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Danish archaeologists digging near the site of the tomb of Mausolos in ancient Halicarnassus – one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World – believe they have unearthed the long lost palace of the Persian governor. Excavations last summer inside the walls of the crusader castle on a promontory at Bodrum, south-west Turkey, where Halicarnassus was located, have revealed the remains of a large palace probably that of Mausolos, dating from about 350 BC, when the nearby tomb was built.

'It is now clear that the remains are those of a major building construction, built using exactly the same techniques as can be seen at the mausoleum,' says Professor Poul Pedersen of Odense University, leader of the Danish team.

Some of the original green slabs from nearby quarries are in place with special iron clamps fastened in lead preserved from the mid-fourth century BC, leading us to believe we are possibly dealing with the famous palace of Mausolos.

The Dane's dig in Bodrum takes place 135 years after the British archaeologist Sir Charles Newton began the first systematic excavations there. Newton worked at Halicarnassus between 1856 and 1858, removing artefacts from the tomb, including statues and mosaics, and shipping them to the British Museum, of which he was later Director.

Since Newton's day, the most important modern excavations at the site have been conducted by Danes who were responsible for assembling the first accurate model of the greatest tomb in antiquity.

One of the mightiest achievements of Greek art and probably the finest funeral monument of the Hellenic world, the Tomb of Mausolos, in wedding cake style and 70 metres (200 feet) high, was completed around 350 BC by Artemisia, wife of Mausolos, Persian governor of Caria, in Asia Minor. Artemisia finished the monument after the death of her husband and was later buried in it along with him.

The latest Danish campaign, started in 1990, is concentrated on an ancient residential area to the west of the ruins of the tomb. 'We are quite literally digging in the footsteps of Newton', says Pedersen. 'We can combine Newton's original maps with our own and produce the complete plan of a very late Roman villa - many of the large mosaic floors discovered by Newton at the villa were taken up and are now in the British Museum.'

The Roman villa, part of an extensive residential district, is dated to around AD 500 and believed to have been the home of a wealthy merchant. The mosaics are partly ornamental, but some of them show deer running in stylised forest scenes illustrating the theme of the four seasons. Fragments of wall decoration were found, along with terracotta figurines and a bust of Apollo.

The excavations are giving archaeologists a fascinating glimpse of town planning in the ancient world - the fascinating glimpse of town planning in the ancient world - the geometric regularity of the street plan of Halicarnassus with thoroughfares crossing each other at right angles and houses in blocks being reminiscent of New York City's modern grid system.

Christopher Follyett

Mosaic of a dolphin and a wild goat from the late-Roman villa at Halicarnassus.

High Living for Medieval Monks

A seven-year programme of excavations at the Mount Grace Priory, near Northallerton in Yorkshire, has caused radical rethinking about the lives of the medieval Cistercian monks, who had previously been thought to have followed a very harsh regime. The remains of the monastery, dated to about 1420, are in the care of English Heritage, and the results of the work, which ended this year, are reported by Glyn Coppack, a Principal Inspector.

The excavations were undertaken mainly to recover a complete plan of the monastic complex, and the extra evidence of the life-style of 'Christ's poor men' was unexpected. The last phase of work concerned the kitchen, which was found to be filthy. A ten-centimetre layer of rotting fish was found on the original floor - above this was a second floor with more rubbish and then a third floor. The fish remains show that the monks had a very rich diet; although they had their own fish-ponds, many of the bones are of sea fish. The monks' cells yielded high-quality pottery, much of it imported. The findings give a jolt to the accepted idea of Spartan living for medieval monks.

The excavations have been accompanied by a programme of restoration, and a monk's cell, restored to indicate the solitary life of its occupant, was recently opened for visitors.

K. E. Jermy
Over 600 Stone Age Earrings found in Japan

The New Stone Age in Japan, known as the Jomon period, lasted from around 10,000 BC to about 500 BC. The Jomon way of life was a basic hunter-fishing economy, supplemented by collecting nuts and plants; nature was very important in the lives of the people. The Japanese climate comprises four mild seasons, and, as a result, the Jomon civilisation was very stable and flourishing. With the end of the Jomon period, the agricultural era known as the Yayoi began.

In 1990, during an excavation in the Shinto village of Kayano, on the Kanto plain in Gunma prefecture near Tokyo, Japanese archaeologists discovered more than 600 New Stone Age earrings. This site is still being excavated, and in November 1992 a special new museum will open in the village, dedicated not only to the Jomon earrings, but including earrings from abroad as well.

The Kayano site is situated between two rivers, 300 metres above sea-level, and was occupied from the end of the middle Jomon period (2500 BC) till the beginning of the late Jomon period (700 BC). A large number of earrings was found in the late Jomon period (1000-500 BC) levels together with earthenware. Within the excavated area were found twenty New Stone Age dwelling sites, burial sites, earthenware rubbish tips, and tools. In addition, there were 160 rock plates which could have had ceremonial purposes. This is the first time that so many such artefacts have been found together in Japan. The sites were well preserved due to an eruption of volcanic ash in AD 6 from the nearby Mount Haruna, and investigation of the Kayano site should give new insights into the everyday life and living conditions of these people. The site has attracted wide scale interest throughout Japan.

In some of the excavated houses about 50 earrings were found, whereas in others there were none, perhaps indicating differing degrees of wealth and poverty. The smallest earring was two centimetres across while the largest was ten centimetres; the heaviest one weighed about 100 grammes. All of them are unique.

The new earring museum hopes to display earrings from Africa, the UK, Eastern Europe, and South Africa, including both originals and replicas. It is interesting to imagine what the wearers thought or believed about their earrings. In Africa, for example, tribesmen wear earrings made from porcupine quills to protect them from evil because the quills protect porcupines themselves from danger. Unfortunately, only the pottery New Stone Age earrings have survived, but it is likely that other natural materials such as seeds and wood were also used, and these decayed long ago. One may conjecture, however, about the significance of the use of pottery. In Africa there are small pottery earrings and clay was also used to make cooking pots and to treat skin diseases (one has only to think of the modern use of mud packs in beauty care). The eminent biologist Dr Lyall Watson suggested that clay was seen as the incipient and primitive origin of life, as reflected in the Biblical story.

The houses at the Kayano site are unusual in that the floors were partly burned to make them hard and to act as protection against the wet. However, this is rare for the period, and under the floors of some houses were found broken clay pots. Why was this? There are several possible interpretations. One could be for strength and another could be to ward off evil spirits. In Malawi, in south-east Africa, some villagers form the flooring in their huts from a layer of fine clay mixed with cattle dung and ox blood. The reason for this is simply to ward off evil spirits. The Jomon people believed in animism, namely that everything contains life, even ‘inanimate’ matter such as rock, stones, rivers, mountains and houses.

Kazuo Ueno

(right and above) Two of the New Stone Age earrings found in Japan.

Thirteenth-Century Wall-Paintings Uncovered at Chester

Paintings discovered in April on the wall and ceilings of a chapel in Chester Castle in northern England have been announced as one of the most important finds in the history of the last twenty years. The paintings are being carefully uncovered and conserved by a joint team from the Conservation Studio of English Heritage and the Courtauld Institute, led by Caroline Babington (English Heritage); they depict scenes from the life of the Virgin Mary and other Biblical themes. As well as their intrinsic interest, the paintings give more details of the Castle’s history.

They were discovered in the Chapel of St Mary de Castro on the first floor of the Agricola Tower; this was originally the gatehouse for the inner bailey. It was previously known that there were medieval paintings in the Chapel, and a few were visible, but nobody had realised the extent, quality or elaborate nature of the new finds.

The Chapel was built in the time of Ranulf III, Earl of Chester, probably early in the thirteenth century. In 1237 the Castle reverted to the Crown; the paintings date to approximately 1240, and so may have been commissioned by Henry III. After 1302 the Chapel became first a treasury and later a munitions store. Subsequently the paintings were covered by limewash, and one of the main tasks of the conservation team is to remove the limewash without harming the paint below it.
Dr Eisenberg’s article in the May/June issue of Minerva concerning ‘The Aesthetics of the Forger’ elicited an unusually large number of letters, all but one of which were favourable to the criteria he proposed for spotting a forgery when looking at ancient art. The following is a selection of the comments we received.

This summer, I took an immense stack of reading along with me on vacation in Maine, and among the most compelling and intriguing articles was your excellent piece in Minerva May/June 1992. I read it with tremendous interest and admiration. As you can imagine I – as a museum director – am extremely interested in questions of authenticity, and I found your presentation extremely convincing. When I was a graduate student at Harvard, my mentor was Jacob Rosenberg, who wrote several books on ‘judging quality in art’. I was profoundly influenced by Dr Rosenberg’s position, which is essentially based on comparisons of extremely similar materials. His argument was that the likelihood of a correct judgment increased as one limited the definition of the category in question. In other words, by comparing two Roman Republican portrait heads, one had a better chance of defining quality than by comparing ‘unlike categories. Sherman Lee has also written along these lines, and published an excellent article on quality judgments in an anthology entitled Quality, published some years ago.

Your article, however, deals more specifically with the detection of forgeries and the inclination of forgers to follow certain schemes which then serve as clues to the contemporary connoisseur. I usually do not save journals, but this particular copy of Minerva will find a place on my shelf, since your article will be extremely useful for future reference.

Dare I admit that during the 1960s, when I worked every day at the library of the Victoria and Albert Museum, I looked at the Symbach ivory virtually every day for a year, and never noticed its stylistic shortcomings and all the clues which point to it being a forgery. The minute you described them, however, the flaws became more than evident, and I feel that I was duped for decades! I am happy to report, however, that in my 25 year career in museum work, I am aware of having bought only one forgery.

Alan Shestack, Director, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

... Many thanks for your article in Minerva on Ancient Art Forgeries; it is breathtaking. How long have you been brooding on this one? There must be more where this came from – I hope to read it soon! Very convincing!

Sebastian Blok, Noordwijkerhout, The Netherlands.

... Your article is very interesting. I believe it is the first time that the characteristics of fakes have been so clearly defined. It only needs to be added that the artificial aging often cannot be explained from a technical point of view and, if one wants, in terms of aesthetics...

Jacques Chassin, Conservator, Greek and Roman Antiquities, Ville de Genève, Musée d’Art et d’Histoire.

... Your survey of the criteria to be considered when examining objects to determine authenticity (or otherwise) is wide-ranging and very useful...

B. F. Cook, Keeper, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, The British Museum.

... I read the article with interest and generally agree with your theoretical statements, though I am more pessimistic about applying them successfully. One point I would add is that one should look more closely for the particular sources of the forger’s antiques work. The Kuli Obba stag was supposedly recovered in the 1830s, though I do not know if that was when it first came to people’s attention: if the animals on it are lionian in style, what models were available in the 1830s? There was not much knowledge of lionian/East Greek art in 1882 either, when the Vettesfelde fish surfaced. I may as well add that I have never taken much interest in these pieces, which, even if genuine, are very peripheral.

R. M. Cook, University of Cambridge.

... The article is well written and it is probable that even a careful physical analysis of the objects may prove that you are right.

In general, your remarks are convincing, but I know too little of the material of the Scythians to be able to express myself on it. Whilst, for example, the stag of Kul Oba may be authentic, I have many doubts on the Vettesfelde group.

What I may say, with good knowledge of the case, is about the Symmachia ivory which, in my opinion, is truly false. One should have the data of the purchase in order to trace back the author.

Professore Antinmo di Vita, Director, Scuola Archeologica Italiana, Athens.

... I think the general principals which you advance are very convincing. I would like to know more about who benefited from the various Scyphian forgeries. It is hard to make an independent judgement about them without looking at acknowledged originals. The same of course applies to the ivory dyptich, although the arguments which you advance for thinking it a forgery are very telling.

It is a fascinating subject, and there is probably a lot of work still to be done in discovering about the forgers and their motives and the background of what they made.


Thank you for the interesting and challenging article in Minerva. In the case of Vettesfelde I am a little partial. More than 20 years ago, when I still worked at the Charlottenburg Museum, I had the pleasure of helping Greifenhagen a bit with his monumental catalogue of the jewellery.


... I agree with the observations made reflecting general problems in forgeries, although one must realise that
exceptions will occur (for example, points 1, 4 and 9 might not allow us to accept second millennium Cypriot seals; we may not yet [see] the logic of art/communications forms in ancient cultures). And one must remember that much is in the eye of the viewer, that a sensitive, educated eye is essential in trying to determine authenticity.

I found point 25 especially interesting; it is something I had not thought of before...

Dr Christine Liliquist,
Wallace Research Curator in Egyptology,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York.

...I shall make the article required reading for my historiography/museum studies seminar. One small criticism comes to mind. You point out on page 11 that 'The fish appear to be the creation of the nineteenth-century forger rather than a copy of an ancient hand'. I was not able to piece together from your solid argument the stylistic characteristics of nineteenth-century forgers. Also, I was left wanting an example of boosting 'the reputation of an excavator or a scholar' (page 15). Certainly it would be difficult to name real names but a generic example would have been good.

Dewey F. Mosby, PhD,
Director, The Picker Art Gallery,
Colgate University,
Hamilton, New York.

I enjoyed reading this excellently written article and hope that it will create a renewed discussion about the way we are analysing objects and looking at forgeries. As a chemist, I do not feel qualified to pass my own judgement on the four objects you are using as case studies. It will be interesting to see what reactions the article will solicit from other art historians and experts in the field.

Dr Frank Preuresser,
Associate Director, Programmes,
The Getty Conservation Institute.

In general terms, the points make very good sense, and I would agree with most of the observations on the objects examined. But, of course, I am not a specialist in any of those areas, either Scythian art or Late Antique ivories. In practical terms, however, things are not so simple. To mention a few examples from my area of competence, the (excavated) Motya statue has come as a great surprise to students of Greek art, because it has many of the stylistic discrepancies you write about. The Anavyskos Kouros, when first smuggled out to France, was returned to Greece because it was thought to be a forgery; yet we know nothing of its place of origin and even its base. The New York Kouros is still thought false by some, although I am sure it is genuine. The gold gyoros in St Petersburg was considered a typically Victorian forgery because of the modesty of its male figures; yet the gorytos from the Vergina tomb shows the very same detail. The Getty Kouros has been announced a forgery by most of the scholars who attended the recent symposium in Athens; yet I do not know whether it is a fake or genuine, because its details make sense to me; it would even seem to stand the test of your even basic points on 'Creation' and the additional six on 'Personal Style'. Perhaps, as you say, time will tell, since each forgery is a product of its own time.

To focus on the very topic of the article, the Nicomachi ivory panel (which you seem to accept as genuine) has a tree trunk treated like a palm tree, yet a palm could not produce stumps, and certainly not pine cones, and therefore the details seem incongruous in context.

My basic answer to these problems would be that antiquities should only be excavated, and no work of art should be bought on the antiquarian market unless it has a clear, well-established, and [genuine] pedigree - e.g. something from an old English collection. No antiquities should be smuggled out of their country of origin. Forgers are becoming so learned that they make the scholars' work difficult. Perhaps they shall read your article and eliminate some of the discrepancies you have pointed out, in their future work. But I congratulate you on a well-reasoned contribution.

Branilde S. Ridalow,
Rhys Carpenter Professor of Archaeology,
Department of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology,
Bryn Mawr College,
Bryn Mawr, Pa.

I have read your article on the 'Aesthetics of the Forger' with the greatest attention and interest. I do believe that the principles which you set before the reader have to be taken very much to heart and mind. I am not really much familiar with the early objects which you discuss and thus less in a position to follow you because I believe that one has to have seen a great many objects which form part of the so-called animal style to be able to comprehend your arguments fully. I am more at home with the Nicomachi ivory dipytch panel and there, of course, the forgery of the panel in the V&A is blatant.

In my Classical Attic Tombstones, to be published in November 1993, I have a chapter on Problem Pieces. I do not dare speak of forgeries, but I met my suspicions. I plan to attend the meeting of AIA in Washington in 1993 and my study will then be available to anyone interested.

I am very pleased with the contents of Minerva as a whole, including the dramatic narration concerning the mosaics from Cyprus...

Christoph W. Clairmont, Calcutta, Italy.

...I do not believe a single word.

C. Rolley, Dijon, France.

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SRI LANKA'S GOLDEN AGE

Carol Radcliffe Bolon

The past twelve years in Sri Lanka have seen a process of ongoing excavation and restoration of monuments in the Cultural Triangle. Work is currently in progress on six major sites. Through the joint efforts of UNESCO, and the Colombo-based Central Cultural Fund, under the direction of Dr Roland Silva and now jointly coordinated with the Department of Archaeology directed by M.H. Sirisoma, remarkable discoveries of monastic cities rich in architecture and art works have been made. Visitors to the great monastic capitals such as Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa, and other sites such as the fifth-century royal fortress and extensive gardens of Sigiriya, can now see the impressive extent of these monastic settlements in a way that has not been possible for many centuries. Site museums have been opened to hold the finds of each place, and some objects have been located centrally in the National Museum in Colombo, while others await housing in museums planned for future opening.

A new exhibition, 'The Golden Age of Sculpture from Sri Lanka', opening this month at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC, has gathered together fifty-two Buddhist and Hindu bronze sculptures, mostly figural, of which a third have been discovered in the last thirty years. The majority of the sculptural pieces are Buddhist, as the island's population is and has been through its long history predominantly Buddhist. Another smaller group of sculptures are Hindu. The Buddhist bronzes are more modest in scale than the Hindu pieces, which are, in several examples such as Fig 3, actually figure groups. The pieces date between the first and twelfth centuries AD, the Hindu sculptures all being later, that is eleventh-twelfth centuries.

Buddhism has a longer uninterrupted history in Sri Lanka than in any other country. Founded in India in the sixth century BC on the teaching of the Buddha, it reached Sri Lanka in the third century BC as a result of the missionary efforts of the Indian emperor Ashoka (c. 268-233 BC). Tradition says that Ashoka's son, Mahinda, propagated the doctrine in
Sri Lanka, established the first Buddhist community there, and converted the Sri Lankan king Devanampiya Tissa to Buddhism in 247 BC. When Mahinda’s sister, Sanghamitta, came to Sri Lanka to organise the Buddhist nuns, she brought a cutting of the bodhi tree under which the Buddha gained enlightenment. She planted it at what was then the capital, Anuradhapura; a descendant of the tree is still venerated there. Sanghamitta also brought a bone relic of the Buddha. With these sacred objects a monastery and stupa (relic monument) were established.

Buddhism has thrived in Sri Lanka except during the period of domination by a Hindu dynasty, the Cholas, from South India for 75 years during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Great monasteries of both the ascetic Theravada and the more populist Mahayana sects of Buddhism have had royal and popular support. Today Theravada Buddhism is the prevalent religion in Sri Lanka, where about seventy per cent of the population is Buddhist.

The early, ascetic form of Buddhism is called Theravada (Way of the Elders) while the later, elaborately developed beliefs were called Mahayana (Great Path). The two forms differ significantly from each other. Mahayana came to be the more widespread form, but Theravada, which has the goal of personal salvation, or enlightenment, achieved through self-imposed mental and physical discipline, continues to be followed today, especially in the South Asian countries of Sri Lanka and Burma and the South-east Asian countries of Thailand and Cambodia.

The goal of Mahayana Buddhists is also salvation, but its devotees believe that many buddhas existed in the past and many more will exist in the future; the historical Buddha is considered just one among an infinite number of buddhas, all of whom are simply aspects of one ultimate (or transcendent) buddha. For the follower of Mahayana, the ultimate buddha is the underlying unity of the universe.

In addition, the concept of the bodhisattva is central to Mahayana belief. The bodhisattva, Fig 2 for example, is an enlightened being and spiritual teacher, one who has attained the highest level of understanding but, overwhelmed by compassion, renounces his own salvation to help others along the path to enlightenment. The popularity of Mahayana Buddhism can be attributed in part to its recognition that devotees often need help in their pursuit of understanding.
Asian Art

The domination of the Theravada form of Buddhism in Sri Lanka has guided the nature of representation of the Buddha there, resulting especially in the predilection for meditating Buddhas as opposed to Buddhas making teaching or reassuring gestures. This form also became favoured by Mahayana Buddhists in Sri Lanka. Since the Theravada school dominates there are very few images of saviours, who were favoured by followers of Mahayana Buddhism, whose ideal was the Bodhisattva as saviour of the masses and guide toward enlightenment. The goddess Tara (Fig 6) in silver is a rare example datable to the seventh or eighth century. The figure was discovered prior to 1940 by accident at Gangaramaya in Kurunagala district. Details that characterise Sri Lankan Buddhist deities include crystal eyes, which add great presence to the figures, and a flame-tipped ushnisha (and not a halo).

With a growing body of examples of Buddhist and Hindu sculpture now unearthed, the distinct character of Sri Lankan art is more readily apparent. For example with the discovery of several Buddhas standing in a pose of triple flexion and other Buddhas with arms crossed on the chest in humility, and further instances of iconographic representations that are not found in the art of other Buddhist countries, it becomes apparent that in Sri Lanka artistic licence has been taken, creating a distinct national artistic character.

In AD 993 the Anuradhapura period (third century BC-AD 993) of Sri Lanka's history, during which there was strong Buddhist patronage, came to an end when the island people were defeated by the invading army of the Chola dynasty from Tamil Nadu in South India. An extended decline of Buddhism in Sri Lanka followed, while Hinduism thrived. The powerful Chola dynasty, under King Rajaraja I (AD 985-1015), ruled over the annexed territory from Polonnaruwa, the new capital, and propagated its own religion, Hinduism. As a result, for want of official patronage during the occupation by the Indian dynasty, Buddhism as an institution almost entirely languished.

The Hindu temples built in Polonnaruwa and elsewhere during this period, and statues in stone and bronze, are similar to South Indian works of the same period. After the routing of the Chola occupying forces by Sri Lankan king Vijayabahu I in AD 1070, many Indians remained in Sri Lanka. The Indians, whose native language was Tamil, were Hindu worshippers of the god Shiva.

In the following Buddhist resurgence, many artisans were Hindus of South Indian origin. Hinduism continues to thrive among the minority population descended from the Indians from Tamil Nadu, or later brought by the colonial powers to work on tea plantations. Today fifteen percent of the population of Sri Lanka is Hindu.

In works made after the tenth century AD, with the influence of Hindus from South India, the national identity of the artisan is sometimes difficult to ascertain. Much literature in earlier periods of scholarship either described Sinhalese sculpture as 'provincial Indian' or defended its national character. In fact, although all of the objects in this exhibition were found at religious sites in Sri Lanka, their origin, or the origin of their creators, is in several cases from this later period not clear - they could either have been made in Sri Lanka by Indian craftsmen for Sinhalese patrons, or Sinhalese artists after the Indian model, or could have been imported for use at the site from India. The hydrostatic elephant-form lamp (Fig 5) is one instance of a type of object found in Hindu rather than Buddhist temples of India, but it was discovered in 1960 inside the upper relic chamber of the Kotawewa stupa, a Buddhist burial and memorial monument, in Dhadigama, northeast of Colombo.

A small figure of Padmapani of the ninth-tenth century, though unearthed in eastern Sri Lanka, is clearly an import. Its style is distinctly that of images made in north-eastern India during this period and, furthermore, the pose is never employed by Sri Lankan artists for Buddhist figures. Buddhists from Sri Lanka made pilgrimages to the sacred places in North India even in ancient times, and returned home with souvenirs. The specific identifying features of such transported represen-
Asian Art

Nagapattinam. Some influence from the Chola regional and dynastic style is likely though not certain.

Seven well preserved thin gold pages from a sacred Buddhist book, a tenth-century manuscript of the Prajnaparamita, or Perfection of Knowledge, were found in 1982 folded inside an earthen pot excavated during clearing operations at the Jetavana monastic complex, one of the three enormous monastic communities that co-existed at the long-enduring capital of Anuradhapura (third century BC to tenth century AD). The Jetavana complex was founded in the third century by King Mahasena to strengthen Mahayana Buddhism on the island. Three of these double-sided pages are included in the exhibition. They are long rectangular leaves in the traditional sacred form of a trimmed palm leaf. Most of the exciting discoveries of the excavation of the Jetavana monastic complex are awaiting their public debut in a new museum planned for the site.

One standing bodhisattva found at Anuradhapura in the Jetavana complex is untypical of Sri Lankan bodhisattva images in that it has prongs on its lotus base that were meant to hold a separately cast encircling halo. Some Indian influence is likely as the majority of Buddhist images in Sri Lanka do not have this feature, common for Indian bronze sculptures of this period.

Such an encircling halo is a standard feature in Sri Lankan Hindu bronzes, as seen in the large images of the dancing form of the god Shiva called Nataraja (Fig 8), and lost from Ganesha, the elephant-headed god (Fig 7). These sculptures were all found at Polonnaruwa at the eleventh-century Shiva temple number 5 in the course of clearing the temple. Renamed for their Western tour, Shiva and Uma in a figurine group called Somaskandamurti (Fig 3) were discovered in 1960 in excavations in the compound of the temple but were separated when they were given to two museums – Shiva to the Archaeological Museum at Anuradhapura, and Uma to the National Museum in Colombo. Uma has been conserved since then and therefore the two figures have mismatching

Fig 5. Oil lamp, 11th-12th century AD, bronze. Height: 28.5 cm. Discovered in 1960 in the Sudigshana Cettva at the Kotawela, Dadinaga, Kegalla district. The Archaeological Museum, Dadinaga.

Fig 6. The goddess Tara, 7th-8th century AD, silver. Height: 20 cm. The National Museum, Colombo.

Fig 7. Image of Ganesha, 11th century AD, bronze. Height: 30 cm. Discovered in 1960 at Polonnaruwa.

Fig 8. Nataraja, 12th century AD, bronze. Height: 120 cm. Discovered in 1960 at Polonnaruwa.
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In the tradition of the great fairs of Europe
patination now. These and other bronzes were found in a crowded shallow burial in a shrine in the temple compound. The reason for their apparently hasty burial is not known. They may have once been enthroned in the separate shrines apparent from their surviving brick bases around the now largely lost temple. Shiva temple number 2 is the best preserved Hindu temple at the great site of Polonnaruwa, a vast Buddhist site and subsequent capital of Lanka after Anuradhapura. These bronzes are similar to those produced in Tamil Nadu by the Chola dynasty artists who so excelled at bronze casting of processional images. The Hindu temples built at this time in India however, are in size, complexity and decoration the most sumptuous of the ancient period, and include, for example, the royal Chola temple in Tanjore in Tamil Nadu called Brihadeshvara temple. The small, modest Hindu structures at Polonnaruwa were patronised by nobles and the queens of the Hindu kings of Sri Lanka in this period of Indian rule. They are dwarfed by the colossal Buddha images at the same site.

The exhibition at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery focuses on bronze sculpture. A wealth of stone sculpture, pottery, and terracotta figurines and decorative architectural pieces from the fifth century and earlier, are other exciting artistic forms awaiting western discovery.

A second exhibition held concurrently at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery of nineteenth-century photographs of Sri Lanka (20 December 1992 - May 1993), drawn from the archive of the Freer Gallery of Art and loans from a private collection, includes some of the sites as well as images of the landscape and people. The albumen prints made by two British residents in the then Crown Colony known as Ceylon, William Louis Henry Skeen and Charles T. Scowen, gave western tourists, such as Charles Lang Freer who bought two albums from Skeen in Colombo in 1907, a record of what they had visited and introduced the island to the rest of the world. A comparison of the picture of the 'Twin Ponds' at Anuradhapura (above) taken by Skeen in the 1870s with a photograph (below) taken in 1992 speaks clearly of the achievement of the excavation and restoration project.

The extraordinary discovery this summer of pieces of Greek statues in the sea off Brindisi, southern Italy, which bore an immediate resemblance to the famous Riace bronzes, produced not only the journalistic 'scoop' of the summer (see news report in *Minerva* September/October 1992, page 3) but also a find of great scientific interest. Indeed, the find's archaeological importance may be said to rest more with the scientific questions it raises than with the actual pieces themselves.

Fortunately the discovery was made by Major Luigi Robusto of the Carabinieri during a 'fun' dive with some colleagues in the sea off the Carabinieri beach near the Brindisi military airport.

The first indication of the find, at a depth of about 16 metres, half a mile off the coast just south of Punta del Serrone, was when Major Robusto noticed a life-size black foot sticking out of the sand. Dr Giuseppe Andreassi, head of the local Soprintendenza Archeologica and of the Provincial Archaeological Museum, was immediately informed of the discovery. He rapidly organised an inspection of the site.

The initial examination of the site revealed that the foot was not the only fragment present. There were pieces of other statues visible, including a head, partly covered by sand. It took a couple of days to get the operation started and for the team from the STAS (Technical Service for Underwater Archaeology) to arrive to give technical and expert assistance in what is one of the most important discoveries made in the area during the last decade.

The discovery did not come as a complete surprise; Dr Andreassi recalled that some local fishermen had found a large bronze foot in the sea about the same area in 1972 and it had been thought at the time that there might be other parts of the statue present. A search organised in the area down to a depth of 13 metres had produced nothing. Had the divers gone a little deeper, they would have anticipated Major Robusto's discovery by 20 years, but there was nothing to suggest other objects being present.

The STAS team under its Deputy Director, Dr Claudio Mucchigiani Carpano, immediately outlined the area for archaeological investigation and began an emergency survey using underwater metal detectors. Speed was vital because, although the objects had remained under the sea for centuries, now that their presence was known there was a great danger of theft by clandestine divers because of the relatively shallow depth, only 16 metres, and the closeness of the site to the coast. The response from the metal detector was strong over a wide area, in fact at almost every part it passed over.

It was obvious that the pieces could not simply be recovered as found; a proper record had to be kept, grids laid out to record the find areas and also a proper plano-metrical survey coupled with full photographic and video recording had to be carried out.

On the technical side, the Aquarius Cooperative from Milan were entrusted with the recovery operations. This presented quite a problem for the owner of Aquarius, the archaeologist Alice Freschi, because organising the examination of an underwater archaeological site is a difficult task at the best of times. To do it under emergency conditions, getting the necessary equipment together, contacting specialist personnel, and all during the holiday season when many specialist suppliers are closed and technicians and other key people are on holiday, was not easy.

Alice Freschi managed to put her team together within four days, summoning specialists to Brindisi from their holidays and from abroad. The on-the-spot archaeological tasks were under the care of Giusy Gimaudo and Giulia Boetto, assisted by the French researcher Marie Brigitte Care from the CNRS in Marseilles. The technical activities in the water were under the direction of Professor Brunello Raffone, a foremost Italian specialist in the field. To this team of technicians and underwater archaeologists were added four local volunteers, all highly experienced divers and members of GRAS (Gruppo Ricerca Archeologiche Sottomarine).
rime: 'Nino Lamboglia', named after the Italian underwater pioneer); this group consisted of Vanni Meneghini, Derio Camassa, Angelo de Castro and Fernando Zongoli.

It took three days to prepare the archaeological site, to install the 'sorbona' (a pneumatic sand blower) and set up a datum point - it was the second week in August.

The underwater work was carried out in pairs, each team diving for an hour, followed by four minutes decompression at three metres depth. Since the overall working depth was only 16 metres, the decompression stop was not really necessary but Professor Raffone who was in charge of this side of the operation preferred to follow the proper working recommendations as a safety precaution.

Each member of the two-man team had their own responsibilities as they worked, one digging, another using the 'sorbona', or surveying, photographing, videoing or plotting on the planometric survey grid. Several teams carried out two dives a day, one in the morning and another in the afternoon, with at least a three hour break in between, as dictated by the diving tables.

The sea bed in the area of the work was rocky, heavily eroded and layered sandstone, producing a series of parallel gullies with one face almost vertical and the other sloping and covered in sand. These gullies were up to two or three metres deep and the sedimentary sand overlying them 40 to 50 centimetres deep.

The main site lay close to one of these rocky masses, although material has since been found scattered around the area and also in a sort of natural cave opening down below to a depth of one and a half metres. The metal detector's response was strong over all the area, indicating large metallic masses and it is thought that some of the signals it picked up come from later, probably wartime, metallic refuse. The proposed excavation area was divided up into sections based on the detector's signals, centred on the area indicated by the initial soundings. Following this pattern, the whole area was examined in detail and all the bronzes recovered, with the first season ending at the end of August.

Initial work on the site was concentrated on the parts first strongly indicated by the metal detector and the area was carefully cleared using the sand blower operated from the boat on the surface above. Using this method, bronze arms and legs and other fragments were located, including a large piece of hair. Each piece was allocated a finds number and had a small plastic card attached to it. When about ten square metres had been cleared, the photographic survey was carried out with the intention of having as complete a documentary record available as possible. In order to record the site fully, and be able to reconstruct at least on paper the situation, everything on the site was recorded by triangulation, i.e. in three dimensional aspect so that the coordinates could reproduce the exact relationship spatially of any item in relation to its location on the site. This having been satisfactorily carried out, the actual recovery of the objects could proceed.

The recovery was carried out using baskets raised by air balloons, the objects having first been well packed underwater and placed in individual plastic boxes so that no damage would occur during the lifting process. Each basket lift was accompanied and guided to the surface by an attendant diver.

These detailed precautions were necessary because it had not been possible to ascertain underwater the exact stability and strength of individual pieces and it was important that no undue stress should be laid on them. Once on land, examination revealed that the bronzes were, on the whole, very well preserved although oxidation had taken place on some surfaces.

The bronzes were taken to the Provincial Archaeological Museum in Brindisi where, after initial treatment for the removal of seaweed and sediments, they were immersed in distilled water for several days to release any further salt encrustation. Subsequently, they were placed on display with the first find, the foot, made by Major Robusto of the Carabinieri, and the wonderful complete head (opposite).

Further examination was made of the seabed and the site has now produced some 100 items, mainly fragments of bronze statues of varying sizes, including arms complete with hands, single hands and various fingers, feet and legs and also parts of them, two whole heads, pieces of hair, togas and dress, and a wonderful wing of Nike (Victory).

During the closing phases of the excavation two large torsos which were at first thought to be complete
statues were recovered, completely encrusted with calcareous deposits, unlike the other pieces which were generally clean. Because they were located under a rocky outcrop it was difficult to ascertain if they were complete; both lack their legs although one at least still has an arm, the stump of another and half of the head. The second piece consists of a torso without any limbs or head.

When the two torsos were first located it was thought that the other bronze fragments had come from them, but examination after the pieces were brought to the surface showed this not to be so. There were differences in size, style and techniques used and their initial dating suggests somewhere within a wide time scale running from the fourth century BC to as late as the third century AD. This diversity between the torsos and the fragments has cast doubts on the original theory that this was a ship with a cargo of bronze statues that had foundered and they had broken up on the seabed. The diversity of styles and the evidence that some of the bronzes had been broken up before the ship was wrecked now seem to indicate that the ship was not carrying complete statues, probably looted from somewhere like Greece, but it could be a merchantman of Roman date, possibly of the third century AD, who was carrying the bronzes as scrap metal. It is even possible that the date of the ship could be much later than the bronze fragments, it could even be of the Ottoman period. So far, no evidence of the ship has been found, only two small anchors and a piece of lead that that could have been lost from any passing ship.

A romantic solution to the conundrum would be that a wealthy antiquarian had imported the statues to decorate a villa of the patrician class, but the obvious and deliberate fragmentation of the bronzes rules this theory out. More likely is that the bronzes were to be reused and recycled, possibly even into much later cannons.

The reason for the location of the wreck is easy since force ten winds are not uncommon in the area and they can produced troughs up to 16 metres deep which, given an unstable cargo of heavy bronze, could place a ship in great difficulties. One last, possible, hypothesis is that the fragmentation of the bronzes could have been brought about during the Second World War either by a bomb or mine explosion underwater since the area is close to a military airport and naval base.

One of the main local questions of the moment is where these remarkable finds will be displayed in due course. Professor Francesco Sisinini, Director General of the Ministry of Culture, has indicated that there is a very strong possibility that they will remain in the Brindisi Museum. This will depend on there being adequate display space for them and Dr Angelo Marinazzo, the Director of the Provincial Archaeological Museum in Brindisi, has said that sufficient display area will be made available.

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or over seven hundred years, medieval Spain was the scene of sporadic conflict among Jews, Muslims and Christians. However, even in the face of political repression and conflict, members of the three religions engaged in business with one another, exchanged ideas and shared culture. Art, architecture, literature, science and daily life reflect this complex experience. Convivencia is a Spanish term used to describe the coexistence of these three major Iberian religious groups. In the history of Western culture, this convivencia is a notable instance of productive interchange amidst conflict and crisis. A new exhibition at the Jewish Museum in New York examines the cultural interrelationships among Jews, Muslims, and Christians in the centuries from the Muslim conquest of Spain in 711 to the defeat of the last Muslim ruler and the expulsion of the Jews in 1492.

Many of the works in the exhibition were made by and for the Jewish and Muslim communities of medieval Spain, communities that lost most of their material culture upon being expelled in 1492. Included are extremely rare objects such as two fourteenth-century Hanukkah lamps (opposite) and pieces of stucco and tile decoration from the Alhambra. An outstanding example of medieval art is a fourteenth-century synagogue carpet which bears a Jewish motif and a Kufic inscription praising Allah. It is the oldest surviving carpet from medieval Spain. Leaves from the first illustrated printed Haggadah (late fifteenth century) provide an interesting example of cultural creativity during the last difficult years of Jewry on the Iberian peninsula. A particularly beautiful example of a Hebrew Bible, c. 1460, preserves motifs first developed in the stucco decoration of Muslim architecture. Other manuscripts with abstract decoration are likewise based on Muslim art and clearly demonstrate the interaction of cultures characteristic of medieval Spain.

One of the earliest works in the exhibition is the fragment of an Islamic sundial found in Cordoba (c. 1000) used to determine the five times of daily prayer. A most striking example of convivencia was the Jew-

ish, Muslim and Christian participation in the development of science. Particularly important are manuscripts on science like the Libros del Saber de Astronomia of Alfonso X, the Wise (1252-84), a compendium of scientific treatises, most of them by Jewish scientists, produced under the patronage of Alfonso. Also included are three Spanish astrolabes, instruments for determining latitude: one with Latin star names, a second with Arabic inscriptions, and the third with Hebrew names which attest to the dynamic intellectual activity of the three groups.

In Excelsis Dei Thesauris (called ‘Vidal Mayor’), an exquisitely illuminated law code commissioned by King James I of Aragon in 1247, depicts Jews, Muslims and Christians in several of its miniatures, indicating that the King’s law applied to all three religious groups. An eleventh-century, intricately carved ivory casket (below) depicts humans drinking or playing music in a garden, birds, leaves, and animals. For Muslims, the garden was the location for intellectual and social gatherings and also symbolised paradise, similar to the Garden of Eden in the Hebrew Bible.


There are only three extant medieval synagogues in Spain and the Jewish Museum was fortunate in being able to borrow decorative elements from two of them: the Cordoba Synagogue and El Transito, Toledo. These are compared with similar decoration from Christian and Islamic buildings such as the Las Dueñas convent in Cordoba and the renowned Islamic palace of the Alhambra in Granada, demonstrating the shared architectural vocabulary and compositions of all three groups.

Jews were a minority under both Christian and Muslim rule, but played a key role in mediating convivencia. Jewish mediation and creativity were possible in part because Jews were acquainted with all the principal languages of medieval Spain (Arabic, Latin, Castillian, and Hebrew), and in part because Jews were a minority rather than contenders for dominant rule. Iberian Jewry presents a remarkable case of cultural continuity and vitality in the face of repression and recurrent crises.

Convivencia: Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain is at the Jewish Museum at the New York Historical Society, until 20 December, and at the Meadows Museum in Dallas, 29 January-11 April 1993. The exhibition is accompanied by a 272-page catalogue, illustrated in colour and black and white, edited by Vivian B. Mann, Jerri-Lynn Dodds, and Thomas Glick, $25.00 (paperback), $50 (clothbound).

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The Old Masters of San Vincenzo

Recent excavations at the early medieval monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno in Italy have thrown new light on the uses of painting in the early Middle Ages.

John Mitchell

The initiatives of the age of Charlemagne determined the future course of artistic development in Europe for centuries. Arguably the experiments and accomplishments of the artists associated with the court of the Frankish King were more revolutionary and fundamentally innovative than anything achieved by the great masters of the Italian Renaissance half a millennium later, Giotto, Donatello and Michelangelo.

However, the Carolingians were anticipated in their concern to develop a new and prestigious courtly artistic culture by the Longobards in Italy. From the time of king Liutprand (712-740) onwards, the Longobard kings and nobles proved to be exceptional patrons of the arts, and the best surviving Longobard architecture, sculpture and painting is unsurpassed elsewhere in eighth-century Europe.

A telling illustration of these developments has come to light during excavations, over the past dozen years, at the great Benedictine monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno. San Vincenzo is situated in the southern Longobard principality of Benevento, and its attempts to capitalise on its strategic position are reflected most spectacularly in its lavish painted decoration and, more curiously, in the community’s delight in the display of the written word.

San Vincenzo al Volturno was founded by three young noblemen from Benevento in AD 703. For much of the eighth century it remained a small and remote community, but when Charlemagne invaded Italy in 774 after some internal dispute, the monks elected to seek his patronage. Subsequently, Abbot Joshua (792-817), who, according to San Vincenzo’s twelfth-century chronicler, was related to the Carolingian royal house, transformed San Vincenzo into one of the great monasteries of western Europe. Over the course of about twenty-five years a great new abbey-church was built, a basilica, sixty-five metres long, with thirty-two columns of Egypt...
ian granite, together with three other churches, new claustral buildings, including a great two-aisled refectory, a palace for the abbot, grandiose apartments for distinguished guests, and a large collective workshop. By the 830s San Vincenzo had increased in size from its small original nucleus to a large loosely articulated complex extending over about six hectares. With these changes, which were accompanied by extensive territorial gains, came new political status and power, so that for some fifty years San Vincenzo ranked in size and fame alongside the celebrated monastery of Monte Cassino, some thirty miles distant to the west.

The early ninth-century visitor to the monastery would have been struck by the unusually brilliant and colourful decoration of the buildings. This delight in bright polychrome effects extended to the glazing of the windows of the principal buildings, and even to the lamps which illuminated their interiors, impressive constructions of elaborately leaded, brightly coloured glass.

In the eighth century, painted decoration at San Vincenzo seems to have been confined to the sanctuaries of the principal churches, but this changed after the great expansion under Joshua. Not only the churches, but almost every building, portico, and corridor of the restructured monastery now had elaborately painted walls. The lower walls of most of the halls and chambers were painted to resemble a revetment of cut marble panels, in striking imitation of the grandest Late Antique urban basilicas and palatial residences (Fig 2), while the upper surfaces of walls were given over to figural compositions. These have not survived intact. They fell from the walls as the various rooms were abandoned, but can in part be reassembled from the thousands of fragments of painted plaster retrieved during excavation.

Two full pictorial schemes from this period can be reconstructed. The back wall of the portico of a little peristyle garden court, designed to serve the needs of distinguished guests to the monastery, was painted with full-size illusionistic columns, with plants in pots in the intercolumniations, mirroring the row of elegant fluted columns which supported the roof of the portico and presumably the shrubs which once stood between them. Like the patterns employed for marble dados, this device of painted columns which extend the apparent architectural articulation of a space is a Renaissance conceit, derived from Roman practice.

The other scheme which it has been possible to reassemble and reconstruct in some detail is a sequence of Prophets standing beneath a gaily painted arcade. These come from the rear wall of a long hall which served as a room of assembly and as an anteroom to the monks’ refectory. They are magnificent wild-eyed figures, executed with great fluency and freedom. Striking configurations of light and shade play across their faces, imparting an intense sense of life and giving them considerable iconic power (Fig 7). This dramatic pictorial idiom is a slightly over-emphasised version of a style which had been developed by artists in Northern Italy working for the Longobard royal family and court in the latter part of the eighth century. It had probably been brought south in the previous generation by artists seeking their fortunes at the southern Longobard court round about the time of the Carolingian annexation of the northern kingdom in 774.

The most remarkable feature of these standing Prophets is the large scrolls which they all hold (Fig 5). These are inscribed with passages from their
Medieval Wall Paintings

writings written in large, eminently legible letters, in lines of alternating colour, red and black. Figures displaying large inscribed scrolls of this kind are virtually unknown in western European art before the late eleventh century. The scroll-bearing prophets at San Vincenzo are one expression of an overriding preoccupation with the display of script which is one of the most intriguing features of the early ninth-century monastery. These scrolls take their place alongside a plethora of inscriptions in a variety of other media which would have confronted a contemporary visitor – funerary inscriptions on grave-stones, ancient Roman inscriptions incorporated into the fabric of the newly restructured monastery, prominently inscribed tiles on floors and roofs, and even inscriptions in foot-high gilded bronze letters on the facades of some of the more prestigious buildings.

Some twenty years later, at a time when the monastery was perhaps just beginning to feel the first effects of the general recession and social disruption which affected all of the western world in the middle years of the ninth century, the abbot, now Epyphanius (824-842), undertook a further programme of construction, to improve and further embellish certain critical parts of the complex. The main focus of his attention was the most public part of the monastery, the guest quarters. The guesthall, a large and prominent elevated structure, was rebuilt on a grandiose scale, and splendidly appointed with an inlaid marble floor and a dado painted in imitation of shaped panels of red and black speckled Egyptian porphyry. At this time a small courtyard at the point where the area reserved for guests and the monastic quarters proper meet, was roofed over and provided with a tiled floor and its walls were painted with figures of saints standing in celestial fields of red poppies (Fig 6). These figures are executed in a somewhat tighter and more meticulous variant of the style of the prophets. It seems that the monks repeatedly called on the same atelier of painters to decorate new buildings as they were completed during this period of twenty to thirty years. It is possible that these artists were based at the monastery itself – they may even have been monks who had trained as painters. It is perhaps more likely, however, that the monks employed a team of lay professionals who came from a major southern centre, like Benevento or Salerno, where they would have served the needs of the Longobard court.

The painting for which San Vincenzo is best known also belongs to this refurbishment of the guest-quarters in the 820s-30s. This is the decoration of a little subterranean funerary oratory, which was inserted into the apse of a small church lying adjacent to the guest-hall, a church apparently intended for the use of the monastery’s visitors. This is one of the best-preserved ninth-century programmes anywhere in Europe, the work of expert artists who continued and developed the northern Longobard pictorial idiom of the team responsible for the earlier painted decoration (Fig 3). The oratory and its decoration were completed during the abbacy of Epyphanius, who is represented on his knees in an attitude of devotion at the foot of the crucified Christ (Figs 1 and 4). The pictorial programme is a complicated one centring on the Virgin Mary, who is shown crowned and dressed in imperial robes on a throne in a vault above four archangels. The imagery derives in large part from the writings of one of San Vincenzo’s greatest sons, Ambrosius Autpertus, a renowned theologian who had been a leading member of the community in the later eighth century. The principal focus of the cycle is a large and elaborate tomb, which the oratory was designed to house. To judge from the dress
An Egyptian brown quartzite Royal Portrait Head depicting Ramesses II (the Great) New Kingdom, Dynasty XIX, circa 1290-1224 B.C., height 11½ inches (29.2 cm.). Estimate: upon request.

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CHRISTIE'S
of a small figure of a man genuflecting before an image of Christ embodied as an archangel in the little apse facing this tomb, its occupant was a layman of high standing. He was doubtless an esteemed friend and benefactor of the monastery, who constructed this little subterranean oratory to ensure that intercessory masses would be said for the salvation of his soul for as long as the monastery survived.

Soon after this, San Vincenzo's age of greatness came to an end. Civil war in the Kingdom of Benevento, the local expression of the social upheaval and wars which racked most parts of Europe in the middle decades of the ninth century, destroyed the basis of San Vincenzo's wealth. Before long, marauding bands of Saracens, Arab freebooters from North Africa, were attacking and pillaging the coastal towns of southern Italy. San Vincenzo's fate was sealed on 10 October 881, when the monastery was sacked and burnt, and many of the monks killed, by the Emir Sawgdan and his war-band. Although the monastery was reoccupied in the early tenth century, and rebuilt in the eleventh century, it never regained its international standing, or the artistic eminence it had once enjoyed.

However, during the two or three generations in which San Vincenzo was at the peak of its fortunes, the paintings, which were to be seen in almost every room, and the prodigious exhibition of writing throughout the complex, reveal the abbot and monks of San Vincenzo as enterprising exponents of an apparatus of conspicuous display and cultural control which had been developed and deployed by some of the most ambitious and successful powers of the contemporary world.

John Mitchell is a member of the Department of Art History at the University of East Anglia.

Fig 8. Ivory head of a saint, with glass eyes, carved in the monastery's workshops in the early 9th century. The carving of the areas around the eyes shows knowledge of the conventions of lighting and shading used in contemporary painted heads from San Vincenzo.
THE GREEK MIRACLE

Fifth-Century Greek Sculpture Visits the United States

Jerry Theodorou

In 1992-93 a large number of exhibitions and conferences are taking place in the United States to commemorate 2,500 years since the birth of democracy in Athens. By far the most visually impressive of the events marking the two and a half millennia since the reforms of Cleisthenes is the exhibition ‘The Greek Miracle: Classical Sculpture from the Dawn of Democracy – the Fifth Century BC’, at the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC from 22 November to 7 February 1993, and then moving to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. This exhibition, which includes 34 works of sculpture, displays many of the most influential works of Greek sculpture of the fifth century. A large number of ‘textbook pieces’, that are illustrated and discussed in the magisterial surveys on Greek sculpture by Richter, Boardman and Stewart, will travel to the United States. Twenty-two of the objects are on loan from museums in Greece, the majority of which are from the National Archaeological Museum, Athens, and the remainder from the Louvre, the Antikennmuseum Berlin, the British Museum, the Munich Glyptothek, the Capitoline Museum in Rome and the Metropolitan Museum. The guest curator of ‘The Greek Miracle’ is Diana Buitron Oliver, Professor of Art History and Archaeology at Georgetown University. Professor Oliver curated the 1988-89 exhibition of Greek art that visited the United States, ‘The Human Figure in Early Greek Art’, and is a curator of the 1993 exhibition at the National Archives in Washington DC called ‘The Birth of Democracy’.

Two and a half thousand years ago in the Athens of 508 BC the stranglehold of clans on the city’s political and social life prevented the democratic institutions created by Solon in the 590s from succeeding in establishing genuine democracy in the Attic city-state. The judiciary and the assembly were opened to the lower classes, but the power of wealthy and influential citizens thwarted the genius of Solon’s democratic ideas from taking firm root. In the intervening years between the 590s and 508 BC Athens was submitted to the tyranny of the Pisistratids and the lower classes suffered.

In 508 BC Cleisthenes the lawgiver, himself from a noble clan, introduced a series of gerrymandering acts that broke up the power of the clans. These
reforms are what made Athenian democracy work for the first time and it is thus apt that in 1992 we observe 2,500 years since the birth of democracy. The objects in 'The Greek Miracle' span the entire fifth century, during which the stiff formalism of the Archaic Period gave way to the full flowering of the Classical Period.

A kouros of 530 BC from the sanctuary of Apollo in Ptoon, near Thebes (Fig 1) is the earliest work exhibited. This statue is a late example of the rigid canon of the Archaic Period. The statue of the youth has his left leg advanced with his arms held tightly at his sides, while the facial expression is frozen into an inscrutable 'archaic smile' and the overall work is dominated by the frontal plane.

Whether the democratic reforms of Cleisthenes of 508 had anything to do with the tendency of Athenian sculptors at the time to depict the human form more naturally is not clear, but by the fifth century Athenian sculpture is suffused with a new vitality and a lively three-dimensionality. In the statue of a running girl of 490 BC found at Eleusis (Fig 2 and cover) the body of the girl is charged with a forward movement and there is a coherence between the upper and lower body parts. According to the late Gisela Richter, doyenne scholar of ancient Greek art, there are some lingering Archaic traits evident, such as the decorative folds and a slight stiffness, but it is clear from the turned back head that the works of Greek artists were no longer frozen in the frontal plane.

Probably the best known sculpture in 'The Greek Miracle' is the Kritios Boy (Fig 3), a work familiar to all students of art history as representing the turning point between the Archaic and the Classical styles. In contrast to the kouros (Fig 1) the 480 BC Kritios Boy displays contrapposto, with the weight of his body squarely on the left leg, resulting in a break with the earlier kouros-like symmetry. The boy's head is turned slightly to the side and the shoulders and hips are also canted at an angle.

A bronze horse from the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia of 470 BC (Fig 4) is a superb equestrian work made by an accomplished sculptor thoroughly familiar with horses. Scholars have seen in this work the hand of Kalamis, a great sculptor of horses at the time. This statuette is the only survivor of a group of four horses, a chariot and a charioteer that may have
been dedicated at the sanctuary by the winner of a chariot race.

The marble relief depicting Athena before a stele (Fig 5) has been called variously the 'Mourning Athena' and the 'Contemplative Athena'. Is she reading an inscribed grave stele with the names of the fallen casualties? Exactly what she is mourning, reading or contemplating is a matter of speculation, but beyond argument is the fact that the work has earned a place among classical masterpieces for its angled depiction of Athena's peplos and for the sensitive, albeit inscrutable expression on the face of the goddess.

The small (eight inches tall) bronze statuette of Zeus from the Louvre (Fig 6) is for two reasons reminiscent of the giant seven-foot bronze Poseidon of Zeus found off the coast of Artemision and now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. First the posture and attitude of the little and the large nude standing bronze statues are similar. Second, the seven-foot tall statue, one of the greatest bronzes in the world, was to have been included in 'The Greek Miracle', but it was decided at the highest levels of the Greek government, possibly for conservation reasons, not to include this superb and stunning work among the pieces lent to the show. What is more, among the large community of archaeologists in Greece, who are government employees, and even among the ordinary Greeks, there was a disinclination to lend anything at all to a foreign exhibition such as 'The Greek Miracle'.

Another political dimension to the exhibition is entered in noting the conspicuous absence in the exhibition of any of the Parthenon friezes from the British Museum. These works fit squarely in the theme of the exhibition - fifth-century sculptural works with an emphasis on portrayals of the human figure - but the possible legal volleys between the
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Greeks and the British if the Elgin marbles were to leave British soil would create a furor totally out of place in the context of a birthday party for democracy. The charming and muscular Zeus which provoked this digression was acquired by the Louvre in 1890 and is said to have come from the temple to the god at Dodona in north-western Greece.

The bronze head of a youth or god dating to 460 (Fig 8) is known commonly as the Chatsworth Apollo because subsequent to its 1836 discovery in Cyprus it was in the collection at Chatsworth House, England. Cypriot peasants discovered a complete life-size statue of a youth in a river bed and, in the act of transporting the work, it literally fell to pieces. A leg from the original bronze may be in the Louvre. Like the Kritios Boy this youth may have had his eyes inlaid in antiquity with glass or stone.

The grave stele of a girl with doves found on the island of Paros (Fig 7) is among the finest original Greek works in any American museum. Whereas luxurious grave-stones such as this were banned in Athens in the middle of the fifth century by sumptuary laws, in Paros a local sculptor was able to show his talent around 450 BC with the tender modelling of this girl and her beloved pets. The downward turn of the girl’s head is a subtle though effective technique the anonymous artist used to portray the girl’s affection for the doves.

The Nike unbinding her sandal (Fig 9) dating to 410, from the temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis, is shown in a moment of pause, possibly before she enters the sanctuary. The seemingly realistic portrayal of the body and the drapery are belied by the clearness with which the legs show through the drapery. On a life model one could not see through two garment layers as one does on this work. One scholar has interpreted this aspect of the sandal binder as meaning that the goal here was not to achieve true realism but rather artistic effect.

The grave stele of Hegeso (Fig 10) was carved at the close of the fifth century and was set up in the Keramikos cemetery in Athens. The most remarkable feature of this funerary monument is the effective representation of several planes of depth in a carving that measures less than an inch from the highest point of the relief to the lowest point. The three-quarters view is rendered correctly, and the elegant composition and the sad image of a deceased woman with her jewel box and her maid combine to make this among the favourite works for visitors to the National Archaeological Museum.

The Greek Miracle: Classical Sculpture from the Dawn of Democracy – the Fifth Century BC is at the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, 22 November 1992 - 7 February 1993, and at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 11 March - 23 May 1993. A catalogue accompanying the exhibition, with colour photographs of the objects from several angles, entries by Diana Button Oliver, and eight essays by prominent scholars, is available (price not yet determined).
Conserving Nefertari’s Wall Paintings

Stavros Aspropoulos

After extensive conservation work by the Getty Conservation Institute, the Tomb of Nefertari, containing some of the finest wall paintings in Egypt, is once again open to the public. A new exhibition at the J. Paul Getty Museum chronicles the painstaking work and warns that reopening the tomb to tourists may bring about further deterioration.

It may seem unusual for the J. Paul Getty Museum to sponsor an exhibition of ancient Egyptian art, an area virtually unrepresented in the institution’s collections except, perhaps, by a group of about a dozen very remarkable and finely painted Faiyum portrait panels from Roman Egypt. The decision to mount this Egyptian exhibition in the Getty Museum was made in order to assist its sister institution, the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI), which has no special exhibition space of its own, in staging an exhibition marking the completion of its conservation work in the tomb of Nefertari. Before looking at the fifty or so objects in the exhibition, it is first important to review what the GCI team did and did not accomplish.

In September 1985 the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation (RAO), the branch of the Egyptian government specifically charged with maintaining the nation’s cultural heritage, agreed to undertake a joint project with the GCI for the conservation of the wall paintings in the tomb of Nefertari, which are universally regarded as among the finest ever painted in antiquity. This tomb, belonging to the principal wife of Ramesses II, the great warrior and builder of Dynasty XIX (1290-1224 BC), was discovered in 1904 by Ernesto Schiaparelli, then curator of the Egyptian collection in Turin, Italy, during his excavations in the Valley of the Queens in Western Thebes as Director of the Missione Archaelogica Italiana in Egitto. Schiaparelli cleared the tomb, shipping its entire contents to Italy where they are presently on view in the Nefertari Gallery of the Museo Egizio, Turin. He documented its scenes and inscriptions in a series of very valuable photographs.

The tomb of Nefertari was planned as the most ambitious tomb in the Valley of the Queens and consists of many chambers hewn out of the living rock. The walls of the tomb were covered with a thick layer of what one generally terms plaster. When this plaster coat dried, the artisans sculpted it into figural relief decorations and inscriptions which were then painted.

The scenes in the tomb began to deteriorate almost from the moment of their completion in antiquity because of water, a major cause of damage to the tomb. The ancient Egyptians had by necessity to add large quantities of water to the plaster mixture with which they covered the tomb’s walls. This was compounded over the centuries by water from two additional sources. Rainwater, either percolating through fissures in the bed rock or pouring into the tomb from its entrance, was the first. Indeed, Schiaparelli himself noticed dry puddles in the tomb’s burial chamber. The second was water in the form of vapour, which is introduced into the tomb whenever the relative humidity exceeds certain levels or when there are excessive numbers of visitors in its chambers.

This water, initially introduced with the plaster during the actual construction of the tomb and continually reintroduced thereafter by rain, humidity, and tourists, activates the salts naturally present in the bed rock. Mixed with water these salts percolate through the plaster, and on reaching the surface the water evaporates, leaving behind the once soluble salts which begin to form crystals. Since these crystals, being solids, cannot harmlessly pass through the plaster, they grow in size until they force the plaster to fracture and break away from the bed rock walls to which it had been attached. Each new infusion of water, whether in the form of a liquid or a vapour, begins the cycle anew.
Conservation

Wall painting of the queen playing senet, after conservation.

mission to do so well in advance of their arrival. Those who have not done so, as well as others, can view replicas of the paintings. Draconian as the French solution might appear, it neatly reconciles the demand of tourists to visit the site with the greater archaeological mandate to preserve the paintings for generations to come.

The exhibition contains full-scale photographic replicas of several of the tomb's individual chambers and walls as well as a choice selection of approximately fifty works of art, included in a check-list in the accompanying catalogue, which relate specifically either to scenes in the tomb or to Queen Nefertari herself.

Of the objects worthy of mention is a statue, recently identified as an image of Nefertari herself, on loan from the Harer family trust, an exhibition of the objects from which was reported in Minerva, January/February 1992, page 34. This statue of the queen shows her in the festive, ample costume of the New Kingdom which allows the body greater freedom of movement, symbolic, some contend, of the greater personal freedom enjoyed by Egyptian women during the second half of the Bronze Age. More significantly, this statue is the only one known which shows a woman holding a standard, or ceremonial staff, symbolic either of the divine power of the queen which is inextricably linked to her ka, or life force, or to an aspect of the deity represented by the

The carelessness of the tourists themselves cannot be underestimated; they have bumped into the tomb's walls, dislodging plaster, and have repeatedly touched its reliefs, causing further dislodgings and discolouration.

A chamber in the tomb after conservation.

with deleterious effects on the tomb paintings.

In addition to water, tourism is a major contributing factor to the tomb's deterioration. The motor coaches which until very recently brought tourists practically to the entrance to the tombs in the Valley of the Queens spew out toxic exhaust fumes while parked and cause vibrations as they lumber to and from the site. The carelessness of the tourists themselves cannot be underestimated; they have bumped into the tomb's walls, dislodged plaster, and have repeatedly touched its reliefs, causing further dislodgings and discolouration.

Older attempts at repairing the damage, often done in haste and with inappropriate materials, have also taken their toll on the tomb. These combined effects had been so detrimental that the tomb was closed to the public in 1934 and remained so until very recently.

The EAO-GCI team certainly had its work cut out. John McDonald, one of the two authors of the catalogue accompanying the exhibition, details the intensive preliminary studies done on the tomb before a single conservator's hand touched a relief. These studies included meticulous surveys of microflora within the tomb as well as scientific measurements of the colours used in the paintings. It was only after such global assessments of every aspect of the tomb's environment were made, studied and analysed that a plan of action for its conservation was implemented. The EAO-GCI team has taken the added precaution of insisting that each and every method employed in its recent
Meccala/Ghontal Votive figure
Serpentine with shell inlaid eyes. H:10"
Late Pre-Classic period, ca. 300 - 100BC

Catalogue available
head serving as a terminal. Such ‘standard bearing statues’ might be erected in temples to commemorate the actual cultic displays of real standards carried in procession by priests or in tombs where they served as an appeal on behalf of the dead for food in the afterlife.

The greater part of the accompanying catalogue is given over to a biography of the queen and an art historical assessment of the paintings in her tomb, one of the most famous of which depicts the queen in a pavilion playing senet against an unseen opponent. The accompanying inscriptions relate that this vignette marks ‘the beginning of the scroll of... glorifications... to play senet... to sit down within the open booth... [and] to come forth as a living ba.’

Statue of Nefertari, 19th Dynasty. The Harer Family Trust.

In the Tomb of Nefertari: The Conservation of its Wall Paintings is at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, California, from 12 November 1992 until 21 February 1993, after which it will travel to Mexico City where it will be exhibited at the Centro Cultural/Arte Contemporaneo during the Spring and Summer of 1993.
British Medieval archaeologists are notorious for their limited horizons. Whereas a prehistorian will probably have been taught the archaeology of the whole of Europe and the Middle East, not to mention the civilisations of prehistoric India and Meso-America, archaeologists working in the period from around AD 400 to 1600 are most likely to have learnt their subject in the job, even though the majority of field archaeologists work mainly on sites of medieval date. Most university-trained archaeologists of my generation, for example, would have either been unable to take a formal course in eighth-century AD or later archaeology or could have taken it as an option but not as part of a core curriculum.

Things are much better: for today's students. Archaeologists from Britain are involved in medieval archaeology projects in most European countries, including Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Spain, Malta, Italy, Bulgaria, Greece, Crete, Turkey, Russia, Poland and Czechoslovakia. In my own archaeological unit in Lincoln, for example, three of the staff work in Turkey during the summer, the unit director jointly manages a project in the south of France, pottery from Algeria is being analysed by another member of staff and I have been involved in projects in Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands and Belgium looking at the characterisation of pottery using thin-sections.

This level of international contact is by no means unusual. Even in our small city there are other archaeologists who have worked in Italy, Iraq, Turkey, Malta and Oman. Even so, it is strange that until now there has been no means by which medieval archaeologists could inform themselves about the work of colleagues in other parts of Europe, let alone meeting with them to compare experiences. In 1989 it was decided to fill this gap by staging a massive conference entitled 'Medieval Europe 1992'. This was held in York from the 20th to the 24th of September and was attended, reputedly, by about 780 people coming from virtually every country in Europe, as well as from the USA, Japan, Australia and New Zealand.

Three organisations came together to organise the conference: first was the York Archaeological Trust, whose director, Peter Addyman, first proposed the idea as a scribbled postscript to a questionnaire I had sent him in 1988 on the future of the Society for Medieval Archaeology, of which I had just become the Honorary Secretary; second was the Department of Archaeology at the University of York. This department is unique in Britain in having been founded specifically to teach the archaeology of the medieval period and in a very short period of existence has created a worldwide reputation, not least for the Sutton Hoo project directed by its professor, Martin Carver.

These two organisations, together with the Society for Medieval Archaeology, provided the initial members of an organising committee which then set to work devising the structure of the conference, arranging publicity, fund-raising, and arguing about the aims and practicalities of arranging a conference with such a presumptuous title on an island off the west coast of Europe where most medieval archaeologists speak no language but English. Indeed, after the conference it is even doubtful if we can claim that achievement. One American participant was overheard complaining that many of the papers were delivered in such a strong regional dialect that they were only half intelligible, while Professor Olaf Olsen complained that the English always mumbled.

The committee opted to hold seven parallel themes with sessions running concurrently. Each theme was to cut across both national and chronological boundaries. In this way, we hoped to stop people clustering into the safety of the familiar and being forced to taste something new. We also wanted to make sure that these themes did not all correspond to the specialities that most medieval archaeologists worked within. If someone wanted to catch all the pottery lectures, for example, they would literally have to run from lecture theatre to lecture theatre as pottery specialists stood up to talk in sessions within the urbanism, rural landscape, death and burial, trade and exchange, technology and innovation or art and symbolism themes. Many participants decided to try just that and one of the most vivid memories I will retain from this conference is that of participants rushing along the covered walkways which link the York colleges in typically windy drizzle.

For me, the fruits of this policy of mix and match lectures came in a session on long-distance trade. We learnt from Professor Else Roedahl that the trade in walrus ivory, which had begun in earnest in the tenth century in the North Atlantic, was the means by which the Viking settlements in northern Greenland survived. Their culture demanded goods which could not be obtained locally and which could only be obtained in return for ivory. A sharp decline in this trade in the fourteenth century ultimately led to the abandonment of the north Greenland settlements.

A little later in the session, Mark Horton demonstrated that a series of trade routes leading down the east coast of Africa had been intensified in the tenth century with the construction of trading posts containing stone houses. These routes too had brought ivory into Europe (although their main purpose was to carry rock crystal and gold from the Zimbabwian gold mines) and they too had been abandoned in the fourteenth century. Analysis of animal bones from the trading sites showed that the latest assemblages contained plentiful remains of the black rat and this lead Dr Horton to postulate that the Black Death also affected this part of Africa.

During the discussion a member of the audience was able to query this hypothesis since he had examined animal bones from the eighth-century sites in Natal. These too contained black rat bones. Dr Horton was unperturbed by this. Those black rats need not have been infected whilst his evidence definitely showed an increase in rat bones from the frequency found in the early levels.

The excitement of seeing a connection between these seemingly unrelated lectures was almost electric. If only we had had a bone specialist from Greenland in the audience too. Where else in the world would these three experts have come together? A theme which was supposed to be about trade and exchange ended up hinting at the repercussions of the Black Death in the Old World.
Conference Review

Another, perhaps more predictable, theme to arise from these papers was the influence, even in its death throes, of the Roman Empire. A few Romanists had come to the conference and were somewhat amused to find that they, who were often accused of being obsessed with data rather than its interpretation by their prehistorian colleagues, were actually much more analytical than the medievalists. Romanists were, like the black sheep of the family, not present but never out of mind.

The very first lecture in the Technology and Innovation theme, for example, was by Professor Nicholas Brooks from the University of Birmingham. The theme of his paper was that bridges were at the cutting edge of medieval technical ability but that their study had yet to be systematically undertaken.

The following lecture, by Geoff Potter, showed the remarkable detail which could be obtained from a single structure, the old bridge at Kingston-upon-Thames, and the vast technical skill required to build and maintain it. At what point in the Middle Ages, I asked Professor Brooks, did the skill of medieval bridgewrights surpass that of their Roman predecessors? Never, came the reply. Study of documentary sources suggested to Professor Brooks that the bridge over the Medway at Rochester was that built in the Roman period and that it had survived until the eleventh century, by which time it could be shown that its upkeep was the responsibility of the majority of the households which had once made up the west Kentish kingdom centred on Rochester. Medieval bridges, by contrast, had to have up to 200 piles per year driven in to the starlings which surrounded their piers to stop the foundations from being washed away. The Kingston bridge when excavated was shown to have been riven by a huge crack running through its structure.

This session was followed by one on milling technology and innovation, in which it was proposed that all technology used in medieval water mills was available and applied in the Roman period. Only the windmill was the result of a medieval invention, dating from the twelfth century and rapidly being spread throughout the Continent. However, the view that medieval society was unenquiring and acquired all its technological innovations from the Ancient World or Islam was challenged the following day in a provocative keynote address by Jean Gimbel, author of The Medieval Machine and The Cathedral Builders. He is a passionate believer in the inventiveness and technical skill of the medieval artisan (not to mention the uselessness of a university education, the wrong-headedness of the environmental movement, the fact that all artists are fakes, and much, much more). All the papers were pre-printed and can now be obtained from Oxbow Books in Oxford. It is obvious that a vast amount of effort has gone into the preparation of these papers, many of which are laser-printed with accompanying illustrations, and a good idea of the academic content of the conference can be obtained by reading them.

But it is many ways going against the spirit of the conference to look for themes, stimulating papers, flashes of insight and so on. The main purpose of the conference, as the name implied, was the breaking down of barriers between countries, meeting old friends, making new ones, making plans and putting the world to rights. One night I stayed up till almost four in the morning. By then there were still two separate tables occupied and both, so far as I could hear, still talking archaeology. At one table the talk was of the motivation of town development and at the other the use of artefact studies in the interpretation of settlement function. One got the feeling that here were people who had at last found that they were not alone. Others had similar thoughts, problems and concerns. In our professional activities as medieval archaeologists we are constantly having to justify the excavation of this site or the preservation of that one. It was good to find people who could confirm that it was worth fighting for. Archaeological deposits are a dwindling asset and those of the medieval period are just as important and potentially as exciting as those of any other period.

The affirmation of the importance of medieval archaeology came across not only in personal contact but also in an evening session entitled 'Question Time'. Professor Carver tried to establish what people thought of the concept of the conference, how it might have been better and whether or not there was any consensus about some of the problems which the discipline, interestingly, the very organisation of this session demonstrated some of the potential problems that medieval archaeology faces. First, Professor Carver assem-
The festchrift for John Hurst was one of four books rushed into print specially for the conference, including *The Archaeology of Novgorod* which the Society for Medieval Archaeology produced from a Russian typescript to a finished translated book within three months. The others included a book of papers by various authors on the medieval archaeology of Sweden, all translated into English, and a festchrift for Philip Rahtz, Emeritus Professor of Archaeology at York, who attended with his wife and their nine-month son Matthew (who was accused unjustly of heckling during the minister's speech at the opening of the conference). A fifth book, the report on the eighteenth-century Coppergate helmet, narrowly missed the deadline.

Another point raised at Question Time was more deeply felt by the audience since it affected the livelihoods of a many of the participants. The past two decades or so have created opportunities of major medieval archaeology projects. The sites would have been destroyed through redevelopment if they were not destroyed by excavation, so one could dig as much as one could be funded to dig. Now, in Britain, it is government policy to use the planning process to protect archaeological remains in situ. If this policy succeeds it will almost certainly end any of many of our careers (those not already destroyed by the recession). Here again it is impossible to be objective. I like my job and I find it satisfying and intellectually challenging, but does that give me the right to excavate, analyse and publish excavations on sites which could otherwise have been preserved?

So far as we could establish this is a British problem alone so far. Excavation and destruction continue on the Continent and often with inadequate time and funding for the archaeological work. Even in the United Kingdom it is unclear whether the current success of the government's policy will survive the present economic slump. Either way it was realised that there was a lot to be said for letting people know our views about the destruction of medieval landscapes through mineral extraction or ploughing and the destruction of medieval cities and towns through redevelopment. At the plenary session on the last day of the conference we unanimously agreed to delegate Professor Carver, Peter Addyman, Helen Clarke (President of the Society for Medieval Archaeology) and Frans Verhage to write to governments, European-wide agencies and UNESCO voicing our fears for the archaeological heritage of Europe and in particular that of the historic centres of central and eastern European towns.

Finally, with perhaps a little more hesitation, we voted to say that the experience should be repeated, perhaps in five year time, with a greater contribution from the south of the Continent, a venue in the Byzantine world, and a narrower theme. I for one certainly hope to be there.

Alan Vince
Assistant Director of the City of Lincoln Archaeology Unit.

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Seaby books

**Archaeology, Economy and Society:**
*England from the fifth to the fifteenth century*

**David Hinton**

Most books which have 'archaeology' in the title concentrate on the material remains of the period which they cover. David Hinton has here attempted to put flesh on the bare bones of archaeological information and has produced a book which, with some help from written sources, uses archaeology as a tool in the interpretation of medieval life. (Helen Clarke, *Medieval History*)

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David Hinton is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Archaeology at the University of Southampton. He is Editor of *Medieval Archaeology*.

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**The English Medieval Hospital**

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Elizabeth Prescott studied archaeology and history at the University of Southampton and has made her career in teaching.

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**Palaces of Medieval England**

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Dr James is an authority on royal architecture and court life in the Middle Ages. He is currently Senior Lecturer in History and Archaeology at King Alfred's College, Winchester.
Presenting Roman Germany

The frontier provinces of the Roman Empire lying on, or close to, the River Rhine have left a legacy of sites and monuments in today's Germany, and archaeology continues to reveal more. The bodies in whose care these sites lie have taken the view that for a better understanding of the remains it is vital to have buildings to see rather than merely foundations or fragments of walls. They have therefore made use of extensive reconstruction when presenting the sites to the public. Colin Baddeley reports.

Germany got off to a flying start with the City of Trier, where upstanding Roman buildings have survived, for example the Porta Nigra, the Basilika (the Constantinian Audience Hall), and the Imperial Baths, but the country's first major reconstruction followed the excavations of the auxiliary fort at Saalburg towards the end of the nineteenth century. With government funds, and money from other sources, especially America, the entire wall circuit, plus gateways and a number of other buildings, in particular the Principia, were reconstructed on the original foundations between 1898 and 1907, and display the fort to the visitor as it was in the second century.

Since the Second World War, following excavations on a number of selected sites, partial reconstruction has been included when laying out the area for display. The Archaeological Park at Xanten, the township at Schwarzenacker, and more recently the villa at Mehling and the Tempelbezirk at Tawern are of especial interest.

Xanten

The early years of the Emperor Augustus (27 BC-AD14) saw the establishment of a major military presence along the Rhine as a base for the conquest of Germany up to the River Elbe. Among the legionary fortresses created was that of Vetera opposite the confluence of the Rhine with its tributary the Lippe, a strategically important site. The first fortress was one of the double type, holding two legions, and was replaced around AD 70 with a single type (Vetera 2) in a slightly different position. Ultimately this was given up in the second century, but was fully functioning at the time of the foundation of the town of Colonia Ulpiæ Traiani around AD 100.

The fortresses lie just to the south of the modern town of Xanten at Birten, where an associated amphitheatre may still be seen. The Roman town site was 'greenfield' until relatively recently. The medieval town was built around a church, located on the former cemetery of the Colonia, and derives its name from the Latin 'Ad Sanctos', relating to a martyrdom in the Roman period. The existence of the Colonia, lying just to the north of Xanten, was never forgotten since at the very least it was the only source of stone on the lower Rhine and innumerable buildings over a very wide area are built with material from the site. During the nineteenth century there were small 'antiquarian' excavations, but it was not until 1935 that any proper investigations commenced under the direction of the Rhel sansches Landesmuseum in Bonn. During the course of this work, the foundations of the amphitheatre were revealed and consolidated, and made available for visitors. Systematic excavations commenced in the 1950s, but a major threat of commercial development appeared in the 1970s. The response by the local and district authorities, at the recommendation of the Landesmuseum in Bonn, was to purchase the entire site, and put in hand a long term programme of excavation, conservation and reconstruction, thus creating an Archaeological Park forming an important element of the Nordrhein-Westphalia cultural programme.

Colonia Ulpiæ Traiani in its heyday had an area of 180 acres with its streets laid out in the usual checkerboard fashion. The whole was enclosed by gates and towers, and on the east side lay a harbour on an ancient arm of the Rhine. A population of some ten thousand people is estimated, and in addition to the houses, administrative buildings, temples, baths, the amphitheatre, a mansio, and numerous commercial establishments have been identified. All the elements of a prosperous and thriving town are there, but the comment of Anthony King in his book Roman Gaul and Germany must be borne in mind: 'If any town can be said to be an artificial creation without the support from a Romanised hinterland, Xanten has good claim to the title.'

The major reconstructions consist of the entire mansio building, including a tabernum, and adjacent to this a complete baths establishment, fully operational, and only completed in 1989, erected on the site of, but not on the exact plan of the
excavated baths foundations. The amphitheatre has been partially reconstructed, and is used for functions. Substantial lengths of the town wall, including gates and towers, have been rebuilt. The street plan is maintained, and the foundations of a number of houses and other buildings are laid out. Overlooking the Park is the partially reconstructed temple, and lying beneath this are the remains of the podium foundations which are accessible. During excavation, sufficient material was recovered to permit a faithful indication of the appearance of the building.

Space does not allow more than the above brief outline of the principal buildings but if you visit Xanten be warned, set aside a whole day for it, and indulge yourself in a Roman meal at the taverna in the mansio.

Mehring

During the reign of Valentinian I (AD 364-375) the poet Ausonius, tutor to Gratian, Valentinian's son, journeyed from Bingen on the Rhine, across the Hunsruck to Neumagen and thence up the Mosel to Trier. The road he traversed may still be followed over a number of stretches. His poem, the _Mosella_, resulting from this journey, gives an account of a peaceful countryside, fields and pastures, hillsides clothed in vines, the sparkling river and the many villas adorning its banks, whether on the steep hillsides or by the Mosel itself. To an extent, his description was true enough; Valentinian's German wars and the restoration of the Rhine frontier had ensured this. There had been major problems previously with Germanic penetration, however, affecting the economy of the area, and not all buildings Ausonius saw from his boat were necessarily occupied. Which brings us to the villa at Mehring.

The site of this villa was rediscovered during ploughing operations in 1982, although a Roman building was known to have existed thereabouts since the early nineteenth century. Sporadic investigations after the original discovery had caused much disturbance, and subsequently the site was lost. During 1983, the Landesmuseum, Trier, mounted the total excavation of the villa, and fortunately much more was preserved than was expected, and the history of the site could also be determined.

The earliest house dates to the first half of the second century and was of the usual 'winged corridor' type. Over the years, alterations and extensions led to the emergence of a large, well appointed house, which by the third century had 30 rooms and covered an area of 50 metres by 30 metres. It included a baths complex and was ornamented with mosaics and fine wall paintings. Among the materials used was green diorite from Upper Egypt, which incidentally was also used in the Basilika in Trier. During excavation it was found that the south-west wing was well preserved, with masonry standing nearly three metres high. Beneath the corner tower lay an intact cellar.

The excavators' provisional assessment of the later history of the villa is that it was abandoned by the owner at a date after AD 355, but was subsequently occupied by people of Germanic origin settled on the land as Imperial policy to keep the agricultural base going. These people, quite possibly prisoners of war, in addition to their farming role were also liable for military service, and finds of military gear provide the evidence for this. During this period rooms were abandoned and stripped of stone and tile – the baths were probably taken out then. Finally the building was totally abandoned, linked perhaps to the collapse of the Rhine frontier following the disastrous invasion of the Germanic nations over the frozen Rhine on 31 December, AD 406.

On completion of the excavations the remains were consolidated, and it was decided to rebuild the villa frontage to include the porticus with its two flanking towers together with one of the rooms to the rear, thus giving an impression of the villa in its heyday. For the visitor the result of this work is most helpful in appreciating its appearance and setting.

Schwarzenacker

The modern village of Schwarzenacker overlies, in part, one of the most interesting and important Roman township sites north of the Alps. Fortunately much of the site is still free of later building and owes its untouched state to the fact that it has been agricultural land since the Middle Ages. Excavations commenced after the Second World War and will continue.

The Roman name of Schwarzenacker is unknown, but it was one of a number of towns in the Mosel-Rhine triangle with Koblenz at the apex and Metz and Strasbourg respectively south-west and south-east at the base. There is evidence of pre-Roman occupation in the vicinity, and the Roman settlement seems to commence during the first century. It became prosperous, flourishing as a market centre for the surrounding countryside, and ultimately grew to a township of some 42 acres. It was never walled.
The second half of the third century saw Alamannic and Frankish incursions across the Rhine into the German and Gallic Provinces, notably in AD 275/76. These were serious and destructive and caused widespread disruption of economic life. The invaders were finally driven out by the Emperor Probus, but Schwarzenacker was an early target and was destroyed. There is no evidence of a massacre and it would appear that the inhabitants abandoned their town in time. It was never rebuilt, though a few fourth-century coins have been found in the area. The whole place was a deserted waste of ashes with the protruding stone remains of buildings. Upper floors collapsed into cellars with their contents, and ultimately the site disappeared from view except that the colour of the soil was changed permanently, and from early medieval times it was known as Schwarzenacker, that is 'Black Acres'.

Agricultural operations, especially deep ploughing, have turned up many finds over the last couple of centuries, of which the most famous is the 'Gipsu' now in the Speyer Museum, but previously displayed in the ducal palace of Homburg, but extensive archaeological excavations did not commence until 1965. A large area has been examined, but it is only a small part of the original town, and a portion of the excavated area has been consolidated with a number of buildings and features partly or wholly rebuilt.

The entrance to the site takes the visitor onto one of the streets flanked by the frontages of houses with a colonnade and from here one can walk in the footsteps of the former inhabitants, into reconstructed buildings internally decorated and furnished, one showing, for example, a triclinium, together with its hypocaustal heating system, and much else. Below another building lies a cellar which served as a meeting hall for a religious sect. This is the so-called 'Columned Basement', and is considered by the excavators to be unique. The room above is laid out as a small site museum. Elsewhere on the site are the conserved remains of houses and their cellars, wells, ovens and the street drainage system. Immediately adjacent to the site entrance is a small Roman-Celtic temple, nicely demonstrating the appearance and arrangements of these buildings. The main site museum lying in the gardens nearby contains a wealth of finds from the excavations superbly laid out as a representation of 'what it was like', Schwarzenacker is an excellent show-piece for those of us who live north of the Alps.

Tawern

The Roman road from Trier to Metz crosses the River Saar near to its confluence with the Mosel, and using low ground between hills reaches the modern village of Tawern at the foot of the Metzenberg, which it climbs in a series of zig-zags to achieve the high ground for the next portion of its route in a south-westerly direction. At Tawern sufficient evidence has been recovered to indicate the existence there of a 'Way Station', together with other buildings, including 'tabernae', and it is from this that the name of the village derives.

Road works in the mid-eighties near the summit of the Metzenberg, to improve access for forestry work, revealed the foundations of Roman buildings, and an inscription to Mercury was recovered. An excavation carried out during 1986-87 by the Landesmuseum, Trier, revealed the site of a temple complex, a Tempelbezirk, with a total area of some 30 metres by 50 metres. There were four temples of various sizes within the compound wall, plus other buildings. The priest's house and other living accommodation was located nearby. Among the finds were inscriptions, reliefs and fragments of figures and cult statues. The gods Apollo, Mercury (noted above), Serapis, Isis, and Epona are all represented. Some 700 coins were recovered dating from the Republic to the end of the fourth century, and it is interesting that two thirds were not of the Trier mint, which is abnormal for the locality, and gives some indication of the cosmopolitan travellers using the road. The Tempelbezirk appears to have been founded in the first century AD and received various additions, and there was a major rebuilding programme in the fourth century.

The site has been conserved, partially rebuilt — indeed, at the time of writing work is still going on — and presents a stunning appearance to the visitor, with two complete temples, the larger having a Cella and pillared porticus.

For the last seven years Colin Baddeley has led an annual study tour to Roman Germany. His next one will be 1-8 August 1993, in conjunction with Liverpool University and Mosswin Tours Ltd, of Caddby, Leicester. For details, telephone Mrs Marita Seth on (0533) 714982/719922.

Locations of sites mentioned in the text

Saalburg — to the north-west of Bad Homburg in Hesse, Frankfurt being some twenty kilometres to the south.

Xanten — Lies on the left bank of the Lower Rhine in Westphalia, downstream from Dusseldorf, and not too far from the Dutch border.

Schwarzenacker — close to Homburg in the Saarland.

Mehring — situated on the right bank of the River Mosel between Trier and Traben-Trarbach.

Tempelbezirk — approached via Konz taking the road to Saarburg which follows the River Saar upstream. The site is well signposted in the village.
**Book Reviews**

**Shrines and Sacrifice**


Another of the excellent series of up-to-date monographs by English Heritage. But we must start with definitions of subject and scope. A ‘shrine’ is any building, although usually of small size, designed for ritual purposes; a ‘sacrifice’ includes a human or animal slaughter, but mostly discussed are inanimate objects offered up to deities in shrines or graves, and ritual actions which can be performed, so have to be accompanied by verbal offerings, prayers and the like. The periods dealt with are the Iron Age and Roman Britain, with a forward look to post-Roman Christianity; more specifically the findings arise from 32 excavations conducted since the 1930s, the most recent being Sir Mortimer Wheeler’s work at Lydney and Maiden Castle, which have aroused much interest in the religions of the periods.

Dr Woodward lays welcome emphasis throughout on the continuity of use (or its absence) and re-use of religious sites. Three factors are at work: respect for the sanctity of previous shrines, efforts to absorb elements of an old religion into the new (as with the Celtic-Roman conflation of Sol Minerva at Bath), and efforts to supercede an old religion by the new. These operate with varying force between sites. The only known Iron Age shrines are on sites where a Roman shrine has later been established; this gives excavators of Roman sites an incentive to seek further evidence and raises the question of whether excavation techniques so far have failed to disclose shrines in Iron Age urban or rural settlements. It has been suggested elsewhere that economy of land use may be a factor in the close proximity of Neolithic and Bronze Age features at many sites, but this surely must be secondary to the respect of sanctity.

It is difficult for us to appreciate how the Celts and pre-Christian Romans felt in relation to their pantheons. The gods were thought to have an interest in every part of daily life; we are familiar with the Roman practices of consulting the augures before any major project, dropping a small coin at every crossroad to placate the genius loci, and prudently erecting an altar to the ‘unknown god’. The Celtic deities were primitive and naturalistic, and the vision of Druids celebrating in sacred groves may be quite near the truth; the Celtic place-name nemeton, a grove, is preserved in several Romano-British names, such as *Aquae Arnemetae* (Buxton), where Arnemeta was ‘she who dwelt against the sacred grove’.

Dr Woodward deals competently with such things as the sating and structure of shrines, classification of the objects normally found as votive offerings accompanying burials, and symbols associated with early Christianity. The book includes a discussion of the early Christian post-Roman Church. Evidence from south-eastern Britain is sparse, since for nearly two centuries after the occupation Anglo-Saxon paganism swamped the region. Elsewhere, however, the development of the early Church can be studied, and the diocesan structure of Roman Christianity seems to have survived well into the post-Roman period. It is interesting that monastic enclosures were delimited by boundary banks, an echo of the Neolithic practice at henge monuments, the bank presumably serving to separate the sacred and secular areas.

The author has produced a fascinating study of topics not frequently found in the archaeological press, and even less frequently in works readily available to the general public or students of different periods. A great quantity of evidence is analysed, and this is poorly served by a very basic index.

This book is also a timely reminder that archaeology is concerned with ancient people and ‘what made them tick’ – a fact that sometimes seems to be obscured by complex discussions of technique, classification and so on. We hope that Dr Woodward may someday extend her comparative studies to include the periods before and after those considered here.

*Kenneth E. Jenny*

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**The Burrell Collection: Western Asiatic Antiquities.**


The Burrell Collection was presented to the city of Glasgow in 1944, and is now housed in the Pollok Country Park on the southern outskirts of the city. It was formed by Sir William Burrell (1861-1958), a wealthy shipping magnate who was an energetic and discerning collector. It has been described as one of the greatest collections ever assembled by a single person, and its scope and depth is astonishing. It ranges from Chinese porcelain and Japanese prints to Persian carpets and Islamic metalwork. Amongst the European decorative arts, the tapestries and stained glass are outstanding. There is also an important collection of European paintings and drawings. The material from the Ancient World is mainly Egyptian, Greek and Roman, and Western Asiatic or Near Eastern, and it is this last group that forms the subject of the present catalogue.

All the objects were acquired by Sir William Burrell very late in his life, between 1945 and 1957. His interest in the Near East may have been sparked off by the acquisition of a few ‘Luristan bronzes’ which were in plentiful supply in the late 1940s. Altogether there are more than 100 items in the collection, ascribed in the catalogue to the areas of Mesopotamia, Syria, Iran, Anatolia, and the Levant, including Cyprus. Some of the material is run-of-the-mill, and not of particular interest in itself, but the collection also includes some remarkable items. Of particular importance are the group of Sumerian worshipper statuettes and the pieces of Assyrian palace relief. The fragments showing a

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**Ancient Jewellery**


At last – an introduction to ancient jewellery for the archaeologist (and the scientific archaeologist at that) rather than the art historian, who is already well served by the handbooks. A great deal of ground is covered in a very short compass, thanks no doubt to the research which went into the author’s weightier *Jewellery of the Ancient World* (1982). At every step Dr Ogden demonstrates his mastery, not just of the technical details, but of the cultural background of the Mediterranean civilisations and prehistoric Europe. The Scanning Electron Microscope photographs are stunning: they reveal why scholars have sought so doggedly (but in vain) for evidence that the ancient craftsman had some sort of magnifier. The author has a lot of pertinent advice for the archaeologist in the field recording and in the later analysis of jewellery finds, and his fascinating and authoritative discussion of the working methods of the ancient jeweller means that this slim book is a must for everyone interested in early technology.

*J. P. Wild*
pair of scribes in a palm-grove and life in a tent while on campaign, both from the reign of Ashurbanipal (688–627 BC), are especially attractive. Nowadays it would cost a king’s ransom to form a collection such as this. It is claimed in the introduction to be ‘one of the largest and certainly the most representative of its kind of Scotland’. However this may be, there is much of interest here and the collection certainly deserves to be better known than it is.

It is therefore gratifying that Dr Edgar Peltenburg, now Reader in Archaeology in the University of Edinburgh, was invited to prepare a catalogue. He has produced a major work of scholarship, with detailed descriptions, and discussions of comparative material. There is a wealth of information here, principally geared for the specialist but also of interest to the layman. Much thought has gone into the production of this catalogue, as shown by the inclusion of a separate section on ‘miscellaneous queries, pastiches and fakes’. There is also an appendix with the results of surface analyses of the metal objects.

With the exception of the Assyrian palace reliefs, which can be ascribed to particular palaces at Nimrud or Nineveh, the vast majority of the material here is quite unprovenanced, and when he was asked to write the catalogue Dr Peltenburg had some misgivings on this account. Himself a distinguished archaeologist and the excavator of the prehistoric site of Lemba on Cyprus, he was acutely aware of the damage caused by illegal excavations, fuelled by the demand in antiquities. He writes in his introduction that he was troubled by ‘the ethics of apparently supplying a seal of approval to collecting habits which promote the destruction of archaeological evidence’. However, he concluded that ‘vigorous stylistic and scientific analysis’ would contribute to the better use of these artefacts in the future and that, even though many objects lacked contextual information, ‘their publication could still contribute to a better understanding of the nature and evolution of some of the earliest known civilisations’. This is a sentiment entirely shared by the present reviewer. It is true that unprovenanced material is of much less value, in scholarly terms, than material from an archaeological context, but it still deserves to be published in full. Indeed, museums have an obligation to publish the material in their collections and so make it available for scholars and all other interested parties. In this respect, the management of the Burrell Collection is to be congratulated on its enlightened attitude in commissioning such a full and comprehensive catalogue; the only cause for regret is that it is so expensive. It is admittedly a sumptuous production, with some colour plates, but at £65 it may be beyond the reach of many of the people at whom it is aimed.

__John Curtis, Department of Western Asian Antiquities, The British Museum.__

**Style and Society in Dark Age Greece: The Changing Face of a Pre-Literate Society, 1100–700 BC**


Whitley uses a close examination of burial practices to elucidate the social structure of Greece between the breakdown of order led life at the end of the Bronze Age and the emergence of the Greek polis. He argues that material culture cannot be understood without considering the society which generated it, however difficult that may be in the case of a pre-literate society. Style, burial and society must be studied together – and few archaeologists would disagree with that excellent aim.

Chapter 1 discusses the ‘Dark Ages’, with particular reference to Athens, its burial practices and decorated pottery. Chapter 2 concerns theory and style; recent archaeological attitudes to burial and society; the unreliability of textual sources as guides to early societies; the origin of figural representation in Geometric forms; the approach of ancient historians to their own past compared with a ‘comparative state-formation approach’ to the origin of the Greek polis.

Chapter 3 examines archaeological and literary evidence, and why Athens provides the prime illustration of Geometric art. Chapter 4 deals with methodology and identifies five chronological phases.

Chapter 5, using CLUSTAN dendrograms and computerised databases, analyses sequences of burials, individual forms of artefacts, pottery, decorative motifs, and the sex and age of individuals where identifiable. Whitley concludes that, in the Submycenaean, disorderly social systems tended to be dominated by a ‘big man’; in Protogeometric, there were egalitarian developments; in early Geometric, orderly hierarchy imposed ‘social rationing’ of valued tokens such as formal burial; in late Geometric, elite preferences gave way to confusion in which the polis took form.

Chapter 6 summarises evidence from Athens, and, comparing it with stable settlements at Argos and Knossos, finds no comprehensive model for the polis, which appeared in different areas at more or less the same time. So the polis was a diverse social institution, not an ideal type of organisation, and it should not be associated with Greek society at any stage. In the Dark Age social systems were always diverse, some settlements were stable, some were not. Homer and Hesiod are unreliable guides to both. Funerary practices alone illustrate the reality of social change in the period discarded by Peter James and others (Centuries of Darkness 1991) as a scholarly invention arising from chronological miscalculations.

The study is based on ‘new archaeology’, so archaeologists who provide the bread and butter of ‘new’ studies, without having learned their language, may need a glossary of terms (even of deceptively simple ones like ‘style’ and ‘society’). This would level the playing field. A handle of hoard finders! The reviewer is grateful, however, that deconstructionism is not also invoked to interpret this vital formative period.

In post-Minoan Knossos Whitley appears to have been surprised by eclecticism at the expense of social order. A post-Heinrich Schliemann sees the inherited Minoan capacity for individual behaviour. His study of artefacts, decorative motifs and features of ‘largely published graves’ is efficient, and impeccably laid out, but are his conclusions always sustainable? 393 graves were sampled out of an estimated 788 representing five chronological periods. The scene is thus partly illuminated, but for the whole we should know more about differences and similarities between funerary and domestic contexts. This has long been a problem in assessing the Dark Age. Whitley is aware of this, and his important message, in a well-produced publication, is expanded in the Annual of the British School at Athens 86 (1991), 341-65.

_Vronwy Hankey, Honorary Research Fellow, Department of Egyptology, University College London._
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Books Received

The inclusion of a book in this section does not preclude its review in a later issue.

Marble in Antiquity: Collected Papers of J. B. Ward-Perkins, edited by Hazel Dodge and Bryan Ward-Perkins, British School at Rome Archaeological Monograph No. 6, London, 1992. 180 pp., 2 col. plates, 139 b/w illus. Paperback, £25. This book gathers together ten of the late John Ward-Perkins’s perceptive papers on marble in the Roman world, also an appreciation of him by his friend and colleague the late Moly Aylwin Cotton, who had known him from his early days at the London Museum in 1936. For 29 years he was a tireless Director of the British School at Rome in all its aspects. These papers reflect an area of his consummate knowledge and scholarship, and also his fine writing style. They range over the various types of marble sarcophagi and their art, the marble trade in different parts of the eastern Roman Empire and the (now destroyed) Antonine Column in Rome, whose highly sculpted base now dominates a courtyard in the Vatican Museums. There is a full bibliography of Ward-Perkins’s published works and two appendices, on main quarries and decorative stones of the Roman world, and a bibliography of marble studies. Bearing in mind that Augustus claimed to have left Rome built in marble, these essays, gathered so conveniently together, are an invaluable source on the topic of the stone beloved of Rome which she utilised to its fullest extent in all spheres.

Cassiano dal Pozzo’s Paper Museum, Vol. 1: Quaderni Puteani 2, by lan Jenkins et al. Olivetti, Milan, 1992. 160 pp., 109 illus, 4 in colour. Paperback, no price stated. The eight papers published here result from a conference held in December 1989 jointly by the British Museum and the Warburg Institute, London. Cassiano dal Pozzo studies are enjoying a vogue and his scholarly vision, reflected in his archaeological drawing (as well as natural history, published in Quad. Put. 1) is being all the more appreciated as the drawings can, in many instances, be matched against still surviving objects. These drawings, the majority in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle or in the British Museum, have long been celebrated for their artistic merit, as well as their invaluable record of important works of ancient classical art extant during the sixteenth to early eighteenth centuries, some of which are now lost. Their range includes large statues, reliefs and mosaics, down to almost insignificant, by comparison, items such as small bronzes and clay lamps. It is in this very range that their value lies as incomparable records. The matching of existing drawings with surviving objects, all invariably scattered one from the other in widely different locations and countries, has been a formidable task. Much art historical detective work is exhibited in this series of intriguing and well produced papers.

Easter Island, Earth Island, by Paul Bahn and John Flneley. Thames and Hudson, London, 1992. 240 pp., 198 illus (15 in colour). Hardback, £15.95. Easter Island, even by today’s modern travel standards, is incredibly remote. At least five hours by jet from the nearest landfall, it is one of the most intriguing and controversial areas on earth. Named for being discovered on Easter Day, 5th April, 1722 by the Dutchman Jacob Roggeveen, scientific study only began with Captain Cook’s visit in 1774, but the first true archaeological work was not carried out until 1886 by Americans from the USS Mohican. In the last one hundred years, interest and speculation have focussed principally on the stone statues, platforms and stone houses that have intrigued the world, particularly following the 1935 Thor Heyerdahl expedition, following his spectacular 1947 Pacific Kon Tiki raft voyage. Both authors are closely connected with Easter Island and here, in the most up-to-date and comprehensive survey available, throw much new light on many of the problems and theories that have bedevilled the interpretation of the islands enigmatic culture.

Mythic Ireland, by Michael Daines. Thames and Hudson, London, 1992. 272 pp., 152 illus. Hardback, £14.95. Ireland probably has the richest store of mythological traditions and stories of any country north of the Alps, an at times strange mixture of pagan and Christian belief. In examining this legacy, the author has walked through each of the four provinces of Ireland, exploring their sacred sites and recording the mythic traditions. The illustrations cover a wide spectrum of more recent photos of a fast vanishing agrarian world so closely linked with the old traditions. This is an intriguing and evocative book that will raise many a talking point amongst archaeologists and folklorists.

Breaking the Maya Code, by Michael D. Coe. Thames and Hudson, London, 1992. 304 pp., numerous illus. Hardback, £14.95. The fascinating story of the last great decipherment – Maya hieroglyphs. For years scholars have argued over the glyphs whilst the complex Maya calendar has been understood for over a hundred years. The decipherment, like others, e.g. Egyptian hieroglyphs, was long held back by false assumptions and wrong turns. It was the Russian scholar Yuri Valentinnchik Krnorosov, who until 1990 had never had the opportunity of seeing any of the great Mayan ruins, who persevered and, like Champollion, ‘cracked the code’. Suddenly a whole new world was opened up from the Mayan inscriptions. The Maya were not the peace-loving stargazers of the American scholar Eric Thompson’s view but a complex people obsessed with warfare, dynastic rivalries and bloodletting. This is a gripping detective tale told by one who is uniquely placed – Michael Coe has been in the forefront of Mayan studies for many years and has worked with or known the main protagonists over the last thirty years.

Die Welt der Maya: Archäologische Schätze aus drei Jahrhunderten. Philipp von Zabern Verlag, Mainz am Rhein, 1992. 624 pp., 429 col and b/w illus. Hardback, price not stated. The catalogue of an incredible exhibition of Mayan art held at the European-Pfalzak Museum, Hildesheim, Germany, from June to November 1992. Seventeen authors have contributed substantial chapters on all aspects of Maya art and culture (pp. 8-284), fully illustrated with sites and objects, to act as a background to the detailed catalogue entries to the 254 exhibits, all of which are illustrated in superb colour. This must be one of the most useful and informative catalogues available on Mayan culture.

Wagon, Chariot and Carriage: Symbol and Status in the History of Transport, by Stuart Pigott. Thames and Hudson, London, 1992. 184 pp., 17 b/w plates, 16 line drawings. Hardback, £18.95. Professor Pigott, a major authority on British and European prehistory, returns to one of his long-time interests, wheeled transport in a global context. This magisterial survey draws together threads and evidence from many different civilisations to describe the evolution of vehicles to symbols of status and eminence for the mighty to ride in, or be buried in. The breadth is from the heavy wheeled wagons of Ur of the Chaldees up to the eighteenth-century ornate State coaches still used in ceremonial occasions in modern London.

Archaeology in British Towns, from the Emperor Claudius to the Black Death, by Patrick Ottaway. Routledge, London, 1992. 249 pp., 94 illus. Hardback, £35. In the last 25 years, largely stemming from the ‘rescue’ archaeology of the later sixties, our archaeological knowledge of the early history of towns has had, in many instances, to be largely rewritten. Most archaeologists have to approach their subject within a chronological framework, and work, the urban archaeologist however must, by contrast, have wider perceptions. Patrick Ottaway is Senior Field Officer for the York Archaeological Trust where recent work has greatly revised our ideas of that city alone. This book assesses archaeology in towns and the urban archaeologist at work before examining early and late Roman towns, Anglo-Saxon and medieval towns, and culminating with a postscript on presenting the past to the public. Whilst principally aimed at archaeology students and those concerned with early social history, the interested layman will find this a very readable and fascinating account.

Peter A. Clayton
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While currency markets gyrate wildly, the ancient coin market remains serene. Most buyers of ancient coins tend to be longtime collectors who pursue their numismatic interest in good times and bad. Recent sales reflect this general stability.

The August sale by Numismatic Fine Arts was held in Orlando, Florida in conjunction with the annual convention of the American Numismatic Association. Although the fair itself was poorly attended, with many dealers noting the relatively small number of collectors, the NFAs brought good prices. Two silver decadrachms of Syracuse sold for $16,000 (estimate $15,000-$18,000) and $11,000 (estimate $13,000-$15,000). An exceptional silver tetradrachm of the Bithynian King Prusias, 180-149 BC, sold to a mail bidder for $5,000 against an estimate of $4,000, although the same coin had brought only $3,200 just two years ago in the 1990 NFA sale. A gold aureus of Mark Antony and Octavian sold to Numismatica Ars Classica for $18,750 against an estimate of $16,000-$20,000. A silver cistophorus of Claudius sold to a mail bidder for $6,750 against an estimate of $7,000-$8,000.

The poor attendance at the American Numismatic Association convention raises the question once again of how the location of this premier American fair should be selected. The fair is held in a different city every year, and the attendance and amount of trade varies greatly depending on the particular location. Florida simply does not have the collector base and convenient location to attract enough people to justify a fair nearly a week in duration. Even native Floridians try to avoid being there during the sweltering summer months. The ideal permanent solution, for collectors and dealers alike, would be to rotate the fair among a small number of accessible and popular locations, ideally New York, Baltimore, Chicago, and Los Angeles (or San Francisco). The geographical rotation would enable numismatists from all regions to attend at least occasionally, dealers would be assured adequate trade, and all attendees would end an interesting and easy-to-reach city.

The September sale by Münzen und Medaillen in Basle confirmed the strength of the collector market, even for expensive coins. Although the estimates were high, keeping bargain hunters away, the results were strong, and in many cases met or exceeded the optimistic estimates. An arcaic silver nomos of Posidonia in South Italy, circa 520 BC, sold to Nomos for $58,000 against an estimate of $58,000. An arcaic silver double

stater of Dikaia in Thrace sold to Leu Numismatics for $60,000 against an estimate of $53,000. Three high-quality electrum staters of Kyzikos sold to Classical Numismatic Group for $27,000 (estimate $18,000), $17,000 (estimate $15,000), and $29,000 (estimate $25,000). A rare gold aureus of Brutus, with the portrait of Marcus Brutus and Lucius Brutus, sold to Numismatica Ars Classica for $42,000 against an estimate of $45,000.

Three erotic Roman tokens brought strong prices, the best selling to Leu Numismatics for $11,000 against an estimate of $4,500. Some good coins did fail to sell. An exceptional silver tetradrachm of Ainos in Macedonia failed to find a buyer at $20,000 (estimate $25,000). The same was true for a rare gold aureus of Caracalla, depicting a platform scene with Septimius Severus and his sons Caracalla and Geta, which failed to sell at $57,000 (estimate $60,000). Overall a very successful sale.

Classical Numismatic Group's September mail bid sale had a similar result, although with less expensive coins. An attractive but common Athens tetradrachm sold for $1,750 against an estimate of $1,500. A rare silver denarius of Caracalla depicting the four seasons sold for $825 against an estimate of $700. A rare and interesting Alexandrian bronze drachm of Antoninus Pius, depicting the flaying of Marsyas, sold for $1,475 against an estimate of $750.

After an unusually full auction schedule in October (see next issue for results), the pace continues in November. Peus will hold a Munich sale on 4-6 November. The London Coin Fair will be held on 7 November at its usual venue, the Hotel Marble Arch. Trudart will hold a sale in Geneva on 8 November. Sales will be held by Malter on 15 November, and by Sternberg on 16-17 November. Hirsch will have a Munich sale on 19-20 November, and Lanz will follow on 26-27 November.

The usual series of auctions will accompany the New York International Convention, taking place at the Sheraton Centre Hotel on 11-13 December. Numismatic Fine Arts and Sotheby's will each hold sales on 8 December, while Classical Numismatic Group's sale will take place on 9 December, featuring the important collection of early Roman bronze - aes grave - formed by the late Bradley Thurlow. Stack's will have a sale on 10 December. 12th Superior on 11-12 December, including part two of the fabulous Broomeberg collection of Judaean coins. Ponterio's sale is on 13 December, and Christie's on 14 December.
MUSEUM EXHIBITIONS

UNITED KINGDOM

BATLEY

FIRE EARTH: 1000 YEARS OF TILES IN EUROPE. A major touring exhibition of tiles and architectural terracottas. BATLEY MUSEUM. Until December (then to Leeds). Catalogue F18.

CAMBRIDGE


THE CROSSROADS OF ASIA: TRANSFORMATIONS IN IMAGE AND SYMBOL. 221 gold, silver and copper vessels, figurines, reliquaries, jewellery and coins, with related documents, selected to highlight the meeting and mingling of East and West in the ancient metalwork of Afghanistan and Pakistan, from the invasion by Alexander the Great in 329-325 BC, to the eve of the Islamic conquest in the 8th century AD. THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM (0223) 332-900. Until 13 December. (See Minerva, Sept/Oct 1992, p. 283.)

DURHAM

IMAGES OF THE OTHER SIDE: THE FOLK GODS OF CHINA. 100 images of Chinese folk gods, from the eighth century to the present day. HULL MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY (091) 374-2911. Until and October.

GLASGOW

ROMAN SCOTLAND: OUTPOST OF AN EMPIRE. An exhibition which describes Roman attempts to conquer Scotland in the first and second centuries AD, with emphasis on material found in and near the Antonine Wall built from Forth to Clyde in AD 142. HUNTERIAN MUSEUM (041) 339 8855. Until further notice.

HULL

A CELTIC WORLD. A new permanent exhibition telling the story of the Iron Age in East Yorkshire and involving material from the chariot burials and settlement at W-cat, West Stock. HULL MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY (0482) 222737.

LONDON

THE ART OF ANCIENT MEXICO. A major exhibition, including 25 ceremonial objects, plastic sculpture and pottery created between 1000 BC and AD 1500 by the Olmecs, Mayan and Aztec. Organised in collaboration with the national and regional museums of Mexico, most of the loans are from the National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico. THE HAYWARD GALLERY (071) 921 0800. Until 6 December. Catalogue. (See Minerva, Sept/Oct 1992, p. 20.)

HOWARD CARTER: BEFORE TUTANKHAMEN. Bringing to life the most colourful adventurer in the history of Egyptian archaeology, 70 years after his major discovery of the almost intact tomb of the Pharaoh. THE BRITISH MUSEUM (071) 636-1555. 19 November-31 May.


ROBERT ADAM AND THE EMPEROR'S PALACE. The 18th-century architect Robert Adam spent many years working for the emperor Qian Long in Peking, based on evidence excavated by Museum of London archaeologists at the Rose site, together with a selection of Victorian porcelain from various collections, including the gold 'Rose' ring. THE MUSEUM OF LONDON (071) 600-5699.

WISDOM AND COMPASSION: THE SACRED ART OF TIBET. Tibetan art dating from the 9th to the present day, comprising 160 of the rarest examples of paintings, sculptures and tapestries from collections in North America, Europe and the Russian, Commonwealth of Independent States. THE ROYAL ACADEMY (071) 439 7438. Until 13 December. Catalogue.

UNITED STATES

BALTIMORE, Maryland

NEW MUSEUM OF ASIAN ART. A permanent installation of some of the finest works of art from the Walters Art Gallery, including major examples of Early Buddhist sculpture and rare examples of Pazyryk horse-riding, including some of the clearest thought-out examples of Southeast Asian art, and outstanding collections of Chinese and Japanese porcelain, Japanese decorative arts, Islamic and Indian manuscripts and miniatures. HACKERMAN HOUSE (301) 347-9000.

BOSTON, Massachusetts


CHICAGO, Illinois

THE ANCIENT AMERICANS: ART FROM SACRED LANDSCAPES. A major exhibition of 300 works of art from Mexico, Central America, South America, and from the cultures of the continent. CHICAGO ART INSTITUTE (312) 443-3600. Until 3 January 1993 (then to Houston). MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS (617) 332-9431. Until 31 January 1993 (then to Paris). Catalogue. $35, hardback $75. (See Minerva, Sept/Oct 1992, p. 6.)

FULLERTON, 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; organised by the San Diego Museum of Man and the Department of Cultural Affairs of the CITY OF FULLERTON. (714) 733-2362. 3 January-2 February 1993. (See Minerva, March/April 1992, pp. 1617.)

HANOVER, New Hampshire

GODDESS AND POLIS: THE PANATHENAEIC FESTIVAL AND ANCIENT ATHENIAN RELIGION. Organised by the Hood Museum and Dr Jenifer Neils of Case Western Reserve University. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (212) 646-2808. Until 6 December.

LOS ANGELES, California

GALLERIES OF ANCIENT AND ISLAMIC ART. Newly installed galleries of private collections, curated by an outstanding group of objects, including a number of spectacular gold and silver vessels from a royal necropolis at Marlik, on loan from the Sharifian family of Iran. LOS ANGELES COUNTY MUSEUM OF ART (213) 897-6511. Continuing indefinitely.

MALIBU, California

IN THE TOMB OF NECTARAKI: CONSERVATION OF THE WALL PAINTINGS. 33 works of art from American collections relating to Hellenistic and Roman images in the tomb. Features the conservation work carried out on the paintings by Getty Conservation Institute. Included is a life-size photographic replica of one of the reconstructed tomb chambers. THE GETTY MUSEUM (0313) 454-2003. 12 November-21 February (then to Mexico City, 20 April). (See Minerva, Sept/Oct 1992, p. 20.)

MIAMI, Florida


MINNEAPOLIS, Minnesota


NEWARK, New Jersey


NEW ORLEANS, Louisiana

ISLAMIC ART AND PATRONAGE: TREASURES FROM KURDISTAN. 107 masterworks ranging over more than 1000 years from the Sheikh Nasir Sarab al-Hamad al-Sabah family collection on permanent loan to the National Museum of the NEW ORLEANS MUSEUM OF ART (504) 887-2631. 15 November-10 January. Catalogue. (See Minerva, December 1990, p. 24.25.)

NEW YORK, New York

ARTISTS FROM THE ANATOLIAN EBBA. Stone and bronze implements and weapons from the Upper Palaeolithic to the Roman period, including gold and Roman medical instruments. THE CIVIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA (212) 926-2234. Until further notice.

CONVIVENCIA: JEWS, MUSLIMS AND CHRISTIANS IN MEDIEVAL SPAIN. The cultural interrelationships among the three religious groups from the establishment of Muslim rule in 711 to the defeat of the last Muslim kingdom in 1492, with over 100 objects: architectural fragments, metalwork, ceramics, textiles and other objects. THE JEWISH MUSEUM AT THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY (212) 399-3344. Until 20 December.

LIMA, Peru

A PERUVIAN GOVERNOR'S TOMB. Pre-Columbian gold, silver and copper metalwork from the Lima (Limas) family, one of the last to die in northern Peru, important for its cultural connection to the Moche. (504) 488-6700. Until 4 July 1993.


PHILADELPHIA, Pennsylvania

ANCIENT NUBIA: EGYPT'S RIVAL IN AFRICA. Over 300 objects in stone, bronze, inlaid wood and faience, with a wide range of everyday gold, silver, gems and faience. THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM OF ARCHEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY (215) 898-4000. Until 3 October 1993 (then to Newark).


ST. LOUIS, Missouri
TWISTED, PLIED, WOVEN AND DYED: TEXTILE ART FROM THE ST. LOUIS ART MUSEUM. The museum's first comprehensive textile exhibition in twenty years, including Coptic and Pre-Columbian tapestry woven fabrics. ST LOUIS ART MUSEUM (314) 721-0067. 20 November - 3 January.

WASHINGTON, DC
THE GREEK MIRACLE: CLASSICAL SCULPTURE FROM THE DAWN OF DEMOCRACY, THE FIFTH CENTURY BC. Twenty-two major sculptures from Greek museums, out of which have never left Greece, and eleven more from European museums. THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART (202) 737-4212. 22 November-7 February. Catalogue. (See p.23)

THE ARTS OF CHINA. 228 masterworks of Chinese art dating from the 4th millennium BC to recent times. ARTHUR M. SACKLER GALLERY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION (202) 357-3200. Continuing indefinitely.

CIRCA 1492: ART IN THE AGE OF EXPLOSION. An examination of the art of various world cultures at the time of Columbus, including the Aztec civilisation. THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART (202) 737-4212. Until 12 January. Catalogue.

WILLIAMSTOWN, Massachusetts
REDISCOVERING AMERICA: 150 YEARS OF COLLECTING PRE-COLUMBIAN NATIVE-AMERICAN ART. 60 works including ritual objects of stone and ceramic, architectural fragments and personal adornments from Mesoamerica and South America, illustrating the romantic impulse that inspired 19th century collectors. WILLIAMS COLLEGE, MUSEUM OF ART (413) 597-2429. Until 13 December.

DENMARK
COPENHAGEN
THE VIKINGS. 650 objects from the 8th to 12th centuries from the Nordic countries and their far-flung colonies, including church portals, tapestries and illuminated manuscripts. NATIONALMUSEET (01) 13- 44-11. 26 December - 13 March.

FRANCE
PARIS
THE ETRUSCANS AND EUROPE. An exhibition in two parts, covering the world of the ancient Etruscans and their influence on later art and thought. GRAND PALAIS. Until 14 December (then to Berlin).

GERMANY
BERLIN
THE VIKINGS. 650 objects from the 8th to 12th centuries from the Nordic countries and their far-flung colonies, including church portals, tapestries and illuminated manuscripts. ALTES MUSEUM. Until 15 November (then to Copenhagen).

HILDESHEIM

KARLSRUHE
RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES. BADGICES LANDESMUSEUM. Until 22 November.

ISRAEL
JERUSALEM

A SHIP IN THE MIST OF THE SEA. Recently discovered objects from underwater excavations of shipwrecks along Israel's coast. THE ISRAEL MUSEUM OF JERUSALEM (02) 788811. Ongoing. (See Minerva, Sept/Oct 1952, p. 19)

THE JERUSALEM BIBLE LANDS MUSEUM. A new museum, opened 10 May, exhibiting over 3,000 objects illustrating or confirming peoples and events mentioned in the Hebrew Bible, assembled by a former antiquities dealer, Eyle Borovski. For information, telephone (toll free in the US) 1-800-257-1706.

ITALY
MILAN
PRE-COLUMBIAN ART. PALAZZO REALE. Until 21 March.

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