THE 'REDISCOVERY' OF THE RISLEY PARK ROMAN SILVER LANX

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Detail of the centre panel of the Risley Park silver 'lanx'.
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The 'Rediscovery' of the Risley Park Roman Lanx
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Catherine Johns & Kenneth Painter

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Japanese Puzzle for London Archaeologists

Museum of London archaeologists are puzzling over one of the smallest finds to have been excavated on a City site – a tiny fragment of bronze, engraved with what appear to be Japanese characters. The characters read as ‘fujii’, meaning wisteria. The piece of bronze, measuring just over two cm, was excavated on the Thames Exchange site next to Southwark Bridge. Appropriately, the excavation was funded by the developers of the site, the Japanese company Kumaagai Gumi.

The find has caused considerable excitement as it appears to be the earliest object of Japanese origin found in Britain from the medieval period. The fourteenth-century context in which the fragment was discovered makes it all the more puzzling, in view of the cultural isolation of Japan at this time. Movement of goods between Japan and China, which provided the usual trade connection via the Silk Route to Asia, was virtually unknown.

Recent contacts between the Museum of London’s archaeologists and their opposite numbers in Japan should help to shed light on the matter. One hypothesis is that the fragment could be from some kind of plaque. Casts taken from the inscription are currently being investigated by the National Archaeological Institute at Nara in the hope of establishing what type of tool was used for the engraving and so pinpointing whether it was characteristic of any particular period and area. Another investigation is to be pursued by Professor Tsude of the Department of Archaeology at Osaka University. He hopes to analyse a sample of the metal to determine the alloy used, which may indicate the place of manufacture.

Although a singular find of this type cannot demonstrate regular contact or trade between peoples, it does show that objects could move great distances through the medieval world between cultures that had no established points of contact. Whatever clues or answers the ongoing research finally comes up with, the tiny engraved fragment is an interesting example of the historical detective work that often goes on in the museum world. The piece will be placed on display, along with other finds from the Thames waterfront, in the new Museum of Waterfront Archaeology at the recently opened Tower Hill Pagant in the City.

Ancient Peruvian Nazca Lines Redated

A new study of the famous Nazca lines in Peru shows that many are hundreds of years older than previously thought. The ancient earthworks, which cover the deserts and valleys to the north of the modern town of Nazca, have long puzzled archaeologists because they are only properly visible from the air. By clearing gravel from the surface of the desert and arranging it in piles along the edges of the lines, the ancient inhabitants of Peru were able to create geometrical shapes and enormous pictures of plants and various creatures, including a spider, a monkey, a hummingbird and a killer whale.

Over the last three years an Anglo-American expedition, headed by Helaine Silverman of the University of Illinois and David Browne, an archaeologist at Aberystwyth, has been studying the archaeological material associated with the so-called ‘geoglyphs’. Their results, published in the latest issue of Antiquity, show that most of the geometric arrangements of lines can now be dated to a period of almost a thousand years, between the third century BC and the fifth century AD. This would make the earliest lines contemporary with the Roman empire, while the later ones would have coincided with the rise of the great Maya civilization in Mexico. The new dating has been achieved by collecting pottery from the surface of the land surrounding over a hundred geoglyphs in the Ingenio and Palpa valleys. The earliest geometrical shapes in the valleys were apparently the first lines in the Nazca tradition, predating the animal and plant shapes in the desert by several centuries.

Japanese Pompeii?

Japanese archaeologists have announced the discovery of what they call the ‘Japanese Pompeii’. Kuromine, a site 120 km to the north west of Tokyo, in the Gunma prefecture, was buried in a two-metre layer of volcanic pumice 1,400 years ago and is now yielding remarkably well preserved evidence of life in a sixth-century Japanese village. The layer of pumice was from an eruption of Mount Haruna, ten km to the southwest of Kuromine.

The site and the location of the buried structural remains were originally investigated with ground probing radar. The layer of volcanic ash was easily discernible and hollow areas were interpreted as pit dwellings while raised areas were thought to be burial mounds. Excavations have since revealed wooden houses, two-storey granaries, sheds and hedges. The houses had thatched roofs which were covered by soil to provide protection from wind and rain. Chemical analysis has shown that the sheds were used to house cattle. Other pieces found in the houses, such as a stove, earthenware vessels, millet and hemp, give further insight into the everyday life of the inhabitants.
A total of seventy complete and fragmentary pieces of 4,000-year-old clothing and hunting equipment have now been recovered from the Alpine glacier in which the well-preserved frozen body of an early Bronze Age hunter was discovered in September. It is the first time that the body, clothes and equipment of a prehistoric man going about his normal day-to-day business have been found. In the past only corpses specially prepared for burial or sacrifice have been unearthed.

The body itself is remarkably well preserved. The skin, eyes, teeth, limbs, hands and feet, and the torso all survive intact. The stomach, internal organs and most of the brain are believed to be in good condition. The man was around 5 feet 4 inches tall, weighed at least 8½ stone, was clean shaven and was aged about 30 when he froze to death 10,000 feet up on what is now the Italian-Austrian border.

He was adorned with four small groups of tattoos or body paintings - on the hand, knee, back and foot. All the marks are blue and all except one consist of small identical (0.6 inch long) vertical lines. A small patch on his back has four tiers of these lines, the bottom three rows consisting of three marks, the upper row having four. The roof of his right foot has three vertical lines, while the palm of his left hand has two vertical lines. The insides of the right knee has a small cross on it. The meaning of these marks remains a mystery. However, they do not appear to be artistic or purely aesthetic in nature, and they seem to have been placed very deliberately on specific parts of the body. What is more, three of the four groups were put on parts of the body which were not easily visible to other people. Whether the marks represent some sort of semi-secret tally, of animals or humans killed or rituals performed, is pure speculation. It is by far the oldest example of body painting or tattooing yet discovered anywhere in the world.

The true glory of the discovery lies in the number of beautifully preserved artefacts found on and around the corpse. These include:

- The Bronze Age man's grass-lined, ¼-inch-thick soled leather boots.
- Parts of his woven-straw-lined leather trousers.
- Parts of his fur hood.
- Most of his patchwork jacket, made of hand-sized rectilinear pieces of leather.
- One of his grass-lined, leather-bound silver-hitch-bark gloves.
- His leather necklace decorated with twenty sunray-style leather thongs and a small dark stone, possibly a talisman of some sort.
- Parts of his wooden-framed wildgoat-fur rucksack.
- His leather quiver filled with fourteen 30-inch-long arrows, some tipped with bone arrow heads.
- Most of his 32-inch-long bow, complete with woven grass bow string.
- His arrow repair kit - two spare flint arrowheads and some pitch to help attach them to the arrow shafts - contained in a little leather pouch.
- His knife with its wooden handle and 1¼-inch-long flint blade.
- His long wooden-handled bronze-headed axe which dates the whole assemblage to somewhere between 2200 and 1900 BC.
- A 20-inch-square net, probably used as a bag.
- A small woven grass mat.
- A beechwood beaker, containing one sloe (blackthorn) berry, perhaps part of his last meal.
- An animal caught by him during his ill-fated hunting expedition.

In depth examination of the area in which the corpse was discovered has now revealed details of the last hours of the Bronze Age hunter's life. It seems certain that he arrived from the south and was probably out hunting for chamois, goat, hare and marmot. At around 6,600 feet altitude he gathered sloe-berries in his wooden beaker. He also shot a small animal.

Climbing the last 4,000 feet, he was caught in a blizzard and sought shelter in a natural eight-foot deep, eighty-foot long and twenty foot wide hollow in the rock. After passing through the depression's natural entranceway, he deposited his quiver full of arrows on the left of the entrance and his axe, bow and rucksack five feet away on the right.

Finally the hunter walked on a further eight feet and sat down on a ledge. Unfortunately, however, the blizzard worsened and he quite literally froze to death, falling over into the snow, his left hand raised as if to protect his eyes from the snow or his head from the fall.

The Bronze Age man's corpse was preserved by snow until the eighth century BC, when it was sealed in its rocky hollow by a glacier. Only now, with hotter than normal summers eroding the Alpine glaciers, has the 'iceman' emerged again into the light of day. He was discovered by two German mountain walkers, Helmut and Erika Simon from Nuremberg, 400 feet inside Italy. The archaeological investigation of the site has been carried out by a team headed by Innsbruck University's Professor of Prehistory, Professor Andreas Lippert, and the body is being examined at the University.

David Keys.
Hellenistic and Roman Harbours Discovered at Paphos

A team of American and British marine archaeologists, directed by Bob Hohlfelder of the University of Colorado, have begun an intensive survey of the long succession of ancient harbours in the Cypriot port of Paphos.

In their first season at the site they have discovered the entrance channel to the original harbour of the late fourth century BC, which probably consisted of two ancient breakwaters ending in towers. This type of Hellenistic harbour is known as a limen kleitos (or ‘closed harbour’) because the entrance to the port, between the two towers, would probably have been closed by stretching a chain across at times when Paphos was threatened by attack from the Mediterranean.

The Roman remains in the harbour were recorded not only in the traditional way by a team of divers but also by a form of photographic reconnaissance which the Paphos team claims to be the first to have exploited archaeologically: clear aerial photographs of the surviving Roman breakwater were taken by Bob Hohlfelder from a parasail (above). The Roman harbour was probably built in the early first century AD, after the port had been severely damaged by an earthquake documented in 13 BC.

The seabed throughout Paphos harbour was found to be covered in ancient artefacts, including material from the Hellenistic period, when the closed harbour was divided into three areas devoted to shipbuilding, local trading and international commerce. In their 1992 season the excavators plan to examine a further ancient breakwater in the form of a dangerous reef stretching for two and a half miles from the harbour to the Moulla Rocks; this structure is thought likely to produce the remains of numerous Greek and Roman wrecks.

Ian Shaw

Opening Doors to the Past

Thirty-three years ago, when Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother opened the Institute of Archaeology of London University, the purpose-built building and facilities in Gordon Square were then the most modern available to the archaeologist. They were a far cry from the Institute’s old home at St John’s Lodge in Regent’s Park, founded by Sir Mortimer Wheeler in 1937. The Institute has expanded from being a postgraduate institution to providing first degree courses and the once sparsely populated premises have become severely overcrowded. The Institute’s Jubilee year (1987) saw the launch of an appeal for development and expansion (Minerva, June 1990, pp. 30-31).

In July this year the first phase of that appeal came to fruition with the opening of the Wolfson Archaeological Science Laboratories at the Institute of Archaeology (now part of University College London) by Lord Young, in the presence of Lord Wolfson and other major benefactors. The basement of the Institute, referred to by the present Director, Professor David Harris, as that former ‘glory hole’ remembered by many old students, is now a gleaming, pristine and up-to-date series of laboratories where wide-ranging studies are already providing ‘keys to the past’.

Over the years science has played an ever increasing part in archaeological interpretation, be it either the material aspects of the excavation or the study, identification and authentication of objects. Amongst the much-needed teaching and research facilities now provided are electron-scanning microscopy, x-radiography, atomic absorption spectrometry, particle size analysis, soil sediment analysis and stone and ceramic thin sectioning. Many of these techniques are applied to the study of ancient trade, early human environments and the physical remains of people, animals and plants. They are not all, by any means, simply taking a blinkered view of that ‘Back-looking curiosity’, as Professor Glyn Daniel referred to archaeology in his inaugural lecture at Cambridge in 1975; the techniques practised in these laboratories have many modern applications, especially for example in the work of the geoarchaeological service facility (GSF) in processing and environmental samples from archaeological sites and creating extensive links between academic research and archaeologists, planners and developers working in the field.

The Director, Professor David Harris, summed up this new development by saying that ‘Archaeology is the science of recovering evidence of the human past, combined with the art of interpreting that evidence and setting it into context. Here at the Institute of Archaeology we are always ready to develop and adapt techniques which we can use to further this aim. The opening of the new Wolfson Archaeological Science Laboratories is our latest step into the future, the better to understand the past.’ It is only by the detailed study of all aspects of man, his environment and his products, be they glorious works of ancient art or mundane utilitarian tools that we can begin to understand our inheritance and look to our future.

PAC

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New Access to the Dead Sea Scrolls

The Dead Sea Scrolls, some of the most momentous archaeological finds of the century, have been shrouded in secrecy since their discovery between 1947 and 1951. The 800 scrolls, which were found in caves east of Jerusalem and have recently been carbon-dated to the last two centuries BC, have been closely guarded by a cartel of scholars working under the direction of the Israeli Antiquities Authority. The scrolls are considered invaluable for research into the history of Judaism and the origins of Christianity. However, members of the academic community have felt cheated for many years because only 20% of the text has been released publicly. Recent developments, however, have torn down this wall of academic secrecy.

Early in September, against the wishes of the Dead Sea scrolls cartel, two researchers at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Ben-Zion Wacholder and Martin Abegg, announced the publication of the first volume of a computer-generated reconstruction of the ancient texts. The reconstruction is based on a concordance produced by four members of the cartel which was made available in small edition in 1988. This concordance was put through a computer and a partial reconstruction of the original text was created. Further, the concordance proves that the transcriptions of the text were available as early as 1960. The publication of this work was hailed by scholars worldwide as a breakthrough in their struggle to have the scrolls publicly available for unrestricted study.

Two weeks later, the Director of the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, Dr William A. Moffett, announced that the library has a virtually complete set of photographs of the scrolls and that unrestricted access would immediately be given to all researchers. Photographs of the scrolls were taken and distributed to institutions around the world as a precaution when it was felt that the originals, housed at the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem, were endangered by Middle Eastern wars. One set of photographs was placed in the care of the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Centre in Claremont, California in 1980 and eventually moved to the Huntington Library. The existence of these photographs was largely unknown until an inventory of the library last year which uncovered them. Dr Moffett decided that access to the scroll material should be the same as for the other holdings of the library.

The Israeli Antiquities Authority and the scroll editors opposed the library's decision to go public, but the library finally opened the collection on 22 September. The Israelis say that they object to mass access to the scrolls because it might preclude the possibility of a definitive interpretation. Although legal action against the Claremont library was being considered, it is unclear on what basis or in which jurisdiction it could occur. Dr Moffett even questioned Israel's claim to the scrolls stating that they were found in 1947 in territory not occupied by Israel until the 1967 Arab-Israeli war.

There may now be further opportunities for researchers to study photographs of the scrolls at other locations as well. The Israelis have invited holders of other copies, of which only four sets exist, to a meeting to discuss lifting the embargo. The meeting is scheduled for December and will probably be held in Jerusalem. Professor Geza Vermes, head of the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Studies, which holds the British copy of the scrolls, speculated that the Oxford centre could allow access to the documents by the end of the year if the meeting is successful. But he added that the centre could not entertain large numbers of the public and access would most likely be given to a small number of researchers.

The next issue of Minerva, January/February 1992, will carry a copy of the index to the issues of volume 2, 1991. The index will fit into your Minerva binder (see advertisement on page 33) and is a useful way of finding your way round the year's magazines.
THE RISLEY PARK LANX 'REDISCOVERED'

Catherine Johns and Kenneth Painter

The first known discovery of a Roman silver vessel, a lanx or tray, in Britain took place in 1729 at Risley Park, in Derbyshire. This silver tray was published in 1736 by William Stukeley (1687-1755), one of the finest early British archaeologists and first Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London. It has never been seen since. Catherine Johns tells the story of the lanx up to 1990. Kenneth Painter then relates the events of 1991, starting in April at Seaby’s antiquities gallery in the West End of London.

The Discovery of 1729

On 9 June, 1729, a ploughman working at Risley Park, Derbyshire, struck and broke a metal object buried at a depth of about three inches. It proved to be a large rectangular platter, its blackened surface covered with decoration in low relief. The ploughman and his fellow-workers broke it up into numerous pieces which they distributed amongst themselves. There could not be a more typical and classic tale of the discovery of treasure.

The next part of the story is not wholly clear; but we know that the central panel of the dish came into the possession of the Lady of the Manor, and that it and several other pieces were assembled and drawn by a Reverend Mr Hardy. This ‘model...in pasteboard, with a drawing upon it in the natural bigness’ was sent to one of the foremost antiquaries of the day, Dr William Stukeley, who correctly identified the plate as a Roman silver lanx or salver. It was the first time that an item of Roman silver had been recorded from Britain.

Stukeley gave much thought to the lanx, in particular to the inscription which was incised on its underside, and he developed an ingenious hypothesis concerning its history and the circumstances under which it came to be buried in Derbyshire. He visited the site in 1730; but we cannot say for certain whether he examined any part of the dish itself, although a sketch in his hand of the central panel is still in existence (page 9).

In the next few years two silver objects, a bowl and a small two-handed cup, were rumoured to have been found in or near the banks of the Tyne at Corbridge, Northumberland, and in February 1735 a nine-year-old girl found another large rectangular silver salver there. This object was of the same size and shape as the Risley Park lanx, and it was likewise ornamented with figures in relief. After some vicissitudes this second plate entered the collections of the Dukes of Northumberland and became known as the Corbridge Lanx. Its discovery inspired William Stukeley to present his paper on the earlier find to the Antiquarian Society of London at their
meeting on Thursday, 7 April 1736, and to have it published as a separate pamphlet together with engravings of both silver plates at actual size by G. Van der Gucht. Stukeley’s article has been the sole basis for all subsequent discussions of the Risley Park lanx.

Stukeley described the circumstances of the discovery and noted that the two platters, Risley Park and Corbridge, were similar in shape and size (15ins by 20ins). He went on to discuss the decoration, which consists of hunting and pastoral scenes, and he included an account of one section of the outer decorated frieze which does not appear in the engraving. Finally, he turned to the inscription. Beneath the dish, he reported, was the sentence EXSVPERIVS EPISCOPVS ECLESIAE BOGIENSI DEDIT, followed by the Christian Chi-Rho monogram, which showed that the plate was given by a Bishop Exsuperius to the Bogiensian church.

The greater part of Stukeley’s long discussion was concerned with identifying the bishop and the place-name. He decided that the church was at ‘Bouge’ (Baugé), east of Angers, where a battle was fought between the French and the English in 1421, and that it was on this occasion that the ancient sil-
Rediscovery

In the light of the scant data available to Stukeley his explanation was reasonable; but if the lanx had been found in modern times, scholars would have assumed that it was in use in Britain in the Roman period, like so many other large silver dishes. Further speculation about the inscription and the location of the church of 'Begeis' seemed futile in 1981, since there was no way of checking the reading of the name.

It is difficult to upset 250 years of scholarly opinion, and some French scholars have continued to claim the Risley Park lanx as a Gallo-Roman antiquity. However, attention had been drawn to the object once again, and an alternative approach had been proposed which was based on late eighteenth-century, rather than eighteenth-century, knowledge of Roman silver. In the absence of the object itself it seemed one could go no further.

This, then, was the story of the Risley Park lanx until 1991, 262 years after it was found and lost again.

The ‘Rediscovery’ of 1991

In April 1991 a client walked into Seaby’s antiquities gallery in the West End of London carrying a suitcase. From it he removed a large object, wrapped in a tartan blanket. Before the eyes of Dr Jerome Eisenberg and Mr Peter Clayton he unwrapped a rectangular silver tray.

From a photograph sent by the owner to Dr Eisenberg a few days before, he had quickly determined that this tray appeared to match William Stukeley’s sketch and Van der Gucht’s 1736 engraving of the Risley Park lanx. Nothing was known, however, of how the dish came into the family of the present owner. He knew only that it was in the possession of his family in his grandfather’s time, and that it was not then a recent acquisition. The dish differed, moreover, from the six fragments illustrated by Stukeley (page 6). Contrary to any possible expectations the tray was complete, albeit consisting of 26 fragments, all soldered together. Further, although there was an inscription on the back, as reported by Stukeley, there were some small differences from the inscription shown in the engraving.

The first task was to test initial impressions and to decide whether what had appeared was really the tray which had been discovered in 1729, and the second was to decide whether the dish was really Roman in date. Next, if the answer to these questions was affirmative, the importance of the dish would have to be assessed afresh in the light of knowing that it really existed and of seeing its
Rediscovery

details with our own eyes. The first part of the investigation involved two questions. First, were the relevant fragments of the tray those which Stukeley had illustrated? Second, were the method of manufacture of the dish and the composition of the metal such that the dish could have been made in Roman times?

These enquiries were begun and simultaneously Dr Eisenberg commissioned drawings and a latex mould. The object’s future was unsecured and all those involved wanted to make sure that it was recorded as fully as possible in case it disappeared for another 262 years or more.

The Identification

Stukeley’s sketch and Van der Gucht’s engraving of 1736 correspond extremely closely with the relevant parts of the dish itself, even though the central panel can now be seen to have been reproduced upside down in the engraving. Some problems of the drawing and engraving have been clarified. One problem of interpretation in the engraving, for example, as Catherine Johns had previously pointed out, was whether the animal in the top right-hand corner of the central panel was a pig or a hound. The engraving interpreted it as a second wild boar; but in Stukeley’s sketch it looked more like a hound than a pig, in spite of the curly tail. It can now be seen that the animal is a sow, and that the style, as well as the substance, is wholly congruous with the Roman period.

Faults in the engraving cannot be seen. The lower right fragment as shown in the engraving is too far to the right. Assuming that there was a large head in the corner, there is too little space for the rest of the goat whose hind-legs survive. At the same time, one of the corner fragments was described by Stukeley but not illustrated in the Van der Gucht-Stukeley engraving of 1736. Johns commented in 1981, ‘In the engraving, three corners are missing, and there is no sign either of the somnolent country fellow or the female corner head. Stukeley was no doubt correct in supposing that there were two male and two female heads. ... The absence [of the missing panel] from the engraving, and Stukeley’s seeming obliviousness to this fact, remain a mystery.’ The three missing corners are supplied in the actual dish.

Two separate scientific examinations were carried out, one by Dr Anna Bennett of Conservation and Technical Services Limited (of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London) funded by Dr Eisenberg, and one by the Research Laboratory of the British Museum. Both showed that the metal was of high purity, mostly, though not all, falling within the normal range for late-Roman silver. Its method of construction, however, was unusual, but not impossible, since the dish and its decoration were cast as a solid piece. The solder joining the two parts of the centre panel included cadmium, and so this repair could not have been made until some time after the middle of the nineteenth century; but this did not have any implications for the date of the fragments.

There were, however, several problems for the identification of the dish as Roman. The bottoms of the casting pores on the surface were very clean, with no accumulation of debris, soil or corrosion products. The whole surface similarly seemed never to have been corroded, and very fresh and unworn tool marks, caused by removing small casting nodules after manufacture, were not consistent with an object which had been buried in antiquity. The silver was found to be extremely soft, not brittle, as reported by Stukeley. Radiographs showed that certain unusual structures of the metal are confined to individual fragments in a way which would be impossible if the pieces had been broken from a single object. There is a variety of casting flaws; but while some of these are flaws in the present casting, others are casts of such flaws. The most intriguing evidence was that what appeared to be solder joining the foot to the body of the dish was in fact of silver and of one piece with the dish and foot, which had been cast as a single piece. This apparent solder is the cast of a soldered joint, just as the inscription proved not to have been chased but to have been cast into the metal.

This was a most unexpected outcome. What did it mean? It was most unlikely that an ancient original had not existed and that we had before us a simple fake. The composition of the metal of the dish is, for the most part, consistent with the object being late-Roman and, although the composition of the decoration is clumsy, the iconography is similarly consistent with that of other silver plate of the
period, without being a copy of anything that is known to have survived. But how were we to explain the absence of corrosion, the fresh toolmarks and, in particular, first, the false 'solder' at the junction of the footstand and the body, and, second, the 'chased' inscription which had been cast?

We suggest that one possible scenario is as follows. The dish was found in 1729, as Stukeley reports, and it broke into fragments. At some point in the next two centuries the fragments were gathered together and taken to a silversmith, who was asked to put them in good order and solder them together. The fragments, however, were brittle and probably bent, and the silversmith, we may surmise, replied that he could not reconstitute them from that condition; but he offered to mould the original fragments and then to make casts of each piece in silver, which he would then solder together. There would be no need to buy more silver, because he could melt down the unsightly original pieces. The proposition, we may suppose, was accepted, and the silversmith began work. When making the final 'new' fragment, however, he found he was a little short of metal, and so he added a little more copper to the silver, with no visible difference but with the result that its recent analysis showed about 4% less silver than the other fragments. The silversmith did his job extremely well, to the extent that his very precise moulds preserved evidence showing that the original dish was itself made by casting.

Our conclusion is that, in spite of Stukeley's report of 1736, the original Risley Park lanx had survived in a complete but broken state in 1729. What has now come to light now is not the original lanx, a huge disappointment after hopes had been raised. Is the dish, then, a forgery, intended to deceive? The dish was republished in 1981, and so it is conceivable that a forgery might have been made, using information from that paper and analyses of late-Roman silver which have been available for the last ten to fifteen years. Against this suggestion, however, one must take into account the evidence of the seventy-year-old present owner that he remembers the dish being in his family when he was a child and his grandfather was alive. The lanx was a very obscure object in the 1920s, for no study of it in English was published between 1736 and 1981, and the composition of late-Roman silver simply was not known. We conclude, on this evidence, that the existing dish is not a creation of the last decade. It must rather be a very precise and unique copy of the original lanx, perhaps (though not yet certainly) made from the original metal, which enlarges our knowledge of the original dish to such an extent that the original manufacture, the decoration and the inscription, together with their historical and archaeological implications, can be discussed. In what follows the existing piece is referred to as the 'dish', and the original object is referred as the 'lanx'.

The Date and Manufacture of the Lanx.

What of the lanx's form and decoration? Rectangular lances are one of the few forms of Roman silver plate which can be equated with literary references. They are the lances quadrati referred to by the jurists of the early third century, Paulus and Ulpius. Surviving silver rectangular lances are rare. Only two complete examples survive, one from Corbridge and one from the Kaiseraugst (Switzerland) treasure, while fragments are known from the treasures of Gross Bodungen (north Germany) and Traprain Law (Scotland). There were two more such lances in the Trier Treasure, which was found in 1628 but was melted down. There is no doubt that all these examples belong somewhere in the fourth century, and a more precise date is given by the parallel fashion for such lances in North African Red Slip Ware (page 12), which were made from about AD 360 to 430. The Risley Park lanx can therefore be dated with some confidence to the second part of the fourth century.
The Decoration

The boar-hunt motif of the central panel has a long history in classical antiquity. Some represent the hunting of the Calydonian boar, and there is also a Hellenistic series of hunting scenes, in some of which the hunter may be Alexander and which were imitated by the Roman emperors. The Risley Park scene, however, is probably one of those representations of the good life to which most men of the late-Roman world aspired.

The corner heads and the pastoral and hunting scenes of the border frieze link it with a series of friezes punctuated by Bacchic heads, without necks, that probably came into fashion in the first decades of the second century. The Bacchic significance of such friezes, however, generally diminished, and in the fourth century, as can be seen in the Risley Park frieze, the heads complete with necks, became more common-place and portrait-like and were often paired, male and female. The Bacchic origin of such heads had become forgotten, and they became more realistic without having specific identities, their purpose being, as here, to serve simply as punctuation points between the four scenes of the frieze. The scenes form two contrasting pairs, one showing hunting and the other showing pastoral scenes. Both the pastoral scenes and the hunting scenes derive from a repertory formulated in Hellenistic times, for which there was a fashion on silver in the second and third centuries AD. Most of those hunting scenes, however, are disjointed, do not include human figures, and do not make sense. In the fourth century, on the other hand, the images are more realistic and immediately and clearly make sense, as here, where the Risley Park hunters appear together with shepherds.

The beading of the rim of the Risley Park lanx does not fail so easily into the general development of the decoration of Roman silver plate. The beading is not like that on many fourth-century vessels, such as the Mildenhall Great Dish, where the bold beads are punched up from below. The Risley Park beads, by contrast, are small and cast, and the closest parallels, surprisingly, are to be found not on silver plate but on late-Roman pewter plate, in particular a cup from Icklingham in Suffolk (page 13), a lanx from Appleford in Berkshire, and a bowl from Bath. Pewter plate often imitated silver plate; but it was made by casting, was never decorated with figures, as far as we know, and seems to have been made only in Britain. There is no evidence, however, that silver vessels, which were mostly made by hammering up from a blank, were ever made in Britain. The making of the Risley Park silver lanx by casting, however, and the style and technique of its beading together suggest that, uniquely, it may well have been made by craftsmen accustomed to working in pewter, and therefore probably located in Britain. The picture is complicated, however, by the fact that the form and figured decoration are not matched in pewter. It seems necessary to assume that the craftsmen were basing their lanx on one in silver, like the example found at Corbridge. Perhaps they used the casting technique and the form of rim decoration because they had neither the skills nor the tools to copy the silver plate exactly. Whatever the reasons it seems likely that the Risley Park lanx can be identified as the only Roman silver lanx which can be shown probably to have been made in Britain. This realisation seems to make it certain, once and for all, that the lanx, which was found in Britain, was not only made there but lost or concealed there in antiquity, and that it was not brought there in the Middle Ages or any other post-Roman period.

The Inscription

The settling of the British origins of the lanx gives a new focus to discussion of the inscription which, from its cast on the dish, is now known certainly to be, 'Exuperius episcopus eccl esiae Bogiens dedit (Chirho)'. There seems to be no more need to pursue the quest, started by Stukeley, to identify a French location for the church. Even without the evidence of the method of manufacture and of decoration, Stukeley's arguments were unjustified. He assumed that 'Exuperius' (or 'Exsuperius') must be the well-known fourth-century Bishop of Toulouse and friend of St Jerome; but since there are a number of known fourth-century laymen and ecclesiastics named Exuperius, it follows that there must have...
been unrecorded Exuperi, and therefore the Exuperius of the lanx does not have to be identified with any one of those of whom we have heard. Since Britain is the lanx's findplace, and can now be accepted as the lanx's place of manufacture, Britain can also be accepted as the most likely location for the bishop.

The word ecclesia in the fourth century, on the evidence from Gaul, indicates a bishop's seat—his cathedral. Where, then, was this see, of which the 'ecclesia Bogiensis' was the heart? It ought to be in the centre of a city or at least a large town, in accordance with a ruling of the Council of the Christian Church held in AD 343 at Serdica (modern Sofia, capital of Bulgaria), and attended by a hundred bishops from the western Empire together with seventy bishops from the eastern Empire. On a motion by Hosius, Bishop of Corduba, canon 6 made it 'not lawful to appoint a bishop in a village or small city (modica civitate)...in order that the episcopal name and authority be not cheapened'. In Britain, however, there is no known city or civitas or fort vicius with a name derived from the Celtic root Bog-. We know very few place-names in Britain compared to all the places without names, and there must be a possibility that there was such a site called Bogium, or something similar. The positive evidence, however, which is linguistic in nature draws us away from this theoretical point. Professor Rivet has pointed out to us that in France there is a place with a name derived from Bogi-. This is the town of Bouges (Dep. Indre), which was Bogia in a document of 1214, and the medieval Latin name, Bogia, is probably derived from the supposed Roman estate-name of Bogiacum, 'the estate of Bogius', which would give an adjective of Bogiensis. Professor Rivet therefore suggests that ecclesia Bogiensis might be a private family church. Professor Charles Thomas, on the other hand, would prefer to derive Bogiensis directly from the supposed Celtic name of Bogius, and so he would prefer ecclesia Bogiensis to be more directly 'the church of Bogius', meaning that Bogius was its benefactor or founder.

Both these interpretations seem more likely than the possibility that there was a site called Bogium; but both have problems. A private family church would not warrant having a bishop and it could not be a cathedral. At best it might have a priest, a presbyter. Our solution is to suggest that Exuperius was in fact bishop of a cathedral located on an estate, presumably called Bogiacum or perhaps Bogiana. The Council of Serdica had, of course, forbidden arrangements in parallel small settlements; but its ruling would not have been necessary if episcopal sees had not already existed outside cities, and there is in addition some evidence for sees based on estates. Among the bishops from Africa listed as attending the Councils of the Church in the fourth and fifth centuries many have titles suggesting that their sees were based on estates. Some of the estates were owned by great families from Rome.

We see no reason to suppose that such appointments were confined to Africa. The emperor owned imperial estates in Britain, and so did the upper classes of the Empire. About AD 400, for example, Melania the Younger and her husband Pinianus owned property in Italy, Sicily, Spain and Africa, and also in Britain. One of Melania's estates in Africa included not only a villa but two bishops. The leading families of the western provinces, like their peers of African origin, also possessed huge estates.

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The Risley Park Dish: Facts and Figures

Length 49.7 cm.
Width 38.4 cm.
Height 2.5 cm.
Weight 4764.1 g.

The rectangular cast silver dish has a beaded rim and a rectangular footstand. The centre of the vessel is dished and the border is flat and horizontal. It has figured decoration in low relief on a central rectangular panel and on the four sides of the border. The object now consists of 26 separate pieces which have been soldered together.

The central panel has a hunting scene with two huntsmen and two hounds confronting a wild boar, with another wild pig in the background. Each corner of the border is decorated with a large head, opposing pairs of two male and two female. The section of the border below the central panel shows another hunt of a boar and a young wild pig, this time with a mounted huntsman, three dogs and two hunters on foot. The short side to the left of the centre is a third hunting scene, in which oversize childlike figures, one mounted on a lion and bearing a round shield, approach a woundered boar.

The other two sections of the border are pastoral scenes, the long one showing three shepherds herding sheep and goats in the vicinity of a small temple, while the short side section contains two horses, two men and another dog.

The centre picture is framed by a plain raised moulding, while the border panels are demarcated on the inner side by a row of fine raised beads, and on the outer rim of the dish by larger beads, each with a slender tail facing towards the edge of the vessel.

On the underside is a rectangular footstand 0.8 cm. high. Parallel to one of its long sides (equivalent to the bottom of the centre panel on the front) is an inscription. This reads, 'EXPERIUS.EPISCOPIVSEXEPISCOPECELESE.BOGIENSIS DEDIT. (Chi-Rho)'.

MINERVA 12
The possibility for the appointment of such estate-bishops must also have existed in Britain. We suggest that the ecclesias Bogeniensis may be the episcopal church of Boganum or Bogiana, the Estate of Bogius, and the inscription on the silver lanx discovered in 1729 may be the evidence that Britain too had a villa- or estate-church with its own bishop. The precise location of the estate and bishopric is not known; but it should probably be sought first in the vicinity of the find-place.

The Lanx as Church Plate

No matter where the ecclesia Bogeniensis was located, the lanx is also important because its inscription shows that it was a piece of church plate. In the history of early Christianity the lanx may be set side by side with the fourth-century silver vessels from Water Newton in Cambridgeshire.

In most cases we know nothing of the status of the donors of silver plate; but with the lanx we have the important information that the donor was a bishop. It is, of course, one thing to give precious plate to a god, or God, or to a church, and another thing to own it oneself, but Dr François Baratte has pointed out to us that the two things are not exclusive. The differences in quality between the Risley Park lanx and the Mildenhall and Carthage treasures, even though all three finds include pastoral and hunting scenes in their decoration, suggest that either Bishop Exuperius was not of the same economic (and social?) status as the owners of those two treasures, or at least that the same quality of plate was not available to him. We prefer the last option, as a fourth-century gold signet-ring with a Chi-Rho device, found in Suffolk, of the highest quality and perhaps episcopal, suggests that British bishops may have been just as keen on quality as their brother-bishops elsewhere in the Empire, when they could afford it and when the goods were available. The quantity and quality of the metal used in the Risley Park lanx were certainly not stinted, for the composition of the metal and the size and weight of the lanx are virtually the same as those of the very fine lanx from Corbridge in Northumberland. Only the quality of production and decoration were lacking.

The secular or even pagan nature of the decoration obviously gave the bishop no cause to hesitate when he was making his gift to the church. The lanx became Christian and ecclesiastical when it was given to the church and if it was used at any time it was during the services. Late-Roman bishops were preoccupied in furnishing their churches with precious-metal plate, of high value because of its silver content, both to use in the services and also to raise their prestige and provide them with capital which could be turned into cash in times of crisis, for example in order to provide charity. An inventory of 19 May, AD 303, from a church at Cirita in North Africa, showed that it owned six silver chalices, a paten, six lamps and two candelabra. Like the Water Newton treasure, the Risley Park lanx is a rare example of such plate from the fourth and early fifth century. A gift to the church of a lanx with secular decoration was probably acceptable both then and in the following centuries; but the lanx also reinforces the possibility that at this period, the second half of the fourth century AD, there was not yet any specifically liturgical plate produced for the church and that the ‘sacredness’ of plate stemmed from its user being a properly ordained priest.

The Risley Park dish has preserved for us a precise copy and record of the Risley Park lanx. The information about the lanx has introduced new elements into the history of late-Roman silver and pewter plate, and it has introduced exciting new possibilities into the history of the early church. Both aspects are important not only for the province of Britain but for the whole Roman Empire.

Short Bibliography


Kenneth Painter is a former Deputy Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum. Catherine Johns is a Curator in the Department of Prehistoric and Romano-British Antiquities of the British Museum, with special responsibility for Roman Britain.
THE MAKING OF ENGLAND
Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture, AD 600-900

A major new exhibition, 'The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture, 600-900', organised jointly by the British Museum and British Library, charts three centuries of astonishing change which were, in a real sense, the watershed between barbarism and civilisation. Between the Christian mission led by Augustine in AD 597 and the death of King Alfred in 899, England was transformed from an illiterate pagan backwater into a complex medieval Christian polity: a lost outpost of empire regained the traditions of classical culture, and out of many tribal groupings were made the secure foundations of one kingdom.

Leslie Webster

Whatever the historical truth of Pope Gregory the Great's most famous (and suspiciously apocryphal) pun, 'not Angles but angels', there can be no doubt about the momentous consequences his seemingly casual remark represented for the petty statelets which were eventually to become England. Whether or not the angelic pagans offered for sale in the Roman slave market really prompted Gregory to send a Christian mission to England in AD 597, the decision was a characteristically bold and imaginative one. Neither the Anglo-Saxons nor, in some ways, early medieval Europe, would ever be the same as a result.

Though it was not the only Christian mission to England - the missionaries trained in the Irish Christian tradition from Iona and from Ireland itself made a profound artistic and cultural impact - the Roman mission, begun in 597 under a somewhat reluctant Augustine was, in the end, the prevailing influence. Its effects spread far and wide beyond the specifically religious arena, touching every field of political, social and economic activity and transforming them radically in the process.

The new exhibition charts the profound and varied changes that followed, directly and indirectly, as a result of the fresh impulses and renewed contacts with the Mediterranean world which came about through the Christian missions initiated by Gregory. For this, the British Museum has been enormously lucky in obtaining the loans of priceless decorated manuscripts, sculpture, metalwork, textiles, glass and ivories from all over Britain, Europe and the USA. Some of the best preserved are from collections abroad where, in church treasuries and, ironically, even in Viking graves, they survived the depredations of Danegeld, the Dissolution of the monasteries and many intervening vicissitudes suffered by ecclesiastical treasures back home in England. Another strength of the exhibition is the inclusion of many new archaeological finds, never before exhibited. Material from the recent excavations of the probable monastic site at Flixborough, Humberside (reported in Minerva, Sept/Oct 1991, page 6), is well represented, along with other important recently excavated evidence from similar sites at Brandon, Suffolk, and the Anglo-Saxon double monastery at Barking, Essex. Alongside new finds such as these is an assemblage of outstanding documentary material of all kinds, including annals, letters, legal, literary and scholastics texts, and coinage. All, in their richness and variety, bear witness to the astonishing maturation of a society; in particular, Anglo-Saxon learning and artistic skills were rapidly to become the envy of Europe and to remain so for some time.

At the same time, material is included which
Hall, Ipswich, dating to c. AD 700 (opposite), gives a splendid illustration of how gold and garnet inlays in the continental manner became fashionable, along with elegant pendants, delicate pins and ostentatious brooches. These replace humbler paired brooches and festoons of beads worn by their pagan grandmothers. The Anglo-Saxons had a great capacity for absorbing and transforming; they soon modified these new Mediterranean styles of jewellery by grafting their own decorative traditions on to them. So the ornamental animal motifs which had long dominated Anglo-Saxon pagan-period metal work were updated to serve both new secular tastes and the needs of the new religion and its metalwork, sculpture and manuscripts. The superb craftsmanship of the Sutton Hoo shoulder-clasps (below), with their interplay of geometric and zoomorphic decoration, exemplifies how traditional Anglo-Saxon animal ornament could be reinvented and translated into the newer technique of cloisonné inlay.

The rich metalwork and other luxury items from the graves of the upper echelons of Anglo-Saxon society also hint, through their contents, at other new trends accelerating in the slipstream of the new religion. The wealth of such people itself says something about the developing trade and exchange mechanisms, and the appearance of the first Anglo-Saxon coinage in the seventh century suggests active royal interest in tax-gathering. Most of all, a number of highly ostentatious royal and sub-royal burials of this period attest to the increasing consolidation of wealth and power in certain kingdoms, and the visual means by which power was manifested. It is no accident that the East Anglian king buried in mound 1 at Sutton Hoo, like the owner of the York helmet more than a thousand years later, owned armour derived from that of a Roman emperor. For the same reasons, the East Anglian kings added Caesar to their genealogy around this time; Romanitas was a conscious claim, whereby the outward and visible trappings of ‘Roman’ authority conferred power on the king; in this, Christianity, the religion of Rome, was a potent factor.

Christianity is, however, also a religion of the Book, and books represented the most crucial needs
Etruscan terracotta lifesize volume female head with wavy hair, diadem. 4th-3rd Century A.D.
Ht 11 1/2 in (29.2cm) £4,500

Sardinian bronze horse. Circa 9th-8th Century B.C.
Ht 2 3/4 in (7cm) £6,500

Chinese bronze openwork mythical animal, perhaps a vessel handle. Chou Dynasty, 1027-256 B.C.
L. 9 in (23cm) £2,000

Attic black figure belly amphora by the Painter of Louvre F6. Circa 560-550 B.C.
Ht 12 1/2 in (31.1cm) £12,500

Our readers are cordially invited to attend a reception to be held at the Seaby Gallery on Monday December 2 1991 from 6.00 pm to 8 pm. Please telephone Helen Beastall on 071 495 2590 if you wish to attend.

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of the new Anglo-Saxon churches. They were needed in worship and for teaching; and the great scholars of the seventh and early eighth centuries, such as Theodore and Hadrian at Canterbury, and Bede at Jarrow, were conscious of the need to have texts copied and for their pupils to be fluent in Latin, sometimes even Greek. The school of Canterbury and the reputation of Bede was famous throughout western Europe. Services, too, required fine Bibles and copies of the Gospels. In the seventh and eighth centuries an Insular tradition of writing and painting produced some of the most exquisite manuscripts to have survived the Middle Ages. Their remarkable synthesis of Germanic, Irish and classical traditions was enormously influential abroad. These display manuscripts also suggest something of the wealthy ecclesiastical infrastructure necessary to support the community, the church, its teaching, and its worship. At least 130 calves were culled to provide the vellum for the Lindisfarne Gospels (right); expensive pigments such as lapis (blue) were used in the painting of manuscripts and sculpture. The exhibition includes the results of recent research at the English Heritage Ancient Monuments Laboratory which has shown that the costly and exceptionally rare pigment known as Egyptian blue was used with red ochre and gold to paint the capitals of St Augustine’s own church of Sts Peter and Paul at Canterbury; while at Monkwearmouth, Benedict Biscop imported Gaulish masons and glaziers to furnish the church.

Recent finds from Barking and Brandon (page 15) bear witness to the importance that fine glass drinking vessels, as well as window glass, had in the monastic community. Archaeology provides a context for Alcuin’s famous reproof to the monks who recited Germanic heroic epics at their meals in preference to the scriptures: ‘What has Ingeld to do with Christ?’; or Aldhelm’s criticisms of the costly apparel worn by certain nuns, in his tract addressed to the high-born nuns of Barking. Tantalisingly, the recent excavations at Barking have indeed produced scraps of gold thread from fancy braids of the kind he describes.

The exhibition gives some hints too of the internal furnishings of the new stone buildings; in addition to the decorative window glass, wall plaster and painted capitals already mentioned, it includes superb examples of architectural sculpture and cross-shafts which allow us to glimpse the richly textured (and very colourful) interiors of the finest of these buildings (page 19). The church built by Wilfrid at Hexham was described by a contemporary as grander than any other north of the Alps, furnished with splendid ornaments of gold, silver and precious stones, and with altars dressed with purple and silk. Even allowing for natural hyperbole, it is clear to see that not only was this building perceived in its day as magnificently built and furnished, there is an implicit comparison with the buildings of Rome itself.

One of the less obvious ways in which colour was introduced into churches (and domestic buildings) was by means of textiles, whether as hangings, altar cloths or vestments. The exhibition is exceptionally lucky in having been able to borrow examples of the superb late eighth-century embroideries (page 21) which belong now to the church of St Catherine of Maaselk, Belgium, but in the Middle Ages were at the monastery of Aldeniuk nearby. They still preserve, in their lively arcades of animals and interlace in reds and blues and glistening gold thread, something of their original brilliance. They also reflect an influential aspect of Anglo-Saxon culture throughout this period. The new religion reinforced and extended regular contacts with the Continent, as Anglo-Saxon pilgrims and scholars, along with merchants and craftsmen, took the
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road abroad. The founder of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, Benedict Biscop, made several journeys to Rome and Gaul, often collecting books and furnishings of all kinds to take back home with him. Later on, England's outstanding scholars could be head-hunted, as Alcuin of York was by Charlemagne; or their works copied and circulated like those of Bede. Missionaries such as Wilfrid and Boniface spread the Christian message in the pagan areas of Frisia and Germany, and centres of Insular influence were established at, for instance, Echternach in Luxembourg and at various places in southern Germany and Austria. To this day their influence survives in the shape of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and church equipment taken abroad or made there by English scribes and craftsmen; and in the pervasive effect of Insular style, which was a heady influence on much pre-Carolingian metalwork and ivory. Splendid objects taken abroad but of undoubted Anglo-Saxon origin include such renowned eighth-century pieces as the Franks Casket and the reliquaries from Mortain (France) and Gandersheim (Germany). These, like the Maasiek embroideries, probably went abroad as ecclesiastical gifts in Anglo-Saxon times — like the mighty Codex Amatius written and painted at Monkwearmouth/Jarrow and taken by Ceolfrid to Rome in 716 for presentation to the Pope. However, the mighty standing cross of wood and bronze from Bischofshofen near Salzburg (below), and the 'Culverth' Gospels which were illuminated by the Anglo-Saxon monk Cuthbert, were probably each made by an Anglo-Saxon monastic craftsman housed in a continental community. A further dimension of Anglo-Saxon contacts is seen in such objects as the chalice given by Tassilo, Duke of Bavaria, to Kremsmunster Abbey, and the superb paired ivories from Genoels-Elderen in Belgium. These are objects made by continental craftsmen but reflecting the powerful influence of Anglo-Saxon metalwork and sculpture as well as manuscripts.

Archaeology has certainly, as we have seen, helped to flesh out the life of monastic sites through the excavations at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, and more recently at the documented sites of Hartlepool and Barking. Our growing understanding of these, and of material retrieved from other sites such as Whitby, suggests that the recently excavated sites of Flixthorpe and Brandon, which are otherwise unrecorded in the Anglo-Saxon period, may also have been high-ranking religious communities. Very probably there were many such communities, and it is a salutary reminder of the huge gaps in our knowledge and understanding of this changing period that chance discoveries such as this can seriously transform our notions; the implications for our awareness of secular institutions are equally direct.

Work in this field has located evidence for some of the earliest Anglo-Saxon towns at Hamwic (Southampton), Ipswich, and in the Strand area of London: while analysis of coins and other artefacts from rural sites, particularly in East Anglia and the Midlands, is beginning to enable us to distinguish...
Corinthian Capital
Late Roman — Byzantine,
5th century A.D.
Marble; 231/2 x 271/4 x 263/4"
between different kinds of secular use - for instance, to discriminate between markets and permanent settlements. The growth of internal trade which took off in this period, as well as the shifting fortunes of political power, is reflected nowhere more strikingly than in the coinage, an important aspect of the exhibition. The rise and fall of the kingdom of Mercia through the eighth and early ninth century, and the ascendency of the Wessex kings, culminating in Alfred's political unification of 'all the English race' outside the Danelaw, can be tracked through the coinage as well as through the documentary evidence. These were the years in which the shadow of Viking raids, first recorded in the 790s, loomed ever larger. It is no accident that the marked incidence of silver and coin hoards which grow in frequency from the 830s onwards coincide with the acceleration of Viking activity, as raids redoubled in intensity and the inroads grew ever more serious. Fortunately, these hoards have left us with not only a splendid coin series but also a notable body of (mostly) secular metalwork. Perhaps it is also not so surprising that the ninth century is an age of swords as well as hoards; impressive prestige weapons survive in significantly larger numbers that in the comparatively peaceful years of the eighth century. It is hard to avoid the suspicion that these too reflect rather more the dangers and disorders of an increasingly violent century than purely the wealth and status of their owners. Not least, swords were prized possessions, bequeathed, like Alfred's, to favoured kinsmen or followers, and certainly never discarded (as so many of these finds were) except for some good reason.

It is, however, the effect of the Viking raids on the Church that is most striking; most crucially on the economic resources which underpinned its teaching and worship. It is a theme certainly made much of by contemporary churchmen, and by Alfred and his advisors - Viking raids were a judgment and a convenient stick to beat lax clergy and laity alike.

Nevertheless, the poor quality of many surviving official documents, and the dearth of ambitious decorated manuscripts during the middle years of the ninth century, may reflect a genuine hiatus. Certainly Alfred's energetic initiatives for spiritual and intellectual regeneration marched with his political achievements. It is thus fitting that the exhibition comes to an end with two objects intimately associated with both Alfred and Gregory the Great, with whom it started: the translation into Old English which Alfred commissioned of Gregory the Great's Pastoral Care, and the magnificent piece known (from its inscription) as the Alfred Jewel, which was probably the handle of a text-pointer made to accompany the Pastoral Care. The figure on the jewel symbolises Sigh; but it may be read more appropriately in this context as Vision - the related visions of Gregory seeking to turn pagan Angles into Christian angels, and of Alfred to make one England out of many.

Leslie Webster is Deputy Keeper of Medieval and Later Antiquities at the British Museum and co-organiser of the exhibition.

Neolithic Religion in the Channel Islands

Mark Patton describes recent excavations at La Hougue Bie, one of Europe’s most important megalithic monuments, which may provide new evidence of Neolithic religious practices and social structure.

The megalithic monuments known as passage graves are found along the Atlantic coast of Europe from Iberia through Western France to the British Isles and Scandinavia. These monuments, built between 4000 and 3000 BC, provide evidence for the religion and society of the first farming communities in Western Europe. Most of the monuments were excavated in the early days of archaeology, and many were damaged without being adequately recorded. Early excavators were concerned only with the megalithic chambers of the passage graves, and often ignored the cairns, or piles of stones, that covered them. Recent excavations in Brittany, however, have provided evidence for complex cairn constructions with elaborate dry-stone facades and traces of Neolithic ritual activity in front of the passage grave entrances. These monuments, it seems, were not simply tombs but complex ritual sites, probably focused on ancestor worship.

La Hougue Bie, on the Channel Island of Jersey, is one of the largest and best preserved of Europe’s Neolithic passage graves, consisting of a megalithic passage and chamber, sealed beneath a massive cairn 55 metres in diameter and 12 metres in height. The site was first excavated in 1924 when archaeologists from the local archaeological society discovered the entrance to the undisturbed chamber which contained the scattered remains of eight people, together with Neolithic pottery vessels, stone beads and offerings of limpet and oyster shells.

The cairn which covers the passage grave of La Hougue Bie is almost completely intact. The original excavators, having discovered the entrance to the tomb, left the site and turned their attentions elsewhere. The mound itself is surmounted by two fine medieval chapels, the presence of which has protected the monument from the destructive activities of quarrymen and treasure hunters. Because the site is so well preserved it may provide important new evidence of the nature of Neolithic religious practices and the structure of prehistoric society. In 1990 the decision was taken to initiate a three-year programme of excavations, focusing on the façade of the cairn.

Prior to the excavations the mound was surveyed using ground-scanning radar equipment developed by scientists at York University (see Minerva, January 1990, page 18). The results of this survey suggested that the mound had a stepped cairn construction, like other monuments such as Gavrinis and Barnenez in Brittany. The survey also revealed an anomaly which may
Excavation Report

indicate a second megalithic chamber running parallel to the known tomb.

The first season of excavations was undertaken in July 1991. A trial trench was dug, running up the mound on its eastern side. The aim of this was to establish the structure and condition of the cairn, prior to more extensive excavations in 1992. Already, however, the excavation has revealed some surprises. The mound seems to have been constructed in two distinct phases. In its first phase (probably built at around 4000 BC) the cairn had a well-built dry-stone façade composed of rectangular stone blocks. This cairn façade, which surprisingly does not have a stepped construction, was found to be unusually well preserved. At a later date, though still within the Neolithic period, the mound was enlarged by the addition of an earth terrace running around the base of the cairn to form a lower step. This terrace is revetted by a low dry-stone wall which curves inwards to form a forecourt in front of the tomb entrance. The terrace may have been added to consolidate the cairn, or simply to increase its size.

The excavations will continue in 1992, exposing a larger section of the cairn façade on either side of the tomb entrance and locating the entrance to the second chamber, if it exists. If a second undisturbed chamber is located, scientific techniques not available to earlier excavators could provide new types of information. If human remains are discovered, for example, studies of ancient DNA will be undertaken, enabling scientists to identify family relationships between the individuals buried in the tomb. Pottery fragments will be submitted for organic residue analysis in order to ascertain the contents of the vessels (Andrew Sherratt has recently suggested that the Neolithic 'vases-supports' found in monuments such as La Hougue Bie may have been used for infusing opium). The final season of excavations, scheduled for 1993, will focus on the Neolithic land surface both in front of the facade and beneath the earth terrace. This will provide important dating evidence and may also reveal traces of Neolithic rituals conducted around the outside of the monument.

The Channel Islands have a particularly rich and varied archaeological heritage and La Hougue Bie is one of many passage graves known in the archipelago. La Hougue Bie, however, has a particular importance in relation to the other monuments in the area, and may provide the key to understanding the social structure of Neolithic communities in the Channel Islands. It is very much larger than any of the other passage graves in the vicinity, and has a more central location. The smaller passage graves are located around the coasts of Jersey and Guernsey, whereas La Hougue Bie is situated in the centre of the eastern half of Jersey on some of the highest land on the island. Further clues are provided by the petrology of the stones used to build the megaliths: the smaller passage graves are built of stones taken from their immediate vicinity, whilst La Hougue Bie includes stones taken from various points around the eastern half of Jersey. Each of the smaller passage graves could have served as a ceremonial centre for a farming community of perhaps 200-400 people. If this is the case La Hougue Bie should perhaps be seen as a larger tribal centre, serving several of these communities and indicating a degree of centralisation.

This centralisation can perhaps be linked to the exchange of stone axes, which seems to have been an important feature of Neolithic social life. Petrological analysis shows that many of the stone axes found in the Channel Islands were imported from Brittany, Normandy and from as far afield as the Alps. Carvings of axes found in megalithic monuments suggest that this exchange may have taken place in a ceremonial context, and probably had considerable social significance. Because of the pattern of tides and currents around the Channel Islands, the community which occupied the eastern half of Jersey is likely to have controlled the exchange of axes between the Channel Islands and the European mainland. This control of exchange may have enabled this community to emerge as a dominant group, which emphasised its power and status by constructing the largest monument in the region. It is probably no accident that La Hougue Bie, alone among the megalithic monuments of the Channel Islands, is clearly visible from the coast of Normandy.
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We are in a recession, which has its customary predictable effects upon the ancient coin market. First, investors stop buying and in some cases sell their holdings. Second, new collectors enter the field in smaller numbers than usual, since people are not looking for new ways to spend money. Third, established collectors continue buying, but are more cautious about their purchases. This is the present state of the market. The collector is king, and the astute purchaser can find advantageous buys. That having been said, demand remains remarkably strong for unusual or high quality coins. On the other hand, common and ordinary coins can be purchased very reasonably.

At the annual meeting of the Numismatic Association, its annual convention held in Chicago in August, dealers reported mixed experiences. Some reported relatively few sales, while others who had fresh and interesting material found business brisk. Although attendance was good at the auctions held by Numismatic Fine Arts and Classical Numismatic Auctions, a higher proportion of coins than usual sold to mail bidders rather than the floor. However, collectors still pursued exceptional examples, even of relatively common coins. In the CNA sale, 'possibly the finest known Ptolemy III gold octodrachm' (Conjoined busts of Ptolemy II and Arsinoë II/Conjoined busts of Ptolemy I and Berenike) sold to a delighted collector for $16,500 (right).

Later in August, Münzen und Medaillen conducted an important sale in Basel that included the splendid Maurice Lafaille Collection of Greek bronzes and a comprehensive old collection of Greek coins from the Cycladic Islands. It is just this type of sale - interesting and seldom seen coins - that excites the greatest interest in this current collector-dominated market. The Greek bronzes in particular - although often viewed as the stepchildren of the more spectacular gold and silver issues - proved their popularity. A bronze of Tar- entum, 227-209 BC (Head of Athena/ Herakles fighting the Nemean lion), commanded a record bid of SF13,500 (£5,320) against an estimate of only SF1,000. A bronze of Aphyes in Macedon, c. 360 BC (horned bust of Zeus Ammon threequarters left/ Kantharos), fetched an astonishing SF15,500 on an estimate of SF1,000. Both coins were purchased by the same English collector, a knowledgeable and demanding connoisseur of the highest calibre.

Many of the Cycladic pieces in the M&M sale also did well. A rare silver stater from Melos, 425-416 BC (Quince/ Gorgoneion), with an impressive pedigree (Melos Hoard, Lambros Collection, the 1991 Hirsch auction, Vincenot de Sargies collection and 'Kunstfreund' collection) brought SF19,000 against an estimate of SF12,000. A silver stater from Thera, c. 550-500 BC (Dolphins swimming in opposite directions/ Incuse punch), estimated at SF5,000, sold for SF8,000 in competitive bidding.

A most intriguing new discovery, the first known coin of the Roman usurper Proculus, c. 281-280 BC (Bust of Proculus/ Victory), was featured in the October Aufhäuser sale in Munich (op left). The coin is a valuable historical document, for it is our only source of information on this little-known usurper which dates from his own period (the earliest surviving literary references to Proculus were composed in the second half of the fourth century AD). A respected military leader, Proclus was proclaimed emperor at Cologne after his success in resisting an incursion by the Alemanni. He was afterwards quickly defeated by the emperor Probus, however, who rushed to defend his own hold on the throne. The base metal antoninianus, with part of its original silver wash still intact, was estimated at DM30,000 (£10,410). In heated bidding, it finally sold to a German museum for DM92,000.

The annual October Coinex fair in London was showcased by several auctions, but results were generally lacklustre. The fair suffered from reduced attendance due to conflicting German auctions, and there was a general lack of exciting new material on offer. One sale which did attract spirited bidding was the numismatic literature sale by Seaby Coins, in which many rare and important ancient coin references bought exceptional prices. For example, Svoronos' classic reference on Ptolemaic coinage, although outdated and written in Greek, brought £1,100 on a £750 estimate. An original edition of Haebel's history of Roman coinages preceded its £1,250 estimate at £1,400, despite the fact that a far less impressive reprint of this standard work is available. At times numismatic books seemed to be more eagerly sought than the coins themselves.

The pre-holiday season will draw to a close, as always, with the New York International. The fair itself takes place on 6-8 December at the Drake Hotel (a new location, but a series of important auctions will extend the period of numismatic activity both before and after the fair. Classical Numismatic Auctions (3 December), Numismatic Fine Arts (4-5 December), Superior Stamp & Coin (5-7 December), Spink/Kolbe (8 December), and Christie's (9 December). It promises to be a busy week.
Nubia's rich deposits of gold, copper and hard and semi-precious stones made it irresistibly attractive to the rulers of Egypt, as did its strategic geographical position as part of the only reliable trade route linking the Mediterranean world to tropical Africa with its wealth of luxury products — ivory, ebony, incense, exotic animals and slaves. But Nubia was also the home of some of the most advanced early African societies, vigorous indigenous cultures which nonetheless borrowed extensively from the other great civilisations that the economic importance of their land brought them into contact with. It is these two interrelated themes which form the basis of the new gallery, 'Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam', opened at the British Museum by HRH Princess Margaret in July. Created with the support of Dr Raymond and Mrs Beverly Sackler of New York, it draws on the British Museum's rich collection of antiquities from Nubia and the Sudan. This collection, housed mainly in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, is among the most extensive of its kind in the world and includes much material which has never been displayed before. The majority of the exhibits derive from controlled excavations and represent every significant phase of cultural development in the region from the Palaeolithic period to the arrival of Islam in the seventh century AD.

A brief introductory section describes the people of Nubia and the reasons for the importance of the region, illustrated with examples of some of the valued raw materials which Nubia supplied, and a variety of finished products: a gold collar, ring and bracelets, necklaces of garnet, amethyst and cornelian, furniture of ivory and ebony, an ostrich egg shell and amulets of jasper. The remainder of the display is arranged chronologically and reflects the complex and constantly changing relationship between the Nubians and their northern neighbours. In their formative stages, before 3000 BC, the cultures of Lower Nubia and Upper Egypt had much in common; the evidence of grave goods suggests a relatively peaceful relationship, with Nubians and Egyptians moving freely in and out of each other's territory to trade. The display includes a complete grave group of this early period from Faras, comprising both locally made pots and implements, and imported Egyptian vessels. After the emergence of Egypt as a unified state with a centralised government and a hierarchical society, at the end of the fourth millennium BC, political boundaries hardened and the land of the Nubians became a target for military aggression and exploitation. This development established a pattern for the relationship between the lands which was to endure for the three thousand years:

John H. Taylor

Group of Merotic pottery vessels from Faras, illustrating the wide variety of shapes and decorative designs typical of the period. 1st century BC - 2nd century AD.
Egypt endeavouring whenever possible to dominate the southlands and to exploit their resources, the Nubians following their own ways of life and taking advantage of periodic political weakness in Egypt to throw off the pharaonic yoke. For most of this period the pottery, tools, weapons and burial customs of the two cultures are clearly distinguishable. Yet many external influences were absorbed by the Nubians through commercial contacts and subjection to stronger powers.

While the gallery traces the well-known story of Egyptian activity in Nubia with the aid of hieroglyphic inscriptions, statues, reliefs and wall-paintings, strong emphasis has been placed on outlining the less familiar story of the development of the indigenous societies of the region. The pottery of the early A-Group and C-Group cultures of Lower Nubia illustrates the considerable technological abilities of craftsmen who flourished in the fourth and third millennia BC. Much greater cultural advances followed with the emergence of the first great Nubian state, the kingdom of Kush (as the Egyptians called it), centred on the site of Kema in the Dongola Reach. The new display shows examples of the fine pottery and metalwork that distinguish this phase of development; but these objects reflect only one aspect of a rich material culture which also encompassed the making of excellent wooden furniture, the carving of ivory and the production of striking faience vessels, tiles and figurines. Though without a written language, the Kushites possessed a stable economy and were clearly highly organised. The monumental buildings of religious and funerary type constructed at Kema presuppose the efficient management of a large labour force, while the variety of graves and house types indicates the existence of social stratification to a degree unprecedented in this part of Africa.

The Kushite economy was based on agriculture and animal husbandry, but the strength and prosperity which raised the society to the level of a true state probably arose largely through the Kerma rulers control of major overland trade routes and its sphere of influence from east, west and south. Echoes of the Kushite ruler's importance as a commercial middleman had reached Egypt as early as the 6th Dynasty. Harkhuf, governor of Aswan, records in his tomb biography how he made journeys to trade with the ruler of Yam, a locality plausibly identified with the Kerma Basin. Trade between Egypt and Kush continued to flourish during the Middle Kingdom, though the outbreak of hostilities was an ever-present possibility. The threat of attack from Kush was undoubtedly a major consideration in the construction of the series of elaborate fortresses which were erected along the Nile from Elephantine to the Egyptians' southern frontier at Semna during the 12th Dynasty. The status of Kerma as centre of a powerful Nubian civilisation rivalling Egypt in prosperity has only become clear within the last 20 years. G. A. Reisner, the original excavator of the site, interpreted it as a trading post set up by Egyptians, some of whom, he believed, had adopted the customs of the local inhabitants. It is largely through the energetic and far-sighted work of Professor Charles Bonnet of the Swiss Archaeological Mission, who has conducted excavations at Kerma since 1973, that the true significance and importance of the site have been clearly established.

Although Egypt annexed Lower Nubia during the Middle Kingdom, and thereby gained access to the gold mines of the Eastern Desert, the Kushite state south of the Third Cataract obstructed the realisation of another ambition - to obtain direct control of the traffic in luxury goods from tropical Africa. The situation deteriorated for Egypt in the Second Intermediate Period; taking advantage of the withdrawal of Egyptian garrisons from the Lower Nubian fortress...

(right) Bronze figure of an unidentified Kushite king in an attitude of adoration, from Temple 'T' at Kawa. Though the piece follows Egyptian iconographic traditions, the cap-like headdress and double uraeus are characteristic attributes of the Nubian kings of Egypt and their successors.

Sandstone stela showing the god Thoth receiving offerings from Useramet, Viceroy of Kush in the reign of Amenhotep II (c. 1427-1400 BC).

minerva 29
and inscriptions commemorating Egyptian viceroys serve as reminders of the efficient administrative system (based on that operating in Egypt) which was imposed on the conquered land. There are monumental sculptures from the many temples erected along the Nubian Nile in the 18th and 19th Dynasties, and smaller and more informal objects from the towns which served as bases for garrisons, administrators and miners – pottery, sealings from wine jars, ostraca (the ‘notepads’ of the day) and humble votive offerings from the shrine to Hathor (a goddess particularly venerated by miners and those who worked in desert regions) at Faras.

Towards the end of the eighth century BC, three hundred years after the withdrawal of the Egyptian colonial administration, a new Kushite state rose rapidly to power, its rulers making a dramatic debut on the historical stage by invading Egypt and ruling it effectively for over half a century. Kings such as Psye, Shabaqo and Taharqa not only rescued the kingdom from the stagnating effects of political dissunity, but pushed it onwards towards new prosperity. The ‘renaissance’ of Egyptian culture which came to fruition under the 26th Dynasty and which is often unjustly attributed to the Saite kings, was firmly launched under the Kushites, who restored strong government, pursued an active foreign policy and promoted the rejuvenation of art and architecture, taking inspiration from the great ages of Egypt’s past. The wholeheartedness with which these southern princes adopted Egyptian traditions is well illustrated by sculptures in stone, wood and bronze, and the shabti figures from their pyramid tombs at Nuri.

The Assyrians forced the Kushite kings to abandon Egypt in the seventh century BC, but the experience of Egyptian culture which they took back with them to Nubia left its imprint on the Kushite kingdom for centuries to come. Temples were built in Egyptian style, kings were depicted wearing royal costumes inspired by those of the pharaohs, and the pantheon was dominated by Egyptian gods and goddesses, particularly Amun, Horus, Isis and Osiris.

Although control of Egypt passed back and forth to Persians, Egyptians and Macedonian Greeks, the Kushite state flourished independently and apparently with little disturbance. When Egyptian influences on Nubian culture persisted at court level, indigenous traditions, probably dominant among the ordinary people since the kingdom’s foundation, came increasingly to the fore. Intensive building activity in the Butana region after about 300 BC suggests an increase in the importance of the southern part of the kingdom, centred on the city of Meroe. Modern scholars continue to debate the true status of Meroe, and its significance vis-à-vis other centres such as Napata, but classical authors clearly regarded it as the main focus of the kingdom, a city on the edge of the known world, and a byword for the bizarre and fantastic. Available data on the Merotic Period (as the second half of the millennium-long Kushite kingdom is usually known) is still inadequate and unbalanced and the gallery presents a cross-section of the kind of material on which reconstructions of this crucial phase of Nubian history are based. Remains from the southern part of the kingdom reflect chiefly the culture of the court: this section of the display is dominated by a complete wall from the pyramid-chapel of one of the Kandakes (ruling queens) of Meroe, and a monumental stela inscribed in Meroitic, the first written language of Nubia, which still defies translation in the absence of clear affinities with other African languages.

Evidence from the north presents a clearer picture of the life and funerary customs of the middle ranks of society, represented here by objects from graves at Faras and other sites. The artistic influences which characterise the culture of the Meriotic Period and which are revealed particularly clearly in the pottery. There are black-burnished cups and four-mouthed jugs with incised decoration which belong firmly to African ceramic traditions, but the more celebrated ‘fine wares’ present a range of designs inspired by models from Graeco-Roman Egypt and the Mediterranean world, using ankh and tyet forms from pharaonic iconography, and vine leaf patterns reminiscent of those painted on Roman ceramics.

The gallery traces the story of Nubia through the post-Meroitic phase of the fourth to sixth centuries AD, to the long period of prosperity which followed the adoption of Christianity. Besides decorative carvings of stone and wood from cathedrals, gravestones, pottery and domestic utensils, there is a rich variety of objects from Qasr Ibrim, an outpost of great strategic importance which has yielded an unparalleled sequence of archaeological material ranging from the New Kingdom to the nineteenth century AD. The site is particularly rich in organic remains and the British Museum possesses a wide range of textiles, leatherwork and woodwork which will be displayed on a rotational basis to minimise the potentially harmful effects of long exposure to light. From the same site comes a series of religious documents written in the Old Nubian language, and objects from the intact burial of the fourteenth-century bishop Timothoeus, discovered undisturbed beneath the cathedral’s north crypt during excavations by the Egypt Exploration Society. Also on show is a selection of objects recently excavated by the British Institute in Eastern Africa at the rarely visited site of Soba, capital of the Christian kingdom of Alwa. Among these is an exquisite glass vessel of Islamic manufacture, serving as a pointer to the more recent history of this remarkable land.

Dr John Taylor is a Curator in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum and author of the recently published Egypt and Nubia (BMP £5.95).
The ancient civilisations of the Iberian peninsula, including the native Celto-Iberian culture, and the settling or invading Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks and Romans, have left an impressive artistic legacy in modern-day Spain and Portugal. Whether strictly native Iberian, imported from Greece and Rome, or an amalgam of the two, many major and minor works in marble, bronze and terracotta from ancient Iberia are outstanding in quality, as is evident to anyone who has visited the extensive collections in Seville, Merida or Tarragona. As impressive in quality, although less extensive, is the collection of art from ancient Spain at the Hispanic Society of America in New York.

The Society was founded at the turn of the century by a son of the fabulously wealthy railroad tycoon Collis Potter Huntington. With his considerable inheritance Archer Milton Huntington devoted much of his life to Hispanic studies, and established a museum to house the important collection of Spanish art from prehistory to the twentieth century which he amassed. The collection of antiquities at the Hispanic Society is infrequently visited for two reasons. First, the Society itself is located in a crime-ridden area of central Harlem in northern Manhattan and, second, for security reasons arrangements must be made with a member of the museum staff for access to the room containing the antiquities. Seeing the collection, however, is worth the trouble on both counts.

Among the earliest works in the Society’s collections, which comprise only objects recovered from Spain proper, is a grouping of 23 complete and 16 fragmentary late Neolithic vessels from the Bell-Beaker culture. Named because of the characteristic inverted bell shapes of its incised earthenware...
bowls, this culture thrived in the Iberian peninsula, as well as in Britain and other parts of Europe. Bronze Age Spain is represented in the collection by numerous weapons, including ferocious celts (axes), halberds and daggers, as well as graceful household and personal items, such as urns and bracelets.

The native Iberian peoples of the Bronze Age were invaded by the northern Celts in the seventh century BC, hence the designation ‘Celtiberian’ which is frequently used for the main civilisation on the Iberian peninsula. Although influenced by Phoenicia, Carthage, Greece and Rome, Celtiberians were capable craftsmen in their own right, as is evidenced by the splendid gold and silver jewellery (Fig. 1) which dates to the first century BC. The torc with amphora-like finials is made from 12 intertwined heavy gold wires and is a type of neck ornament that was often worn by Gauls and Celts (Minerva May/June 1991, pp. 28-29). The collared amulet also has features frequently encountered in jewellery of the southern barbarians. Contact between the Celtiberians and the Phoenicians, Greeks and Carthaginians is evidenced by the numerous ‘hybrid’ objects in the Hispanic Society’s collection. There is a Phoenician bronze of a standing priest that looks positively Egyptian. The bulk of the objects at the Society, however, reflect the influence of the Romans. Although the Greek outposts in Spain, such as Emporion and Rhoda, and the Phoenician colonies, including Gades, Abdarea, Malaca and the Balearics, have yielded some important works characteristic of the home country, it was the Romans who left a giant footprint and thousands of remnants of their presence in Spain. After all, Trajan and Hadrian were born in Spain in Italica, whose amphitheatre was the fifth largest in the Roman world (after Rome, Puteoli, Capua and El Djem in Tunisia). Spain, one of Rome’s earliest Mediterranean conquests, was an important source of gold, silver, grain, slaves, olive oil and that key element in Roman cuisine, fish sauce (garum) (see description of a Roman garum factory in Spain in Minerva, July/August 1991, page 19).

The ancient town of Italica, near present-day Seville, where none other than Archer Milton Huntington himself conducted excavations, is the reported findspot for many of the Hispanic Society’s most important Roman objects, including some of its superlative marble sculptures. Probably the most striking of the Roman works is the handsome bust of a young man (Fig. 2). While scholars agree on its later second century AD date, the exact identity of this curly-haired youth has been debated for decades. In 1917 it was thought to be the emperor Lucius Verus, but that view has fallen out of favour. Coin portraits of Lucius Verus reveal that his nose was considerably more aquiline than the slightly bumped nose of the Hispanic Society’s model. A 1990 journal article broached the possibility that he is Marcus Aurelius, but this identification is also not altogether convincing. Whoever he is, his marble likeness, almost entirely intact, is a superb example of psychological portraiture, conveying the spirit of a confident yet somewhat hesitant youth on the verge of manhood. Also disputed is the identity of the female head (Fig. 3), which has been thought variously to represent the empress Livia or Julia Agrippina.

The pair of silver saucepans, or trullae (Fig. 4), with relief decoration on the handles, portray satyr masks, thyrsi, goats and phallic symbols suggesting that they were used in sacred Bacchic rites. Dating to the first century AD, the craftsmanship of some of these cultic vessels is superb. The undersides of the trullae are inscribed with the name of the owner, Gnaeus Carvicius. Many of the Roman
bronze statuettes and utilitarian objects in the Society’s collection are also works of the first order, indicative of the prosperity of Roman Spain, which was divided into the provinces of Hispania Citerior (nearer Spain) and Hispania Ulterior (farther Spain). A bronze two-wick lamp with a relief Pan-head decoration rivals the splendid bronze vessels from Pompeii, and numerous lares (household gods) and other votive objects are further windows into the religious life of Romanised Spain.

The collections of ancient glass and terra sigillata are notable both for their quality as well as their size. Several cases of luminous, iridescent Roman glass tantalise the eye. A pair of yellow mould-blown beakers (one illustrated in Fig. 5) with almond-like bumps are very like the lively ‘lotus beaker’ at the Yale University Art Gallery.

Although it would not qualify as the most attractive type of pottery from the ancient world, coral-red terra sigillata, which appeared after Etruria’s bucchero ware, is not altogether devoid of interest. Terra sigillata was first made in Arretium (Arezzo), and was clearly characterised by a reddish glaze (from iron oxide in the clay) on low-relief decorated pottery of varying forms. The chronology of terra sigillata has been established by its excavation with coins of Tiberius, Claudius and Nero. The Society’s collection of sigillata ware, largely excavated by Mr Huntington in 1898, is notable for some rare shapes. The vessels were probably manufactured by Gaulish or Arretine potters for a Latinised Hispanic taste which enjoyed the relief decorations of cupids and satyrs.

Other specialised collections of antiquities at the Society include mosaic panels from Alcolea del Río (Fig. 6), and the extensive assortment of Roman medical implements and Iberian votive statuettes.

The Curator of Archaeology at the Hispanic Society, Dr Vivian Hibbs, is engaged in publishing several objects from the collections. In addition to the antiquities that are on display there are also several hundred in storage as well. Another hidden treasure of the Hispanic Society is its cache of Visigothic coins. Coinage of the Visigoths in Spain is very rare, making the Society’s collection, which is kept at the neighbouring American Numismatic Society, the most important outside Spain.
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Peter Clayton begins our book section, specially extended in this issue with ideas for Christmas reading, with a look at recent additions to a prolific and handy series of books on British archaeology.

The extremely useful and good value Shire Archaeology books continue to appear at short intervals – recently, seven have been published within as many months. If the reviewer approaches them chronologically by subject, rather than in strict publication order, the broad span of British archaeology taken by these titles is immediately apparent. They all have 64 or 72 pages, are well illustrated and (all but one) priced at a very reasonable £3.50, and each is written by a noted authority in the field it covers. Where else could you hope to find seven concise and authoritative works on British archaeology for under £25?

The peoples of mesolithic Britain, living in a period following the final retreat of the ice about 8300 BC, found that they had to adapt to radically changed conditions. Climate, vegetation and geography had an immediate effect on their way of life. It was a hard life, based more on small groups than bands or tribes, and great ingenuity had to be exercised to be able to cope with and survive in their environment. By now the dog was domesticated and, no doubt, of inestimable worth in their way of life. Their economy was very basic, pottery was unknown and we really only recognise them from their typical flintwork and such bone and antler that has survived. The flintwork is the typical ‘fossil’ of the period with the well-known assemblage of small points (microliths) and scrapers. Few wooden objects have survived except in exceptional wetland sites. Despite this apparent paucity of a material culture, many sites have been recognised and excavated, the principal one in Britain being Star Carr, North Yorkshire. Here, one of the most striking finds was a perforated stag antler frontlet intended to be worn on the head, possibly by the mesolithic equivalent of the later known shamans of eastern Europe. Similar examples have been found at sites in Europe. In Mesolithic Britain (£3.95), John Wymer, amongst the foremost authorities on the period, presents a concise survey of what we know of this rather difficult, almost elusive, period of British prehistory.

In England, the neolithic causewayed enclosures are the earliest structures of their type and were built from about 3000 BC to around 2500 BC. Before aerial reconnaissance programmes in the early 1970s, they were thought to be essentially a feature of the upland chalklands of southern Britain, where some sixty are known and a dozen are clear enough on the ground to be worth visiting. However, their distribution was suddenly extended as they began to be recognised on the river gravels of the south and east Midlands. In Causewayed Enclosures, Roger Mercer, who has extensive experience of excavating these monuments and of archaeological field survey, considers five aspects of them: the nature and reasons for development of the sites; the communities that used them; the history of their investigation, and the present state of our knowledge regarding these somewhat enigmatic monuments. Many of them cover vast areas; Hamblton Hill, Dorset, excavated by Mercer, is, at 7.55 hectares, the largest known neolithic enclosure in Europe; some of the other British examples are not far short of this.

Irish Megalithic Tombs by Dr Elizabeth Shee Twohig presents a useful summary of the research carried out on these enigmatic monuments which now seem to have been erected between about 3500 and 2000 BC. The great passage grave tombs of the Boyne Valley, New Grange and Knowth with their remarkable megalithic art are well known, but setting them in the context of the other types – court, portal and wedge tombs – reveals that they were used for both burial and ritual activities. An obvious feature of many, other than the elaborate megalithic art which decorates a number of them, is the outstanding architectural and engineering competence displayed in their construction. The immense weights and sizes of the stones involved would cause problems on a building site today, even with modern methods and aids to moving them.

At the moment, with 1992 looming, the Celts are enjoying a great resurgence, notably with Fiat's incredible exhibition in Venice and many museum exhibitions throughout Europe underlining the first 'European civilisation'. The most distinctive achievement of the Celts was the art style of their cultures, and the way that they adapted the art styles of other cultures into their own distinctive idiom. Ruth and Vincent Megaw have always been very much concerned with the visual arts, and their Early Celtic Art and Britain and Ireland, which was first published in 1986, has now been reprinted with amendments.

Although the Celts occupied most of Central Europe from around the sixth century BC, subsequently spreading further afield even into Asia Minor and North Africa, from the second century BC they came into conflict with the growing empire of Rome. Since they had no written language, it is only through the literature of the 'victors' and the Celts' own expression through their art that we can appreciate their culture. The heights that it reached are well evidenced by the art objects, mainly surviving in metal – weapons and items of personal adornment such as the well-known torcs – with some rare sculptures and rare wooden pieces from waterlogged deposits. This book examines the art of what might be called the 'Celtic fringe' of Britain and Ireland where Celt Art could still flourish beyond the power of Rome. It is an art that is elusive, non-narrative and, in this area, essentially non-representational, with a few exceptions such as the Welwyn heads and some animals such as the Hounslow boar. It is in the elusive running line, often incorporating plant and foliate forms, that the Celts excelled.

Having looked at Celtic art, one can turn to Celtic Warriors by W. F. and J. N. G. Ritchie (first published 1985, reprinted 1990). Here we see the Celts represented through the eyes of the victors, largely on tombstones, where they are being trampled under foot, or on victory monuments such as the Pergamon Altar, or from sculptures like the 'Dying Gaul', known from several versions. What these tell us is that Rome well recognised the ferocity and warrior structure of the Celtic tribes which they
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The author of these volumes was Professor of Classical Archaeology at Bryn Mawr. Among the many vases and painters discussed are: Hegesiboulos; Hermaios; Hieron; Douris; Chachrylion; Epiketos; Pamphaios. Clear illustrations of hundreds of vases and fragments.
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were to stamp out. Archaeological finds - such as the Celtic chariot burials with their magnificent weapons and other accoutrements and ornaments - all testify to the high standard of craftsmanship achieved by a society that Rome viewed as a conglomeration of 'barbaric tribes'. The ethnic claims for the Celts were, how they were viewed in the eyes of the Classical world, how they fought in battle, their weapons and their warrior burials. Here we get a truer picture of these remarkable warriors than in the literary record of their adversaries.

It was through military prowess and authoritarian government that Rome imposed her will on most of the then known world. Much of this relied on swift and effective communication, not least in rapidly putting the legions into an ever-expanding empire. That empire was held together by its network of roads for which Rome is still a byword and upon which many modern trunk roads still run. Richard Bagshawe's Roman Roads has been reprinted three times since its first publication in 1979, and is a small classic on its subject. He is concerned with Roman roads in Britain, of which there were some 10,000 miles, most of which are known to us today. The surviving roads are a remarkable achievement, being completed within a century of the conquest. In AD 43, Bagshawe, who has discovered sixteen Roman roads himself, outlines how one can go searching for lost Roman roads and identify and record them - there is still ample scope here for the amateur field archaeologist. Also described are the details of Roman road construction, an art which was then lost in Britain until the 1920s, 1700 years later.

The survival of the roads is evidence that the stamp that Rome left on the British countryside was not one to be easily erased. Although many of the Roman sites survived with, in some instances, quite upstanding remains, they were generally shunned by the Saxons. Subsequently, a number had towns founded on them but there is little evidence of continuity. It was not until the mid-twelfth to early fourteenth centuries that most English and Welsh towns were either founded or began to grow rapidly. Dr Paul Hindle's Medieval Town Plans is a practical guide to their study. He begins by outlining their growth and size, using archaeological, documentary and map evidence, plus the features that have vanished as well as those which survived. The plan includes the suburbs and property boundaries. Many of the latter are still much in evidence today - physically, on the ground, and in the documents that still govern transfer of leases and property. A particular study is made of Ludlow, a famous medieval town founded in the twelfth century. As Dr Hindle points out, we should not take the obvious or commonly accepted solutions but examine all the evidence available - 'complexity of urban evolution is more common than simplicity'.

The Middle Ages, at least from the twelfth century onwards, have one great advantage over all earlier periods of history: the survival of records as well as artefacts, buildings and works of art. Not all countries and cities are equally well served but, from kings to merchants, there is the possibility of finding inventories, wills describing cherished possessions, accounts, contracts and records of the guilds to which the artists and craftsmen belonged, and even designs and instructional manuals. It is, in fact, difficult to find any aspect of medieval art and archaeology which does not gain from combining the evidence of records with that of the material remains. A new series of books Medieval Craftsman has been launched by the British Museum Press, with four titles so far, by Kay Staniland; Glass-Painters by Sarah Brown and David O'Connor; Painters by Paul Binski; and Masons and Sculptors by Nicola Coldstream. They are uniform with the long-established guides, with many illustrations in colour, and cost £6.95. They provide an excellent introduction to the people who built and made the buildings and objects ranging from castles and cathedrals to ordinary houses, from luxury goods to everyday objects. For obvious reasons, masons and glass-painters went to where the buildings were being erected and glazed, although the cathedrals had a permanent staff for maintenance. Pictures in manuscripts show buildings being erected, and whichever period the incident belonged to historically it was depicted in the latest style and using up to date methods of construction. Many of the illustrations, including the fine designs made to show clients what their buildings would look like, are from European projects - relatively few such drawings are known from Britain.

Each book has a glossary and index with a list of books for further reading. Anyone who wants a good introduction to a whole range of medieval arts now has it in a convenient and inexpensive form. Experts, too, will find them useful for a preliminary orientation outside of their field of specialisation. Next spring four more titles are promised: Scribes and Illuminators (Christopher de Hamel), Tilers (Elizabeth Eames, whose book on, and catalogue of, the British Museum collection will be known to readers), Armours (Matthias Pfaffenbichler), and Goldsmiths (John Cherry). Other possible subjects spring readily to mind: the girders and other base metal workers responsible for so much of the medieval metalwork in museums, leatherworkers (more of whose work survives than might be thought possible), the masons and stonemasons who made the often splendid coins, and more.

The latest title in the long series of guides has also been published by BMP: John Cherry's Medieval Decorative Art (£5.95). He concentrates on four aspects of a very large subject: nature and rural life; heraldry as decoration; feasting; and romance and courtly love. The text is lucid and is accompanied by a well-chosen selection of illustrations drawing on many collections apart from the British Museum's own resources. It is an admirable introduction which makes a number of valid points. The treatment of heraldry is very good as so many books tend to ignore the way in which it was used. The suggestion that not all coats of arts were meant to be identifiable is especially welcome; this has not always been understood, and has led to some highly improbable identifications in the past.

John A. Goodall

May 1991 saw the appearance of a new society, the Medieval Dress and Textile Society, which was launched after a day of lectures sponsored by the Pasold Research Fund. It is an interdisciplinary group for holding seminars and conferences, by providing access to specialist expertise and for encouraging the serious study of the subject. For membership of the Medieval Dress and Textile Society (£5 per annum), contact Frans Pritchard, Department of Urban Archaeology, Museum of London, London Wall, London EC2Y 5HN.

MINERVA 39
City and Country in the Ancient World

Town-country relationships form a major theme of the papers (five concerned with Greece, six with the Roman world) collected in this volume. An introductory chapter by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill offers a useful guide to theory, method and problems in the study of the classical city, emphasising the need for a better understanding of the ancient countryside. Historians have long been aware that the territory which each city possessed was critical to its prosperity. Yet detailed knowledge is seldom obtainable from the ancient authors, who had little interest in everyday rural life. One of the most exciting developments of the past two decades has therefore been the systematic exploration of the vast spaces which surrounded the urban centres, particularly (though not exclusively) through the technique of surface survey. The results of survey are employed, in conjunction with textual and other material evidence, to good effect in papers by Cavanagh, Millett, Osborne, Patterson, Potter and Snodgrass. The maps alone tell us much that is new, revealing in many places and periods of antiquity a spider's web of rural settlement — mainly, it would seem, farmlands — with all which that implies for the articulation of town and country. Perhaps the most important feature of the new data is that they allow broad patterns of change through time to be identified. In Roman Samnium, for example, survey evidence consistently points towards the emergence of fewer but larger estate centres during the early empire. This is a crucial link in Patterson's attractive argument that competition amongst the urban-based elites, which found a major form of expression in civic benefactions, was financed by (and demanded) their increasing control of the countryside.

The potential historical importance of survey evidence is considerable, but the limits of reasonable inference still require definition, as all recognise. There is more need, where possible, for the control provided by excavation (Potter), and for greater sophistication in approaches to dating surface sites (Millett).

If we cannot properly understand the town in isolation from its territorial context, the reverse also holds good. In this respect, the lack of a paper devoted to recent advances in urban archaeology, as practised at Carthage, Rome and many other sites, is disappointing. Phased studies of all kinds of buildings, singly and collectively, quantified figures for trade and manufacture and new insights into food consumption and production, amongst much else, reach to the social, economic, political and cultural heart of city life. There is still, however, plenty of room for imaginative interpretation of older evidence, as exemplified here by Perring on urban space and social change, and Wallace-Hadrill's use of the buildings of Pompeii to demonstrate that the urban aristocracy lived in much closer proximity to the 'dirty' world of commerce and manufacture than might be surmised from the writings of the Roman moralists. The model is ripe for further archaeological testing, as is the persuasive (and mainly text-based) argument of Robin Osborne that the economy of Athens, and possibly the wider Greek world, in the fourth century BC was a good deal more sophisticated than many scholars believe. The conclusion reached by Corbier in her useful examination, through texts and inscriptions, of Roman taxation — that towns lived upon the shoulders of the rural population — is also susceptible to archaeological enquiry, especially in relation to the apparently stable and busy countryside which existed in many parts of the early empire.

The latter papers owe much of their force to the development by ancient historians, notably M. I. Finley, of a strong theoretical framework for the study of the city. On the whole archaeologists have been reluctant to engage in this aspect of the debate, but new, holistic approaches are evident in the work of Morris, Snodgrass and others. In seeking to understand the ancient city there is a growing realisation amongst archaeologists and historians that 'neither discipline has the strength of the two combined' (Cavanagh). There is also ample scope for collaboration with related disciplines such as geography, as in the paper by Rihll and Watson. This volume illustrates what can be achieved by improved dialogue and deserves a wide readership (though its price may deter).

John Lloyd, Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford.

Minoans: Life in Bronze Age Crete

The Minoan palaces of Crete are always newsworthy, especially the 'Palace of Minos' at Knossos, excavated by Sir Arthur Evans in the early years of this century. Sadly, they have always attracted more than their fair share of extravagant theories and have even figured in romantic fiction.

In 1975 a German geologist, H. G. Wunderlich, published a book entitled The Secret of Crete, in which he maintained that what we had always thought to be palaces were in fact cemeteries. He did not get very far. Fourteen years later an English geographer and geomorphologist, Rodney Castleden, published his first book on this subject. It was entitled The Knossos Labyrinth, and reviewed in the February 1990 issue of Minerva. In it he propounded a variation of the Wunderlich theme, that the palaces were not palaces but temples. To the best of my knowledge, this theory has fared no better than its predecessor.

It is Mr Castleden's second book which we are now considering. He calls it a re-evaluation of the Minoan civilisation in the light of his revolutionary theory, which he now treats as an established fact. He has visited all the right places and read all the right books and has come up with a pretty orthodox view of how we see the Minoan civilisation today, except for the temple/palace substitution. So what else is new?

This is not the place to pass judgment on this substitution, but one point should be made. Since Evans's discoveries, no one has doubted that a Minoan palace (to use the conventional term) contained a number of religious centres and might indeed have been a sort of religious centre in itself, in addition to its other functions as a centre of government, a royal residence, and more.

So perhaps we could meet Mr Castleden half-way if he will meet us halfway. In any case, the book is well researched, well illustrated, and bang up to date as far as recent discoveries are concerned.

Reynold Higgins, formerly Deputy Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities in The British Museum.
Christians and Pagans in Roman Britain

The study of the Christianity of Roman Britain has always been difficult because of the lack of historical evidence and because the archaeological evidence is dispersed and often small-scale. The remedy has been surveys which collect the evidence, the two most notable being those of Jocelyn Toynbee in 1953 and of Charles Thomas in 1981. Thomas's book (Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500) is a substantial study, not easily displaced; but, even in the absence of major discoveries, a six-page summary of finds and publications for the years 1980-84 was necessary in the second impression of 1985. To fill the gap from 1986, students of the subject will have to add Dr Watts's book to their libraries, both for references to published material and for the great benefit of information on unpublished or partly published material which she has collected and excavated. A new edition of Thomas's book is nevertheless not rendered unnecessary. The new book is not set against a deep knowledge of the non-British material, and there are a number of inadequacies. To take one small example, Thomas's sentence (Foreword to the Second Impression', 1985, 12) describing the mausoleum under the cathedral at Wells is actually more informative than Watts's single and unillustrated passing reference (113). She refers the reader to Richard Morris (The Church in Early Archaeology, CBA, London, 1983; but the most convenient references are the publications of 1980-2 by the excavator, Warwick Rodwell, the most convenient for most readers being Antiquity 55, 1982, 215-18.

Watts has a useful study of the overlap between the Christian and the pagan cults in Britain; but her main purpose is to present a fresh assessment of the extent of Christianity in the province, and she concludes (215) that, 'the [Christian] religion was more widespread than has hitherto been proposed and its appeal broader.' To reach this goal she searches for new criteria to identify Christian cemeteries, churches and symbols, and on applying them she concludes that far more can be recognised than has previously been appreciated. Some of her thinking is very stimulating. She suggests, for example, that the presence in cemeteries of the bodies of infants or newly born babies, which have been given the same burial rites as adults, may be a criterion which assists in the identification of those cemeteries as Christian. She also has an interesting discussion of the Christian lead tanks from Britain, challenging Thomas's view that they are for baptism and suggesting, with literary and archaeological evidence, that they may be for the rite of foot-washing. Ideas such as these will have to be taken seriously.

Watts's method of establishing criteria and then assigning degrees of probability to the relevant evidence, is based on Thomas's. Some of her judgements, however, should be treated with caution. In their respective discussions of house-churches, for example, Thomas (1985, 180-3) treats with extreme caution the finds, including the sites at Frampton and Hinton St Mary, while Watts (127-8, 142) considers that these same sites rank well. The problem is that she converts the probability of such an identification (on the criteria of the presence of Christian symbols and of the existence of a suite of two rooms for possible Christian use) into a probability, setting aside the fact that Frampton is lost and known only from eighteenth-century plans, and that at Hinton St Mary only one room is known, with the rest of the site unexcavated. The problem occurs again in her discussion of the fourth-century Thetford Treasure of jewellery and silver spoons and strainers. Catherine Johns and Tim Potter (The Thetford Treasure, London, 1983, 71) concluded that the [33] spoons form a homogeneous set that was used in some way in the religious ritual of the cult of Faucon.' Watts challenges in detail the interpretation of some of the spoons and of the strainers and prongs. Her argument jumps from the hypothesis that these pieces could be Christian to the deduction that they are Christian, and finally (158) to the conclusion that these objects represent 'a group of Christians, [who] renouncing their faith, "paganised" their property and added it to the treasure of a small and exclusive cult'. This goes much too far.

This book is an important contribution to the study of Christianity in Britain. Its lively ideas will make the reader think. He should read it, however, in a critical frame of mind and with Charles Thomas's book by his side, both for other views and a wider view, and it may be that he will suspend judgment as to whether the author has proved her case.

Kenneth Painter, formerly Deputy Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, The British Museum.

Recent Turkish Coin Hoards and Numismatic Studies

His admirable cooperative venture between seven Turkish and five British scholars publishes hoards and other finds in a number of Turkish museums. There are twelve hoards published, varying in size from the 3432 late Roman coins from Tabarat to the 37 silver cistophori from Polatli deposited c. 130 BC. This provides a wealth of new evidence, nearly 5000 coins in total, and the authors are to be congratulated on their succinct but clear presentation of the material.

While the hoards of later Roman coins are principally useful for the comparison of eastern hoards with the numerous hoards from the same period published from the western Roman empire, some of the articles are crucial for the study of individual series. Arslan and Ashton provide two important studies on the Rhodian coinage, Arslan presenting a hoard of early plinthophoroi, and Ashton a pioneering study of the first-century AD bronze coinage based on a hoard recorded in London in 1976.

Arslan also publishes a catalogue of the coins of Ancarya in Ankara's Museum of Anatolian Civilisations and in other Turkish museums, reporting on some of the Cilician coins selected from 2500 coins of the Roman period recorded in the Hatay Museum, Antakya. David French gives a full publication of the gold stater of Ephesus found in 1960 in a grave and now in Kayseri Museum. He places the issue with that of the cistophorus, also in the name of C. Atinius, in the year 122/1 BC. The Heraclea, Ionia hoard of Athenian New Style tetrachalkis, found in a pot in 1980, is carefully described and presented with reference to Margaret Thompson's monograph of the series. There are several new varieties noted but it is important to underline that the absolute dates of these issues have been radically revised in more recent years.

Soylemez and Lightfoot report on the 1988-9 surveys of south-eastern Turkey from a numismatic point of view, linking the coins with the sites from which they came. The efforts expended by the authors of this book are welcome indeed to those who study the coins of this region. They have provided a feast on which schol-
The Complete Tutankhamun: the King, the Tomb, the Royal Treasure

by Nicholas Reeves, Thames and Hudson, London, 1990. 5 1/9 illustrations, 65 in colour. Hardback. £15.95.

A ny publisher or author who puts the word 'Complete' in a title is taking a terrible chance with both the reading public and the reviewers. However, in this instance one can hardly cavil at Thames and Hudson or Dr Reeves. This book is certainly as complete as the interested layman will ever find between two covers. For the specialist, the Oxford-based Griffith Institute's series of increasingly expensive monographs on specific aspects or groups of objects from Tutankhamun's tomb will not be finished for many a long year. Howard Carter's own three volumes (the first largely written by Arthur Mace; see Minerva, July/August 1991, page 22) have long stood as the basic reference, especially with their superb black and white photographic record by Harry Burton. Those three volumes were, however, never intended to be more than an overall introduction, a purpose they have served admirably well over the years.

Although the Tuankhamun travelling exhibitions of the 1960s and 70s, especially the fiftieth anniversary exhibition at the British Museum that attracted huge crowds, spawned many books of varying interest and accuracy, there has not been one which gives good, overall and objective coverage of the discovery and the incredible finds from the tomb. Dr Reeves has filled this long-felt gap admirably. He is supremely placed to do so, from his original research on the Valley of the Kings (Minerva, Jan/Feb 1991, page 35) and in being Egyptological adviser to the present, Seventh Earl of Carnarvon and responsible for the exhibition of the relatively recently rediscovered Egyptian material now displayed at Highclere Castle.

The basic story of the discovery, due to Carter's tenacity and the Fifth Earl's sportsmanship in funding a last season after so many disappointments, is well known. In Part I Reeves outlines the background to the king himself, his court and the Amarna Age. Part II deals with the search and discovery. Part III covers the archaeology of the tomb, moving from room to room, and Part IV the pharaoh's burial, taking note of the full trappings attending on the mummy itself as well as the canopic shrine found in the Treasury and the two little footstools. Part V is a more detailed account of the treasures from the tomb, followed by an Epilogue. Lists of where the objects were found, further reading, and references complete the work. The book has an instant appeal in its welcoming layout, mixing good colour plates with fine contemporary photographs of the objects and the work in progress at the time. Particularly useful features are the specially commissioned line drawings by several hands, but principally the cut-away diagrams by Ian Bott and others by Tracey Wellman, that explain the text. They add new dimensions in several instances to our understanding of the material and its relative location within the tomb.

Apart from presenting the best yet overall description and assessment of the tomb and its context, Dr Reeves has much additional, perceptive comment to make on the circumstances and individual items. Two are of especial interest, the first of which he has been noted for in several articles in learned journals, namely the virtual 'resurrection' of a hitherto unknown and obscure minor queen of Akhenaten. All other ladies of the Amarna royal household — except his mother, the redoubtable Queen Tiye — have been long overshadowed by his famous queen, Nefertiti. Dr Reeves draws attention to Queen Kiya, a secondary wife, attested by a few inscriptions and probably the intended occupant of the enigmatic damaged coffin from Tomb 55 in the Valley of the Kings. He proposes her as the mother of Tutankhamun, his father being Akhenaten and his grandparents Amenophis III and Queen Tiye. It is an intriguing possibility which cannot be dismissed out of hand since it does answer a number of questions concerning Tutankhamun's family and royal connections. The other intriguing question that Reeves raises is the lack of funerary papyri in the tomb. Some fine examples exist for later pharaohs, notably those recovered/robbed from the 1881 great cache of royal mumifices. It is strange that there is nothing for Tutankhamun from a virtually intact tomb; papyri would be the last thing that the tomb robbers would have taken in the two robberies that occurred before its final sealing. So why, apparently, was no copy of the important Book of the Dead supplied, although on the west wall of the burial chamber there is painted an excerpt from the Book of Amduat, 'That which is in the Underworld', and on the north wall is the scene, unique for a royal tomb, of the ceremony of the opening of the mouth being performed by Tutankhamun's successor, the priest Ay. Reeves suggests that there is at least one more secret to be revealed — the whereabouts of Tutankhamun's religious papyri — and he points to the fact that the two tall wooden statues of the king that guarded the sealed doorway to the burial chamber may also be guarding something else. It is possible that there is a hallowed out receptacle in each of the gold-overlaid kits, entered from the flat surface beneath where apertures seem to have been closed by a limestone flake that was subsequently gilded over. A parallel for this, but long since empty, can be seen beneath the kilt of a similar guardian figure which Belzoni found in the Valley in 1817 (now in the British Museum, EA 882).

In all, Dr Reeves has put this incredible find, which still has an immense drawing power seventy years afterwards, into excellent perspective, in a well balanced text ably supported by ample illustrations of the pieces concerned, other relevant background material and the contemporary (1922) accounts.

Peter A. Clayton

Roman Glass: Two Centuries of Art and Invention


In December 1987, to coincide with the magnificent exhibition 'Glass of the Caesars', held at the British Museum, a two-day international conference was organised in London in honour of Dr Donald B. Haeden, the doyen of ancient glass studies. Rather than attempt to cover the wide field of Roman glass in so short a time, it was decided to concentrate the conference on the two centuries BC and AD leaving the period from the second to the sixth centuries AD to be covered at a subsequent seminar held in Cologne in June 1988. The twelve papers pub-
lished here are the record of the London seminar and it is hoped that the two sets of published papers will thus be useful complementary volumes to place alongside the main exhibition catalogue.

Donald Harden's inestimable contribution to Roman glass studies since his first published paper in 1931 is amply highlighted here where the contributing authors acknowledge how often their own work either stems from foundations laid by him, problems he outlined or questions he posed. All follow his methods, defined in his magisterial Roman Glass from Karanis...1924-29, published in 1936. His extensive bibliography (preceded by a frontispiece portrait) takes up nineteen pages (xi-xix) of the present volume.

With twelve internationally recognised scholars as contributors, this book brings together the most recent research on the period it treats. It covers the manufacture of groups of glass: cut, cameo, mould-blown, cast and painted. Other papers analyse the use and the users of glass, taking their evidence from Roman forts in Germany, the wall paintings at Pompeii, excavations at the emotive site of Masada in Israel, and glass that went far beyond the Imperial limits to sites as remote as Arikamedu on the east coast of South India.

All the papers save two concentrate on the physical aspects of the glass, the techniques, its decoration or the actual remains. The exceptions are the papers on 'Depictions of Glass in Roman Wall Paintings' by Friederike Naumann-Steckner (pp. 86-98), and 'The Portland Vase' by Kenneth Painter and David Whitehouse (pp. 33-45). In the former paper, the Roman artist's skill at representing transparent or translucent glass is well demonstrated in the eight illustrations of wall paintings, five of them in colour. The paper on the Portland Vase is concerned with the interpretation of its decoration (the technical aspects were dealt with by Donald Harden in 1983 in The Journal of Glass Studies). In all, thirty-three different interpretations of its imagery have been put forward since it was discovered sometime before 1600 (they are usefully tabulated in an appendix here); Rubens confessed to being totally perplexed by it in 1635. The present authors point out that the Vase is 'not simply an exquisite deco-

rative object like other cameo glass vessels, but rather a vehicle to express a precise political message...'. They see in its decoration all the events of Virgil's Aeneid Book 1 - in other words, like the Aeneid, the Vase celebrates the founder of the Imperial line, Augustus, and extols the high points of his reign and the beginning of the Golden Age. Their conclusion on the ownership brings a resounding final sentence to their paper: The Portland Vase can only have belonged to the emperor Augustus himself.

The dozen papers in this book are each and every one of them worthy of detailed study; they are well argued and presented and eminently readable (not something one can always expect from academic papers!). The nicest personal aspect of the book, dedicated to such a well-loved and respected scholar, was when friends and colleagues were able to present an advance copy to Donald Harden at a small party at the Society of Antiquaries on 11 July. The party marked not only the publication but also, three days previously, Donald Harden's ninetieth birthday!

Peter A. Clayton


Stonehenge by Julian Richards. Batsford/English Heritage, London, 1991. 141 pp. 122 colour and b&w illustrations. Hardback £25, paperback £12.95. A compactly written account of Stonehenge, one of the premier prehistoric sites of Europe, from its development through the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods into historic times and also assessing the associated surrounding monuments.


The Celts edited by V. Kruta, O. H. Frey, B. Rattery, and M. Szabo. Thames and Hudson, London, 1991. 799 pp. Over 1150 illustrations, 800 in colour. Hardback, £45. A sumptuously illustrated compendium of essays (pp. 25-680) by various experts on all aspects of the Celts, the book accompanies the huge international exhibition in Venice sponsored by Fiat (Minerva July/August 1991, pp. 24-30). The majority of the 775 items in the exhibition are illustrated within their essay context, a useful chronological view. The numbered catalogue of the exhibition is not included in this edition although present in the English edition of the exhibition catalogue, published by Bompiani, Milan. This is certainly the largest and most splendid compilation relating to the Celtic Europe and most reasonably priced.

Celtic Art, by Barry Raftery. Thames and Hudson distributed for Unesco/Frammariion, Paris, 1991. 171pp, 205 illus with 103 in colour. Hardback, £30. A broad and splendidly illustrated survey of Celtic art from its emergence in a Central European homeland in the fifth century BC down to its Christianity in Ireland in the tenth century AD with the Monasterboice High Cross. Six chapters detail the chronology and geography of Celtic art and, unusually in such a book, a chapter on Celtic coins is included. One of the best and certainly the most manageable of the many books on the Celts and Celtic art that have appeared in the last year.

Flag Fen Prehistoric Fenland Centre by Francis Pryor. Batsford/English Heritage, London, 1991. 143 pp, 12 colour plates, 99 b&w illustrations. Paperback, £12.95. A fascinating account by the director of pioneer excavation techniques at the prehistoric site of Fenegate (Peterborough) and Flag Fen that revealed the high degree of preservation due to unusual environmental conditions. This book opens a window on the Bronze Age life and adaptability to a very specialised environment.


Pliny on Art and Society: The Elder Pliny’s Chapters on the History of Art by Jacob Isager. Routledge, London, 1991. 255 pp. Hardback, £40. An interesting and very useful commentary on Pliny’s treatment of the subject in his vast work Natural History that has been a major source for so many aspects of the ancient world prior to his time, and in particular concerning the eruption of Vesuvius. Although only concerned with Books 33-37 (Gold and Silver; Bronze Art; Art of Painting; Marble Art and Architecture; Gems), the translations and commentary, accompanied by the original text wherever relevant, is an extremely useful companion to Pliny and to the study of art in antiquity and contemporary knowledge of and attitudes to it.

Romans in Northern Campania: Settlement and Land Use around the Massico and the Gariglano Basin, by Paul Arthur. The British School at Rome, Archaeological Monograph No. 1, London, 1991. 137 pp. 20 plates, 22 figs. Paperback, £30. Arising from a doctoral thesis based on three years’ fieldwork in the region, the area and its archaeology are examined first, then the prehistory and settlement leading to Romanisation is surveyed, followed by the impact of Rome. Decline set in by the third century AD, reducing dramatically by the sixth century as fundamental change took place in the functions of the sites.

The Middle Ages: A Concise Encyclopedia, edited by H. R. Loyn. Thames and Hudson, London, 1991. 352 pp. 250 illus. Paperback, £14.95. Forty contributors under Professor Henry Loyn’s editorship have produced a compact and invaluable reference work which includes entries for all major figures of the period, places, topics, concepts and themes such as chivalry, feudallism, heresy, etc., and concise factual statements on events. Most entries also carry a short bibliography. First published in hardback in 1989, this new cheaper format will be widely welcomed.

Roman Spain: Conquest and Assimilation, by Leonard A. Curchin. Routledge, London, 1991. 250pp, 29 illus. and 4 maps. Hardback, £25. Professor Curchin presents a concise history and survey of the province that took Rome two centuries to conquer and where her best generals in the two centuries BC had to contend not only with the warlike indigenous population but also the extremely difficult terrain. Vast quantities of silver were obtained from the Iberian mines that bolstered the Roman economy and it was at Spanish Italia that the emperors Trajan and Hadrian were both born. The province is here seen from a social issues aspect and the acculturation of the local population to Rome, rather than the more common in an ‘A.D.C.’ sense. Products, peoples, social status and towns etc. are examined as entities so that they can be better understood within the Roman machinery of control and Romanisation’ forced on the Iberian Peninsula.

Treasures from an Ancient Land: The Art of Jordan, edited by Piotr Bienkowski. Alan Sutton, Stroud/National Museums and Galleries of Merseyside, 1991. 178 pp. 200 illus, mostly colour. Hardback, £14.95. This book coincides with the remarkable exhibition ‘Jordan: Treasures from an Ancient Land’ at the Liverpool Museum (Minerva, March/April 1991, pages 20-25). Dr Bienkowski, the organiser, has drawn together seven other scholars to present an overall picture of the remarkable archaeological heritage of Jordan. Of particular interest is the inclusion, and illustration, of some amazing finds such as the pre-pottery Neolithic B plaster statues from Ain Ghazel of c. 7500-5300 BC. Neither are the traditional arts of folk costume and jewellery overlooked, with excellent colour illustrations and explanatory text.

The Louvre: Egyptian Antiquities by Christiane Ziegler. Scala Books, London, 1991. 96 pp, colour illustrations throughout. Hardback, £12.95. One of the new, beautifully illustrated guides to individual departments of the Louvre with fine colour illustrations. All the major and well known masterpieces are featured but of particular interest are the number of incredible objects that the museum has acquired in recent years. The historical background text is presented chronologically and is adequate for the general reader but, sadly, inadequate in its English (no translator is acknowledged); amongst the silly errors are the descriptions of pharaoh’s courtiers as ‘pharaoh’s courtiers’ (1), i.e. the word direct from the French text. Such a well-produced book could present a much fuller picture if the errors and hopefully the numerous errors will be corrected in the next printing.

full catalogue, hardcover, $29.95 (see Minerva, May 1990, p.33).

WISDOM AND COMPASSION: THE SACRED ART OF TIBET. 159 masterworks of Tibetan art from collections in North America and Europe, including 31 pieces from the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad. The most extensive exploration of Tibetan art and its 2500-year heritage ever to be undertaken in the U.S. IBM GALLERY OF SCIENCE AND ARTS (212) 745-6100. Until 28 December. Catalogue.

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THE GIFT OF BIRDS: FEATHERWORK OF NATIVE SOUTH AMERICAN PEOPLES. More than 300 spectacular South American feathered objects, including headaddresses, clothing, ornaments and ceremonial items from the museum's collections, with special emphasis on the Wawali, the Cashinahua, the Bororo, and the Pre-Columbian peoples of the highland Andean region. UNIVERSITY MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY (215) 898-4000. Until 16 November-January 1994.

RICHMOND, Virginia
ISLAMIC ART AND PATRONAGE: SELECTIONS FROM KUWAIT. 107 masterworks ranging over more than 1000 years from the Sheikh Nassar Sabah al-Ahmad al-Sabah family collection on permanent loan to the Kuwait National Museum. VIRGINIA MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS (804) 257-0844. 23 November-18 January (then to St. Louis). Catalogue. (See Minerva, December 1990, p.24).

SAN DIEGO, California
MUSIC OF THE MAYA. Pre-Columbian musical instruments, mannequins dressed as traditional Mayan musicians, dioramas and a video of the music as it is still being played. SAN DIEGO MUSEUM OF MAN (619) 239-2001. Until 31 May.

SAN FRANCISCO, California

WASHINGTON, D.C.
AFRICAN REFLECTIONS: ART FROM NORTHEASTERN Zaire. Several hundred objects exploring the refined and delicate art of the peoples of northeastern Zaire. NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART (202) 357-2627. Until 12 January.

THE ARTS OF CHINA. 228 masterworks of Chinese art dating from the 4th millennium BC to recent times, largely drawn from the permanent collection, features 108 jade from c.5000 to c.1700 B.C and 56 bronze vessels from the 16th to 2nd centuries BC. ARTHUR M. SACKLER GALLERY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION (202) 357-3200. Continuing indefinitely.

CIRCA 1492: ART IN THE AGE OF EXPLORATION. An examination of the art of various world cultures at the time of Columbus, including the Aztec civilization.


CANADA
OTTOWA CROSSROADS OF CONTINENTS: CULTURES OF SIBERIA AND ALASKA. 500 artefacts reflecting the cultural interchange that began when the first Siberian crossed into North America 14,000 years ago. One third of the pieces are from the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology in Leningrad, the balance from US and Canadian museums. NATIONAL MUSEUM OF CIVILIZATION. Until 26 January. Catalogue.

FRANCE
PARIS SOURCES OF THE ARABIAN WORLD. INSTITUT DU MONDE ARABE. Until 31 December.

ISRAEL
JERUSALEM ROMAN SCULPTURES FROM BEIT SHAAN. A group of sculptures recently excavated at the large archaeological site of Scythopolis (Beit Shean) by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Israel Antiquities Authority. THE ISRAEL MUSEUM OF JERUSALEM (02) 788811. Opening 28 November.

ITALY
VENICE THE CELTS: THE FIRST EUROPE. 220 objects on loan from 200 institutions in 24 countries displayed against a continuous wall painting and narrative which tells their story from the finding of the tombs of the 5th century BC princes of Central Europe to the famous medieval illuminated manuscripts of Ireland. PALAZZO GRASSI. Until 8 December. Catalogue. (See Minerva July/August 1991, p.24.)

SWITZERLAND
BERNE GOLD OF THE HELVETI: Gold treasures of the Celts: about 50 objects and 100 coins, supplemented by a few selected Roman gold treasures which reflect the Celtic arts-tradition, all found in Switzerland. BERNISCHE HISTORISCHES MUSEUM. Until 5 January (then to Geneva).

GALLERY EXHIBITIONS
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ANIMALS IN ANTIQUITY. RC-AD. BERNHEIMERS ANTIQUE ARTS, 525 Brattle Street, 02138. Until 16 November.

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