MINERVA

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MINERVA
New Excavations in the Valley of the Kings

Dr John Rose, from Cheshire, has completed a six-week dig in the Valley of the Kings, the burial place of the pharaohs of the Egyptian New Kingdom located on the west bank at Luxor (ancient Thebes). The expedition was financed by an American university and the ten-man strong team aimed to uncover the tomb of Amenhotep I who reigned c.1551–1524 B.C. The entrance to the tomb is thought to have been sealed beneath a rock fall in 1908. The mummy of Amenhotep I has been in the Cairo Museum for over one hundred years, since being discovered along with many other royal bodies in the Great Royal Cache at Deir el Bahari in 1881. The mummy was in an excellent state of preservation with its wrappings largely intact, and that is why, unlike the other royal bodies from the cache, it was not unwrapped by Sir James E. P. Smith when he examined the other bodies and published them in his great catalogue of the royal mummies in 1912. The tomb of Amenhotep I has never been positively identified, but it is unlikely to be found in the Valley of the Kings, despite Dr Rose's theories. The earliest known tomb at present in the Valley is that of Tuthmosis I (1524-1518), Amenhotep I's father. This small and obscure tomb is Number 38. Many years ago, the late Arthur Weigall identified an uninscribed tomb, Number 39, as belonging to Amenhotep I. There are numerous objections to this, and to the tomb that Dr Rose claims to be that of the pharaoh. Principal amongst them is the fact that the location suggested does not correspond with the location given in the Abbott Papyrus, which records a personal check and inventory of the royal tombs that were said to have been robbed in the late New Kingdom. Also, Tuthmosis I's architect, Ineni, whose tomb survives, records how he was the first to have a tomb cut for his royal master in this remote valley. If it is to be found anywhere, the tomb of Amenhotep I will probably be located, like those of his predecessors of the 17th Dynasty, not in the Valley of the Kings, but in the area of Deir el Bahari on the eastern side of the Libyan Hills.

Safely Home Again!

Our front cover illustration shows a profile view of the famous gold mask of the pharaoh Psousennes I (c.1059-1033 B.C.) of the Twenty-first Dynasty, recently photographed in the Tanis Room of the Cairo Museum. The mask has been the focal point of a magnificent travelling exhibition from the Cairo Museum to Western Europe in recent years. It was displayed in France at the Grand Palais in Paris, 26 March to 20 July 1987, in the exhibition 'Paris: 'Les dieux de l'Egypte' together with some additional pieces relevant to the period from major French public and private collections of Egyptian antiquities. Then it went to Manises from 19 September to 30 November 1987. Everywhere it was an enormous success and there was a magnificently written and illustrated catalogue with the same title as the exhibition.

The following year the exhibition, with the same core pieces but with additional items taken from British museums, was shown at the City of Edinburgh Art Centre, 2 February to 30 April 1988, under the title 'Gold of the Pharaohs'. A special catalogue was also written for this display. Such magnificent loan exhibitions from the treasure house of the Cairo Museum are part of the expanding policy of the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation (EAO) which really began with the selected items from the great mass of Tutankhamun's treasures exhibited in Paris in 1967 at the Petit Palais and then in London at the British Museum in 1972, marking the 50th anniversary of the discovery of the tomb by Howard Carter and Lord Carnarvon.

Many of the visitors to the Tanis exhibitions did not at first appreciate that Steven Spielberg's highly successful film 'Raiders of the Lost Ark', featuring the legendary archaeologist Indiana Jones, was loosely based on the expedition that found the lost royal tombs at Tanis in the eastern Delta. The group of royal tombs, of which that of Psousennes is the only royal tomb so far found intact in Egypt, were found after a ten-year search by Professor Pierre Montet of Strasbourg University. The royal cemetery was found in early 1939, just as the clouds of war were gathering in Europe. This is essentially why these stupendous finds have never really received the wider recognition they deserve outside Egyptological circles.

In 1985 Pierre Montet and his discoveries were pleasantly commemorated on a large medallion (left) (9cm, diameter) struck in Paris in an edition of 100 copies. The obverse shows his portrait and record his two major discoveries: the royal tombs at Blosos, with the name of King Ahiram, and those at Tanis with the cartouche of Psousennes. The reverse shows the figure of the Egyptian sky goddess Nut, arms and legs extended and clad in a close-fitting, star-spangled gown, as she is carved on the underside of the lid of the granite sarcophagus of Psousennes. She is set against a stylised background of vine tendrils with bunches of grapes, reflecting the Blosos finds.

Peter A. Clayton

Photos: Peter Clayton
Israeli scientists unravel secret of Roman marble

O

ver 1800 years after it was put into place, Weizmann Institute researchers have discovered that much of the white marble of the magnificent Roman amphitheatre in the Jordan Valley town of Beit Shean, then called Scythopolis, came from a quarry on the Turkish Island of Marmara.

Using isotopic analysis, graduate student Ze'ev Pearl and his supervisor Professor Mordechai Magaritz of the Institute's Isotope Research Department, have traced many of the marble artifacts found in Beit Shean and other archaeological sites in Israel to specific quarries in Turkey and Greece.

Several hundred tons of marble have been found at various archaeological sites in Israel, with the majority concentrated at Caesarea, Beit Shean and Ashkelon. Most of these often lavish marble structures are a legacy of the thriving building trade that accompanied the 'Pax Romana,' a particularly prosperous period of Roman rule during the first and second centuries C.E.

Marble or metamorphosed calcium carbonate — its geological name — is not found in Israel. Therefore, any of it used to build numerous amphitheatres and palaces in Israel during the Roman and Byzantine period must have been imported, probably from nearby countries that formed part of the Roman Empire.

By comparing the isotopic composition of marble found in Israel with that of marble from quarries around the Mediterranean, Pearl has been able to determine the material's geographical origin.

'Finding the origin of marble can answer many questions about the style, culture, and relations between people at that time,' says Pearl and Magaritz. 'What is the connection between the artistic style of sarcophagi and their origin or, for example, could the stone that was used in a number of fourth-century synagogues in Israel have been a gift from the wealthy Jewish community of Turkey? We're now investigating both these questions.'

In addition to analyzing isotopic composition, Pearl and Magaritz measure the trace elements present in a sample of marble. An important advantage of these techniques is that they require only a small sample of material — less than half a gramme.

(Author: BIPAC)

Ancient Culture Discovered in Syria

Archaeologists working at Ebla in northern Syria have unearthed evidence of a previously unknown Syrian culture that rivaled Pharaonic Egypt nearly 5000 years ago.

Paolo Matthiae, of the University of Rome, said the excavation at Ebla, 300km north of Damascus, was started 25 years ago, but last year's dig had revealed evidence of a political, economic and cultural power that dominated northern Syria. He said that the project gave Syria an unexpected historical position and demonstrated that it had an authentic internal culture that existed between the Euphrates and ancient Lebanon. Ebla was a hereditary monarchy, described in texts written in 'the oldest known Semitic language, older even than Akkadian or Assyro-Babylonian,' Matthiae said. He added that a senior minister, backed by a Cabinet, played an extraordinary role in the administration of the kingdom. Solid evidence that the queen went before the king in ceremonies also suggested that Ebla women enjoyed a status well above contemporary societies.

Time was apparently divided according to events in the queen's life, such as the year she visited a certain town or the year she gave birth to a prince, Matthiae explained.

He said that Ebla was a major trade and industrial site and an important stop on commercial routes linking the Euphrates and the Mediterranean. Its cloth was exported to Asia and countries along the Mediterranean, while Ebla merchants dealt in wood from Lebanon and Turkey.

Medieval Love Poetry Found

A rare collection of wax-coated tablets unearthed in York could prove to contain Medieval love poems dating from the fourteenth century.

The tablets were found at the York Archaeological Trust's dig in Swanlegate. They are enclosed in a thin leather wrapper decorated with oak leaves and are made of boxwood, with wax in the recessed surfaces on which the verses were inscribed using a metal or bone stylus. They are open between the first and second pages, and experts are painstakingly working on prising them apart without destroying the brittle wax. There are at the most eight lines on each tablet, but translation is being hampered by the fact that the line endings have been lost. However, initial research by Michelle Brown, curator of the British Library's Department of Manuscripts, suggests that the words are in prose verse form. 'It is too early to say they are true love poems, as only one in two or three words have been deciphered from two of the tablets. But they have a feel about them that suggests they are not just notes that one would wipe away. The writing is Middle-English, the type used by Chaucer. It is very small and very carefully done and the words chosen indicate something special and obviously written by someone well-educated. What I have managed to transcribe is the introduction — its ownership, as it were.' One line contains the phrase 'So it is will and set' and elsewhere a monogrammed A in a little box may indicate the owner's initial. Writing on wax tablets was usually erased and the tablets re-used. They were often used for such things as accounts and lecture notes, although there are French examples of little love verses. Extremely fragile, the tablets measure only five cms by three cms, the small size indicating that the objects may be personal. The tablets were preserved by the unusual conditions in York, according to York Archaeological Trust's deputy head of conservation, Sonia O'Connor. 'We have very waterlogged sites, which preserve things exceptionally well. We have never had anything as ephemeral as wax before and it really is stunning'. The wax has become very brittle and decays in normal conditions, so it is being kept refrigerated under a film of water until they assess whether it can be successfully freeze-dried.

Viking Warship made in Dublin

A Viking warship found off the coast of Denmark was made in Dublin in the eleventh century, tree experts have discovered, after tests on its oak hull. The 30 metre-long vessel was built c.1060 and would have had a crew of up to 60 warriors.

Write for Minerva. The Editor is always pleased to receive contributions for publication in Minerva. Feature articles up to about 3000 words with illustrations are particularly welcome; subjects can be anything of general interest, such as important discoveries in current excavations, major museum acquisitions, topical theories in underwater archaeology, and so on. Controversial and unorthodox ideas will be particularly welcome. We are also eager to receive news items and photographs for our regular monthly departments.

MINERVA 3
Few people ever manage to make their way to Dousch, the most southern of the Egyptian oases, which lies in the silent desert almost ninety kilometres due south of the airport at Khargeh on a latitude roughly equal to that of Kom Ombo. The road from the airport to the hamlet of Baris is well-marked, but thereafter one is left to one’s own devices for finding the site. On asking a local for directions, one is invariably told to head ever southward and, on occasion, even seasoned members of L’Institut Francais d’Archéologie Orientale, who have been excavating at Dousch since 1976, get lost in the desert. Once there, however, the site presents a magnificent aspect because the remains of its temple and of what is known locally as the fort dominate the rise as if sentinels for the cemeteries sprawling in the flat land beneath them.

The French mission has divided its work at Dousch into two projects concentrating on either the cemeteries or the buildings on the rise; we begin this report with a look at the necropoleis where the French mission has been working since 1982. Most of the tombs, which are certainly of Roman Imperial date, are of two distinct architectural types. The first are corridor tombs, with vaulted, mudbrick rooms analogous to those found at Karanis, and likewise sealed with sets of wooden doors. The second are more simple pit tombs, their entrances sealed with a slab of local sandstone. The choice of tomb appears to be eclectic and many of the burials exhibit a marked preference for raising the body off the floor by means of brick supports placed under the neck and ankles of the deceased. Many of the burials are children whose bodies have been lavishly adorned. So, for example, the ear lobe of an eighteen month old boy was pierced and decorated with an open hoop earring of bronze, the terminal of which was fashioned into the head of a dog. The head of a seven year old girl was adorned with a wig composed of ringlets of human hair held in place by a string. The skull and face of almost every corpse recovered from the Dousch cemeteries, regardless of gender or age, was covered with gold leaf. This custom seems to imply that the inhabitants of Dousch were, as a whole, fairly prosperous. That inference is confirmed by an examination of the mummies themselves which are well preserved and exhibit a higher level of technical competence on the part of the embalmers than that encountered in contemporary mummies from other sites. This standard of living doubtless resulted from the mercantile activities of the inhabitants of Dousch which lay on the caravan routes between Egypt and Africa to the south.

At some point in time, however, the burial practice changed, as is evident from a series of burials in which the corpse was lowered directly on to the ground at the bottom of a pit which had been purposefully cut to conform to the human contour. Such contoured pit burials are attested at Bagawat, the early Christian cemetery near Khargeh, and lead one to suggest that this change in the burial practices at Dousch was coincident with the conversion of the population to Christianity in the course of the fourth century A.D. The temple
of Dousch, occupying a somewhat lower position than the fortress on the rise, was dedicated to Isis and her consort Serapis, and bears an inscription honouring the Roman Emperor Hadrian who ruled 117–138 A.D. The upper left hand side of the temple's pylon, almost at the point of its juncture with the mudbrick enclosure wall, contains a wonderful hymn to the goddess Isis, written in Greek, which contains a wealth of Homeric overtones, demonstrating once again that Homer was the poet of choice in Roman Egypt. In order to connect the temple and the fort, the architects of Dousch designed a corridor, the existence of which has long been known. In March, 1989, the members of the French mission decided to clear the corridor of the sand which had accumulated over the years and effectively blocked its passage. In the process a single pottery storage jar was discovered, the weight of which was suspiciously heavy. Upon examination, it was found to contain a hoard of gold objects weighing an estimated total of 1.22 kilograms. The largest and most intriguing gold object was what is now called the Crown of Dousch, an elaborate affair measuring 22cm in diameter and weighing 363 grams. Around a strap of gold which was used to secure the crown to the head are arranged an intricate series of grape leaves which frame a central motif in the form of a náïskos, each corner of the pediment of which is decorated with a bust of the goddess Isis. Within the náïskos itself is an enthroned image of the god Serapis whose raised left hand grasps an inverted spear, while his right hand, reaching to the level of his lower leg, rests on the head of a bust of the child god Harpocrates who seems to be emerging from the floor of the shrine. A debate rages among specialists as to whether the Crown of Dousch formed part of the regalia of the high priest of the Oasis, or was part of the liturgical equipment used to adorn a cult statue of the god Serapis in the temple. Its size and weight seem to argue in favour of regarding it as part of the paraphernalia used to adorn the cult statue of the god.

In addition, the vase contained a group of 187 gold plaques, decorated with motifs which could be divided into 21 series, each of which is iconographically distinct. The most common motifs revolve around the cult of the Apis Bull which, during the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods in Egypt, was associated with the cult of Serapis, himself assimilated to Osiris, the pharaonic god of the Hereafter. Each plaque was made from a single sheet of gold which was formed by hammering over a wooden matrix, weighed between one and three grams and was probably dedicated in the sanctuary at Dousch as an ex-voto in much the same way as the faithful in the Eastern Orthodox Church still dedicate silver ex-votoes. The crown and the plaques can be dated to the second century A.D. on the basis of a coin of the Empress Faustina the Younger (A.D. 161–176), wife of the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius. It is assumed that all were made in one or more workshops in Alexandria from which they were imported into the oasis at Dousch. As such, they add a new and interesting dimension to the repertoire of jewellery of the Roman Imperial East during the late second century A.D.

The shape of the large vase in which the treasure of Dousch was hidden seems to be datable to the fourth century A.D. Excavations in the necropoleis, described above, seem to indicate that both the form of the grave and the burial practice itself changed at Dousch during the fourth century A.D. as the inhabitants of the Oasis embraced Christianity. As a result, the excavators suggest, not without good reason, that one or more pagan zealots desired to save the treasure from destruction at the hands of the triumphant Christians. It is, therefore, assumed that these pagans hurriedly secreted the treasure within the vase in the hopes that, with changed future times, they might return and recover their relics.

Officials of the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria have expressed a desire to install the Crown of Dousch in their treasury, a suite of rooms on the south flank of the Museum which currently houses both the coin collections, other examples of jewellery, the silver vessels and a statuette of Aphrodite.
Excavation

TIMBER TOWN
ROMAN CARLISLE
(LUGUVALIUM)

Ian Caruana

For many years historians of Roman Britain have argued that the accounts of the conquest of northern Britain given by Tacitus in his historical writings and in the biography of his father-in-law Agricola were deeply flawed. They have shown that one of Agricola’s predecessors as governor of Britain, Petillus Cerialis, was a major senatorial figure with connections to the Flavian dynasty and a considerable military reputation. He is recorded as having overrun the Brigantes in the early 70’s following the martial discord between Cartimandua, Rome’s ally, and her consort Venutius.

However, since Tacitus lists in detail the scope of Agricola’s annual campaigns, including the second one involving a season of consolidation in northern England in A.D.78 or 79, there has been a reluctance to overturn a clear, if suspect, historical source in favour of a historical reconstruction, which, no matter how plausible, is still based on an analysis of what Tacitus did not say and, therefore, always open to doubts.

Archaeology has always looked to clarify the situation but by its very nature most archaeological finds are unlikely to distinguish between forts founded in, say, A.D.72 and 78. Students of samian pottery have long argued that Carlisle seemed to have too much pre-Agricolan ware for the conventional foundation date in the late 70’s to be convincing. Likewise, the generally accepted foundation date of A.D.71 for the construction of the legionary fortress at York does not account for some of the earliest pottery found in York.

In short, the conservative archaeological chronology for some northern forts, resting largely on historical dates, is arguably too late. And yet these archaeological hints which support the case for a Cerialian occupation of Brigantia are based on pottery with no structural associations and it is always dangerous to build too much on such data.

One hope has been for an inscription recording the foundation of a Flavian fort in the north. However, it is dendrochronology which has broken the impasse by establishing the date for the origin of Roman Carlisle. Timber incorporated in the rampart of the first fort was felled in the winter A.D.72/3. Construction must have continued for several seasons after that since internal buildings contain timbers felled in A.D.73/4 and 74/5.

The first fort

The earliest fort was of timber with a rampart of turf interleaved with layers of split oak logs, and two ditches. A considerable length of the south rampart has been exposed with remains of a well preserved gate. The gate survived as stumps of huge oak posts set in deep post pits. The post themselves were about 250mm. square and must have stood originally to a height of around 10m. Two passage ways formed the gateway, flanked by towers on either side. Each tower was created by six oak posts set 10 Roman feet apart. The turf rampart passed through the front half of each tower and ended against the gate passageways where it was revetted by thick oak planks.

None of the gate leaves survived but two thresholds, one a replacement for the other, were found in situ. The earliest was 6.8m. long and ran across both portals. The western side was heavily worn, particularly by wheeled traffic which had left two grooves
1.56m. apart. The eastern side was much less worn and the reason was eventually discovered. When the two posts flanking this carriageway were lifted, nails were found in the outer faces showing that this passage had been boarded up to prevent the use of one side of the gate. Ultimately the west side was so worn that the threshold was replaced but only on this side.

Many fort and milecastle gates on Hadrian's Wall show evidence of blockings which progressively reduce the openings in size, ultimately dispensing with some of them altogether. Traditionally this has been interpreted as the result of a realisation that the Wall was overprovided with gates. However, the Carlisle gate shows that gates were already being blocked before Hadrian's Wall was built and when little military architecture was using stone. Another explanation is, therefore, required for the blocking of gates. One possibility might be to reduce the manpower needs for guard duties.

Inside the fort, excavation has been limited in extent. A street led up to the gate from the north. To east and west it was linked to a narrow intervalum street (via sagularis). Between the intervallum road and the rampart was a strip of ground given over to small structures. Among these were workshops attached to the rear of the two gate towers, bread ovens, and a small shed-like building which may have been a stable. On the evidence of the horse parasite eggs (oxyuris equi) found within it. Another structure (Fig.2) had a fine timber floor covering soak-away type drains, but there was nothing to suggest its purpose. The southern ends of two main buildings from the fort interior are known. They are thought to be barracks, perhaps part of the officers' suites, but too little has been examined to prove this.

Dating
Apart from construction under Cerials in the winter of A.D.72/3 work can be identified centred on a number of other dates. However, very little work is attested after the start of the Agricolan campaigns until major rebuilding starts in A.D.83-85 and again about A.D. 92-94.

Find
Besides the important historical information, Carlisle has produced a range of finds equalled on few other sites in the country. Many of the most spectacular finds came from levels within the earliest fort. The willow basket (Fig. 7) was found blocking a drain below the fort gate.

Roman soldiers carried baskets as part of their equipment and Trajan's Column shows legionaries on construction work using baskets as buckets. The Carlisle basket is, however, too small to be very efficient for carrying soil. The carinated form is somewhat reminiscent of a pottery shape and the basket probably served some all-purpose function including perhaps carrying bread or fruit.

Basket are extremely rare finds from the western part of the Roman Empire and, apart from a small cylindrical basket from London, only fragments are known from Britain. Carlisle has also produced a small basketwork lid of willow and rush and an oak disc with a small basketry braid around the top edge, also perhaps a lid.

A unique find is the oak sword (Fig. 4) which is a precise copy of an iron gladius. Despite speculation that this might have been a child's toy, the probability is that it was a training weapon. Roman authors such as Livy and Vegetius describe how recruits were trained using double-weight swords made of wood. Once they were fairly proficient at swordsmanship, they practised the finer points with life-size weapons of wood which could hardly have been more life-like than the Carlisle sword.

Some confirmation of this interpretation is given by a wooden sword with a curved tip found in a well in the German fort of Oberaden. The Oberaden sword seems to be a copy of a gladiator's weapon and as early as 105 B.C., when, according to Valerius Maximus, gladiatorial training methods were adopted by the Roman army.

Demolition
At a date between A.D. 94 and 105 the first timber fort was demolished. Colourful deposits of burnt debris were present over much of the site. Most of it consisted of burnt red and orange clay and charred wood. At one time such evidence of extensive burning might have given rise to speculation that the fort at Carlisle had been destroyed by marauding barbarians. Analysis of the destruction layer showed that the Romans themselves were responsible for
the burning. The debris was concentrated into bonfires which were particularly associated with individual structures. In one of the gate-towers the lower part of the walls confined the bonfire and possibly also constricted the supply of oxygen to the base of the fire. Many timbers here were incompletely burnt so that it was still possible to see how they were stacked in the bonfire. This bonfire within the gate contained a lot of stylus writing tablets, unfortunately all having lost their wax and hence their messages. We can imagine, however, that this cache of documents within the gate once represented the orders and information that enabled the soldiers on guard-duty to carry out their job.

The second fort

Probably with little, if any, lapse of time a new timber fort was built. The structural history of this fort is known in some detail. There were six phases of internal change represented by re-surfacing of roads and changes in the internal buildings. These can be further subdivided at a point when a lot of rebuilding came together to suggest a major change of use or garrison. Unfortunately it is difficult to form a clear idea of how the known remains would have functioned. No defences have yet been positively identified for this period and the interpretation of the structures as military is, to a considerable degree, circumstantial. The buildings were constructed to a high structural standard but, apart from some bread ovens, too little of them was excavated to recognise their purpose. Some finds, such as documents on wood, found in a latrine, and a bung bearing the brand of Legion XI, a legion based in eastern Europe, also tend to suggest the presence of the military. There is also the fact that this part of Luguvallum was unequivocally part of a later fort, and the evidence from other sites suggests that military ownership of sites was either continuous or, once given up and transferred to civilian status, was rarely re-established.

The stone forts

Sometime after the middle of the second century, perhaps at the time when the Antonine Wall was finally abandoned, a new fort was built in stone. The only building so far recorded from the interior was a large courtyard structure of a type used to accommodate officers. As a result of extensive demolition, no floors and almost nothing else remained of the interior of the building and it was impossible to say how well-appointed the courtyard house had been.

A rampart surviving to a height of 1.20m. has been exposed in recent excavations on the site of Carlisle’s new museum. This, at least, proves that the site was defended, although there was no accompanying ditch system and some details suggest that 1.20m. was the full height of the body of the rampart. However, there was probably also a parapet at the front to add further protection for soldiers patrolling the rampart top.

After a relatively short life the courtyard building was demolished and all the stone was removed for use in a new stone fort. The rampart was heightened by 30cm. and a new parapet was built resting on a stone foundation cut into the front of the rampart. The new buildings were readily recognisable as barrack. This was the last Roman fort built in Carlisle. Occupation was continuous from the later second century to about A.D.320-30 when the army seems to have been removed entirely.

The later garrison

Archaeological levels from the later second century onwards are not waterlogged, so survival of organic materials after this date is rare. To some extent this absence is compensated for by the quality of the conventional finds from the second stone fort.

Fig. 5 A fragment of a relief sculpture, probably related to Minerva, from excavation in the Tallie House extension. (detail above)

Fragement of several building dedication panels have been found within the latest fort. Two are border mouldings without any of the inscribed field surviving. A third has the letters XV and is without doubt a building record of the Legion XX with its epithet Valeria Victrix. The last dedication bears only the first letter V, which seems unpromising material to yield useful information. However, since the stone is a dedication panel, it can be inferred that V is the first letter of Vexillatio (the Roman term for a detachment) probably in the abbreviated form VEX and followed by the name of a legion. So both stones tell us of building work by Britain’s legions. This is confirmed by stamps on fired clay roof tiles, mainly tegulae, which show work of four legions: II Augusta, XX Valeria Victrix, VI Victrix, and IX Hispana. The latter must certainly have been old stock since the legion seems to have left Britain around the first decade of the second century.

Building work was almost certainly carried out by legionaries, but was it for themselves or for another unit of lower grade troops? The quality of the buildings with their mortared walls suggests
that legionaries were building for themselves. The richness of the finds assemblage, particularly the wide variety of religious sculpture, some of it of very high standard (Fig. 6), supports the hypothesis of the permanent presence of high-status troops. However, two recent epigraphic finds give neat confirmation of how the garrison was organised.

A particularly fine altar was found re-used as a door lintel in De Ireby’s Tower (the gatehouse) of Carlisle Castle. Although one side has been cut away to form the door arch, the inscription is readily understandable. The dedication is to all the major gods of the Roman pantheon by name starting with Jupiter, Best and Greatest, and for good measure ending with All Other Gods and Goddesses (Ceteris Diis Daeibusque Omnibus). The dedicatee is a Roman citizen from Thrace whose name is largely missing but who held the rank of tribunus militum in Legio Xxv Antoniniana. The final epiteth in the legion’s title puts the date of the altar around the second decade of the third century.

This altar, which must surely be an official dedication, shows a detachment of the legion was in garrison in Carlisle. While away from its home base of Chester it was not under the immediate command of the legionary legate but a more junior officer who must have been the detachment commander.

A second, rather worn inscription, found re-used in the foundations of the Cathedral, is dedicated to Concordia by men of Legio II Augusta and Legio XX Valeria Victrix. The hidden message in this joint dedication is of friction between the two groups of legionaries and there seems to be an implication that both were present in garrison at the same time.

The only other dedication to Concordia from the British province comes from Corbridge where a site rather similar to Carlisle existed. Excavations at Corbridge, which are much more extensive than Carlisle, have uncovered a site where legionary soldiers were on detachment in compounds. These two compounds have been seen as containing elements of two separate legions, a situation which could possibly also apply in Carlisle where the physical evidence is much slimmer.

Conclusion
Excavation in Carlisle since 1973 has revealed information on the town’s early history that could barely have been imagined two decades ago. The preservation of organic materials is revealing objects in leather, wood and basketry that are little known to archaeologists. Some items have been described here but much has been omitted. Carlisle material is making contributions to the study of Roman tents and horse gear. Documents on wood are in Oxford waiting to be read. Analysis of plant remains by Dr J.P. Huntley of the University of Durham is revealing data on Roman timber supply and food.

Probably the most significant breakthrough of all is the provision of a chronological framework for the history of the first fort. This has immense implications for archaeology. Since the foundation of Carlisle can be dated independently of coins and pottery we can begin to recognise the coin assemblages to be expected on sites dating to the early 70’s and distinguish them from sites founded or occupied in the late 70’s. Furthermore, the firm chronology can work its way back into the study of pottery and other artefacts.

Returning to our historical starting point a number of new questions now need to be addressed. If Carlisle was certainly occupied in A.D. 72/3 it cannot have been a lone garrison in hostile territory. How much more of northern England was permanently garrisoned before the governorship of Agricola? Did Cerialian penetration reach into southern Scotland and, if so, how far? And, we must surely continue to question the reality of the achievements of Julius Agricola as handed down to us by his partisan biographer.

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Cleopatra’s Needle
LONDON’S DISINTEGRATING OBELISK
Ian Shaw and Paul Nicholson

Over a century after almost sinking in the Bay of Biscay while en route for London, Cleopatra’s Needle is once more threatened by the elements. Like its twin in New York’s Central Park and like the Great Sphinx itself in Egypt, the Needle is slowly falling victim to acid rain. Only a decade ago the hieroglyphic inscriptions recording its erection by Tuthmosis III and embellishment by Ramesses the Great were still clearly legible. Now the western and northern faces of the obelisk have become badly eroded and the inscriptions are being gradually wiped away by traffic fumes. The heavy pollution of London and New York has taken its toll on the pair of obelisks that once stood in Heliopolis, the ancient Egyptian city of the sun. The current state of Cleopatra’s Needle is particularly poignant considering the enormous problems encountered by the intrepid Victorian engineers, John and Wayland Dixon, simply in bringing it to Britain.

When the Needle first arrived in London, having survived a storm in the Atlantic, there was a furious debate as to where the obelisk should be sited. Literally dozens of schemes were put forward, including Trafalgar Square, Hyde Park, Thames Embankment, St James Park, Green Park, the British Museum, Parliament Square and Piccadilly Circus. John Dixon and the surgeon Erasmus Wilson, who had financed the transport of the Needle from Egypt, preferred the Parliament Square location. A full-size, painted wooden replica of the Needle was set up in the Square as a trial. Unfortunately this site was declared unsafe since it was immediately above the District underground railway line. The British Museum was also ruled out because Dixon, already out of pocket on the venture, could not afford the expense of such a long haul from the river.

Eventually a site was found at the Adelphi Steps on the Victoria Embankment and the obelisk was finally and spectacularly erected there on Friday, 13 September, 1878. One of the most bizarre events in the Needle’s history was the decision to incorporate in the core of the obelisk’s pedestal a pair of earthenware jars containing an eccentric Victorian treasure trove of objects, from a portrait of the Queen to a shaving razor, coins, and photographs of ‘a dozen pretty English women’. The bronze mountings and sphinxes flanking the Needle to west and east were added some years later by the London authorities.

Within months of its erection the granite Needle began to experience the unique rigours of the London atmosphere. After only a year on the Embankment it was covered in thick black grime and there was already concern over its condition. It was duly washed and covered with two coats of ‘Browning’s Invisible lacquer’, a patent preservative, but the benefits of this were short-lived and it was soon once more lost to the grime. In 1917 it narrowly escaped a German air raid, shrapnel from which scarred the western most sphinx and damaged the granite pedestal. In 1932 and 1949 the fire brigade hosed it down and the only subsequent large-scale cleaning of the obelisk was with compressed air in 1966. Since then a new threat has emerged in the form of acid rain.
The Needle, standing immediately adjacent to a major road and in a naturally humid area by the river (surrounded by trees harbouring fumes), is exposed to the full ravages of an appalling microclimate. The polished granite surface of the obelisk would usually be resilient to even the bleakest and dampest British winter, but it also contains feldspar, which is also too easily eroded by acids, causing the stone to erode and crumble. It is clear that the deeply carved hieroglyphs are trapping acidic water so that, ironically, the deepest inscriptions have been worst hit by the pollution. With the erosion of feldspar, tiny interstices are opened up, absorbing water which then freezes and expands, widening the cracks and breaking up the stone. Total decay is still some years away but the already deplorable condition of the New York obelisk is an indication of the likely fate of the London Needle. Even the most cursory comparison with the Bankes obelisk at Kingston Lacy in Dorset shows how much better Cleopatra's Needle's survival might have been in a more rural location.

The fate of the Needle is by no means inevitable — there are proactive solutions available which could at least arrest the decay and prevent further damage — but it is surprisingly difficult to establish who is ultimately responsible for the most ancient of London's landmaris. The obelisk was in the care of the Greater London Council (GLC) until 1986, when all the monuments in the care of the GLC were bequeathed to the London Residency Body, except for the Needle, which was transferred to Westminster City Council. The Council's gardeners in Embankment Gardens give the Needle a quick rubdown every year or two. Statutes II to VII of the Local Government Reorganization Order of 1986 seem to have contained no special advice to Westminster City Council on how to care for their new acquisition. Nelson's Column, only 150 years old, has recently been lovingly refurbished, but apparently the 3500-year-old Needle — the oldest monument in London — must look after itself.

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PETRIE, MYCENAE & EGYPT
THE AEGEAN BRONZE AGE AND PETRIE'S EGYPTIAN CONNECTION

Vronwy Hankey

William Matthew Flinders Petrie, 1853-1942, was the first archaeologist to realise that Pharaonic Egypt had connections with the Aegean long before Hellenic trading posts were founded in the Nile Delta in the seventh century B.C. Indeed, it was Petrie who discovered Naukratis and, by excavation in 1884, gave reality to the description of Egypt by Herodotus. For the classically educated the first Olympiad in 776 B.C. was the starting point for Greek history. What preceded this event floated above reality in clouds of Homeric epics and idealised traditions. This state of thinking was shaken when unnamed, undated, unrecorded places, things and people were discovered. The awakening began at Hisarlik in Western Turkey, about six kilometres from the Hellespont and the Aegean sea. Here in 1870, Heinrich Schliemann, trusting in Homer, repopulated the 'ringing plains of windy Troy' with the heroes of the Iliad. He calculated that his Second City of Troy, the city of the Homeric king Priam, in which he found the great treasure, was destroyed by the Homeric Achaeans in the twelfth century B.C. This agreed wonderfully well with the calculations made by the Alexandrian scientist Eratosthenes early in the third century B.C., which produced a date of 1198-1188 B.C. for the siege of Troy. Schliemann's conclusion was
proved wrong when Professor Carl Blegen of the University of Cincinnati, excavating at Troy between 1932 and 1938, showed that Troy II and its treasure should be dated between 2500 and 2000 B.C. Homer’s Ilios or Troy, if it was real and not a poetic invention, was a phase of Troy VII, destroyed near the end of the thirteenth century B.C. But in 1876 Schliemann had no doubts.

After his success at Troy, Schliemann moved to Mycenae. On 24 November 1876, he proclaimed to the world that he had found the burial of Agamemnon in the location described by Pausanias, a travel writer of the time of Hadrian (second century A.D.). We now know that Schliemann’s Grave Circle A (an earlier Grave Circle B was discovered outside the Citadel in 1952) could not have belonged to Homer’s ‘King of Men’, and was in use from before 1600 to the mid-fifteenth century B.C. The discoveries inspired Charles Newton, Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum (and excavator of Halicarnassus) to suggest, in 1877, a connection between the Aegean and Egypt. There was no enthusiasm for the idea. When Petrie first went to Egypt in 1880 to test the Pyramidal theories of Piazzi Smyth, the chronology of Mycenae, the dateless era of a nameless race, was fiercely and extravagantly disputed. Had Schliemann discovered a barbarian or a civilised people, were they B.C. or A.D.? Was Homer true or false?

In January 1882, Petrie visited Upper Egypt, with A. H. Sayce, Professor of Assyriology at Oxford, author (in 1883) of the preface to Schliemann’s English edition of Troy. They arrived at El-Amarna, a poor riverside village on the east bank above Minya. Petrie, the first passionate sherd-hound, began collecting broken pottery from the sandy mounds near the river.

Petrie next worked at Hawara, Kahun and Gurob, near the Bahr Yusef, the branch of the Nile which leaves the river at Deir-er and flows almost parallel to it to the Fayum and Lake Qaroun, 45m. below sea level. On 3 April 1889, at Hawara, he was visited by Schliemann. Petrie described him as ‘short, round-headed, round-faced, round-hatted, great round-goggle eyed, spectacleed, cheerlest of beings, dogmatic, but always ready for facts.’ We may imagine their enthusiasm over the papyrus fragment of Iliad Book Two, which Petrie had found, placed as a safe conduct to the next world under the head of a woman buried in the Roman period (now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford). They discussed pottery, and agreed on its importance for dating. Discussion was not continued because Schliemann died later that year, 1889.

Next season, 1889-1890, Petrie explored the pyramid of the Pharaoh Sesosir II of the Twelfth Dynasty (1884-1878 BC) at El-Lahun. Nearby, at Kahun, he uncovered the town built for the constructors and administrators of that pyramid. Among domestic rubbish he found 28 sherdos which were not Egyptian. With ‘prescient instinct’ as Sir Arthur Evans put it, he called them ‘Aegean’ (perhaps the first use of this word to describe pre-Hellenic objects). At Gurob, a few kilometres away, he found more ‘Mycenaean’ pottery which confirmed his ideas about links between Egypt and the Aegean.

After discussion with Ernest Gardner, the first Director of the British School at Athens, he made his challenge in ‘The Egyptian Bases of Greek History,’ Journal of Hellenic Studies, 11 (1890) 271-77, and illustrated some of the Aegean sherdos and a Mycenaean juglet from the Tomb of Maket at Kahun (group in the Ashmolean Museum). Petrie proposed that Aegean Bronze Age culture should be dated by reference to Egypt, and that Mycenaean pottery was pre-Dorian, dating to between 1400 and 1100 B.C. His assessment was partly incorrect because he reckoned, like many of his contemporaries, that linear decoration must be earlier than floral or curvilinear. Scholars were sceptical. ‘Notes on the Antiquities of Mykenae,’ in JHS 12 (1891) 199-205, was better received, perhaps because he accepted that some Greek legends might be founded on fact. He also stated that Mycenaens had travelled to Egypt about 1500 B.C.

Meanwhile in Crete, smouldering under Turkish rule, excavation had begun. In 1877-9, a Cretan with the happy name Minos Kalokerinos (Minos Summertime) dug into the mound of Makri Teikhos (Knossos) and found large storage jars, one of which is now in the British Museum. In 1893 John Myres and an Italian scholar, L. Mariani (Monumenta Antica 6, 1895, 333), independently recognised exact Cretan parallels for the Kahun sherdos among pottery found in 1886 by shepherds in a cave on the southern flank of Mt Ida. The Kamares cave was a mountain sanctuary visible from the Minoan palace at Phaistos, where excavation did not begin until 1900. Myres, one of the grand figures of archaeology in Greek lands, described this find to a meeting of the
Anthropological Section of the British Association in 1893. Thus, Petrie's guess meant that even before systematic excavation in Crete began, following the liberation of the island from Turkish rule, a phase of Minoan civilisation had its relative place in Egyptian history. Excavations started at Knossos on 27 March, 1900, and within a few days the throne room was uncovered less than half a metre below ground.

Evans had a deep sense of prehistory and interconnections. In 1884, in his inaugural address as Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, he said 'our theme is history, the unwritten precedes the written.' Egyptian objects soon turned up at Knossos and Evans agreed with Petrie's relative synchronisms, but rejected his absolute dates for the Middle Kingdom. Disagreement did not estrange them. Petrie visited Evans at Knossos in 1903, with Early Dynastic sherds from Abydos in his pocket to compare with Neolithic pottery found at Knossos.

More Egyptian connections between the first Minoan palaces and Egypt were found in 1907, when John Garstang of Liverpool University excavated at Abydos a Twelfth Dynasty tomb (Tomb 416), used in the time of Sesostris III (1878-1859 B.C.) and Amenemhat III (1859-1814 B.C.). This contained a restorable pot, made in Crete during the First Palace period (Middle Minoan II A/B; in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford). In 1913-14 some 22 Middle Minoan II sherd were found by Robert Engelbach at Haraga, near Kahun, in an area of mixed Middle Kingdom material (partly from the pyramid of Sesostris II) and later rubbish. Six Middle Minoan II sherd were found at Lisht, the Middle Kingdom capital of Egypt (excavations for the Metropolitan Museum of New York in 1920-22). In 1968-70 Elmar Edel of Bonn University found the earliest Middle Minoan import in Egypt at Qubbet el Hawa, Aswan. Tomb 88 was built in the Old Kingdom and re-used in either the Eleventh or Twelfth Dynasty. The bizarre little pot (Middle Minoan II A, in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo) was made in East Crete at the beginning of the first Palace period. Recently Professor Peter Warren has proved that the clay cups from Middle Minoan I-II levels in his excavations at the Stratigraphical Museum, Knossos, are imitations of silver cups found in the important Tod treasure from Upper Egypt of the time of Amenemhat II (1875-1840 B.C.) (in the Louvre, Paris, and Cairo Museum).

Middle Minoan sherds have been found at Hazor, Hama, and, recently at Tell el Daba in the Nile Delta. Whole cups come from tombs at Beirut, Byblos (Beirut Archaeological Museum), Ras Shamra/Ugarit (Louvre, Paris) and Karmi, north-west Cyprus (Nicosia Museum, Cyprus). These four lie on the route home to Crete from Egypt. The voyage of four sailing days from East Crete to the Delta, described by Homer (Odyssey 14, 248-56),

exploited the Etesian winds of summer which accelerate the anti-clockwise movement of surface waters of the Mediterranean.

Evidence from Egypt and Crete shows that there was two-way contact. Among numerous Egyptian imports, the statuette of User, a Twelfth Dynasty official, found at Knossos, is not a traveller's memento. Eric Uphill suggests that it was taken to Knossos by an envoy from the Pharaoh. Petrie believed that foreigners had worked at Kahun, and Evans suggested that these might include Minoan craftsmen. At Kahun Egyptian potters imitated Minoan bowls, in Crete Egyptian stone vessels were imitated in Egyptian technique and shape. At this time Minoan potters adopted the Egyptian method for throwing simple shapes, like the conical cup, in quantity, using a lump of clay on the wheel. A Cretan potter may have learned this at Kahun.

Modern scholarship owes much to Petrie's persistence and insistence. In 1889 he was probably the only European scholar convinced of connections between Egypt and the Aegean before classical times. Had any of his contemporaries explored Kahun, the Minoan sherds might have been thrown away. Moreover, he encouraged excavation, not as sponsored treasure hunts seeking objects to fill museums, but the intelligent recovery of an intelligible past. So no one today can discuss the dating of Minoan culture without reference to Petrie's finds at El-Kahun. During the next season, 1889-90 at Gurob, Petrie found pottery which he recognised as Mycenaean, and which he dated to the reign of Ramessess II (Nineteenth Dynasty). This convinced him that he must see the Mycenaean world for himself. So on his way home from Egypt in April 1890 he stayed with the Gardners at the British School at Athens, saw Schleimann's finds in the Polytechnikon, and with Ernest Gardner and Walter Leaf, the Homeric scholar, visited Troy and Mycenae. During his stay he managed to convince them of 'hersy', as Gardner called it. Indeed, he recorded in his diary that Gardiner assured him 'he had done more in a week than the Germans had done in ten years to clear up Mycenaean chronology'. What he needed now was proof that Aegean pottery in Egypt was datable by its context, and could therefore date the period of its manufacture in the Aegean. El-Amarna proved to be the perfect site. El-Amarna was now headline news. Between 1883 and 1890 a French expedition had cleared and recorded rock-cut tombs, including the royal tomb, recently looted. In 1887 the famous clay tablets, known as the Amarna Letters, were found, and the hunt was on for more tablets and anything moveable. Petrie had a permit to excavate for the Egypt Exploration Society in the central city. He worked from late October 1891 to late April 1892, hoping to find more tablets, and elucidate the city custom-built for Akhenaten, the Pharaoh condemned to
oblivion by his successors. Mycenaean pottery was by no means a main object of excavation, but he was expecting it, as we see from his diary, written in weekly instalments. 'Imagine exploring the ruins of Brighton...To thoroughly exhaust this site will probably cost £200 or £300' (Diary 13-21/11/1891). 'Am delighted to see some Mykenean pottery turning up' in the first week of work. 'I have now about 100 pieces of Aeganean ware with distinctive patterns, besides mere circles, and many pounds weight of other pieces... As these are so very important for dating Greek pottery in various other places, in Greece, Palestine, Italy, I have made sketches of all the patterned pieces so as to insure them against entire loss. These can go to the Athens School, when the originals are safe in the B.M.. Of Greek pottery, 40 or 50 pounds of fragments [from the rubbish heaps]. I shall probably divide this lot into sample sets for collections.' (Diary 23/2-5/3/1892).

From the labels of wine jars, stating the regnal year of vintage he felt sure that El-Amarna had been the capital and centre of Egyptian administration for perhaps 15 to 18 years, certainly not more than 20. 'I have got dozens of jar inscriptions, but none go over the seventeenth year, the lowest is the second year, and, as Atenaten did not come here till the sixth year, it shows that wine was kept for four years sometimes before use' (Diary 11-16/3/1892).

This is still approximately the accepted span of Akhetaten's occupation as Atenaten's capital of Egypt. Imported pottery had been in use during the life of the city and its date of manufacture could not be later. During that season he gathered up 1329 Mycenaean sherds and over 80 Cypriote sherds, mostly from the rubbish heaps near the palace. After publication (1894) his leather bound notebook of drawings in watercolour was given to the library of the British School at Athens, with 42 sherds as a foundation deposit for its valuable sherd collection.

The random distribution of fragments of pottery to financial supporters disseminated the good news, but complicated study. Putting the Amarna deposit together is like doing a jigsaw puzzle when you know that half of the pieces are somewhere else. That somewhere else may be in Britain, USA, New Zealand, Bonn, Amsterdam or Cairo. We do not know exactly where all Petrie's sherds went, and cannot lay them all out together with finds from later excavations, also distributed to subscribers, to classify the whole deposit neatly. Were any sherds found by Petrie's companion at El-Amarna in 1891-22 Howard Carter (who later discovered the tomb of Tutankhamun), then an art student of 17, was in Egypt collecting 'antikas' for a wealthy patron. He was allowed to turn over specific areas (the phrase for a quick search) on condition that Petrie published the finds. He described Carter as a 'good-natured lad whose interest is entirely in painting and natural history' (Diary 3-9/1/1892). It is possible, indeed likely, that Carter kept some Mycenaean sherds. In 1921 the Egyptian collection of Carter's patron, Lord Amherst of Hackney, was sold. About 20 Mycenaean sherds, undoubtedly from Amarna, were bought by the Allard Pierson Museum of Amsterdam. In 1913 small objects from El-Amarna were listed in a Summary Catalogue of the Museum of Ancient History, University College, Dublin. The stirrup jar, labelled 'from Tell el Amarna' may have been one of them, but it is not mentioned by Petrie. His estimate of 'over 800 vases' for his finds may be too many, for sherds give a greater impression of quantity than the whole pot. Tell el Amarna, published in 1894, announced, 'there are few facts in all archaeology determined with a more overwhelming amount of evidence than the dating of this earlier stage of Aegean pottery.' His claim set off volleys of criticism, and verbal battles continued until 1897 in the Classical Review and other journals, and in The Times.

Mycenaean pottery would inevitably have been found at El-Amarna even if Petrie had not got there first (and more was found in subsequent excavations, particularly those of John Pendlebury in the 1930's), but it was Petrie who collected, counted and saved the bulk from destruction or loss through treasure hunters. His careful recording of the Mycenaean pottery set a pattern for ceramic evidence for dating. Aegean pottery found in Egypt by Petrie and since his day helps to provide chronological links and information about particular phases of Aegean prehistory. Any discussion about the Aegaeans and their overseas activities expansion demands reference to Petrie.

In the centenary year of Petrie's excavation at Tell el-Hesi in southern Palestine, the first to be conducted on Petrie's stratigraphical principals, we salute the first professor of Egyptology and his wife Hilda. They are seen at Lahun in 1912, or Abydos in 1922. They look unusually well dressed for the pair of whom David Hogarth, Evans' assistant, wrote 'You would not expect us to dress like the Petries. They spend every penny of the subscribers' money on the work and not on themselves.' Petrie would have appreciated that compliment from an Aegean archaeologist.

Sources and further reading
Much of the evidence for Petrie's achievement is housed in University College London, in the Petrie Museum, an unparalleled corpus for teaching Egyptology. A copy of Petrie's diary is kept at the museum.

Petrie.
On chronology and the Egyptian connection.
On Aegean civilisation.
On 15 May, 1338, Guionnet, son of Amalric, glass-worker at Chambarant (Isère), was granted permission by the Dauphin Humbert II to establish a glass workshop in a wood there. In return Guionnet not only had to make a heavy initial payment of 30 gold florins but also to send annually and in perpetuity at Easter, to the castle of Beauvoir en Royans, 278 1/2 dozen glasses. A carefully enumerated list, mentioning porringer, plates, pots, ewers, a large, salt-cellars, casks, large carafes, and a chest set gives a tantalising glimpse of the richness of fourteenth-century glass vessels in France. The almost total absence of surviving pieces explained the excitement of the discovery in 1949 of a complete tall-stemmed drinking-glass with a ribbed bowl, which had been walled up in a niche at the end of the fourteenth century by the builders of the nave of the Augustinian Church at Rouen. For more than a quarter of a century it remained the almost unchallenged symbol of French medieval glass. Rescue excavations of the last 15 years, however, on important medieval sites all over France – at Saint-Denis, Orléans, the Louvre, Châlons-sur-Marne, Metz, Lyon, Strasbourg, Avignon, Marseille, Montauban, Toulouse, and many other places - have transformed the picture, and the spectacular results have been exhibited in a major exhibition of more than 350 glass vessels in the Musée des Antiquités de la Seine-Maritime at Rouen, À travers le verre, du Moyen Age à la Renaissance (18 October, 1989 – 28 February, 1990). They are published in an accompanying catalogue of the same name.

Until recently our knowledge of glass vessels used between the Carolingian period and the end of the Middle Ages was limited to a handful of objects handed down from generation to generation or dug up by chance, to representations of objects on paintings or manuscripts and to references in written sources. All this information is of permanent value; but it is limited and must be treated with care. Few of these objects have survived in their original context, the reliability of representations cannot be assumed, nor can it be known if all the objects represented are of glass, and a large number of the texts only contain the briefest references to glass and its manufacture. These, however, were our only sources, and the resulting picture was summarised by James Barrelet in 1953 in La verrerie en France de l'époque gallo-romaine à nos jours.

It was at the meeting of the Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre at Madrid in 1985 that Geneviève Sennequier (Conservateur aux Musées Départementaux de la Seine Maritime, Rouen, and author of the Museum's catalogue, Verre d'époque romaine, 1985) and Danièle Foy (Chargée de recherche au CNRS, Laboratoire d'Archéologie Médélave Méditerranéenne, Aix-en-Provence) had the idea of an exhibition and an international colloquium, 'Les ateliers de verriers de l'Antiquité au XVIIIe siècle' (23-25 November, 1989), organised as a meeting of the recently founded and vigorous Association Française pour l'Archéologie du Verre. Danièle Foy had begun at the beginning of the 1970s to unravel the problems of the production of medieval glass revealed on the site of les Rougiers (Var). The subject was then fallow; but 20 years later everything has changed both because of rescue archaeology and because of the publication of its results.

Medieval archaeologists devoted their attention first to the pottery found in their excavations because of its central role in providing information on chronology, production and trade. Now at last glass too has come to the forefront and has attracted the attention of a new generation of archaeologists. This was demonstrated first in Germany and Switzerland, at the great exhibition of medieval glass, 'Phônix aus Sand und Asche', shown in 1988 at the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn, and the Historisches Museum, Basel, tracing through recent archaeological finds, the renaissance of glass in central and western Europe about 800, and its development during the following eight centuries.

The Rouen exhibition and its catalogue differ from their sister show in that they put a strong accent on production. This follows the approach initiated by Danièle Foy in 'Le verre médiéval et son artisant en France' (Paris 1988) which used manuscript and iconographical sources, a growing number of archaeological discoveries, and chemical analyses of the composition of medieval glass to study the manufacture of medieval glass in the south of France; the men who provided fuel, the raw materials, the workshops, the glass-workers, and the techniques. The picture, however, is still very patchy. Sometimes there has been no supporting archaeological work to attune glass-working, and we are still dependent solely on the texts, as for example in Poitou and Vendée, while very often the new results only confirm the results recorded on Barrelet's first map of 1953 as in the Argonne, Dauphiné, Provence and Languedoc. Again, in Lorraine and Normandy there was a great burgeoning of the art of glass from the sixteenth century, and this suggests that there was an
important glass industry in the area in the earlier period; but scarcely any workshops are known. In some areas, however, the picture presented by Barrelet has changed dramatically. In the Argonne, for example, more than a dozen medieval workshops are known now, where none was mentioned in the sources. 20 workshops have been recognised in Var, where only two were known to Barrelet.

Different types of production are beginning to be recognised and distinguished. Most workshops were in the forests, near the sources of the raw materials. The workshops were as a result often far from the centres of trade and exchange, such as those in the Causses north of Montpellier. These remote workshops were, accordingly, dependent on merchants to take charge of the marketing of the finished products. By contrast, the urban workshops, of which there were quite a number (at least in the Midi — as at Marseille, Avignon, Ales, and Perpignan), were both workshops and shops for direct supply to citizens and to merchants from outside. Other workshops were linked directly to religious communities, as was the case all over Europe. They are attested both archaeologically, as at Magueuone and Torcello from the seventh century and at San Vincenzo at Volturno from the ninth century, and in the texts. The oldest glassmaker known in the Iberian peninsula, for example, was attached in the twelfth century to the Cistercian monastery of Poblet.

In spite of the advances in knowledge of the factory sites, the finds of glass on habitation and cemetery sites can as yet only rarely be attached to them or even to a particular region. Most of the glass in the catalogue, therefore, is presented chronologically, and within this sequence attempts to classify the glasses and to bring out their characteristics. An invaluable summary of the present state of knowledge of Merovingian glass and its links with the preceding Roman period shows that the relatively small repertoire of Merovingian glass vessels were luxuries, limited to the richer graves; but even so there were only 50 glasses against 300 pots. This subject will develop as the primary study of the major structures of a large number of cemeteries, and of an increasing number of habitation sites, is followed by work on the finds, including the glass. The Carolingian section similarly includes only discoveries from the north of France because of the virtual absence of excavations of this period in the Midi, and even less has survived because the practice of depositing grave-goods dies out. The fragments, however, from such sites as Saint-Denis and Vismarest (Quentovic?), show that the repertoire is similar to that known from Scandinavia and England, or, more recently and nearer at hand, from Paderborn, Augsburg and Esslingen in Germany, from Dorestad and Maasbricht in Holland, and from Liège in Belgium; but evidence for production in ninth—eleventh century France is sadly lacking.

For the full medieval period, the abundance of evidence presents a great contrast. The glasses of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries come from a wide variety of sites. The shapes nevertheless vary very little, though some general statements can be made. Tall-necked flasks, for example, seem to be found predominantly in the south, and ribbed cups with truncated conical feet from the north. In the absence of precise information for dating, many of the glasses are placed in the section which goes from the end of the thirteenth century to the end of the fourteenth century. The drinking glasses (stemmed drinking-glasses, cups on a foot, and cups of many other shapes and origins) are the most numerous. Some of the little saucer-like dishes with decorated feet (perhaps lids) are of Mediterranean origin. Containers and jugs also have varying shapes, appearing as bottles with moulded decoration, ribbed pilgrims' flasks (sometimes surviving as reliquaries), and sprinklers. The stemmed glasses of the fourteenth century, excavated ten years or so ago at St Denis, have been recognised now in the excavations of Le Mans, Besançon or Toulouse; the colourless cups of the Provence workshops are in every way comparable to the finds of the Languedoc and even of the 'Midi-Pyrénées' region.
Scholars have often commented that there appear to have been few glasses in the fifteenth century and, in fact, few glasses in this exhibition, except for some tumblers and little ribbed jugs, are attributed to this period. However, considering that the texts record a formidable expansion in numbers of glassworkers and workshops in all regions at this period, it must be extremely doubtful that nothing of their products remains. The most reasonable explanation of this apparent rarity of glasses is to be found in the current difficulty or near impossibility of distinguishing the glasses (and often the pots by which they are dated) of the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century from those of the fifteenth century. Future research will obviously repair the anomaly. In the sixteenth century the regional variations disappear, and the colourless glasses with conical or truncated conical feet, for example, can scarcely be distinguished from one region to another. The fashion for ‘façon de Venise’ glass, resulting from the massive influx of Italian workers, results in a uniformity among both the common and the more sophisticated products. The survey is completed with groups of glass objects with very specific functions – medical or pharmaceutical utensils, liturgical objects, and lights.

Alsace is the only region that can be distinguished clearly, its finds being comparable to the predominantly green Germanic glasses. This draws attention to the fact that the two exhibitions – in Rouen, and in Bonn and Basel – are approximately parallel and usefully allow comparison of French and German production from the Carolingian period to the sixteenth century. They show very clearly that from the twelfth century the two territories evolved very differently, and that there were some very distinct traditions. At the end of the thirteenth century, for example, France had very few of the tumblers with applied blobs so characteristic of Germany (even though they were manufactured in at least one workshop in France, at Planier), and even fewer enamelled cups of the Aldrovandini group.

In this corpus of material there is an inevitable lack of balance between the periods and regions, matching the inequalities of archaeological work and the chances of research rather than a less frequent use of glass vessels. The hundreds of glasses show both a great variety of types and also a repetition of shapes in certain areas which suggests local production. At the same time there must be imports from further afield, particularly among the more highly decorated and more expensive wares. The Islamic enamelled glasses, though rarely found, are fairly easily identified. Other imports present greater problems. The study, however, of such wares as the figured enamelled glasses of the sixteenth century had undoubtedly reached an impasse while the material was limited to the relatively few though fine pieces which had survived above ground. The current archaeological explosion, however, presents the possibility at least of reassessment and perhaps of a few solutions of this and other such problems.

The authors of A Travers le Verre acknowledge that their work is incomplete. The surviving texts and pictures demonstrate that the adroitness and imagination of the glassworkers of the Middle Ages was infinitely greater than the archaeological material suggests. We do not know, for example, what Guionnet’s nef or salt-cellar or candelabra or chess sets were like, nor the many other exceptional pieces recorded as having been made by his fellow-craftsmen. This catalogue of medieval glasses, however, although incomplete and sometimes inexact in its dating, or imprecise in its attributions of provenance, has impressively widened the horizons of its subject. It is an indispensable and primary tool for all students of glass and archaeologists and historians of the Middle Ages in Europe.


Kenneth Painter was formerly Deputy Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum and author of the major catalogue Glass of the Caesars.

All photographs: François Dugé

MINERVA 19
Terracotta plaque. Ionian, third quarter of the 6th century B.C. Lioness crouching to the right, looking back. (L. 58cm.)

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Archaeological discoveries made in Hunan province since 1949 have yielded a wealth of information on early Chinese civilisation as it existed in the middle Yangzi region of south central China. Over one hundred objects from the collection of the Hunan Provinicial Museum are featured in Summoning of the Soul: Treasures from China's Tombs - an exhibition of ritual bronzes, silk textiles, lacquers, wooden sculpture, glass, and other excavated items. These objects were found in present day Hunan province, an area governed by the state of Chu until it fell to the Qin in 223 B.C., then by the kingdom of Changsha established under the Han dynasty in 193 B.C.

The exhibition includes a group of Han objects from the richly furnished tombs of the Marquis of Dai (a man named Li Cang, died 186 B.C.), his wife the Lady Dai (died c. 165 B.C.), and a son Li Xi (died 168 B.C.). Their three tombs were discovered in 1971 at Mawangdui, near Changsha, and excavated in 1972-73. Although Li Cang's tomb was plundered, those of his wife and son remained undisturbed. Objects in the exhibition from these tombs were discussed in a recent article by Julia Segraves, curator and organizer of Summoning of the Soul.

In addition to the spectacular finds from Mawangdui, the exhibition brings together over 25 bronce objects (bells, vessels, weapons, mirrors, and lamp) dating from the twelfth to the second centuries B.C. Many of these bronzes provide evidence for a southern Chinese bronze tradition with distinctive cultural and stylistic characteristics. Attention has long focused on northern Chinese bronze-casting centres in Henan province, such as Anyang, a late Shang dynasty capital (c. thirteenth-eleventh centuries B.C.) first excavated in 1928, and Erlitou and Zhengzhou, two major pre-Anyang sites excavated in the 1950s and 1960s. In light of recent archaeological discoveries, information about China's Bronze Age now extends to Hunan and other outlying regions in the south.

A notable feature of bronze casting in southern China is the predominance of large clapperless bells that are struck from the exterior. One bell-type called nao is probably the most common bronze artifact found in Hunan. It stands on a hollow stem with its mouth opened upwards. A large nao (fig. 1) from Ningxiang, a district in northern Hunan, was unearthed in 1959 with four similar bells. Its sides are decorated with taotie faces—a familiar motif on Anyang bronzes, but less easily recognised in its southern Chinese interpretation. Prominent eyes surrounded by wide relief-bands define the face, but without the clarity seen at Anyang. Additional variations of taotie appear on the bulbous portion of the stem and along the mouth of the nao in horizontal panels flanked by...
Ancient Chinese Bronzes – notes

1. This exhibition was developed and organized by the Asian Art Coordinating Council in conjunction with the Hunan Provincial Museum, People’s Republic of China. It is sponsored by the Manville Corporation, Colorado China Council, and an indemnity from the Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities.


4. Bagley, Shang, 549, note 5.

5. Bagley, Shang, 550, figs. 104.24-27


Fig. 7 Lamp, Han dynasty, second century B.C. Guihan, Changsha, Hunan province. Height 30 cm.

All photos: Lloyd W. Rule

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The following were among the most interesting papers presented at the 91st Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America held in Boston, Massachusetts, 27–30 December, 1989. Colloquia were held on a number of topics, such as the relations between Syria and Mesopotamia in the mid-third millennium B.C.; on Olynthus; on the role of costume in Roman art; on Roman pottery in the context of excavations; on current research on Hellenic Cyprus; and on the newest developments in the archaeology of Sardinia.

A colloquium was also held on recent discoveries in China, including the amazing colossal cast bronze figures found in the sacrificial pits at Sanxingdui, Guanghan County, Sichuan (which will be featured in a forthcoming issue of Minerva).

Archaeological News

FROM BOSTON

Jerome M. Eisenberg

Chalcolithic Figurines from Lemba, Cyprus

Since 1987, the Lemba Archaeological Project of the University of Edinburgh, at Kissonerga-Morphilia, north of Paphos, has unearthed in a series of excavations an important centre of Chalcolithic Cyprus, c.4000-2500 B.C. Diane Boiger of the University of Maryland and Dr E.P. Peltenburg of the University of Edinburgh noted that recent seasons have been centred on the Middle phase, c.3000 B.C., resulting in the exciting discovery at the end of 1987 of a pit with more than 50 objects, including burnt and ochre stained stones, stone tools, stacked pottery vessels, a triton shell, and a cache of 19 stone and pottery figurines, all found in and around a red-on-white ware bowl in the form of a circular building fitted with an actual swivel door. The plastic modelling of the interior, especially a rectangular hearth and radiating partition ridges, resembles Building 855 on this site, further to the south. Most of the nine pottery figurines depict females, some standing with folded or outstretched arms, others with swollen stomachs, seated on stools. On one standing figure, a child, painted red, emerges from between its mother's broken legs. The burial of this pottery building and its figurines, some having intentional damages, in a non-funerary context, make their use as children's toys highly unlikely. Their deliberate deposit in the pit suggests some type of ritual.

Several of the objects from this new find are included in the current

Roman Marble Workshops at Docimium, Phrygia

In addition to the mass produced carvings from the Imperial marble quarries at Docimium in Asia Minor, recent stylistic studies by M. Waelkens support the production there of fine Asiatic columnar sarcophagi and related types. J.C. Fant of the University of Akron noted that in 1987 an over-life-sized male deity, roughed out with a point, was found at Bacakale, the major quarry at Docimium. The figure of a boy carrying an amphora (?) was seen in a nearby marble yard in 1988. Roughouts of individual statues would not ordinarily be sold as blanks, as were the sarcophagi. This and other evidence, such as architectural elements now at Docimium, argue that the workshops there produced a very wide range of carving and that the role of imperial workshops must be re-evaluated.

Norman Herz recently made isotopic tests of the early Christian Jonahs, the orant, and three pairs of busts of the same couple, all in the Cleveland Museum of Art, confirming the probability of their being made of Docimium marble.

Idiosyncratic details connect them to the columnar sarcophagi of the period and suggest a link with the workshop of the Imperial sarcophagi.

J. Paul Getty Museum exhibition ‘Cyprus before the Bronze Age: Art of the Chalcolithic Period’ (see exhibition listing from Malibu, California). An article on the recent discoveries from Chalcolithic Cyprus will appear soon in Minerva.

New Minoan Finds at Palaikastro, Crete

Excavations were continued in four Late Minoan buildings in the Roussolakkos town site in the 1988-89 season. Hugh L. Sackett of Groton School and J. A. MacGillivray of Columbia University reported on the discovery of fine Late Minoan IB marine style pottery in a burnt destruction level of a building only partially uncovered. A Late Minoan II Ephyrean goblet fragment, the first found in East Crete, was also uncovered at this site. In another building a rectangular seal with a Minoan hieroglyphic inscription was found beneath the Late Minoan I floor.

‘Building S’, also only partially uncovered, has produced a rich series of finds from a Late Minoan IB destruction fill, including decorated pottery, unfinished ivory columns, and three clay sealings, one with a hunting scene. The superb chryselephantine statuette, previously uncovered, though found in the ‘plateia’ nearby, probably fell from the upper storey of this building. For this masterpiece ivory was used for the face, torso and feet, grey serpentine for the head, rock crystal for the eyes, and gold foil for the decoration. The legs, now lacking, may have been made of wood.

MINERVA 26
Excavations at Kavousi, Crete, 1988-89

In 1989, excavations continued on the Vronda site. It now appears that the Late Minoan III shrine consists of two rooms. The cult material found in 1988, six pottery snake tubes, kalathoi and plaques, were from the north room lying above the floor level, probably fallen from an upper storey. In a clay layer running under a Late Geometric cist grave in the south room, further plaques and the torso of a goddess with upraised hands were found. After reconstruction of the material was completed, it was shown that there were at least 17 goddesses, 14 snake tubes, and 21 plaques, some of which were surrounded by horns of consecration. Geraldine C. Gesell of the University of Tennessee at Knoxville, William D.E. Coulson of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and Leslie P. Day of Wabash College also described further Late Geometric cremation burials containing pottery and bronze and iron objects found in other buildings of the Late Minoan III settlement.

Iron and Bronze Helmet Found at Sardis

Occupation remains of the Late Roman and Archaic periods continue to be uncovered by the Harvard-Cornell Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, Turkey. Sardis was besieged and partially sacked by Cyrus the Great of Persia in 547 B.C. In presenting the highlights of the recent excavations, Crawford H. Greene, Jr., of the University of California at Berkeley, detailed the discovery of the skeleton of a young soldier in his early 20’s, sealed within destruction debris, found with an iron helmet trimmed with bronze, a prototype of the Late Roman/Early Medieval Spen- genhelme and Strebenhelme.

1989 Excavations at Kelenderis in Turkey

The third season of excavations at Kelenderis in Cilicia Tracheia, undertaken by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Selçuk University, concentrated on the Classical and Hellenistic city necropolis. Yasemin Arnold of Cornell University reported that a number of underground rock-cut tombs, some previously looted, were cleared, producing Attic red-figure vases and white-ground lekythoi fragments among the grave goods, confirming trade relations with Greece. Canaanite (Phoenician) trade amphorae, never before found in Asia Minor, but with parallels from Soll (Cyprus) and Carthage, were among the most important finds of the sea-

Jewish Catacombs in Rome Reassessed

In spite of the extensive literature published by scholars on the ancient Jewish community of Rome, four Jewish catacombs and two Jewish hypogea (underground tombs), all located beyond the Aurelian city walls, have gone largely unnoticed. A new analysis of all the available finds by Leonard V. Rutgers of the Amsterdam Free University Institute of Archaeology proposed that they are largely contemporaneous with the Christian catacombs, beginning around the end of the second century A.D. There is a clear similarity in the architectural form of the catacombs with their Christian and pagan underground counterparts, unlike the Jewish burial sites in Israel.

The sarcophagi, wall paintings and gold glasses are not specifically Jewish in style and technique, though partly Jewish in content. Strong evidence was given based on an examination of the iconographical features and other characteristics that the Jews, Christians and pagans in Rome used the same workshops for the production of their burial objects. Thus the material culture of the Roman Jews should only be viewed against a Roman background.

Etruscan Votive Deposits as Evidence of Rituals

Lustratio, or rituals of purification, formed an important part of the religious calendar not only for Romans and Umbrians, but also for the Etruscans. In Umbria, tablets record a procession around the city of Iguvium, with stops for sacrifices of animals inside and outside the major gates and shrines. Although there are no texts for these rituals in Etruria, as there are in Rome and Umbria, a careful evaluation of the location of votive deposits and their contents by Ingrid E.M. Edlund-Berry of the University of Texas at Austin, suggests that these offerings of miniature terracotta animals were often substituted for the live boars, sows and heifers. The distribution of Etruscan votive offerings implies that not only were healing cults practised at the gates and shrines, but also token animal sacrifices.

Late Mosaic Burials at Carthage

In their 1989 season, the excavators from the University of Michigan Kelsey Museum found two mosaic burials in the Theodosian wall cemetery, dating to the latest phase of burial activity, c.a.D.425 – early sixth century. Mark B. Garrison of Trinity University notes that these are the first ever lifted at Carthage under controlled conditions. Both were double burials, one with the names of two young children completely preserved (MARTVIA ET MVIA IN PACE), the other with only one name preserved (CODBVLEDS IN PACE).

Nuragic Village Excavations in Sardinia

A highly organized Late Bronze Age - Early Iron Age village at Nuraghe Santa Barbara has been revealed after four seasons of excavations. This five-acre complex was an important metallurgical production centre, as evidenced by a significant first time find of clay moulds for casting bronzes, together with crucibles and casting slags. Lenore Gallin of the University of California at Los Angeles also notes that hundreds of everyday objects provide proof not only of the extent of communal domestic activities but also of a thriving inter-island exchange.

1989 Archaeological Institute of America Awards

The following awards were presented by the Archaeological Institute of America on 28 December, 1989, at its 91st annual meeting in Boston, Massachusetts:

Gold Medal Award for Distinguished Archaeological Achievement
Virginia R. Grace

Pomeroine Award for Scientific Contributions to Archaeology
Harold E. Edgerton and the first James R. Wiseman Book Award
Anna M. McCann for The Roman Port and Fishery of Cosa

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The rich holdings of coins in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria span the entire history of coinage, with examples of the earliest Greek coins of the seventh century B.C. down to issues from the Islamic period. The intention of this note is to call to the attention of a wider audience this virtually unknown resource and thereby encourage specialists to visit the collection for study purposes.

Mr. Edward Kamel Tadros, Curator of the Department of Coins and Medals, and the person who kindly supplied the information and the photographs for this brief report, is keenly interested in receiving off-prints of articles on ancient numismatics because this bibliographical section of the library at his disposal has been neglected in the past. Further information can be obtained by writing directly to Edward Kamel Tadros, Vice-Director and Curator, Department of Coins and Medals, Graeco-Roman Museum, Rue du Musée, Alexandria, Arab Republic of Egypt.

Edward Tadros has identified nine unpublished separate dies, all of which were gifts to the Museum by the late King Fouad I in 1936. Of those, the first three are in need of some conservation work and can only be summarily described here, in this, their first mention.

Inventory number 24378. A bronze die, measuring 9 cm., with an owl (?), but the die is insufficiently preserved to determine whether this is in fact the reverse of 24380, cited below.

Inventory number 24379. A bronze die, measuring 7 cm., with a Nike (?), advancing to the right. This is perhaps to be identified as a city die from the Classical Period.

Inventory number 24380. A bronze die, 4 cm. in diameter, with a helmeted head of Athena facing left, dated to the fourth century B.C., and perhaps representing an issue of Alexander the Great.

Inventory number N. Alex. 979. Bronze obverse die of Maximianus, A.D. 297, representing the emperor in laureate profile, facing right.

Inventory number N. Alex. 980. Bronze die for striking of N. Alex. 979, bearing the legend, VICTORI HERACLID. The 'P' may indicate the first workshop of a mint at Ticinum (Pavia). The image is that of Heracles, seated, frontal, flanked by his club on the right and his bow and quiver of arrows, left.

Inventory number N. Alex. 981. An obverse die of Diocletian, depicting the emperor in laureate profile, facing right. Inventory number N. Alex. 982. A reverse for N. Alex. 981, showing the emperor on a horse, advancing right, with one arm raised. The legend reads, 'COS III.'

The finest of the dies, however, are the two following, for striking the obverse and reverse of a coin of Aristeus II Philadelphus. N. Alex 5, the obverse, shows the queen, right, with her characteristic profile wearing the stephania over a veil, which conforms to the contour of her melon coiffure. The ram's horn of Amon frames her ear. A sceptre passes behind her head with its terminal just visible as a tiny crown-like protrusion at the top of her head and its lathed shaft appearing at her throat. A kappa appears behind her neck.
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N. Alex. 6, is the die for striking the reverse of this issue. It bears the dierias, or double cornucopia, the emblem par excellence of Arsinoy II, bound with a ribbon and framed within a dotted border with the legend, 'Arsinoeae Philadelphou.'

Based on a visual examination of these last two dies, one assumes their pewter colouration is due to a high percentage of tin which imparts a degree of hardness to the dies. The absence of any traces of iron jacketing may be taken as evidence that these dies were made to strike the gold issues of Arsinoe II.

Also reported is the presence of two previously unpublished coin hoards. The first was discovered at Batin-Herit in the Egyptian Fayyum in 1914 and contains 2650 pieces, accessioned as a group under number R340, and bearing number 590 in the numismatic register of the Museum. The issuing emperors include Constantine, Constans, and Constantius II. There are twelve reverse types representing thirteen imperial mints. The second hoard, discovered in 1952, contains 6000 Byzantine bronze pieces of either six or twelve nummi from the Alexandria mint of Justinian, Justin, Tiberius II, and Maurice. Mr Yalas is currently engaged in more accurately classifying the individual pieces in each of these two hoards.

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It is not, however, a history of crime; it does not discuss the relative morality of counterfeiting money, faking works of art and assisting fellow prisoners to escape from Colditz Castle by forging German passes. What it does is to present such objects as a potential source of historical evidence. Evidence of what was important to people: the Middle Ages faked relics and charters, the nineteenth century antiques and works of art; evidence of their imaginary world - inhabited by unicorns and griffins in the Middle Ages, yetis and Loch Ness monsters in the twentieth century; evidence of what people saw and valued in the art of the past - a fake of an antique shows much more clearly how the duped collector saw and what he valued in such objects than the real thing can.

Greeting visitors as they enter the front hall is the Piranesi Vase, a massive and magnificent pastiche based upon fragments found in Hadrian’s villa at Tivoli in 1769. This is the first time that this splendidly imaginative reconstruction has been seen on display for many years. In itself it raises many of the questions about the relationship between restoration and faking, and about changing conceptions of historical truth that are central to the exhibition.

The exhibition proper opens with a section which attempts to locate fakes in relation to copies. There are many good reasons for copying; artists learnt by copying the masters (Rubens, Giulio Romano, Rembrandt), the makers of religious images strove to come as close as possible to an ideal image (Hindu gods, Byzantine icons); revivalists admiringly emulated the forms of an earlier age (Ancient Egypt, classical Rome, Ming China, modern Europe); rulers such as Napoleon saw themselves as Roman Emperors, and museums themselves provide replicas of their treasures. None of these are fakes, but they can and have deceived.

Original, copy or fake?

It is often surprisingly difficult to decide whether things are genuine or fake. Rembrandt prints produced from a worn and damaged original plate in the twentieth century are considered originals, while a superb facsimile of an early impression is at best a copy. Yet the latter may give a much better impression of the artist's intention than the former. A sculptor may play no part in the production of a bronze from his model but, though made by the same foundryman from the same model, a bronze made after the sculptor's death has a different status from one produced when he was alive. An interesting case was that of the American artist J.S.G. Boggs who drew a banknote. The Bank of England said it was a fake, he said it was a work of art. Who was right? When tried at the Old Bailey, the prosecution being brought by the Bank of England, not the police, in 1987, Boggs was...
Exhibition

acquitted on the testimonials of three leading figures from the art world.

Ethnographers feel that an object made for its traditional purpose is genuine while the same object made by the same person for sale to tourists is not. It is not the identity of the artist but the use to which his work is put that counts.

Rewriting History

Since history began people have been rewriting it to their own advantage. The Egyptian Shabaka Stone records the creation of the world in Memphis; Dares and Dictys provide eye witness accounts of the Trojan Wars from the Trojan side, and the Donation of Constantine underpinned the Pope's temporal power until the sixteenth century. Ambitious families have traced their descent from Adam, patriotic scholars have buried inscriptions proving the antiquity and importance of their home town, nationalists have created medieval poems and ancient customs for their nation. Politicians have been ruined by forgeries (Parnell, the Zinoviev letter) and removed from history by the judicious retouching of photographs. In wartime, agents are equipped and the morale of the enemy undermined by the use of forgeries.

Fakes tell you what people want to believe. Medieval relics, daggers turned half to gold by an alchemist, mermaids and unicorns, photographs of fairies. A scientific background provides no protection. Piltdown Man is only the most famous of a number of scientific fakes.

As soon as money circulates, forgers begin work, and it is not only criminals but also governments that have tried to deceive people into accepting base imitations as the real thing. The history of such activities can be traced from ancient Greece to contemporary Britain. Not only coins are counterfeited. Any successful product, from Chinese porcelain to Vuitton luggage or Chanel perfume, attracts fraudulent imitation.

There is an active collector's market in the Far East. In China, this stimulated the production of numerous fakes of jades, bronzes and paintings under the Ming dynasty; in Japan, the work of famous sword makers was forged. In the nineteenth century, Europeans and Americans began collecting classes of objects (prints, porcelain) which had not previously been highly prized and these, too began to be faked.

The collection of antiques and works of art in the West first became popular during the Renaissance. In the exhibition this section looks first at early fakes of classical art and then at the first fakes of the work of great artists like Dürer; Raphael and Hieronymus Bosch. The new market for fakes created by the pioneering collector Horace Walpole is examined, and also the role played by deceptive restoration and outright faking in the formation of the great English late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century collections of classical antiques.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the market for antiques and works of art expanded hugely. It was the heyday of faking in which works by sculptors like Bastianini, and goldsmiths like Louis Marcy and Reinhold Vasters, were widely hailed as masterpieces of the Later Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. Everything from musical instruments to Byzantine enamels, from gothic ivories to Rembrandts is represented - a treasure house of brill-
liently deceptive craftsmanship. Famous pieces include the Cerveteri Sarcophagus, an 'Eruscan' fake modelled by the Penelli brothers c.1870 and bought and exhibited with great pride by the British Museum in the mid 1870s. There is the Tiara of Saitaphernes by the Odessa goldsmith Kououchovsly who caused a sensation when it was acquired by the Louvre at the beginning of this century, and a marvellous French Renaissance cabinet acquired as part of the famous Souldages collection by the Victoria and Albert Museum in the 1860s. Though the twentieth century has seen a decline in the quality of fakes, as of craftsmanship in general, this section of the exhibition contains the work of some of the best known and most colourful fakers: Van Meegeren, whose patriotic decision to pass off a fake Vermeer (The Adulteress) on Hermann Goring led to his downfall, Alceo Dossena whose work was to be found in such major American museums as the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and Tom Keating who demonstrated the fakers' art on television and the sale of whose studio recently caused considerable interest. The exhibition comes right up to date with a fake David Hockney, and fake Bernard Leach pots made by prisoners in Featherstone jail.

How fakes are made and detected

The last section of the exhibition looks at the techniques used to make and unmask fakes. The application of false patinas, plating, gilding and glazing, deceptive restoration, transformation and pastiche can be detected by a battery of techniques, from close visual examination and comparison with genuine equivalents, to X-rays, neutron activation, Carbon 14 dating, thermoluminescence and isotopic analysis. Examples of the application of each technique are shown and the processes involved are illustrated.

The limits of expertise

Lest the visitor be blinded by science the exhibition ends by examining Haclar pots of the 6th millennium B.C. were eagerly sought by museums and collectors when the site was discovered in Turkey in the 1950s. Doubts were cast on some examples offered, and 48 pieces tested out of 56 were shown by thermoluminescence (TL) testing to be recent. The only genuine piece here is the small anthropomorphic vessel on the right.

Some of the many cases which continue to baffle the experts. The famous finds at Gizeh, France, were initially hailed as relics of an ancient civilisation, then dismissed as obvious modern fakes, then scientifically dated to c.2000-4000 years ago. They are now thought by some to be medieval, and by others to be modern. The famous crystal skull continues to exert a haunting fascination on all who see it, but whether it was made by the Aztecs, the Venetians or a nineteenth-century jeweller, no one really knows.

The net result of this exhibition is a magnificent display of works of art, many of them monuments to the taste of their time, or the greed or stupidity of collectors, even at times of museums. As the late Sir Gerald Kelly once said when he was president of the Royal Academy, 'What does it matter what it is, m'boy, so long as you can live with it.' Mark Jones of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum has acted as editor of the splendid book and catalogue that accompanies the exhibition – it will have lasting reference and interest value.

Fake? The Art of Deception, is edited by Mark Jones, with over 300 pages and illustrated throughout with colour and black and white illustrations. Published by British Museum Publications. Clothbound, £25; Paperback £16.95

How much longer?

Dear sir,

The Department of the Environment issued its consultation paper on portable antiquities nearly two years ago, and the archaeological world moved quickly to complete its submissions within some three months. Since that time there has been nothing but a resounding silence from Marsham Street. In the meantime the pillage goes on. The redoubtable John Browning, owner of the farm on which the Icklingham Romano-British scheduled site lies, (see Minerva vol.1 no.1) has been relentless in bringing the metal-detecting 'nighthawks' who have descended upon his land to justice, with the willing assistance of the Suffolk Constabulary and English Heritage, and more than a dozen have been fined. He has been less fortunate, however, in enlisting the support of the Government in recovering the bronzes stolen from his land and now on sale in New York. The recent report of the Reviewing Committee on the Export of Works of Art shows that archaeological material is leaving the country at an increasing rate. Leaving aside the dubious morality of exporting the nation's archaeological heritage, it is abundantly clear that Government tardiness in reaching a decision on portable antiquities is being interpreted by the less scrupulous members of the treasure hunting fraternity as a licence to intensify their activities. The metal-detecting press maintains its hysterical vendetta against archaeologists, whom it characterizes as selfish and elitist, and is overtly encouraging its readers to undermine attempts to introduce any kind of order into the situation which might reduce the loss of the vital archaeological information that such material contains. Most European countries now have legislation to protect portable antiquities as well as monuments and sites: for example, the Spanish law of 1986 asserts a strong state title to all antiquities, overriding a deeply entrenched Spanish tradition of private property. As 1992 approaches, the United Kingdom is in danger of finding itself isolated in this important field of heritage protection and, what is worse, of becoming the free market for looted antiquities.

Send your letters to: The Editor, Minerva, 8 Cavendish Square, London W1M 0AJ

From Dr Henry Cleere, Director of the Council for British Archaeology
Draped female statue, perhaps one of the Muses. Marble. 23" ht. Hellenistic, ca. 1st Century B.C.
The Turkish Connection

The Ancient Coin Marketplace

Dr Arnold R. Saslow

"Woe to the local farmer who does not report his good fortune. Stories of mysterious disappearances and bodies found are periodically heard in the marketplace."

Concerned are the grandsons and great-grandsons of those first enterpriseing individuals. Various regimes have come and gone in Turkey, and through it all, this organisation has grown and become more consolidated. Woe to the local farmer who does not report his good fortune. Stories of mysterious disappearances and bodies found are periodically heard in the marketplace.

Once the coins have been gathered, the next step is to remove them from Turkey and bring them to the West where they can easily be sold. Munich in West Germany has developed into one of the major reception centres because for years Turkish labourers have made their way into Germany with very little paperwork involved.

In Munich is a literal whos-who of Turkish 'antiquarians', many of whom have offices or galleries which openly advertise that they deal in ancient coins and objects. Their offices are filled with various items of sculpture, pottery, and, of course, ancient coins. Once you are accepted as not being with 'the authorities', they will happily show you their wares and sell for the right amount of hard currency. Don't plan on finding too many bargains though, because they know the market as well as any other professional dealer and are up-to-date on the recent auction sales and the prices realised. In fact they are often major consignors to some of the world's most prestigious auctions.

Within the past two years, the Turkish government has apparently concentrated their efforts, not on the breaking up of the distribution ring within Turkey, many of whose participants are very well known to local authorities, but instead seriously pursuing the major marketers in Munich, all, again, known to the Turkish Ministries. They have turned to the American dealers and collectors who buy ancient coins and antiquities which may have Turkey as their country of origin. The evidence for this has been mounting for some time.

At a major sale held in May 1988 by America's premier auction house for ancient coins, a group of coins were identified in the catalogue as being from 'The Dekadrachm Hoard of 1984'.

Alerted by the admission in print that these coins may have originated in Turkey, complaints were filed by the Turkish Government. The auctioneers, who had purchased the coins from a major American collector who had bought the entire hoard, after duly determining that he had clear title and legal documents to substantiate his purchase, were advised by their lawyers to hand the coins over to the Turkish Government.

In June 1988, Ozgen Acar, along with another Turkish journalist, published a major article in Coinworld Magazine, which focused on 'The Dekadrachm Hoard of 1984' and concentrated on the collectors and dealers within the U.S. who had participated in the purchase and disposal of even a single coin. During 1989, Acar was frequently seen around the New York area and even attended openings of major antiquity shows given there by private dealers. In September 1989, he again turned up at yet another coin show in New York. This time to warn some of the ancient coin dealers in attendance that amazing fakes were now being made by unknown persons in Turkey and that it would be increasingly dangerous to buy ancient coins from Turkey as these fakes were so good. Some samples of the supposed fakes were quickly shown around, but without time to determine whether the pieces were indeed fakes or even perhaps museum-quality original ancient coins which they hoped to convince dealers were 'dangerous' copies.

In September 1988 Ozgen Acar appeared at a large New York coin show which had as participants most of the largest dealers in ancient coins in the United States. After falsely convincing the show organizers that he was from a local T.V. station in the New York area, he proceeded to interview and to film many of the dealers in attendance, most of whom did not realise they were being filmed by a Turkish film crew for use on Turkey T.V. (or perhaps by the Turkish government). When the deception was discovered, the show organizers, upon advice from the FBI, demanded and received the exposed videotape.

Once again Acar appeared on the scene in early January of this year when he informed the editorial staff of Coin World, a major numismatic weekly paper, which in actuality has
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On Coins and Medals, &.

Of the many hobbies that appeal to a refined taste, to the mind nurtured in the love of ancient and modern times, and to the cultured intellect which delights in unravelling the mysteries and the oft tangled skeins of mythology and history, no pursuit can claim priority of interest or fascination over the study and collection of coins and medals.

These small but intensely interesting and truly veracious monuments of both ancient and medieval times place before the student and collector at a glance something vividly characteristic of the period in which they were issued - it may be the finely chiselled features of some god or goddess of mythology, some long forgotten customs of a now extinct people, or the authentic portrait of some ancient conqueror of half a world.

All these things, therefore, appeal to the well educated and enquiring connoisseur, and if he be (as who is not these days?) a lover of art as well, then he can hardly fail to be attracted by the well-nigh irresistible charm which attaches to ancient coins.

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very little following amongst the ancient coin fraternity, that the collector who bought the Dekadrachm Hoard and several additional Americans who were connected with the transaction are being sued in a Civil Suit, lodged by the Turkish Government who wanted 30 million dollars in damages. In fact, he even arranged for the actual legal papers to be faxed to Coin World so they could have them in time for a major story. The interesting aspect of this last event, is that the suit names the Turkish nationals who reside in Munich, and who are known to have actually arranged for the transportation and sale of these coins, but does not name them as defendants.

Just who is Ozgen Acar is a matter of some conjecture and concern. Although he appears to have correct credentials as a Turkish journalist there have been suggestions made by expatriate Turkish nationals now resident in the United States, and who have been connected to the Turkish coin/antiquities trade for decades, that Acar is in fact an agent of the Turkish Government. The use of 'journalistic credentials' as a cover is, of course, well known and used by most major governments.

Why this planned course of action should be taken by the Turkish Government against American collectors and dealers is not clearly understood at this time, as they know very well who the individuals are who reside in Turkey and in Munich and who assemble, transport, and sell the various coin boards. They are also well aware of the individuals and firms in Switzerland, England, and many other European countries, who buy, sell, and auction ancient coins which may indeed have Turkey as a source. Yet they have decided to single out the American ancient coin market. Is, in fact, having made this decision, anything ever comes of it, it is of course a different issue.

It is well known with coins, both ancient and modern, that a coin is but a coin. Unless you have substantiated proof that a single coin is indeed the exact same coin which was found in some farmer’s field in Anatolia, and thus was taken to Munich, and then is the exact same coin which next appears in an auction, and is now the coin which you hold in your hands, the possibility of the Turks being able to confiscate that coin or even collect damages, is very tiny indeed. It has been the history of such matters, that judges must be convinced that the Athenian ‘owl’ which you own is the same one they claim came from territories they now rule, often many years prior. Of course, another factor which makes even less sense, is why the Greek Government, in the case of the Dekadrachm Hoard, does not pursue their arch enemies, the Turks, since the coins were minted in Greece, then sold to collectors there, and lost in territories which were a part of Greece or controlled by Greece at the time. It would seem to make much more legal sense that the Greek Government would have as much claim to such a hoard as the Turkish Government, and no one could accuse the Greeks of not being litigious, since they are still trying to get back the Elgin Marbles from the British Museum.

How this all turns out will be both interesting and possibly even amusing, and will be reported on as significant events occur. 

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When Dr Rodwell's *The Archaeology of the English Church* was first published it was immediately recognised as the most important book on church archaeology yet published. Written by the foremost practitioner in the field, it is both the standard textbook on the subject and an excellently written general book for the non-archaeologist. I am delighted, therefore, to see that English Heritage has chosen to publish a fully revised edition of it in their new archaeological series.

The book itself, which is in ten main sections and profusely illustrated, now contains for the first time a fine group of colour photographs (mostly taken by the author) and superb drawings of ancient art, had available. The illustrations are largely taken from papyri, but the majority are rather undistinguished examples. For example, from amongst nine named papyri included, there are no less than thirteen illustrations from the Book of the Dead of Nefrenpet in Brussels, a pleasant but very second string example of the genre. Papyri represent 37 of the 61 illustrations and not one of them is among the front rank. It is admittedly interesting to see other examples, but not to the exclusion of the prime material that tells us so much about Egyptian art. Eight ostracons are featured, all from the Cairo Museum, and a few tomb illustrations, principally from that of Horemhab in the Valley of the Kings.

This is a brief overview of the subject that cannot do justice to it. There are some careless errors, spellings such as 'Lukas' for A.C. Lucas the Egyptian Government chemist, 'Wadi Hammama' for Wadi Hammamet, and areas that obviously suffer from 'translationitis'. The bibliographical hardship takes note of the needs of English readers, only three entries in English out of 27 citations, despite all the references that are available. Although it has excellent photographs by Forman, the material is not generally worthy of them. cheaply priced as it is, it simply does not add to the subject. It covers far better books, such as *Drawings from Ancient Egypt* by W.H. Peck and J.G. Ross, are available for the interested reader.

Peter A. Clayton

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There are a vast number of books concerned with Egyptian art and its many aspects and levels. This is yet another which seems to be simply a vehicle for a group of photographs that Werner Forman, a well known and superb photographer of ancient art, had available. The illustrations are largely taken from papyri, but the majority are rather undistinguished examples.
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As a result of the environmental movement of the 1960s, greatly expanded legislation was enacted to deal with the conservation of archaeological sites (both historic and prehistoric) which came to be seen as non-renewable cultural resources. Current laws are extremely complex, but basically they require management and protection of aboriginal American sites on federal land (including all trust territories), Indian reservations, and most state-owned land. Construction projects that would adversely impact sites are also subject to such legislation if federal (and often state) funding is involved. The development of cultural resource management in the United States coincided with increasing activism on the part of Native Americans for self-determination and concern for the protection of archaeological sites, repatriation of sacred objects, and reinterment of burials.

This activism reflected the fact that prehistoric and historic cultural properties often have a religious and cultural significance to Native Americans that has usually been ignored by the dominant Euro-American culture. Native American values were explicitly recognized for the first time in the definition of cultural resources by passage of the 1978 American Indian Religious Freedom Act, which guaranteed access to the sites and sacred objects necessary to practice traditional religions, though it is still unclear just how broadly this act will be applied. Native American tribes have enacted regulations to protect ancestral sites, shrines, and other sacred places on reservations, and are developing their own museums and cultural resource management programmes; however, not all Native American groups have tribal lands and, more importantly, most sites are on private lands, where the rights of the present landowner are paramount. In contrast to the situation in many other countries, aboriginal American sites and artifacts in the United States have never been viewed as a national patrimony because of a strong private property ethic and because they are not associated with the dominant Euro-American culture.

The threat to Native American sites posed by looters has never been greater than it is in the United States today because of a tremendous rise in the commercial value of antiquities.

west. Looting is sacrilegious to many Native Americans as well as destructive of the sole source of information about their unwritten past. In the next sections we look at the effects of looting on two Native American societies and the efforts of those societies to gain greater control over their cultural resources.

Navajo
The Navajo Indian reservation encompasses about 16,500,000 acres in the Four Corners region of the American Southwest. At first glance, the region appears inhospitable and barren of life, but people have in fact lived here for at least the last 10,000 years. It is one of the richest sources of prehistoric remains in the entire United States, and it suffers accordingly at the hands of looters.

The population on the reservation today numbers about 160,000 persons, who live for the most part in scattered, single-family ranches and small communities that serve as centres for supplies, mail, and other services. Navajos have inhabited the Four Corners region since perhaps as early as the 1300's, and consider it their sacred place of origin. Although most recognize that prehistoric puebloan (Anasazi) ruins are the remnants of non-ancestral people, Navajos consider the sites sacred and respect them as places of the dead (in the Southwest, prehistoric peoples buried their dead, along with grave goods, in their settlements). Thus it is an affront to Navajo religious beliefs for outsiders to search for pots and disturb the bones of ancient enemies or their own ancestors.

In an effort to protect ruins and other cultural and natural resources owned by the Navajo, the Navajo Nation Resources Enforcement Agency (the Tribal Rangers) attempts to patrol this immense region. The Rangers work closely with the Navajo National Historic Preservation and Archaeology Departments, and all three depend greatly on the support of local residents. In fact, most reports of looting and vandalism are made by local people. Tribal staff coordinate formal investigations with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and agents of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Unauthorized collecting of materials is of greatest concern to the Navajo at prehistoric sites, historic sites, and sacred places. Sites important to the Navajo in all three categories, especially the last two, occur on and off the currently defined reservation, but concern is great for sites outside the arbitrary boundary line as for those within. Prehistoric sites, particularly Anasazi puebloan ruins, are those most severely and regularly damaged by pot hunters. The pattern of looting mirrors that of development and encroachment. As Navajos in the reservation: sites along the periphery of the reservation, near major roads, and around settlements are most susceptible. Most looters apparently come from border towns and larger communities on the reservation, where non-Indians reside. Protected cliff ruins are favorite targets because of the excellent preservation of remains; however, they are relatively scarce. Larger open sites are also commonly looted. Anasazi cliff dwellings are so cradled that holes dug in search of valuable artifacts. This has caused undercutting of walls in cliff ruins and extensive erosion at other sites, which leads to collapsed or exposed rooms and destruction of other features.

Prosecution of plunderers is difficult for they are rarely caught in the act. With the cooperation of local residents, tribal officials, the BIA, and the FBI, two pot hunters were recently convicted in federal court for causing extensive damage to a late Anasazi site on the reservation north of Holbrook, Arizona. The defendants were found guilty of felony charges, fined, and sentenced to prison terms and public service. Unfortunately, the punishment does not compensate for the value (in cultural and scientific terms) of the disturbed site or the stolen artifacts, and it does not deter the offender since pothunting continues throughout the area.
Historic sites are also the target of looters, particularly the early defense installations occupied by Navajos and pueblo peoples during the Pueblo Revolt of the 1680s, and the sites occupied by their children during wars with Utes and Comanches. The Dinéh (the heart of the Navajo origin) at the Box Springs such sites and is an area of significant religious importance to Navajos. The lands belong to the Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management, the state of New Mexico, and other tribes, however, and are not in the currently defined Navajo reservation. Thus the Navajo must depend on other parties to protect their sacred sites, and this has resulted in some unfortunate occurrences. Several of the more spectacular ruins fell within state jurisdiction, but the policies concerning the sites vary from one agency to another; thus the State Historic Preservation Office sponsored studies of these ruins and protective measures for them, while other state offices permitted drilling of exploratory oil and gas wells at the base of the buttes on which the sites rest, which has opened them to looting and vandalism.

Sacred Navajo places have also been invaded and damaged. Caches of religious paraphernalia (e.g., prayer bundles, figurines, ritual arrangements of feathers and reeds) are commonly found in out-of-the-way places, including Anasazi sites. Removing these objects is a violation of Navajo traditional religious beliefs equivalent to robbing a church. Collectors often unintentionally intrude upon sacred places in their search for materials, as is the case with a large petrified forest located near the reservation town of Chinle, which is constantly being pillaged by people who can no longer steal specimens from the better-known (and better-protected) Petrified Forest National Park. Since petrified wood from Chinle is used by Navajo medicine men and other religious practitioners in curing and other sacred observances, the whole area is sacred. Every time people collect palaeontological specimens for their gardens or for sale, they intrude on the beliefs and traditions of a Native American religion. The fact that this is done in ignorance makes it no less a violation of tribal ordinances against the collection of palaeontological remains.

Zuni

The present-day Zuni Indian Reservation covers almost 410,000 acres in western New Mexico by plus an additional 11,000 acres north of Saint Johns, Arizona. The area is much smaller than the approximate-ly 15,500,000 acres that fell under Zuni sovereignty in 1846. The Zuni, descendants of prehistoric pueblo populations, have maintained isolated communities since before Europeans arrived in the sixteenth century, although it was not until after the Indian pueblos revolted against the Spanish in the 1680s that the entire population congregated into a single community at present-day Zuni Pueblo. Today the rapidly expanding population lives in the communities of Zuni and nearby Blackrock. Outlying farming villages, once occupied only from the late spring planting through the fall harvest, are now used on a daily basis by families commuting from Zuni in pickup trucks along paved or gravel roads.

The Zunis believe that their prehistoric ancestors once inhabited the thousands of abandoned Anasazi and Mogollon pueblos scattered over northwest and north-central New Mexico and northeast and north-central Arizona. Myths tracing the travels of the tribe through the Southwest and its eventual settlement of the Zuni area are the source of their strong emotional bond to these ruins as ancestral places. Thus it is not only the ruins of the Zuni Reservation but also the thousands of ruins on federal, state, and private lands which should be left undisturbed as the final resting places of previous generations. These ruins house burials that are being plundered on an unprecedented scale by a newly arrived group of European migrants to the Southwest. The disturbance of grave sites is abhorrent to the Zuni, and the perpetrators are regarded as criminals.

Looting on the Zuni Reservation is strictly prohibited. Even so, pothun- ing does occur in remote areas at night or in bad weather, when it is difficult for the few rangers of the Zuni Fish and Wildlife Programme to patrol the area. Sheep herders and other Zunis monitor the land and report recent potholes at sites or suspicious activities of non-Zuni visitors. Law enforcement officials respond quickly, and prosecution of pothun- ing involves officials from the Zuni Fish and Wildlife Programme, the Zuni Police Department, and the Zuni Archaeological Program, as well as the BIA and the FBI. Violating laws is not the only issue involved in looting archaeological sites; however, the most of the collectable pots stolen from graves and sold on the antiquities market come from sites on private lands. The Zuni (along with most Native Americans) have a radically different notion of land use and ownership to Euro-Americans. Modem law provides that private property divide land along straight lines into Euro-American divisions of townships, ranches, and sections. But this has created some absurd situations. Box S site in New Mexico, a 473-room pueblo dating to the mid-and late-thirteenth century A.D., is situated partly on the Zuni Reservation and partly on private land. Known to the Zuni as Heshoda Imk'osk'wa, it is regarded as an ancestral site. In 1983, the private portion of the land was sold to developers, who moved in with backhoes in the belief that they owned the entire pueblo. The Zunis, outraged by this wholesale destruction of ancestral graves and tribal heritage, sought a remedy by establishing the exact reservation boundary. A cadastral survey in the fall of 1982 determined that less than one quarter of the site fell within the present reservation boundary, but it had already been subdivided. After a legal battle, the site was established and clearly marked, the developers proceeded with impunity on the privately owned land; the Zunis could only watch as their ancestors graves and tribal heritage were destroyed. Many burial sites were desecrated at Box S, the bones smashed and scattered and the grave goods sold for profit on the antiquities market. Such desecration of modern cemeteries is illegal as well as morally repugnant; it should be no less so for ancient burial sites.

Historic and present-day shrines are also looted for saleable artifacts Zuni prayer sticks, for example, or Akayuda (War Gods). These sacred objects are always chained at specific times for ritual purposes. To the Zuni they are part of a vital, on-going religion, the very core of their culture, a significance which is unknown or ignored by non-Zuni collectors. Removing sacred objects is not only theft of property but, in the eyes of the Zuni, it also robs them of their power.

Conclusions

In the preceding sections we have attempted to present Native American perspectives on the ethics of collecting cultural properties. Our examples do not cover all aspects of this issue; however, they should make clear that looting Native American sites to obtain artifacts for personal ownership or for sale to collectors is not solely a legal matter. To many native Americans, looting is a crime far beyond that of breaking a federal, state or tribal law; it is an act of desecration that violates deeply held religious beliefs that are essential to the spiritual well-being of Native Ameri-
A selection of Zuni vessels sold at Bonhams in 1989

EDITORIAL NOTE: An interesting sidelight on the question of Zuni antiquities arose at the London auction house of Bonhams in their sale of Tribal Art and Antiquities on 4 July 1989. A group of material was offered from the collection formed by Henry Nottidge-Moseley (1844-91), sometime Linacre Professor in the University of Oxford and a Fellow of the Royal Society. Amongst the lots was a selection of Zuni material acquired by Moseley in the 1880's from the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, some of which had been exhibited at the Smithsonian Exhibition at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893. The hammer prices fetched (to which add 10% buyer's premium) reflected the growing interest in this type of material, and were far in excess of the estimates. For example, a pair of Zuni woman's boots with two wristlets and an armguard, estimated at £60-80, made £950; two Zuni water vessels (£60-80), sold for £1500, and a Zuni water-fowl vessel (£150-200) fetched £2800. The fourteen Zuni lots offered fetched a total hammer price of £16,010. It was pleasing to note that several lots were bought back by their previous owner, the Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

Bronze Hercules Roman circa 1st/2nd Century height of figure 19.1 cm

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**FAKE: THE ART OF DECEPTION.** BRITISH MUSEUM, Great Russell St, London WC1B 3DG. (01) 323 8525. 9 March—2 September 1990 (See article page 33). Catalogue £16.95; Cloth £25.

**CINCINNATI, Ohio**

**CRAGH: A MOSAIC OF ANCIENT TUNISIA.** A major travelling exhibition featuring 12 magnificent Roman mosaics, bronze, sculpture, glass and jewellery from the Phoenician to Byzantine periods. CINCINNATI ART MUSEUM (513) 721-5252. Catalogue $19.95. (Symposium 30 March—1 April). (See Minerva, Feb., 1990, p. 34).

**MALIBU, California**

**CYPRUS BEFORE THE BRONZE AGE: ART OF THE CHALCIDIC CIVILIZATION.** The pristine Cyclot sculpture and pottery, c. 4000-3500 B.C., with several objects from the Cyprus Archaeological Museum. A newly recently discovered 'Lebda Lady' and new finds from Kissonerga. THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM (213) 459-7611. Until 8 April (then to Menil Collection, Houston). Catalogue $12.50.

**NEW YORK, New York**

**CROSSROADS OF CONTINENTS: CULTURES OF SIBERIA AND ALASKA.** 500 Artifacts reflecting the cultural change that began with the first Siberian people reaching America 14,000 years ago. One third of the pieces are from the Museum of Ethnology in Leningrad, the balance from U.S. and Canadian museums. AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY (212) 769-5800. Until 25 March (then to Indianapolis). Catalogue $24.95; Cloth $45.

**INDIA: BEAUTY IN STONE.** Colour photographs by Beatrice Pickey Lamb of Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim stone carvings and buildings. ASIA SOCIETY GALLERY (212) 268-6400. Until 15 April.


**ANDEAN FOUR-CORNERED HATS: ANCIENT VOLUMES.** About 30 brilliantly coloured Pre-columbian fabric hats, dating to the second half of the first millennium A.D. From the collection of Arthur M. Bollou. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (212) 879 5500. 6 April—14 October.

**PORTLAND, Oregon**

**SUMMONING OF THE SOUL: TREASURES FROM CHINA'S TOMBS.** Lacquer ware vessels, carved wood pots from the tombs of the 1st-9th centuries A.D., and garments and other personal effects from T'ang Dynasty tombs. 60 objects excavated in the 1970's. PORTLAND ART MUSEUM—20 March — 22 April (then to Cincinnati, Ohio) (See article, page 21).

**SAN ANTONIO, Texas**

**ACQUISITIONS AND LOANS OF ANCIENT ART: THE FIRST THREE YEARS.** Egypt, Near Eastern, Greek, Etruscan and Roman objects, most of which have recently undergone conservation. SAN ANTONIO MUSEUM OF ART (512) 226-5544. Until 31 May.

**ST. LOUIS, Missouri**

**SECRETS OF THE MUMMY.** A special exhibition of more than 100 mummies and coffins from ancient Egypt, from the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the University of Pennsylvania Museum. ST. LOUIS ART MUSEUM (314) 721-0607. 11 March—3 June.

**Tampa, Florida**

**FIRST ENCOUNTERS: SPANISH EXPLORATIONS IN THE CARIBBEAN AND THE UNITED STATES, 1492-1576.** Artefacts, early European engravings; maps and photographs of excavated sites. GALLERY OF SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY (813) 983-5531 Until 14 April (then to Columbus, S.C.). Book $16.95; cloth $44.95.

**UNIVERSITY PARK, Pennsylvania**

**ROMAN PORTRAITS.** 36 portraits. Roman heads and busts in stone, marble and bronze dating as far back as the 12th century, drawn from public and private collections in North America, Africa and Europe. ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO (312) 443-6000. Until 1 April (then to Washington, D.C.). Book with full catalogue $65.00. (See Minerva, Feb., 1990, p.33).

**WASHINGTON, D.C.**

**THE NOBLE PATH: BUDHIST ART OF SOUTH ASIA AND TIBET.** 103 Buddhist sculptures, paintings and ritual objects from the first century B.C. to the 18th century from India, Nepal and Tibet selected from the collections of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. ARTHUR M. SACLER GALLERY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION. (202) 357 2700. Until 31 March.

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**PERFUMES AND COSMETICS IN THE ANCIENT WORLD.** Over 1000 objects connected with the manufacture of cosmetics, perfume production and hairstyling, including hundreds of vessels and bronze utensils. A large number of sculptures feature many of the hairstyles of ancient times. Most of the objects came from the Mildenberg collection in Zurich. This exhibition will come to the United States, but the borrowing museum has not yet been announced. ISRAEL MUSEUM (972) 02 69 82 11. Until 30 June. Catalogue.

**GALLERY EXHIBITIONS**

**UNITED STATES**

**BEVERLY HILLS, California**

**THE BRONZE BULL IN ANCIENT ART.** ROYAL-ATHENA GALLERIES, 32 North Beverly Drive 90210. Until 28 April.

**BIRMINGHAM, Michigan**

**JEWELLERY THROUGH THE AGES.** Until 24 March.

**37TH ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF ANCIENT GLASS.** 29 March — 1 May. DONNA JACOBS GALLERY, 574 North Woodward Avenue 48009.

**NEW YORK, New York**

**DEITIES AND DIGNITARIES IN ANCIENT EGYPT ARE L'IRIS GALLERY LTD, 23 East. 67th St, 10021. Until 30 March. Catalogue $10.

**ROMANO BRITISH BROOCHES.** ROYAL-ATHENA GALLERIES, 153 East 57th Street 10022. Until 28 April

**APRIL 1990**

**Egypt in Italy**

Turin, Bologna, Florence, Siena.1—8 April. £695 inc. return flights from London. British Museum Classic Tours, Kent House, Regent St London W1R 8LS (01) 734 7921/2.


MINERVA 46
MAY 1990

MEETINGS & SYMPOSIUMS
MARCH 1990
10 March, Underwater Archaeology in Italy. Conference held by Nautical Archaeology Society and Oxford University MARE to mark the visit of a small group of Italian Marine archaeologists. Institute of Archaeology, London. Contact Tim Dingleman, First floor flat, 58 Fairholme Rd, London W14 9JF. (See Minerva, Feb., 1990, p. 22).


30 March~1 April, Recent Work on Hadrian's Wall. Royal Archaelogical Institute in association with University of Durham Dept. of Adult and Continuing Education, Dr Brian Dobson, Dept of Adult & Continuing Education, 32 Old Evet, Durham City, DH1 3JB, UK.

APRIL 1990
2~6 April, International Archaeometry Symposium, Heidelberg, West Germany. Dr. G.A. Wagner, Max-Planck-Institut fur Kernphysik, D-6900 Heidelberg.

7~8 April, Maya Weekend. Eighth annual series of talks and workshops by the world's premier Mayanists. (157), University Museum, Philadelphia. (215) 898-3447.


23~25 April, The Prehistoric Aegean and the Sea. 3rd International Aegean Conference of the University of Lige, at Calvi, Corsica. Robert Lafippone, Université de Lige, Résidence A Dumont, Place du XX, quartier, 32, 8000 Lige, Belgium.

AUCTIONS
MARCH 1990


14 March, Ethnographical.

PHILLIPS WEST TWO, London (01) 229 9090.

21 March, Indian, Himalayan and South-East Asian Art. Sotheby's, New York (212) 606-7328.


27 March, Tribal Art and Antiquities. Bonham's, London (01) 584 9161.

27 March, Tribal Art. Christie's, South Kensington, London (01) 581 7611.

APRIL 1990
24 April, Ancient, English and Foreign Coins. Christie's, London. (01) 839 9060.

24 April, Islamic Art. Christie's, London. (01) 839 9060.

24 April, Indian, Himalayan and South-East Asian Art. Sotheby's, London (01) 493 8080.

25 April, Islamic Works of Art. Sotheby's, London (01) 493 8080.

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