended when he moved from his grandmother's large house in suburban Bromley to the Old Cottage at Stotfield, with its enclosing brick wall and arched gateway. Here was the scene of his first independent archaeological excavation, a burrowing behind later infilling to expose an Elizabethan fireplace.

[1] For help in compiling this memoir the author is grateful to John Evans, Sheppard Frere, Mark Hassall, Joyce Reynolds, Susan Walker, and Bryan Ward-Perkins.

Soon his interests were expressed in more organized fashion when he was among a group of Winchester pupils brought by his headmaster, Dr M. J. Randall, to excavations at Buttley Priory in Suffolk, directed by J. N. L. Myres. The published account, to which Ward-Perkins contributed drawings of the embossed floor tiles and an excavation section, included his own account of independent excavation of the Priory's wharf in January and July 1933. By this time he had advanced to New College, Oxford, where he obtained a First in Greats in 1934, whence to Magdalen as Senior Demy and Craven Travelling Fellow until appointment in 1936 to the post of Assistant at the London Museum under the Keepership of Mortimer Wheeler.

For advanced study at Oxford he opted for the Iron Age of Britain and France, for which C. F. C. Hawkes's ABC classification published in 1930 inaugurated a new epoch of study, notably of its pottery. In 1934, the year when Wheeler began his famous examination of Maiden Castle, Dorset, Ward-Perkins joined Olwen Brogan and Emil Desforges at Gergovia, the mighty *oppidum* of the Arverni stormed by Caesar in 52 BC. The delayed publication of Ward-Perkins's study of the pottery from the site, alongside the excavation report in 1941, permitted its enlargement into a survey of the pre-Roman Iron Age in south-west France. After Gergovia he joined Thalassa Cruso Hencken in excavations at Bredon Hill, Gloucestershire, contributing to the final report which appeared in 1939.

Travel as Craven Fellow brought Ward-Perkins to Rome. From this time, with the encouragement of Ellis Waterhouse, then librarian of the British School, there began his studies of sculpture and architectural ornament from its classical origins to medieval times, to which he was to return by widely differing routes at several times during his life. His study of the sculpture of 'Visigothic France', read to the London Antiquaries in October 1936, and published in volume 87 of *Archaeologia* in 1938, remains a notable essay, not merely for the confident assertion implied by its title but for the clear definition of what was required to advance the study of such varied material. Already there is the insistence, repeated in his many later studies of sculpture and ornament from the Roman Empire, on the value of considering working techniques employed by local craftsmen to exploit the qualities of local materials familiar to them. A corollary of close attention to local workshops was a reference to the traditions of the earlier classical sculpture from the same region. By this one could construct a chronological framework for sculpture which could be projected

into the Dark Ages of southern France. Such methods, with their neglect of more traditional approaches based on stylistic influence, were likely to attract criticism for too great an emphasis on local creativity at the expense of outside influences. As it happens, when consulted, the eminent of the day could offer no instructive analogies from elsewhere: 'the fact that they have been unable to indicate any close parallels outside France to the Visigothic material invests the negative conclusions here drawn with an authority they would otherwise certainly lack'.

Arrival at the London Museum, then in the noble setting of Lancaster House, brought Ward-Perkins to the centre of an archaeological fellowship which was striving to establish a proper discipline in the practice and publication of field archaeology. It was rewarded in 1937 by agreement on the part of the University of London to the establishment of a postgraduate Institute of Archaeology with Wheeler as its honorary director. The three years at the Museum produced a remarkable record of publication by Ward-Perkins both for its quality and diversity. When taken as a whole the excavation reports, chapters in catalogues, historical papers, and briefer notes on specific objects, ranging from prehistoric to the late medieval periods, combine to form that protean identity as a scholar that, for better or for worse, he was never to discard.

In 1938 excavation at the hill-fort of Oldbury, near Ightham in Kent, offered the prospect of consolidating the picture of an immigrant Belgic culture prevailing in south-east Britain during the first century BC. The results provided clear evidence for the Belgic presence. The *oppidum*, constructed by a non-Belgic Wealden people, was occupied and additionally fortified by a people whose pottery was largely, if not predominantly, Belgic in character. The work on the site was in its final stages at the height of the Munich crisis in September 1938. With a headline to an account of the discoveries—'They had their war scares even then'—the local newspaper compared the current alert for war with Germany with the situation in AD 43 when the inhabitants of Oldbury anxiously waited for news on a Roman invasion which, for a time at least, seemed unlikely after all to take place. It is also worth recalling that the excavation report, published in volume 90 of *Archaeologia*, was completed in October 1939 'somewhere in England'. Though the historical interpretation must now be revised—the defenders were perhaps expecting not Claudius' legions but those of Julius Caesar a century earlier—the results of Oldbury have remained our principal evidence for the late Iron Age in Kent.

It was Ward-Perkins who was among the first to suggest a modification of Hawkes's scheme for the British Iron Age, on the lines which the originator himself presented to a London colloquium in December 1957. Among several papers on the Iron Age stemming from his time in the London Museum there was a discussion in 1938 of a recently discovered settlement at Crayford in Kent:

> It is obviously desirable to bring this newly identified group within the framework of Hawkes' invaluable ABC classification of the British Iron Age, but in order to do so that classification needs some elaboration . . . It is becoming increasingly apparent that these groups are in fact complex, and this complexity requires recognition in the accepted terminology. This can be probably most easily achieved by the adoption of regional prefixes, and it is suggested that the recognized B cultures of Britain should be known by some such terms as Lake-Village (or Somerset) B, Cornish B, Yorkshire B, Hill-fort (or Wessex) B, and South-eastern B.

The point was noted when Hawkes came to construct his revised classification twenty years later.

Among his studies in the Roman period the excavation of the villa at Lockleys near Welwyn in Hertfordshire, completed in 1937 and published the following year in the *Antiquaries Journal*, remains a staple for the student of Roman Britain. That status was emphasized rather than diminished by a reworking of the original chronology by Graham Webster published in 1969. Lockleys exhibited how a Belgic farm could be transformed into a stone-built residence of the Roman 'winged-corridor' type while appearing to remain in the possession of the same family. Its importance for contemporary knowledge of Roman Britain is evident from the fact that no other site in the province furnished a parallel; only Oelmann's excavation of the Roman farm at Mayen in Germany is cited. Ward-Perkins's original chronology (Webster makes the dating later throughout) was much influenced by Wheeler's reconstruction of the history of Verulamium, with its emphasis on the rapid Romanization of the Belgic upper classes, but was no less novel for its being the historical chronology deduced by excavation from a rural site in Britain: 'The Roman invasion had no catastrophic consequences for this Belgic farmer. He went on living just as he had done before.' Many years later Ward-Perkins was delighted to become patron of the Welwyn archaeological group working enthusiastically on sites near to the villa where he had worked forty years before.

While there was scope for excavation in the summers, the

remaining time was occupied with Museum tasks, study of collections, and preparation of catalogues. From these labours emerged a score of short papers and notes: on Iron Age (linchpins, horseshoes, horse bits, and sites in Suffolk and Essex), Roman (grave pottery from Ightham, Kent; discoveries in the Lea valley and late coffined burial at Keston, Kent), and medieval topics (Anglo-Saxon cemetery, North Luffenham, Rutland, Viking swords, belt-chapes, spoons, and embossed and inlaid tiles). His most notable achievement was the completion of the 300-page London Museum Medieval Catalogue, though it had to be issued without final revision after the author had departed for war service. Most noteworthy is the classification of many objects by function rather than by material or antiquarian interest. The precedent has found few imitators among the publishers of similar compilations and such indifference is sadly today fortified by a persistence, even a widening, of the demarcations among object specialists to an extent that hinders coherent interpretation of material evidence obtained through excavation or survey. It was a degeneration of scholarship which Ward-Perkins resisted, sometimes to an extent that gave offence in later years. It is even today hard to see how one could improve on the concepts of formal evolution and social and practical utility which gave such value to the discussions of such objects as purses, steelyard weights, spoons, and, at some length, pottery.

Departure in 1939 to the chair in Malta (the only holder, as it turned out) promised opportunity for pioneering work in all periods of that island's history. The sojourn of six months, terminated by return to England for war service, saw only a beginning of study—two general surveys, to one of which the devastation of the island was to impart a lasting value even before publication. In 1942 he could add a footnote to a survey of medieval and Renaissance architecture in Malta that 'since this paper was written, rather more than half of the buildings illustrated or referred to have been destroyed or damaged by enemy action'. In the case of his paper on the problems of Maltese prehistory—'an ill-digested record of a preliminary survey of its antiquities undertaken during the six months before the outbreak of war'—it was intrinsic value which merited its republication nearly thirty years later in a volume of studies concerning the history of the island.

In August 1939 his old chief Wheeler hastened back from excavation in France: on Friday 25th he left Fécamp and the following day had commandeered a recruiting office in Enfield.

The first recruits appeared on Sunday for service with the new light anti-aircraft battery—'Enfield's Own': Wheeler's barrister son, Michael, and Ward-Perkins. On Monday the first authentic volunteer appeared: 'A. Goodman, solicitor.' 'Unambitious but out to do his bit, Gunner Goodman had become a quartermaster-sergeant when I parted from him two years later, and I wish him well', wrote Wheeler in *Still Digging* (1955) of the future Lord Goodman.

From a founding cadre of five the 42 Mobile LA grew to a regiment of four batteries. After some arduous training, with their commander fretting at exclusion from the fight—so different from the First War—the regiment under Wheeler saw action in North Africa, including the first victory of El Alamein in the late autumn of 1942. Ward-Perkins was not there. A motor accident near Ismailia brought him a casualty to a front-line hospital, but the outcome of his ten days there was fortunate. He met Margaret Long and, before a transfer to Syria, they had fallen in love. The honeymoon was spent in Luxor. By now British forces were surging westwards into Libya and, on the initiative of Wheeler, Major Ward-Perkins was seconded from military duties to reconstitute the Antiquities administration for Cyrenaica and Tripolitania. When Wheeler was advanced to the rank of Brigadier, Ward-Perkins returned to active service and as Lt.-Colonel commanded the regiment during the Italian campaign, being mentioned in dispatches. Once again, however, his talents were needed for urgent tasks in the aftermath of war, this time as Director of the Allied Sub-Commission for Monuments and Fine Arts in Italy, established by the Military Government.

Much of this work amounted to no more than efforts of salvage after the passage of armies. Yet it gave him a wide-ranging acquaintance with the monuments and artistic heritage of the peninsula and also, a portent of happier times, the beginning of many lasting friendships with Italian scholars and foreigners similarly engaged in post-war Italy. The impact on war-shattered Italy of this reassuring presence was long remembered:

> Come testimone e partecipe degli stimolanti eventi culturali dell' immediato dopoguerra io non posso dimenticare l'immagine del giovane ufficiale inglesi che, reduce da un'avventura africana dalla quale il suo carattere e i suoi interessi scientifici avrebbero ricevuto un'impronta indelebile, fu preposto alla Sotto-Commissione del Governo Alleato per i Monumenti e le Belle Arti ed in questa funzione cooperà in modo decisivo al salvataggio del patrimonio artistico italiano.

Thus Massimo Pallottino not long after the death of Ward-Perkins. From this time came several short papers in journals and articles in newspapers ('Miracles of Salvage in Italy' was a caption to one). Many treasures had been stored away for safety or even spirited to remote country houses for darker purposes: several tales have been told of the sudden reappearance of such hoards to be safely retrieved for museums and galleries. There were happier interludes, as could occur when an object not normally accessible for close inspection might become temporarily available for study. Thus when the bronze lion of St Mark had been removed for safety from atop its column in Venice, Ward-Perkins seized the chance for a detailed examination of the much repaired bronze casting which, it can be assumed, was brought to Venice from somewhere in the Mediterranean. What was its date? Where was it made? From the Greco-Roman world, or a pre-classical masterpiece from further east, even perhaps the orient? Could its grotesque caricature of animal features be a creation of late antiquity? It seems likely that for a time almost every visitor was addressed to this archaeological conundrum. His own diagnosis formed a remarkable essay for *Antiquity* in 1947, where its exceptional length for that journal reflected the high opinion of its editor, O. G. S. Crawford, at a time when shortage of paper still gave academic periodicals an emaciated appearance. A Hellenistic product was the conclusion, perhaps from the eastern part of Asia Minor, where in the developing techniques of bronze casting Anatolia was likely to have been a vital source.

In the summer of 1945 Lt.-Col. Ward-Perkins 'an archaeologist of wide interests' was approached to become Director of the British School at Rome. The noble building in the Valle Giulia had survived years of disuse with its library intact, thanks largely to the vigilance of its steward Bruno Bonelli and, after the Allied victory, its former Director, C. A. Ralegh-Radford. By October the new Director had taken change but only in January was the building released by the military authorities and it was not finally evacuated until April 1947.

It is not difficult, even after forty years have passed, to imagine the task which faced a new Director of the British School in a land which dictatorship and military defeat had so sorely afflicted. Though excavation or field-work in Italy was out of the question, it is a matter of record that before the end of his first year the Director had joined the first excavation on Italian soil for many years in which foreigners had taken part. In December 1946 the laying of a new floor in part of the nave of the church of

S. Salvatore at Spoleto permitted three days of excavation, in collaboration with Enrico Josi and the Swedish scholar Eric Sjoqvist, a 'modest piece of work' reported fully in the School Papers for 1949.

Compensation for the School's diminished role in post-war Italy was afforded by the opportunity for work in North Africa. The Roman and early Christian monuments of Libya were to dominate Ward-Perkins's first decade in Rome. The British role in the archaeology of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, following the Allied victories in North Africa, may be said to have commenced with the sudden, and wholly unofficial, appearance of Col. Wheeler and Major Ward-Perkins at Lepcis Magna early in 1943. They found the ruins swarming not only with fleas but also with 'the momentarily idle troops of a famous division, with Satan in active attendance'. In 1946 Richard Goodchild, like Ward-Perkins schooled in Roman Britain, was appointed Antiquities Officer under the British Military Administration in Tripolitania. A gifted archaeologist, notably in topography and field reconnaissance, he was soon hard at work prospecting the line of Roman roads and the numerous settlements of the barely explored hinterland. Much had been achieved before Goodchild became librarian of the Rome School in 1948, a post he held until 1953 when he departed to become Controller of Antiquities for Cyrenaica in a now independent Libya. The Rome years brought a still closer association with Ward-Perkins. They worked together on the results of the surveys and the first fruit of this collaboration was the pioneering description of the Limes Tripolitanus, published in the *Journal of Roman Studies* for 1949, describing fully for the first time some of the fortified rural settlements in the coastal hinterland of Tripolitania. It was a notable addition to the understanding of Roman frontier settlements in the pre-desert of North Africa, comparable with the famous account of the frontier in south Algeria by Col. Jean Baradez, which appeared in the same year. The 1949 paper, along with other studies published independently by Goodchild, emphasized the military character of these farms and suggested that they were the fortified homes of a peasant militia (*limitanei*) created by the imperial authorities in the third century AD. That explanation has since been doubted in favour of a view which sees the numerous inland settlements as evidence for a continuing expansion of agriculture in the hinterland and along the wadis further south. The value of the immediately post-war publication has, if anything, been underlined by several later studies of these areas and other projects yet

to be completed, notably the survey of the Libyan valleys by Barri Jones and Graeme Barker on behalf of Unesco with the support of the Society for Libyan Studies. Collaboration with Goodchild produced some of Ward-Perkins's best-known work. In 1953 a study of the Roman and Byzantine defences of Lepcis Magna provoked discussion among Italian scholars, and in the same year appeared their major survey of the Christian Antiquities of Tripolitania (in volume 95 of *Archaeologia*). Later Goodchild persuaded Ward-Perkins to continue their collaboration in Cyrenaica, a land he had first explored—if that is a proper word for recording sites seen through the driver's slit of a military vehicle—in 1942. That summer, in company with Wheeler, he used army leave to inspect and survey sites in the Delta. His record of the shrine of St Menas (Abu Mîna) in the Maryût, a precious survival of the now lost architecture of Christian Alexandria, was the basis of a full study published in the School Papers for 1949. Other forays produced an account of the Monastery of Taposiris Magna (published in 1944) and a first reconnaissance of the Christian Antiquities in the Cyrenaican Pentapolis which appeared in the 1943 volume (9) of the *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte*. The joint study of the Christian antiquities of Cyrenaica, already held up by the death of Goodchild in 1969, is now nearly complete and being prepared for publication by Martin Harrison. A by-product of this work was his joint publication in 1979, with Elizabeth Alföldi-Rosenbaum, of *Justinianic Marble Pavements in Cyrenaican Churches*. Work in Cyrenaica continued after the death of Goodchild and the change to a new order in Libya in the autumn of the same year. There were requests from the local authorities to complete several projects of Goodchild. On behalf of the newly founded Society for Libyan Studies, Ward-Perkins led an expedition to finish work on the Market Theatre at Cyrene and the partly excavated houses at Ptolemais (Tolmeita). Hopes that evidence for the history of these latter buildings might be obtained through selective excavation were thwarted when in 1971 the energies of the Society were, very properly, diverted to meet a local request for large-scale rescue excavation at Benghazi (Sidi Khrebish).

Most of the thirty or so papers by Ward-Perkins on North African topics relate to Tripolitania and originate from the decade following the Second World War. They form a corpus of his scholarly work separate from but not unrelated to the rest of his publications. Many of his best-known studies were joint productions, with Richard Goodchild on monuments and topography

already noted, but also with Jocelyn (J. M. C.) Toynbee for architectural ornament and with Joyce (J. M.) Reynolds on epigraphy. The muted role of the British School in Italy even encouraged the direction of effort to the astonishing heritage of classical antiquity in the former Italian colonies, much of it only recently uncovered and barely digested by the wider world of scholarship. The discoveries of Italian archaeologists during the pre-war years were for the most part new to Ward-Perkins, as they were to many others, yet it was no little part of his achievement that their richness and variety was more widely and fully appreciated, particularly in the English-speaking countries.

His first Rome pupil was Joyce Reynolds, a young Oxford classicist. Encouraged by Hugh Last, then chairman of the School Faculty, he planned with her a joint catalogue of inscriptions from Tripolitania. He had thought of the project during the war and began to make drawings, and encouraged colleagues to do likewise while still in military service. These were to prove invaluable records of some texts when the *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* was published in 1952. Bearing the names of the Director and the former Rome Scholar, it was a true collaboration both in the field and in the library. Moreover, the two editors, both new to the area, owed and recorded a heavy debt to the Italian scholars who had worked earlier in Tripolitania. The title-page bears the names of Aurigemma, Bartoccini, Caputo, Romanelli, as well as that of Goodchild. The volume stands as a testimony to Ward-Perkins's eagerness to furnish opportunities to others, opening doors which all too easily remain closed for others and, in the outcome, to give full credit for the work they did in collaboration with him. Though conceived as an urgent salvage after the disruption by war, and published in a form which reflects the persisting constraint of a post-war austerity, it remains today indispensable. Even the supposed imperfection, recently reasserted, of omitting the Neo-Punic texts, can be explained by the note that an edition of these was being prepared independently at the same time.

From the moment of his first visit Ward-Perkins was fascinated by the ruins of Lepcis Magna at the mouth of the Wadi Lebda, where the impressive remains of the Romanized Punic city of the first and second centuries were still overshadowed by the gigantic benefactions of its native emperor Septimius Severus. From the major study of their architecture and ornament published in the *Journal of Roman Studies* for 1948 the Severan buildings of Lepcis were to contribute again and again to his thinking and writing on Roman architecture. The role of imperial patronage, with its

unfettered disposal of materials and craftsmanship from the entire Roman world, was to become his strongest argument against the persisting notion that 'architecture' somehow 'evolved' from age to age, refining the practice and renewing the techniques of construction but with little or no perceivable reflection of the changing societies which created it. His first, and clearest, expression of this view is to be found in a 1950 lecture to the British Academy. The emperor's command of craftsmen and their materials is revealed at Lepcis through the finest stone-carvers from the East working their own marble (Pentelic and Proconnesian) to adorn buildings constructed in a Hellenistic fashion (solid masonry walls and roofs of timber beams) that must have appeared conservative for the lack of interest in concrete construction already widespread in Italy. At Lepcis the point could be made in telling fashion through the fact that contemporary private patronage had brought the full sophistication of concrete construction to Lepcis in the Hunting Baths. This astonishing discovery of the pre-war years, a small suite of baths preserved in the sand dunes on the west edge of the city with not only the barrel vaults intact but with painted scenes of the chase and beast-fighting still in vivid colour, was the subject of a famous joint paper by Ward-Perkins and Jocelyn Toynbee which appeared in *Archaeologia* (volume 93 for 1949). Nor was Sabratha, the western of the three cities, neglected. Here, without the overbearing grandeur of Severan embellishment, the remains of the old Punic and Roman city reflected the more natural prosperity and decline of a provincial city in the Roman Empire. Here Ward-Perkins divined the need for excavations. A major season of work, on the curia and adjoining forum and also in the vicinity of the theatre, was directed in 1948 by Ward-Perkins and Kathleen Kenyon, a disciple and colleague of Wheeler in pre-war Roman Britain, for whom Sabratha marked a transition to major explorations at Jericho and Jerusalem. Many years later, when the Sabratha report remained unfinished after Kenyon's death in 1978, Ward-Perkins took up the task on behalf of the Libya Society. In December 1979 Sabratha, along with Lepcis, were the theme for one of his many contributions on Hellenistic and Roman town planning, on this occasion for the celebration in Berlin of 150 years of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome. The work of preparing the final report has in recent years been undertaken by Philip Kenrick on behalf of the Society for Libyan Studies.

Lepcis Magna was not an example of what Ward-Perkins judged to be simplistic explanations for the evolution and

transmission of architectural concepts. In 1947, delivering the British Academy's Annual Italian Lecture, he drew on convictions based on his earlier work in Britain and France to treat the old question of 'East versus West' in the formation of late Roman and early medieval architecture. There are echoes of his work on Visigothic sculpture in France a decade earlier: it was necessary to pay due attention to the preceding traditions in architecture, both metropolitan and provincial. Continuity was to be discovered in the buildings of the City of Rome itself, where there were many signs of the links between classical and medieval. The keys to understanding were materials and the techniques of craftsmanship which went with them, working in a way dictated by the organization of building patronage within society. There it is already asserted that it is the archaeologist who can often contribute most to the debate; even though working with the debris of buildings, the perspective he gains is often more trustworthy than that of the art historian. Twenty years later, when treating a similar theme, the contribution of southern Italy to medieval Europe, he emphasized the contribution of the archaeologist to the understanding of artistic innovation—on this occasion reminding a colloquium in September 1969 at Mamaia on the Black Sea coast of Romania how much excavation (by David Whitehouse, who was to succeed him as the School's Director in 1974) had contributed to the debate on the origins of Italian majolica.

A consistent quality of Ward-Perkins's scholarship is that of conveying to his audience or reader what his own eyes told him, above all in what was significant in understanding the material and construction of a building. In this respect some of his best work is less well known, not least because he faithfully eschewed generalities easily grasped and retailed. A case in point is the examination of Roman brick construction which he contributed to the second report on *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors* edited by David Talbot-Rice in 1958.

Ward-Perkins's first major essay in the archaeology of Italy treated a site whose interpretation had an overburden of historical and religious significance unequalled in the world. During and after the war excavations were conducted at the Shrine of St Peter in the Vatican. An official account of the discoveries was published in 1951, which though thorough in the cataloguing of detail, was hardly satisfying for its eschewing of historical interpretation. The architectural embellishment of the shrine in late Roman and early medieval times was the attraction for Ward-Perkins. Most

notable was the reuse of twelve ancient spiral columns, each carved from a single piece of translucent Greek marble and having 'something of the appearance of an old-fashioned stick of barley sugar'. A paper in the *Journal of Roman Studies* for 1952 deduced a Hadrianic origin in the eastern provinces for the original six columns of the original Constantinian shrine, moved away from the shrine in the sixth century to form a screen across the front of the chancel. A further six similar columns, presented by the Byzantine Exarch to Pope Gregory III in the eighth century, were placed in front of these to form an outer screen. The remains of the pre-Constantinian era were described by Jocelyn Toynbee in the *Journal of Roman Studies* for the following years. The dating and significance of the earlier levels had already been widely debated when the two scholars collaborated in what was intended to give a straightforward and objective account of what the excavators had discovered, accompanied by their own cautious interpretation. Some English reviewers held *The Shrine of St Peter and the Vatican Excavations* (London 1956) to present the original veneration of St Peter's relics and their later vicissitudes in a manner which tended towards the pusillanimous. They had evaded or undervalued the conclusions which could be legitimately drawn from the living tradition of the Roman church. In Rome, however, a more favourable judgement emerged from a distinction between the severe critics 'who had never seen the diggings or had paid only brief visits to them' and 'the constructive attitude adopted in the excellent work of Toynbee and Ward-Perkins . . . the results of personal acquaintance with the whole extent of the excavations'. Thus wrote one of the Vatican archaeologists three years after the English work had appeared. Before the joint work on St Peter's was published the Director of the School had already started a major enterprise in Italian archaeology.

The survey of South Etruria was Ward-Perkins's major achievement as Director of the British School, a project conceived by him in the mid 1950s and brought almost to completion through the labours of many students and volunteers working out of the School during two decades. After a post-war decade during which the energies of the School had been turned mainly towards North Africa, the recovery of Italy allowed the beginning of a programme of archaeological and topographical research which was, within a few years, to make the School a powerhouse for such studies in the peninsula.

In the autumn of 1954 the Director, accompanied by two Rome Scholars (Martin Frederiksen and Adrian Mountford), began

field survey north of Rome between the Tiber and the sea, the rapidly disappearing 'romantic desolation of Southern Etruria and the Ager Veientanus'. 'Notes on Southern Etruria and the Ager Veientanus', which appeared in the School's Papers for the following year, was the first of a succession of major reports on field survey allied with selective excavation. The enterprise recalled the pioneering achievement of his fellow Wykehamist, Thomas Ashby, Director of the School from 1906 to 1925, on the topography of the Roman Campagna. The indebtedness to that work of the Etruria survey was signalled by Ward-Perkins in an introduction to a reissue of Ashby's work in 1970. 'He was the right man at the right place—and at the right moment' was no less true of Ward-Perkins himself for his rescue of the fast-disappearing historical landscape of South Etruria. The impact of modern developments in the countryside around Rome was greater in post-war Italy than a generation earlier when Ashby traversed the Campagna south and east of Rome. In Tuscany land reform, followed by road building, drainage schemes, and the mechanization of agriculture had brought a sixfold increase in the population. From the outset the visible and progressive devastation of the historical landscape was the spur to action. T. W. Potter, in a study which drew on the results of the survey to describe the changing landscape of South Etruria (published in 1979) observed: 'it is perhaps salutary to reflect that this programme of salvage work (for this is what it was) preceded the currency of the term "rescue archaeology" by nearly twenty years.'

Next came the Ager Faliscus. Starting with the major roads, the work moved to the identification of larger and some smaller settlements. By the second or third season a working hypothesis had been constructed of the characteristics of three successive landscapes, pre-Roman, Roman, and medieval, first outlined by Martin Frederiksen in a contribution to the School Papers for 1957. By then it also became clear that more intensive study of defined areas was required, comprising not only the major roads and larger settlements but also the changing pattern of rural settlement which could only be recovered by field-walking from farm to farm. The first to appear was a comprehensive report on the Sutri area, by Guy Duncan in 1958, followed by two studies of Capena and its territory by Barri Jones in 1962 and 1963. Ward-Perkins and his own team concentrated on Veii and its territory and their report appeared in the School's Papers for 1961. Here new methods of agriculture were wreaking havoc with the remains of the ancient city, and excavations were not only to record the

defences and other remains but also to obtain much-needed deposits of stratified pottery to assist dating. Not far from Veii, excavation at the Villanovan (Iron Age) cemetery Quattro Fontanile was a most successful Anglo-Italian collaboration with the Institute of Etruscology at the University of Rome. The conditions of the early Middle Ages were revealed by the excavation of the papal estate-centre, comprising a church and farm buildings, at S. Cornelia by Charles Daniels in 1962 and 1964, also at S. Rufina on the via Clodia by Lady Wheeler in 1965. From these sites, and from the examination of a medieval village at Nepi, David Whitehouse constructed the first well-founded chronology for medieval pottery of the area, published in the School Papers between 1965 and 1969. All these and numerous lesser projects were managed from the School, where lay the organization of the survey workrooms under the charge first of Anne Kahane, later of Molly Cotton.

The valuable contribution from pollen samples obtained from the craters of Bracciano and Monterosi enabled Ward-Perkins to show that much of South Etruria west of the Tiber had been extensively forested until, in the later Iron Age, major settlements grew up at Veii, Capena, and Falerii. Iron-Age urbanization, then the growth of both large and small settlements following the opening up of the country by the consular roads of the Roman period, followed by the fragmented pattern of medieval settlement dispersed to isolated and defensible hilltops, were outlined in a first attempt at synthesis to the Royal Geographical Society in February 1961 (published in the Society's Geographical Journal for the following year). Further accounts were prepared for several English audiences, in the J. L. Myres Lecture at Oxford in 1964—'Landscape and History in Central Italy', which included observations on areas beyond Etruria—until a final summary contributed to a London seminar in 1972 on the theme of 'Central authority and patterns of rural settlement'.

The influence of the South Etruria survey has been profound, not only for the many who took part in it but also for the wider audience which followed its progress year by year in the School's Papers. Its methods have been imitated and refined in other parts of the peninsula and beyond. To the archaeologists, architects, and historians he recruited for service in South Etruria, Ward-Perkins provided a marvellous apprenticeship during which young scholars could work independently on the historic landscape close to Rome. As the scale of work increased he persuaded many amateurs to join in—among these his invaluable colleague

at Veii, Anne Kahane. He picked his helpers with great care who, once conscripted, were offered a world of new opportunities. The volume of T. W. Potter cited above presented an independent view of the Survey's results, by one of its later participants. An admirable volume, it favours a more structured interpretation of the successive patterns of settlement than would have been the case with a synthesis by Ward-Perkins. *Utinam sit*! In 1980 he delivered the Louise Taft Semple lectures in Cincinnati, what he already knew would be his last word on Etruria. It would be no small benefit if these could be published, matching the posthumous publication of Frederiksen's *Campania*, with whom he began the survey in the Autumn of 1954. But we must return to his earlier times at the School for there is yet much to tell. The *res gestae* of Ward-Perkins do not admit the approach of a simple annalist.

The 'barley sugar' columns of St Peter's Shrine, with their alternating ornament of spiral fluting and vine scrolls, and the richness of stone carving in Severan Lepcis first attracted Ward-Perkins to study the work of marble craftsmen in the Greek provinces of the Roman Empire. A joint paper with Jocelyn Toynbee published in 1950 treated the persistence of peopled scrolls, a Hellenistic motif which enjoyed a long survival in the vocabulary of Greco-Roman sculptors. Rather than a traditional concern with the symbolism of such compositions they were absorbed with the manners of rendering living creatures within a floral scroll. Both authors found in this enquiry much that was absorbing for its theme of the understanding observation of nature, even in the fanciful compositions which contained 'human figures and such solid quadrupeds as dogs, bulls, horses, bears, panthers, and lions, careering through the leafy whorls or springing from the hearts of flowers'. The partnership of archaeologist and art historian, which produced authoritative studies on the Lepcis Hunting Baths, the Shrine of St Peter's, and peopled scrolls, was continued in later years with Donald Strong. He was Toynbee's most gifted pupil in this field and while a Rome Scholar had prepared his influential study of the late Hellenistic style in Roman sculpture for the School's Papers. There also Strong and Ward-Perkins published two joint studies of Roman temples, the round temple in the Forum Boarium in 1960 and the temple of Castor in the Roman Forum two years later. In both these papers the vigour of the younger scholar determines the line of argument. Strong brought a sharp eye and a talent for analysis which added much to Ward-Perkins's intuitive interpretation of Roman

architecture. The close association with Strong continued until the latter's death in 1973, less than five years after he succeeded Richard Goodchild at the Institute of Archaeology in London.

Ward-Perkins's work on marble-working led him to pay more attention to the cities of Asia Minor. In their early post-war work on Lepcis Magna, Ward-Perkins and Toynbee had accepted the thesis of Bartoccini, first published in 1927 and subsequently elaborated by Maria Squarciapino in 1943, that the ornament of the Severan buildings, including the peopled scrolls in the Basilica, was the work of an 'Aphrodisian School' of sculptors from Asia Minor. Though the view was repeated by Strong in his *Roman Imperial Sculpture* of 1961, Ward-Perkins's own observations in Asia Minor raised doubts, at first more as hesitations but later couched in firmer tones. His first public expression of dissent was made to the Paris Congress of Classical Archaeology in 1963. He observed that the often cited Hadrianic pilasters from Aphrodisias were, thanks to recent discoveries, less typical of the local sculptors' workshops than had been thought. Moreover, parallels, if anything closer to the Lepcis work, were to be found in Bithynia. These raised the possibility of an origin in the marble workshops of Proconnesos, the island in the Sea of Marmara, whence came four-fifths of the marble used in the Severan building programme at Lepcis. Ward-Perkins did not seek to substitute Proconnesus for Aphrodisias, though the significance of Proconnesus is stressed in a number of later studies on the marble trade, but to point out that a hypothesis, well founded at the time of its publication, had to be revised as new discoveries became known. There were, it is true, many sculptors from Aphrodisias in the Roman world. They may have been working at Lepcis with the marble from Proconnesos, but what matters is that notions of a 'school' identified through a stylistic affinity of chance discoveries at widely separated sites are not a proper foundation for advancing understanding.

Many who witnessed Ward-Perkins in his later years at work on sites and in museums will recall his particularly close attention to the inspection and classification of marbles. Some of the remains he found most instructive were later buildings which incorporated elements from ancient buildings. Several columns in the same marble, taken probably from the same building, could furnish useful evidence for a standardization of production in the quarries. Dimensions were systematically noted. A number of his friends will recall the visit to a Roman church which incorporated a notable array of classical elements, when divine service was

accompanied by clearly stated commands on where the step-ladder was to be set and precisely how the end of the measure was to be placed so that the vital dimensions were recorded accurately.

Typically the first essay concerned Lepcis Magna. 'Tripolitania and the Marble Trade', published in the *Journal of Roman Studies* for 1951, was a synthesis of his own ideas with the results first of epigraphic enquiries in which he had engaged with Joyce Reynolds and later of marble identification to which he stimulated Michael Ballance, for both of whom this collaboration was to prove a fruitful beginning to their later researches.

The value of exported sarcophagi to a study of the marble trade was evident. Many of his later studies were mainly focused on sarcophagi, which could reveal the links between workshop and client, notably on the Hippolytus sarcophagus from Trinquetaille (1956), Garland sarcophagi from Proconnesos (1958), and Dionysiac sarcophagi in Baltimore (1976). Beginning with Proconnesos, where he enjoyed an amicable and valuable collaboration with Nusin Asgari, he moved to a study of the quarries and their methods of working. Many journeys were undertaken before he had inspected all the accessible quarries and could present his results as the first Mortimer Wheeler Memorial Lecture in 1971, 'a small token of deep personal gratitude for forty years of friendship, guidance and generous support'. *Quarrying in Antiquity: Technology, Tradition and Social Change* provided a solid foundation for his wider view of how the building industry of the Roman Empire grew and prospered. An increasing efficiency in quarrying methods permitted a steady expansion of the building trade which produced construction that, more than anything else, is today the distinguishing legacy of the *Pax Romana*.

> At Sabratha in Tripolitania (to cite a single example) the Forum, the Basilica, the main public baths, the theatre, a number of fountains, and all but one of the seven known city temples were built or rebuilt in marble during the second century. Sabratha was a well-to-do but by no means exceptionally wealthy city. What happened here was happening in varying measure up and down the length of the Mediterranean World. Increased population, rationalization of supply, lowered prices, a large new consumer market—it all has a very familiar ring today and, *mutatis mutandis*, I am sure the analogy is a sound one.

In the matter of sarcophagi, for which there existed no general survey until the recent publication (in 1982) of the monumental *Römische Sarkophage* by G. Koch and H. Sichtermann, Ward-Perkins's researches have a particular significance, beyond the

understanding of the marble trade. Over three decades his studies stood apart from the tradition which finds today its expression in the corpora based on an iconographic classification (Dionysiac, Medusa, Meleager, Muses, etc.) prepared under the auspices of the German Archaeological Institute. For Ward-Perkins the production of the roughed-out sarcophagus (such as the cargo in a ship which foundered off S. Pietro in Southern Italy) for finishing at its destination revealed the importance of attention to materials and the mechanism of production and distribution. His own deep empathy for the craftsman at work (and one recalls in his last years his pleasure in watching a skilled craftsman working in his own Cirencester home) was an expression of this. The gulf between Ward-Perkins and the more traditional approach was never bridged. In his last published paper on the subject ('Nicomedia and the Marble Trade' in the School's Papers for 1980) he held firmly to the old dictum of Ranucchio Bianchi Bandinelli that 'style does not spread like measles'. In Rome and in the English-speaking world his work drew many to follow his enthusiastic lead in marble studies, hitherto largely neglected in the major schools of Art and Archaeology.

The passage of years brought an increasing *auctoritas*, and with it the widespread expectation that he would produce a work of synthesis, combining his remarkable knowledge of materials and construction methods with a full-scale survey of Roman Imperial architecture, much needed by teachers and students. To this project, which was to form most of a volume on Roman architecture for the *Penguin History of Art* (edited by Nicolaus Pevsner) published in 1970, he gave much of his time during the decade preceding publication. He sought to make comprehensive his first-hand acquaintance with the surviving remains yet, in the later stages especially, there always seemed to be distractions. There were the inevitable commitments and responsibilities to several international projects and to these must be added a reluctance to turn away the chance of investigating some problems in detail, particularly quarrying and the traffic in marble for building and sarcophagi. There was a week in Dalmatia in the summer of 1969 when time was divided between last-minute verification of detail for the Penguin volume and an enthusiastic pursuit of all the varieties of marble brought to Dalmatia for incorporation in the retirement villa of Diocletian at Split.

In its first edition Ward-Perkins's text was issued with a posthumous essay of Axel Boethius on the architecture of the Republic. The unhappy juxtaposition of two distinct books was

criticized and was especially harmful for Ward-Perkins. The buildings of Julio-Claudian Rome were rooted in the recent past, the years of the late Republic which created the successful marriage between native Italic and Hellenized Greek architecture of Rome and Campania. Thus Augustus' own programme of building in Rome produced 'mainly a new, more splendid, classicized version of the hellenized late republican town'. Until the middle of the first century AD Roman architecture exhibits a history that is consistent and self-contained, 'one that can be told with surprisingly little reference to current events elsewhere'. These sentiments prefaced a second edition, prepared in 1979 and of which he received an advanced copy a few weeks before his death. The integration of illustrations with the text and the superb drawings provided by Sheila Gibson, whose reconstructions are a valuable accompaniment to the inevitably over-compressed descriptive text, are an improvement, though happily the need for economy has produced a portable and much cheaper volume. No less beneficial is the liberation from the unhappy combination with Boethius' work, issued separately in 1978 after revision by Roger Ling and Tom Rasmussen.

The new edition gave him pleasure at a time when he had severely overtaxed his already failing constitution through the effort of preparing the Cincinnati lectures on South Etruria. No less effort, though in a different form, was expended on the task of organizing the completion of projects, including Sabratha excavations, left unfinished by the death of Kathleen Kenyon in 1978 and now entrusted to Philip Kenrick. Retirement from Rome, though his home in Cirencester saw little of him in the first years, afforded opportunity for many new ventures. In 1977 he enjoyed a wide public acclaim for his leading role in mounting the Pompeii exhibition, whose lasting value is signified by the catalogue compiled for the occasion in collaboration with Amanda Claridge. Though he contributed several radio talks (and subsequent publications in *The Listener*) on new discoveries during his early years at Rome, the Vatican excavations, Gjerstad's work on early Rome, the architecture of Rome and Constantinople, the Pompeii exhibition revealed a fine television performer, to which those years of association with Wheeler must have contributed.

A generous benefaction by the sponsors of the Pompeii exhibition enabled Ward-Perkins to initiate the full examination of an *insula* in the older excavations at Pompeii, its building history, construction, and materials, its ornament and interior decor. There was hope for limited excavation to recover useful deposits

of dated pottery and there was to be an investigation of museum collections that would allow a register of everything that had been recovered from the earlier clearance of the ruins. The project flourishes still under the direction of Roger Ling, accompanied by Ward-Perkins's former collaborator Sheila Gibson. When published their study of the *insula* of the House of Menander will afford striking testimony to the vision and energy of one who could see what needed to be done and how he could enlist those whose services he needed to carry it forward. The chance to enter Pompeii was seized on the instant, in a characteristic manner which recalled those wartime years when a few days' leave could be used to visit and study ancient sites in the Delta. Pompeii was the last demonstration of Ward-Perkins's great talent for seeing what could be done and for mobilizing those with the abilities to do it. All in all this gift, which he was constantly exercising, is the most distinguishing quality of his leadership among a large scholarly constituency in Italy, Britain, the United States, Canada, and Australia.

One of his first successes as Director, along with John Bradford, was to secure a priceless collection of aerial photographs taken by the allied air forces in Italy and neighbouring lands. Their potential value for archaeological and topographical studies was first demonstrated by John Bradford's *Ancient Landscapes* in 1957 and later in the Society of Antiquaries' project on the settlement of the Apulian Tavoliere. As time passed the value of these photographs, taken in 1943 and 1944, has increased and they are now a valuable addition to the Italian Fototeca Unione. All too easily they could have been destroyed or discarded in the months which followed the end of hostilities in Italy. If aerial photographs were an asset for the longer term, there was need for immediate action to help restore the scholarly community in Rome. The foundation, partly through Ward-Perkins's initiative, of the Union of Foreign Institutes in Rome made possible the return of the great German libraries (including the Herziana) from Northern Italy where they had been taken late in the war. He was a founder and, in 1949, secretary-general of the International Association of Classical Archaeology (FIAC), created to help fill the gap left by the temporary eclipse of the German Archaeological Institute. He played also a major role in starting *Fasti Archaeologici*, a register of discovery and new publication then urgently needed but perhaps less effective now that *L'Année Philologique* has a wider coverage and the German Institute's *Bibliographie* has long since been fully revived.

By 1949 Rome was beginning to recover its position as a centre for study in the Humanities. One of the centres of this renaissance was the British School under its young director. There he fostered an atmosphere which was warm and welcoming and also stimulating for hard work to all who stayed there. There was much administration but these reponsibilities were lightly borne. He encouraged a diversity of interest—that in art of all periods flourished under his tutelage—and many whose stay was only brief can recall the pleasure of his piano-playing. These were perhaps the best years, when there was an unspoken but almost tangible sense of delight in deliverance from the horrors of war, even though for many those post-war years were to prove a time of harsh austerity and limited opportunity.

By the early 1950s Ward-Perkins had come to occupy a leading position among classical archaeologists. Elected Fellow of the British Academy in 1951, he used his increasing influence for many wholesome causes. One was the reviving of a project to publish the sculpture of the Roman Empire (*Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani*) and his interest was specially aroused by the scheme to map the Roman Empire at a scale of one to a million (*Tabula Imperii Romani*), first proposed by O. G. S. Crawford to a geography congress at Cambridge in 1928. At the 1957 meeting of a section of the Union Académique Internationale at Brussels it was revived under the presidency of Giuseppe Lugli, with a committee based on Rome. Three sheets had been produced after the war by the Society of Antiquaries, two by Richard Goodchild (H–I 33 *Lepcis Magna*, H–I 34 *Cyrene*: both published in 1954) and a third by David Meredith (G 36 *Coptos*, 2nd edn. 1958). Under Lugli there were produced two Italian sheets (L 33 *Trieste* in 1961 and L 32 *Milano* in 1965). In 1967 presidency of the international committee passed to Ward-Perkins: his achievement is described by Jaroslav Šašel in a preface to K 34 *Naissus*, published by the Slovenian Academy in 1976: 'Cette enterprise qui, au cours de la dernière décennie, a fait des progres considerable grâce à l'impulsion des Professeurs J. B. Ward-Perkins et G. F. Carettoni, representera, une fois realisée, une base de travail qui, perfectionée methodiquement, pourra être utilisée avec profit par les étudiants et les enseignants.' Under Ward-Perkins the British TIR committee (the chairmanship of which has since passed to A. L. F. Rivet) planned the compilation of sheet M 30–31 *Condate–Glevum–Londinium–Lutetia*, published in 1982 on behalf of the British Academy.

In 1955 the School reappointed Ward-Perkins for a further

term as Director, reflecting that 'the reputation of the School had never stood higher, due largely to his ability and energy'. The end of his first decade was marked by the award of the CBE. In Britain he was heard on the radio describing the excavations of St Peter's and the results of Gjerstad's researches on the origins of Rome, while in Rome he was elected President of the Union of Foreign Institutes in Rome. There were expeditions to Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, work on the Imperial Palace in Istanbul, and the South Etruria Survey was already underway.

A sojourn as Visiting Professor in the Fine Arts Institute of New York University in 1957 marked the beginning of his many close links with scholars in North America. In Canada also he found a warm welcome in several universities, to which many lasting friendships and valued contacts caused him to return in later years. His views on the need to appreciate Roman archaeology in its widest imperial setting found a sympathetic audience and it was largely due to his influence that several posts in Roman archaeology have been established in recent years. In 1962 he was Serena medallist of the British Academy and in Italy the achievement of the School and its Director was marked with the award by the Italian government of the Medaglia d'oro per i Benemeriti della Cultura.

From the middle 1950s there were regular calls to lecture. At Harvard, in the Carl Newell Lectures delivered in 1957, he offered an original approach to the much-debated problem of Etruscan origins (published in the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* for 1959). In Britain the progress of the South Etruria was already arousing much interest and there were many invitations, few declined, to speak: in 1960 the Rhind Lectures for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in Edinburgh, to the Royal Geographical Society in 1961, the Marett Memorial Lecture at Exeter College, Oxford, the Myres Memorial Lecture, also at Oxford, in 1963. In 1969 he gave the Jerome Lectures, delivered twice, according to prescription, in the American Academy at Rome and in Ann Arbor, Michigan. In March 1968 he delivered the second M. V. Taylor Memorial Lecture to the Roman Society in London, a superb essay on the varied sources of Roman architecture in the West, published in the *Journal of Roman Studies* for 1970. In the delivery and on the printed page he was in top form, setting out his counter to the accepted role of the imperial capital through a skilful use of evidence for the influence from Campania (in the case of North Africa) and Cisalpine Gaul (for the north-west provinces). A notable success was his contribution to the organization

of the XIIth Congress of Classical Archaeology held in London in September 1978. He presided over a gathering of more than 750 scholars from forty countries: 'quod bonum, faustum, felix, fortunatumque sit'.

The passing years brought an increasing list of academic honours. Several foreign academies honoured him with membership: Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archaeologia, the German Archaeological Institute (Corresponding, later Ordinary Member), the Royal Academy of History, Antiquity and Letters, Stockholm, and the Academy of Archaeology, Letters and Fine Arts of Naples. For the wider world his honours were less than a true measure of his achievement, though he valued greatly the honorary degrees conferred in 1969, D.Litt. from Birmingham and Ll.D. from Alberta, and no less the CMG in 1975 which followed his retirement from the British School.

The image of the man is a figure of medium height with stocky build, whose rolling gait was accentuated by surgery in later years to combat the affliction of arthritis, which had set in after his wartime accident. His cherubic features could never dissimulate, and his voice, though pitched high in the excitement of conversation or debate, took on a more even fluency for the public address. Anger there was from time to time and there was an almost childlike impatience with the ignorant or obstructive. An idea became the reality of a project merely through a rumination on the possible strategies in execution. His handwriting was small and neat but, in later life, was not always easily legible for its obfuscating flourishes. He enjoyed elegance, comfort, and tidiness but had no taste for extravagance: few greater pleasures came to him than an afternoon picnic after a day of prospecting in South Etruria. Many were surprised at first hearing his spoken Italian, as it were that he had never heard the native speaker, an affectation of an earlier generation which amused but never gave offence.

His heart lay in the School, to which he gave three decades of his working life. The visitor would soon see that at the centre of the community, alongside all the archaeology and scholarly endeavour, was Margaret and their four children. Her contribution to his career cannot be measured: he simply could not have achieved what he did without her. Within the School his family were a continuity in the life of the community as Ward-Perkins travelled and worked. Many visitors who will have known little of him or his work could still enjoy the hospitality of a community which offered a welcome to all, scholars, artists, or friends. His relaxation came from an enjoyment of creation, by humanity or

by nature: there was music (playing the piano he loved, a visit to the opera was a treat), gardening (a simple delight in weeding the lawn—in a correct manner—came as an everyday relaxation), bird-watching, botany, and—one can only wonder how he found the time—an immaculately kept stamp collection.

The students of the School reacted in various ways to his drive and concentrated purpose but many were caught up into an interest, long or short-term, in his enthusiasms. For some this was an invaluable turning-point in a career, others, it must be admitted, felt it as an interruption. He would have his own pupils stand on their own feet—though he would support them and foster their interests with a care of which they were not always aware. More came to a realization after it was over of the debt they owed to their pupillage; and the regular phone calls and visits, received and made, during his retirement are for many a testimony to the diaspora of his scholarly patronage.

He took on far too many commitments: these he strove to honour not by adapting his own output to methods of mass production but by writing quickly and by calling on the help of others in reference and, above all, in illustration. To the end he was planning—even scheming—to further some good cause. Frail and ill, in the late spring of 1981, the old vigour could still surge up in the impatience at not having the name or exact whereabouts of a person whose collaboration was essential for carrying forward preparation for another sheet of the *Tabula Imperii Romani*.

If few can now recall his pre-war achievement, and though prolonged absence abroad confined his direct influence as a teacher to a disproportionate minority, nevertheless his scholarship will remain, in publications which furnish testimony to his wide interests. Less easily accounted are the achievements through others: he gave much time to developing talent in the young and provided scope for this when developed. He would always be willing to help with another's scheme—once he had been convinced of its value.

Diligence in study, clarity, and accuracy in expression, respect in debate are apparent throughout—from Buttley's Priory in Suffolk to his last works on marbles and town planning—but the distinguishing excellence is a sustained effort to liberate his discipline from a suffocation through dogma which for him often ignored what could be gained from the interconnection between societies, their physical environments, and the materials which served their creativity.

J. J. WILKES