THE ART OF THE ITALIC PEOPLES 3000-300 BC

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Brazilian Rock Painting Finds Overturn Clovis Theory

Recent excavations and rock paintings near São Raimundo Nonato in the state of Piauí, north-east Brazil, have revealed that human settlement occurred there more than 35,000 years earlier than had previously been thought.

The mayor of São Raimundo Nonato, Gaspar Dias Ferreira, had been puzzled for years about paintings on the rocks, a favourite picnic spot in the dry interior of north-east Brazil. His main interest was to try and integrate them into a tourist programme for the depressed area, and he sent photographs of the rocks to the University of São Paulo. There they came into the hands of Niêde Guidon, a French-Brazilian archaeologist, who immediately started investigating. Since 1978 she has probed, on more than 400 sites, 30,000 rock paintings and hundreds of hearths containing prehistoric bones and stone tools.

In the vicinity of Pedra Furada, a rock formation with a hole through it, she stumbled over the most spectacular find - polished stones and fire sites that are up to 50,000 years old. The Clovis theory, accepted by archaeologists from the United States above all, maintains that human settlement of the New World did not occur until the end of the last ice age, 12,000 to 15,000 years ago.

Fábio Parenti, who is co-director of the excavations with Niêde Guidon, defended his theory on Pedra Furada before a gathering of experts in Paris at the beginning of this year, and convinced his sceptical European colleagues of the authenticity of his finds. The results of Parenti's research, according to the science magazine Nature, 'prove that the settlement of the New World took place at least 50,000 years ago'.

European and Canadian archaeologists have to counter a rejection by American scholars, who appear to be annoyed that a Brazilian of French extraction could make such a find and draw conclusions that, if proven, will demand a radical re-assessment and rewriting of all theories and works on Amerindian origins and history. 'United States Americans do not wish to accept that humans with a simple technology penetrated so early as far as South America - anything that does not fit the Clovis theory is explained away', says an archaeologist from the University of Alberta.

The paintings, not all of which have been deciphered, depict scenes of hunting, group sex and an execution. The only human remains so far discovered is the fragment of a skull. The fauna, on the other hand, are well represented in numerous bone finds. It can be deduced from the drawings that the north-east of Brazil's was at that time a tropical moist zone, giving rise to forest and savannah, which supported sabre-toothed tigers the size of an ox, and arboreal sloths up to 24 feet in length. The first Amerindians did not inhabit caves like the original European people, but lived in open settlements in the savannah, hunting giant deer, making ceramic vessels, and cooking in pottery, at least 10,000 years ago, far earlier than had been supposed.

Three years ago the Brazilian government, having exterminated the Indian inhabitants a century before, declared the Serra da Capivara a national park. In January 1994 a Museum of American Humanity was officially opened, while an Italian foundation and the French government have financed a 'Foundation of American Mankind', which is entrusted with the development of the national park.

Tom Foster

Mycenaean Antiquities Dispute Finally Settled

The Greek government has reached a settlement with Michael Ward, Inc., the New York antiquities gallery, concerning a dispute over a collection of rare Mycenaean objects the gallery was offering for sale in 1993 for $1.5 million. On 30 December last year the Michael Ward Gallery donated the entire group, consisting of approximately two score rare gold rings, beads, and other ornaments dating to the second millennium BC, to the Washington DC based Society for the Preservation of the Greek Heritage (SPGH). The SPGH is a United States non-profit organisation that encourages awareness and understanding of Greek culture, whose main activities include architectural renovations of post-classical structures in Greece. It was reported that the SPGH hopes eventually to organise an exhibition of the Mycenaean collection in an American museum, but no specific plans were made available at the time of Mr Ward's gift to the Society.

In agreeing to a settlement whereby the antiquities were given to an American institution, the Greek government retreated significantly from the principal demand in its 23 May 1993 lawsuit, in which it demanded that Michael Ward Inc. 'return the Mycenaean Gold to [Greece]'. The Michael Ward Gallery announced that they had decided 'to settle the matter without regard to what we have been informed is a strong legal position' and 'not only to avoid the substantial expenses of litigation, but also because of our high regard and respect for Greek culture...'. At a New York press conference held on the day the disputed objects were transferred from the Michael Ward bank vault to the SPGH, the Greek ambassador to the United States announced that 'the responsibility for all the actions taken was shoulders, and credit is definitely due to the political leadership of the Ministry of Culture of Greece'. In sharp contrast to the Greek government's position on its repatriation demand on the Ward Mycenaean objects, the Greek Culture Ministry, headed by the former movie star Melina Mercouri, appears to be vigorously pursuing the return of antiquities removed from Greece, including the Elgin marbles. 'We will never stop on the Elgin marbles,' Mercouri was recently quoted as saying.

The lawsuit against Mr Ward was initiated after a Greek diplomat in New York saw the Mycenaean antiquities on public display in the Michael Ward Gallery in the spring of 1993, and sent copies of the 44-page fully illustrated catalogue to officials in Athens. It was thought by Greek archaeological authorities that stylistic similarities between the Ward objects and a number of other Mycenaean pieces used as evidence in official excavations in the 1970s at Aigion, near Nemea in Southern Greece, were indicative of the Ward objects having come from illegal digging in Aigion. Numerous scholars have disputed this assertion, pointing out that objects from one common workshop were traded and distributed widely, and are found in disparate sites.

Prior to Mr Ward's publication and his offer for sale of the objects, he directed a prominent Athens archaeological lawyer to write a letter, with photographs attached, to the Greek Culture Ministry, inquiring if there was knowledge of the objects. This procedure is employed by diligent museums and dealers in order to ascertainment if the are competing national claims on objects they wish to buy or sell. Mr Ward received a reply from the Culture Ministry indicating that there was no knowledge of the objects, but reserving Greece's right to claim ownership should it subsequently emerge that any or all of the Items
had been illegally removed from Greece.

Although no details were forthcoming from the settlement, it is reasonable to assume that the Greek government, in deciding not to pursue its legal case, could not produce firm evidence of the objects' illegal origin. It may also be expected that the recent spate of lawsuits from the antiquities' countries of origin directed at museums, collectors, and dealers is just a foretaste of what is to come.

Jerry Theodorou

Update on Kabul: the Status of the National Museum

Nancy Hatch Dupree was asked by the United Nations to visit Kabul to report on the status of libraries, archives, museums and historical buildings in Kabul. She visited Kabul in September 1993 and here reports on what she found.

It was possible to open only a small window into the task put before her. The situation is not as bleak as rumours report, but things are in a terrible muddle and the potential for irreparable losses in the near future calls for immediate action.

The artefacts of the National Museum are in Darulaman, six miles south of the centre of Kabul. The entire museum staff sits in a scuffy, cramped, windowless, lightless, makeshift office partitioned off the dining hall on the ground floor of the Ministry of Information and Culture. The director, Mr Farzan, was appointed a month ago. The assistant director, Mr Najibullah Papal, the only trained staff member left, worked in the museum for some years before the 1978 coup. The director was delighted with the gift of my guidebook as he has no idea of what is supposed to be in his charge. The staff is not allowed to visit the museum which is in an area controlled by Heze Wahdat.

Most of the museum objects had been crated and stored in the basement before the change of government. Papal's recommendation that they be moved out of Darulaman and distributed to several safe locations throughout the city had, however, not been acted upon. Papal had had no contact with the museum for three months before the building was hit by a rocket on 12 May 1993, while the area was under the control of the Shura Nazar. One week before it was hit he took the risk of making an unauthorized visit during which he was able to check all the crates. He found only two schist sculptures missing.

Three days after the fire in the roof had burned out, he went out again and discovered that the large murals from Delbarjinn (north-west of Balkh; fourth-fifth century AD), which had been left in the upper gallery because they were too heavy to move, had been destroyed. The basement was untouched.

In September he passed by again and noted some unidentifiable remains of packing cases on the ground outside the museum. He was not allowed into the basement, but this evidence is extremely worrying. Although CNN reporters noted at the beginning of September that the seals on the basement doors were intact, it cannot be certain that these are the seals placed there by Papal on his last inspection. What is behind the seals is unknown. The large stately, marble inscribed and monumental bowl from Kandahar in the entrance foyer were still in place.

The fate of the Tillya Tepe Golden Hoard is unknown. It was placed in the vault of the Central Bank inside the presidential palace. Its safety could easily be confirmed but would take authorisation from the highest quarters.

In November the UN Centre for Human Settlements (HABITAT), a British organisation providing housing assistance in Kabul, was asked to try to ascertain the possibility of weatherproofing the Kabul Museum before the winter. It was feared that snow accumulation could cause the collapse of the upper floors, and rain could flood the basement where quantities of artefacts are stored.

HABITAT reported that, while the windows on the lower ground floor of the main wing were broken, none of the steel bars over these windows were damaged. This suggested that no entry from the outside had been possible. Nevertheless, cases stood open inside every room indicating considerable disturbance of the original packing. Similar disturbances were noted in the more extensively destroyed new wing, where the windows were badly damaged, thus providing easy access to the cases in this area.

Some large steel boxes had been moved to this level, ostensibly to facilitate the removal of rubble from the collapsed roof. This was an alarming development as the rubble is everywhere mixed with fragments of artefacts. Photographs are distressingly graphic. The photos also show that filing cabinets containing museum records and catalogues have been indiscriminately dumped, much of the paper badly charred.

Drawers and crates have been methodically emptied onto the floor. Some items, seen previously, have been moved recently toward damaged areas, more crates and cupboards were broken.

On receipt of the assessment report, Sotirios Mousouri, the UN Secretary General's Personal Representative to Afghanistan and Pakistan, who had been urging UNESCO action since October, flew to Kabul at the end of November to meet Abdul Ali Mazari. He visited the Museum where he was the first observer allowed to enter the coin room. He found the drawers empty. Without waiting for the UNESCO mission proposed for the first two weeks of January this year, Mr Mousouri persuaded Mazari to allow the urgent repair work to begin immediately so as to salvage what is left.

There are persistent reports that during the last months of the former regime, some important objects were shifted from the Museum to the Ministry of Information and Culture in the centre of Kabul. The Bagram ivories are mentioned in this regard. Also, no observer has reported seeing the Fondukistan statury. Too large to be boxed, too conspicuous to go unnoticed, were they moved? Is the Tillya Tepe golden hoard intact in a bank vault? There are many questions, and there is much to do.

[Editor: the Museum was again hit with rockets in early January this year. We have seen a Reuters photograph of Najibullah Papal collecting broken pieces of pottery from the Museum.]

Conservation of Roman Murals in Romania

Archaeologists in Romania are working to preserve a remarkable series of Roman murals. The paintings were discovered in 1988 in a large funerary monument dating to the fourth century AD in the town of Constanta on the Black Sea, during building work in the necropolis of the ancient city of Tomis. Conservators are currently trying to prevent the murals deteriorating in the sea air and to preserve the brightness of the original colours.

The funerary monument, which measures 2.8 x 2.3 x 2 metres, has an access passage, and its interior walls are completely covered with a vast fresco. In charge of the current research are Constantin Chera, well-known for his [continued on page 10]
THE ART OF THE ITALIC PEOPLES
from 3000 to 300 BC

This important but little publicised exhibition of some three hundred works of art, organized in Geneva and now on display in Paris, was assembled solely from Swiss private collections and museums to show the art of the central and southern regions of the Italian peninsula, Sicily, and Sardinia before the expansion of the Romans. Dr Jerome M. Eisenberg, an avid collector of Italic pottery, reviews the exhibition and selects his favourite objects for Minerva.

While the art of the Etruscans is well known, very few exhibitions concentrate on the art of the other Italic peoples south of Etruria, such as the Umbrians, Daunians, Peucetians, Lucanians, and Messapians who occupied the region of the Apennines, the Picentians of the central Adriatic coast, and those groups further south, including the Nuragic people of Sardinia. Those

Fig 1 (below). Villanovan blackened red-brown impasto hut-urn, covered in sheet and cast bronze, with movable door. Attributed to a Vulci workshop, c. eighth century BC. Height 32.5 cm. P.E. collection, Geneva. (Catalogue no. 9.) While the hut urn is found at a number of sites of the tenth to the beginning of the eighth century BC in Etruria, often rectangular in Latium it only occurs in the circular shape. (Photograph by W. Dieter.)

Fig 2 (right). A pair of bronze bulls bearing bronze chains, originally attached to a large flat fibula. Blue-green patina. Campania, second half of the eighth century BC. Length 14 cm. A.P.D. collection, Geneva. (Catalogue no. 11.) These striking animals are known to have been found in the tomb of a female in Capua Vetere, but bear a strong resemblance to Hittite bulls.

Fig 3. Villanovan brown impasto cup with a figural handle depicting a male figure grasping the horns of a bull with the head of a beard man. Probably from a workshop of the Falerii-Capena region, second half of the eighth century BC. Height 21.4 cm. G.A. collection, Geneva. (Catalogue no. 26.) This is one of the earliest narrative scenes known from the Etruscan world.
Fig 4 (left). Monumental Villanovan brownish-red impasto holmes with four sections joined by horns (? stirrups. Probably from Ceretesi, second quarter to middle of the seventh century BC. 70.4 cm. C.A. collection, Geneva. (Catalogue no. 56.) This was a stand for the dino, which contained wine mixed with water. The actual banquet pieces were produced in bronze; the terracottas were copies used for tomb barillets.

Fig 5 (right). Etruscan bronze handle of censer, with male figure supporting handle surmounted by two ducks; all on a lotus-like opened flower on a pedestal. Vetulonia workshop, first half of the seventh century BC, c. 20 cm. The top three sections have a bright green patina; the pedestal section is brown. George Ortiz collection, Geneva. (Catalogue no. 72) This unusually large handle is probably from a type of censer, several variants being known. (Photograph by Lehmann Yoran, Jerusalem.)

Fig 6 (left). Faliscan dark brown impasto cup on a tall five-branched foot, the rim surmounted by two horses. Third quarter of the seventh century BC. 45.8 cm. C.A. collection, Geneva. (Catalogue no. 107.) Certainly the work of a master potter, the fragile nature of both the flat, curved horses and the openwork foot representing a considerable achievement. There was probably a small container between the two horses, to which they were attached.

Fig 7 (right). Etruscan grey impasto kantharos with buttons on handles, each side decorated with an incised scene of fantastic panthers and a horse, all with wings and long-necked feline heads springing from their bodies. Capena, late seventh century BC. Height 24.4 cm. George Ortiz collection, Geneva. (Catalogue no. 99.) A choice example, typical of the end of the Orientalising period. (Photograph by Lehmann Yoran, Jerusalem.)
Italian Art

Fig 8 (above). Pair of Etruscan gold earrings with elaborate decoration: a spoked wheel, four lion heads, two hares, and two ducks. c. 500 BC. Width 1.5 cm. N.M. collection, Geneva. (Catalogue no. 119.) These extraordinary earrings are of the 'trunk' type (buste). Similar examples have been found at Volterra. (Photograph by Steffen René, Geneva.)

Fig 9 (right). Etruscan gold ring with a dark grey veined agate scarab, the base depicting Herakles fighting the Hydra of Lerna, accompanied by Iolaos. First half of the sixth century BC. Outside diameter 2.8 cm. M.P. collection, Geneva. (Catalogue no. 120.) The unusual scarab is probably of Phoenician origin. (Photograph by Steffen René, Geneva.)

pieces of Etruscan art which appear in the exhibition are presented primarily for the sake of comparison. The Art of the Italic Peoples from 3000 to 300 BC is intended to fill that void and to focus on the 'innovative and creative spirit' characteristic of the Italic peoples. It is emphasized that these peoples left no literature and are thus 'without a voice, except for that which speaks through the works of art that they created'. It is an exhibition of works of art, not of archaeological objects. In fact, special cases were built to house the objects, which are lit with optical fibres to accentuate their beauty.

The exhibition was organized by the Association Hellas et Roma, founded in 1983 to promote interest in Greek, Etruscan and Roman art. In the past ten years they have enriched the collection of the Musée d’art et d’histoire, Geneva, with donations of over 200 ancient objects, including several very important antiquities. This exhibition, their fourth, was assembled solely from objects in Switzerland, for the most part previously unpublished, primarily from private collections in Geneva and just fifteen from four Swiss museums: the Musée d’art et d’histoire, Geneva; the Antikennuseum Basel und Ludwig Sammlung, Basel; the Archäologische Sammlung der Universität, Zurich; and the Museum zu Allerheiligen, Schaffhausen.

The nearly 300 objects cover Central Italy, Etruria, Umbria, Campania, Apulia, and the prehistoric periods of South Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia. It is especially rich in the Central Italian impasto wares and bronze objects of the ninth to seventh centuries BC, Daunian subgeometric pottery of the sixth to third centuries BC, and the Sardinian Nuragic bronzes of the eleventh to sixth centuries BC. A number of the objects were in 'Italy of the Etruscans', an exhibition held in Jerusalem in 1991.

Fig 10. Large Etrusco-Corinthian pottery oinochoe with cylindrical pouring spout surmounted by the forepart of a horse, decorated with three friezes of animals, birds, centaurs and a sphinx. Probably from Castellamare di Stabia, c. 600-550 BC. 46.4 cm. F.F. collection, Geneva. (Catalogue no. 135.) A similar oinochoe has two human figures attached to the neck. The painted eyes on the mouth are characteristic of certain types of Etruscan pottery.
Fig 11 (below). Umbrian bronze warrior by the Geneva Master. Southern Umbria, second half of the fifth century BC. 22.5 cm.; with tenons, 28 cm. Dark green patina. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva. (Catalogue no. 137.) This elegant warrior, the name piece for the Geneva Master, was first described in 1874 with a Sardinian provenance. Casting channels were used to make the unusually long tenons.

Fig 12 (right). Umbrian bronze warrior hurling a javelin. Southern Umbria, second half of the fifth century BC. 24.5 cm. Pale green patina, red on the crest. Museum zu Allerheiligen, Schaffhausen. (Catalogue no. 14.) A masterwork of Umbrian art. The huge plume of the Attic helmet perfectly complements the movement of the body. (Photograph by Seleric Gérard, Schaffhausen.)

The co-ordinator of the exhibition, Mr Jacques Chamay, Curator of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Antiquities at the Musée d'art et d'histoire, wrote all the extensive catalogue entries with the collaboration of Brenno Bottini. The extraordinary catalogue is, in addition to being an attractive compendium of works of art, a textbook on the arts of the Italic peoples, with thirteen scholarly articles on such diverse subjects as Villanovan Italy, myths and phantoms of Etrusco-Italic art, Central Italian bronze and lead votive figures, native Apulian pottery, Daunian steleae, Nuragic stone and bronze sculptures, pottery techniques, ancient metallurgy, and the alphabet in ancient Italy, written by thirteen specialists. Of par-
Fig 13 (left). Daunian pottery kalathos with interior design of a courting scene: a long-haired man offers a bouquet to a woman. Decoration in brownish-black and dark red. Probably from a workshop in Northern Daunia, Geometric III style, fourth century BC. Height 13 cm., diameter 30 cm. U.G. collection. (Catalogue no. 215.) One of a pair, the other with a scene of two women, a vertical loom between them. This type of decoration is otherwise unknown.

Fig 14 (left). Daunian pottery askos with two spouts, joined by a double handle. Two seahorses and two dolphins on one side, four dolphins on the other side; a frontal female head on both the front and back. Campanian workshop, Daunian Subgeometric style II B, early third century BC. Height 19.4 cm. Gretrudis de Croom collection, Geneva. (Catalogue no. 230.) It is suggested that the female heads are not representations of the deceased, but rather portray Aphrodite, based upon a comparison with Apulian red-figure vases of the late fourth century BC. (Photograph by Steffen Rene, Geneva.)

Fig 15 (opposite). Apulian bronze helmet with bull's horns and ears. Corinthian-type helmet, probably from the Lucanian colony of Taranto. Middle of the seventh century BC. Total height 47.5 cm. Association Helias et Roma collection in the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva. (Catalogue no. 240.) There was originally a crest between the horns. The nose-guard was bent in antiquity, following the death of its wearer. This horned helmet is quite unusual and is probably a native variant.

Note: All the captions and descriptions are based on the catalogue of the collection by Mr Jacques Chanay. Unless otherwise indicated, photographs are by Bettina Jacot-Bescome and Nathalie Sabato of the Musée d'art et d'histoire.
Italian Art

L’Art des Peuples Italiens 3000 à 300 av. J.C.

The catalogue, in a large format (25 x 28 cm.), 408 pages, with 380 illustrations, 78 in colour, was produced in three separate editions in French, Italian, and English, and is available at the exhibition for SF 100; hardbound SF 100. A 28-minute video-cassette was prepared especially to complement the exhibition and the catalogue. It is available for SF 28.

We wish to thank Nina Borowski for bringing this exhibition to our attention and for her efforts in obtaining all the necessary information for us, though it was too late to include this article in our last issue in time to publicise the exhibition during its initial venue in Geneva. It is certainly a disfavour to the many individuals who have lent so many pieces and worked so hard to achieve this impressive exhibition, and, in fact, even published an English edition of the massive catalogue (408 pages), which was not available until December 1993. It is unfortunate that so many of the European museums and organisations do not have sufficient interest in sharing the enjoyment of their treasures with an international audience while they are on exhibition. We do, however, congratulate them on having the foresight to produce an English edition, which will certainly help to foster a wider interest worldwide in the fascinating regional arts of ancient Italy.

Fig 16 (left). Nuragic bronze askos with bull's head pouring spout. Nuria province, Sardinia, eleventh-ninth centuries BC. Height 29.8 cm. Fine grey-green patina. George Ortiz collection, Geneva. (Catalogue no. 252.)

This unique masterpiece still has the original ivory eyes, stained green due to contact with the bronze. (Photograph by Lehmann Yoram, Jerusalem.)

Fig 17 (right). Nuragic bronze male worshipper carrying a live pig for sacrifice. He holds a vessel in his other hand, probably to collect the pig's blood. Late sixth century BC. 10 cm. Bright green patina. P.N. collection, Geneva. (Catalogue no. 272.) A unique subject with surprising naturalism. (Photograph by Steffen Rene, Geneva.)
(continued from page 3) studies on the necropolis of ancient Tomis, and Virgil Lungu, a researcher at the Museum of National History and Archaeology in Constanța. According to Constantin Chera, 'It is a monument of singular value. The funerary crypt of is impressive proportions. Inside were several burials, with skeletons in a prone position, the head turned to the west and the hands extended along the body. Various objects of glass, bronze, silver and pottery are certain proof of the complex phenomenon of Romanisation.'

But what makes this complex of outstanding importance is the range of frescoes.

Represented are a range of human, animal and plant designs. On the south wall, above the entrance, a scene of four pigeons drinking water from a cup is painted in vivid colours. The west wall shows four partridges, two of which drink from the same type of cup, while the other two are pecking at the ground; by their side a rabbit eats grapes from an upturned basket. On the north wall, in a wide arch, a ritual feast is shown in which seven men are taking part. Five of them are seated on a typical Roman couch and two are standing on either side of the round table in the middle. On the east wall are two peacocks eating from a basket of fruit. The vault of the building has continuous plant decoration, the arabesque tendril patterns delimiting smaller surfaces within which are inscribed different stylised plants. The general colour scheme is bright, with a predominance of red and black, and the style is that of the mid-fourth century AD.

The floral motifs, trees, the rabbit and the birds may be interpreted as an image of Paradise. The symbolism of life after death may also be suggested by the image of the doves and partridges drinking from cups. A similar scene is to be found on the mosaic of the Gallia Placidia Mausoleum in Ravenna.

Further research is going on into the significance of the discovery, and no doubt it will throw new light on this proof of the continuity of habitation in the land between the Danube and the Black Sea and the level of economic, spiritual and artistic development in the ancient Gēto-Dacian area.

Mrs Tatiana Pogonat of UNESCO, a specialist in the restoration and preservation of ancient monuments, called the discovery 'a pearl of ancient art of such quality as few have yet been found in south-east Europe'.

Josef Sego

The Roman wall-paintings at Tomis: (top) seven men at a ritual feast; (middle) birds drinking from a cup; (bottom) a rabbit eating grapes from an upturned basket.
Gold Treasure from Germany

A special exhibition is being held at the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Trier, Germany, until 10 April of a gold treasure found on 9 September 1993 during the construction of an underground garage. Unnoticed by the workers the droger had torn apart a bulging 25cm-high bronze vessel with a removable cover. Shortly afterwards the fragments of the vessel as well as numerous gold coins were discovered and within a few days all had been reunited by the museum.

Present knowledge suggests that the treasure consisted of 2528 aurei. The aureus was the standard Roman gold coin, with an average weight of 7.2 grammes and of high quality (ca. 980/1000). In all 27 emperors, empresses or their relatives are shown on the coins. The earliest aureus in the hoard had been minted under Nero between AD 64-68, the latest under Septimius Severus between AD 193-196. An initial interpretation of the coins in this treasure has indicated that the hoard had been gathered around AD 166. Thirty years later (c. AD 196/197), some newly minted coins had been added. The hoard was hidden in the ground between Septimius Severus (AD 193-211) and Clodius Albinus (AD 193-197) and the resulting siege of Trier.

Five smaller silver and bronze hoards, found in the direct vicinity of Trier, had already been connected to these events because of the most recent coins that they contained.

With an overall weight of 18.5 kg this hoard constitutes the largest yet known aureus-find in the former western provinces of the Roman Empire and it gives the coin department in Trier a leading position in Europe for ancient gold coins.

Also on display at the Rheinisches Landesmuseum is the silver hoard from the fort at Niederbieber. Following the discovery early in this century of three coin hoards that had been buried around AD 260 in the Niederbieber Fort, a bulbous bronze vessel, full of silver coins, was found in the ground close to the staff-officer’s building on 27 November 1989.

This hoard, probably a ‘troop-cash-box’ of the ‘Numerus Divitissantum’ stationed in the fort, consisted of 1942 Denarii (on average 3.41 grammes), and an Antonianus (1 1/2 Denarii, 5.11 grammes). Twenty four emperors, empresses and their relatives are depicted on the coins. The earliest Denarius had been minted between AD 140 and 143 under Antoninus Pius, the latest under Maximinus I in the spring of AD 236.

Since ten other coin hoards that had been found in the Germano-Roman border region between the Danube and the Lower Rhine show similar ‘closing coins’, all these treasures can be linked to the Teutonic invasion of AD 236. The emperor Maximinus Thrax had reacted to this invasion with a punishment campaign which brought him the honorary title ‘Germanicus’, which appears already on coins minted in late 236.

“ITALIC ART”
ca. 1000-300 BC

Daunian subgeometric painted terracotta female figurine.
Apulia, 5th-4th century B.C.
Height:15.9 cm

Exhibition
at
our Paris gallery
March 8th - March 20th 1994

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DEITIES AND DEVOTIONS
The Arts of Hinduism
Clare Harris

For the first time visitor to the Indian subcontinent, one of the most striking features of the culture of the region must be the prevalence and potency of images. The contemporary experience of India, both for its inhabitants and for outsiders, is one in which religious objects of great antiquity huddle alongside concrete and gloss paint contemporary sculpture in happy communion. Pilgrimage to a temple where a sacred image, whether it be seven or seven hundred years old, can be viewed is still a tremendously popular activity particularly amongst Hindus in India. The concept of Darshan — where devotee and deity make enlightening eye contact — is mirrored by the modern day pilgrim, the tourist who, in different but perhaps equally complimentary terms, wishes to be blessed by the power of the images of India. Fortunately for those who cannot take a pilgrimage package tour to India this year, 'Deities and Devotions', an exhibition at the British Museum, offers a less arduous alternative.

The exhibition includes stunning examples of Indian art from public and private collections in the UK illustrating the glorious history of Indian art, which spans almost three thousand years. Be careful not to miss the embryo of this artistic heritage as you enter the first gallery, a tiny 2000 BC terracotta figurine quietly encased in perspex. Usually interpreted as a fertility goddess, this image is fecund in all senses. The female form has inspired much of the religious imagery of India right up to the present day. By the twentieth century the descendant of the terracotta woman became the primary image of the independence movement, Bharat Mata, or Mother India, and has been animated by the medium of the day: film.

The themes of continuity and context provide the overall logic for this exhibition, with displays arranged according to the concepts of Hindu philosophy and iconography rather than dynastic, chronological or stylistic criteria. The full range of objects which appear in both domestic and religious settings in South Asia are incorporated and there is a refreshing lack of bias towards particular media — fabric, rock, paint, paper, metal, clay are all employed, thus reflecting the lack of differentiation, at least amongst the devotee audience in India, between the 'high art' and 'low art' categories which have frequently been applied in the West. The section ascribed to Skanda, the warrior son of Lord Shiva, therefore includes two gold coins from the reign of Kumaragupta, who ruled North India between AD 414 and 455, a seventh- or eighth-century schist figure of the deity from the North West Frontier Province of Pakistan and a modern print from Tamil Nadu where the boy-god is still fervently revered. The geographic distribution of Hinduism and its imagery is also indicated in the section devoted to Shiva, where a fourth-century lingam or phallic representation of the deity from Mathura in India is placed alongside a thirteenth-century Javanese anthropomorphised version. The delicate sixth-century painted Shiva from the collection which Stein made in Central Asia indicates that Hinduism's purchase extended both East and Westwards. There has been some attempt to recreate the organisation of a temple in the gallery as the visitor is enticed...
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around a series of ante-chambers, at one point passing through a life-size photograph of the entrance to the Dasharata temple at Deogarh (fifth century AD) and then following a British Museum version of a circumambulation path to reach the image of Shiva Dakshinamurti (below). This is a magnificent fourteenth-century granite depiction of one of the major deities of Hinduism in his form as teacher. Though the central figure has the hieratic frontality which is associated with Indian sculpture from the very earliest period, here Shiva is accompanied by a highly naturalistic group of sages in animated conversation. In fact they seem to congratulate him on his suppression of the tubby figure of ignorance whom he squeezes beneath his right foot. The efflorescence of hair, jewellery and vegetation which crowns the deity’s head with sumptuous, almost baroque curves, displays the confidence when handling even so intractable a material as granite in which Indian sculptors revel. As would be the case in Shiva temples in India, the main image faces his bull mount Nandi (right), also carved from sparkling granite and yet oozing the calm, solidity, and almost the scent of a Brahmin bull.

‘Deities and Devotions’ offers the visitor the chance to examine some of the most impressive Indian pieces from the holdings of London museums at close quarters. The Victoria and Albert’s ‘Durga killing Mahishasuramardini’ is one of the finest depictions of the moment when the demon Mahisha is finally slain and withes on the tip of wrathful Durga’s spear. That is, of those available for viewing in Europe – the same subject carved into the living rock at Mahabalipuram (near Madras) in the seventh century, is even more dramatic, but perhaps less accessible. This exhibition does, of course, draw heavily on collections established during the period when the subcontinent was a British colony. The eminently likeable Ganesh, the elephant-headed god of new beginnings and the removal of obstacles, who is apparently rather partial to sweets, is represented in this show by a suitably rotund thirteenth-century sculpture collected by Major General ‘Hindoo’ Stuart of the East India Company. A remarkable sixteenth-century terracotta plaque depicting a Naga (or water creature) found its way to the West with Sir Alexander Cunningham and two lion columns from a Chola period temple in Tanjore somehow ended up in the garden of the Earl of Lichfield before they entered the British Museum. No doubt the Major General was given the epithet ‘Hindoo’ because he actu-

ally appreciated the culture in which he found himself. He certainly selected a very fine Ganesh for his collection, but it is gratifying to find that the negative attitudes of some colonialists have been abandoned in this exhibition. In the last century Sir George Birdwood, who was sufficiently committed to Indian culture to presume to comment on it, wrote that ‘The monstrous shapes of the Puranic deities are unsuitable for the higher forms of artistic representation; and this is possibly why sculpture and painting are unknown as fine arts in India’. Sufficient to say that in ‘Deities and Devotions’ the visual culture of India is presented from a more appropriately Indian perspective, through the context of Hinduism, and therefore the ‘monstrous shapes’ are explained and contextualised. Today it seems inconceivable that anyone could deny that Hinduism in fact inspired some extraordinary examples of the ‘fine arts of India’.

Clare Harris is a Research Assistant at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

‘Deities and Devotion: The Arts of Hinduism’ is at the British Museum until 10 April.
Since the early 1970s many monuments in Cambodia have been defaced for their treasured stone sculptures. Due to the disorganisation brought about by the war and the inability to police the many temples and other monuments, countless sculptures were removed from their sites, as well as from museums and repositories, especially in provincial regions.

While the large collection in the National Museum of Phnom Penh has suffered few losses, many of the other museums were pillaged, the only objects remaining being those that were sent to the National Museum in the emergency transfer of 1970-71. The impressive collection of the museums of Battambang has now virtually disappeared, except for the items sent to the National Museum.

In addition to the thefts undertaken for direct sale in the commercial art market, especially in France, many pieces were sold by the local inhabitants for meagre amounts of food. Professor Bruno Dagens of the Université de la Sorbonne relates that he heard that in Siem Reap in the early 1980s, a stone head from Angkor could be exchanged for a bowl of rice.

The Dépôt de la Conservation d’Angkor, the world’s largest repository of Khmer art, was set up in the early 1900s. When it was reorganised in the 1960s, detailed records of the collections were taken and a conservation workshop was established. In June 1970, as the fighting reached Siem Reap, the curator of Angkor, the late B. P. Groslier, moved the entire collection of bronze sculptures, part of the ceramic collection, and about one hundred stone sculptures to the National Museum of Phnom Penh.

The remaining four thousand stone and wood sculptures and a large group of ceramics were stored in three buildings protected by reinforced concrete and sandbags. Later these buildings were taken over for the storage of salt and for military quarters and the contents were removed and left abandoned outside the buildings. In the process, many of the objects were broken, often deliberately. The entire collection of ceramics was carted off, as well as a few hundred sculptures. Heads were removed from a large number of statues.

The Dépôt was also the scene of a major robbery in November 1992, and in February 1993 an armed robbery took place resulting in a death. A total of at least fifteen sculptures were taken in the two robberies. Immediately before the general elections in May 1993 many objects were stolen from the monuments in the Angkor conservation site. Carved heads were taken from the walls of Ta Prohm and Prah Khan temples.

In the following series of photographs, initially supplied by the Ecole Française d’Étrême-Orient for the publication One Hundred Missing Objects: Looting in Angkor, I have selected some of the more complete and better-preserved sculptures which were in the Dépôt in 1970 and have since been stolen. The descriptions of the objects are extracted from the original text in the above publication by Professor Bruno Dagens of the Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris III. The book was published by the International Council of Museums (ICOM), with the co-operation of the École Française d’Étrême Orient and the financial support of the Florence Gould Foundation, and with the assistance of the American Association of Museums, the ICOM Foundation and UNESCO.

I wish to thank Mr Etiennë Clement of UNESCO and Ms Valerie Julienne of ICOM for their interest in Minerva and for allowing us to present a condensed version of this publication. While the full documentation of all one hundred sculptures has been distributed by ICOM to museums, documentation centres, police and custom services, ministries of culture, and major auction houses worldwide, the publication of a selection of the better objects in Minerva will reach a much larger concerned group of readers, including many hundreds of art dealers and collectors. Thanks to the publication of the book, one of the stolen objects from Angkor has been returned to Cambodia.

Hopefully this publicity will result not only in the location and return of some of the stolen pieces but will also send a signal to those who are encouraging the looting and illicit exportation of cultural objects that such trafficking will not be tolerated by either museum professionals or those who collect and deal in Asian art. If any of our readers know of the location of any of the objects illustrated they should notify their local police so that they may transmit the information to the Interpol General Secretariat in Lyon, France.

DCA 3430. Three grey sandstone heads of Shiva, Skanda, and Parvati (removed from this remaining Shiva head carved from one block of stone). 1st half of the 12th century AD, 18 cm, ca. 13 cm, ca. 12 cm. From Banteay Srei temple.

All photos copyright Ecole française d’Étrême Orient.
Stolen Objects


DCA 4872. Sandstone head of Buddha, with traces of recent gilding. Late 12th-early 13th century AD. 28 cm. From Prab Khan temple, Kompong Svay. Stolen in 1993 from the Dépôt.

DCA 4611. Light grey sandstone body of the 4-armed Vishnu on a square pedestal. Mid-10th century AD. 84 cm. From Prasat Kravanh, Angkor. Stolen in 1993 from the Dépôt.

DCA 4816. Sandstone torso of a 4-armed male figure. Second half of the 11th century AD. 89 cm. From the Prasat Ta Dong Temple, Angkor region. Stolen in 1993 from the Dépôt.

DCA 7081. Unfinished grey sandstone female torso. Late 10th century AD. 56 cm. From Prasat Ypapang Khma, Angkor region.

DCA 6243. Grey sandstone statuette of Vishnu on the Garuda bird. 12th century AD. 19.5 cm. From the Angkor region.

DCA 3190. Eroded sandstone torso of a 4-armed male deity. Late 11th century AD. Ca. 40 cm. From Pre Rup temple, Angkor.

DCA 4366. Dark grey sandstone head of the god Harihar with diadem and pagoda-like chignon (removed from remaining statue). Late 9th century AD. Ca. 35 cm. From Bakong temple, Roluos.

DCA 125. Smooth, dark sandstone statue of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara with crown-like diadem and cylindrical chignon. Late 12th century AD. 81 cm. From Ta Prohm temple, Angkor.

DCA 5456. Grey sandstone female torso. Late 12th-early 13th century AD. 65 cm. From the Angkor area.

DCA 6589. Dark pink sandstone bust of a male with cylindrical chignon bearing image of Buddha. Late 10th century AD. 25 cm. From near Take Siem, Chikreng.

DCA 5458. Grey sandstone torso of a 4-armed deity. 12th century AD. 37 cm. From the village of Sung Vearuy, Chikreng.

DCA 140. Light grey sandstone squatting male deity on a square pedestal. Late 12th century AD. 35 cm. From Ta Prohm temple. Stolen in 1993 from the Dépôt.

DCA 5684. Sandstone head of a male deity with round cylindrical chignon. 13th century? 27 cm. From Kompong Khei.

DCA 751/a. Unfinished grey sandstone head of the 11-faced Buddhist god Hevaiva with diadem with central medallion. Late 12th-early 13th century AD. 26 cm. From Angkor Thom, near the Gate of Death.
Stolen Objects

DCA 1664. Rough sandstone head of the god Shiva with diadem and tall cylindrical chignon. 1st half of the 12th century AD. 39 cm. From the Temple of Bayon, Angkor.

DCA 3342. 4-faced sandstone head of the god Brahma (one face missing). Early 11th century AD. 21 cm. From Wat Chau.

DCA 4179. Eroded sandstone head of the god Shiva (?) with diadem and tall cylindrical chignon. 1st half of the 12th century AD. 46 cm. From Angkor Thom.

DCA 4917. Sandstone head of Buddha, with diadem and tiered chignon, missing hood of cobra. Late 12th-early 13th century AD. 21 cm. From Pr. Damnak Siawch.

DCA 1995. Sandstone stele of the 4-armed Vishnu. Late 12th-early 13th century AD. 33 cm. From Ta Keo temple, Angkor.

DCA 3496. Sandstone head of a female deity with high diadem and conical chignon. 27 cm. From village of Kuk Prei, Barin, Prek.

DCA 5440. Sandstone head of a male deity with raised diadem and conical chignon. 1st half of the 12th century AD. 15 cm. From near the Sras Srang basin.

DCA 3489. Fine grey sandstone 4-faced head of Brahma with high diadems and 4-lobed chignon (removed from remaining statue). 11th century AD. 60 cm. From Trapeang Phong, Rochas group. The body still remains at the Dépôt.

DCA 6970. Polished sandstone head of Buddha with hair in round curls (removed from remaining seated statue). 13th or 14th century AD. From Angkor Wat. The body still remains at the Dépôt.

DCA 7080. Fine grey sandstone head of Shiva (?), hair in fine braids with rounded chignon (removed from remaining statue). 11th century AD. From Pr. Trapeang Khna. The body still remains at the Dépôt.
Stolen Objects

DCA 5496. Greyish-brown sandstone head of a door guardian, Dvarapala, with crown-like diadem and large buttons and a 4-tiered chignon (removed from remaining statue). Late 12th century AD. Ca. 40 cm. From Ta Nei temple.

DCA 4660. Grey sandstone head of Shiva with diadem and tall cylindrical chignon (removed from remaining statue). Early 10th century AD. Ca. 30 cm. From Prei Monti temple, Roluos.

The bodies of all the heads illustrated on this page still remain at the Dépôt.

DCA 4373. Fine greyish-yellow sandstone head of Shiva with diadem and tall cylindrical chignon (removed from remaining statue). Early 12th century AD. Ca. 28 cm. From Prei Monti temple, Roluos.

DCA 332. Grey sandstone head of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara with cylindrical chignon bearing image of Buddha (removed from remaining statue). Late 12th century AD. Ca. 34 cm. From Krol Ko temple.

DCA 2892. Grey sandstone 4-faceted head of Brahma with raised diadems and large cylindrical chignon (removed from remaining statue). Late 12th century AD. Ca. 42 cm. From Phra Ko temple, Roluos.

DCA 2394. Grey sandstone head of Vishnu with large cylindrical chignon (removed from remaining statue). Late 12th century AD. Ca. 45 cm. From Pre Rup temple.


DCA 102. Grey sandstone head of Buddha and head of cobra (removed from remaining statue). 12th century AD. Ca. 30 cm. From Angkor Wat.

DCA 3657. Finely polished grey sandstone head of Vishnu with high diadem and 3-tiered petalled chignon (removed from remaining statue). 2nd half of the 11th century AD. Ca. 33 cm. From Prasat Neak Ta, Phnom Kulen.

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Pre Rup style: Mid-10th century AD.

Banteay Srei style: 2nd half of the 10th century AD.

Kleang style: Late 10th century-early 11th century AD.

Baphuon style: 11th century AD.

Angkor Wat style: 1st three quarters of the 12th century AD.

Bayon style: Late 12th-1st quarter of the 13th century AD.

Post-Bayon style: Late 13th century AD.

The Post-Angkorian period begins with the 14th century.

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ATHENS IN THE TIME OF KLEISTHENES

T. Leslie Shear, Jr., of Princeton University, in his paper on ‘Public Buildings for the Kleisthenic Democracy’ pointed out that the earliest buildings in the area of the Classical Agora were domestic and that the first obviously public buildings, the Old Bouleuterion and the Stoa Basilietos, were both erected c. 500 BC, based on a re-examination of the pottery finds associated with their construction. They were among the first civic buildings in which the Doric order was used, almost always previously utilized for religious sanctuaries. At the same time the Agora market square was formally laid out with boundary stones. Thus the new democracy established its mark on the monuments and topography of Athens.

At the time of the Kleisthenic reforms, in the late sixth century BC, there was no change in most late Archaic Attic pediments, grave monuments and votive reliefs. However, three marble votive statues of seated male figures, each holding a writing case and appearing to write, were dedicated on the Acropolis at the end of the sixth century BC. A bearded head has recently been joined to one of these so-called scribes. Imsene Trianti, Ephore of the Acropolis, Athens, suggested that they are officials who may have been connected with the reforms of Kleisthenes.

ROMAN RELIEF CARVINGS AT ADAM KAYALAR, TURKEY

Virginia M. da Costa of the University of California, Santa Barbara, described a series of thirteen Roman figurals high reliefs, dating to the first and second century AD, occurring in niches on a steep gorge near Korykos (Fig 1). The figure of a reclining male on a couch is similar to those on the kline-sarcophagi of Rome and Asia Minor. Three male figures, one holding a battle-axe, a second with a lance, the third with a bunch of grapes, appear to represent soldiers. There are veiled females depicted with loose flowing garments. Two of the reliefs are inscribed. They are either the monuments of Roman citizens in Asia Minor or Romanized indigenous inhabitants. There are very few sepulchral monuments in situ on the Mediterranean coast of Turkey. Archaeological excavation of the site, not yet undertaken, promises to disclose further information on the artistic and cultural practices of the period.

RECONSIDERATION OF THE BRONZE ‘INGOT GOD’ FROM ENKOMI, CYPRUS

The Late Helladic bronze figurine with horned helmet (Fig 2), holding a sword and shield, c. 1200-1150 BC, found by C.F.A. Schaeffer in a sanctuary at Enkomi in 1963, was believed by him to be a representation of a copper-ingot god offering divine protection for the Cypriot metal workers. This was based on the trapezoidal shape of the base with its sides curved inwards, suggesting an ‘oxhide’ ingot. In 1972 H. Catling suggested an Aegean connection based on the grooves of the figurine. Miriam S. Balmuth of Tufts University now reconsidered these conjectures. She concluded that an ancient reworking of the legs and feet to effect a repair has been misinterpreted as a depiction of grooves. She also suggested that the ingot was not integral to the piece, but was a secondary casting made to strengthen the base in an economical way that is still used. Furthermore, Moorey and Fleming had already questioned its interpretation as a deity.

MINERVA 22
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ARCHAIC VASE DEPICTIONS AND THE HOMERIC POEMS

The traditional explanations for the differences between the Homeric narratives as depicted on early Greek vases and in Homeric poems are the painters' errors, the pre-eminence of artistic traditions, the influence of Greek tragedy, and non-professional recitation. Steven Lowenstam of the University of Oregon suggested that the chronological relationship must also be reconsidered as a result of the proposals by Jenson (1980) and Nagy (1992) that the Homeric poems were written in the third quarter of the sixth century BC. Also, the ability of the painter to disclose so many learned details from particular narratives should be acknowledged. He suggests a ‘fluid mythic tradition’ as the mutual legacy of both poets and painters.

Fig 1. Some of the Roman relief carvings at Adam Kayalar, Turkey.

ROMAN LIGHTHOUSES AS IMPERIAL PROPAGANDA

Many Roman Imperial buildings have been considered as symbolic markers of the extent of the Imperium Romanum such as ocean forts and arches. Steven Tuck of the University of Michigan suggested that lighthouses should also be considered as such, as well as representing other ideological levels. On land they serve as the terminals and elat and terminus monuments, similar to commemorative arches and altars. On the water they serve not only as markers but also demonstrate the extent of the Roman Imperium by the height, position and light. The Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, the Pharos at Alexandria and the Lighthouse of Herod at Cæsarea were mentioned as antecedents. The foundation becomes a personal statement by the emperor as a component of his patronage of public works and thus an important element of propaganda. For examples he discussed the Claudian foundation at Ostia and Caligula’s lighthouse commemorating his northern campaign.

POLYCHROMY ON LATE ANTIQUE AND BYZANTINE IVORIES

While it is common knowledge that ancient ivories from many cultures were painted or gilded, few scholars realize that Late Antique and Byzantine ivories were also embellished with bright blue, green red, and black paint, red stain, and gilding. Carolyn L. Cooper of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill has recently been involved with the ‘Ivories Project’ for five years, covering over 100 ivory cups, diplichs, furniture revetments, tripods and icons. The fieldwork for the project was completed in May 1993 with the study of a number of important ivories in Paris, Berlin, and St Petersburg. It will now be possible to address the question of what iconography of colour applies to Late Antique and Byzantine ivories and the relation of the colour patterns to chryselephantine work and painting on ancient sculpture and reliefs.

Fig 2. Cypriot bronze ‘Ingot God’. From the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, Enkomi, Late Bronze Age, c. 1200-1100 BC. 35 cm. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. (From ‘Cyprus BC’, © British Museum, 1979.)

ARCHAIC LEAD FIGURINES FOUND AT TEGEA

The excavations at the Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegae are a five year international project conducted by the Norwegian Institute in Athens, directed by Erik Ostby, with the cooperation of the French, Italian, and Swedish Schools in Athens, the Arcadian-Laconian Ephorate, the Greek Archaeological Service, and the University of Arizona. Mary E. Voyatzis of the University of Arizona reported that during the excavation in the trenches directly in front of the northern entrance to the Classical temple, below the surface level of the post-Classical sanctuary, beneath which was a mixed fill of Classical, Archaic and Geometric material, they uncovered a large number of Archaic human figurines of lead. In the process of compiling the catalogue of architectural material from the Classical temple, they located the starting block from the ancient stadium, within the sanctuary, but not in situ.

HOW CLASSICAL DORIC COLUMNS WERE CONSTRUCTED

Very little evidence had been discovered until recently as to how Greek architects designed and calculated the size, proportions, and entasis of a Doric column composed of drums. During the 1989 excavations at Isthmia, over 3,800 pieces of porous stone was recovered, having been removed when the columns for the Classical Temple of Poseidon were fluted. Frederick P. Hemans of Potsdam College, State University of New York, related how a carved notched filling with red paint was found on the surface of several fragments from the tops of drums. A series of vertical strokes, appearing to specify the vertical position of the column, was followed by a letter indicating the specific column. Several pieces from the lower end of the drum had an arrow indicating which end was to be placed upward. A lathe was used to cut the drum surface and also to carve a fascia indicating the amount of entasis required in the final dressing. A different series of marks were used to indicate the position of each flute.

TWO MORE THEORIES ON THE IDENTITIES OF THE PARTHENON FRAME MAIDENS

Most scholars dismiss the identity of certain maidens on the east frieze of the Parthenon as kaneophori because they carry no kanoun, or basket, on their heads. Linda Jones Rocco of Rutgers University suggested that they are indeed kaneophori and can be identified by their garment, a voluminous mantle hanging over the shoulders and down the back. She points out that in the Classical period a youth, not a maiden, usually brings a small kanoun to the sacrifice.

Keith De Vries of the University of Pennsylvania addressed the identity of the maidens bearing stools on the east frieze of the Parthenon. Literary
sources clearly refer to female diaphoroi, or stool bearers, as the standard figue of Attic sacrificial processions, and along with parasol bearers, followed the kanephorei, the sacrificial tray bearers, leading off the procession. There are no special identifying features which would mark them as mythological figures, such as the daughters of Kekrops or Erechtheus [Ed: see the latter interpretation as proposed by Joan Breton Connelly (Minerva, March/April 1993, p.34)].

IRON AGE IVORY AND SILVER FIGURINES FROM TURKEY

In 1986 a tumulus near Bayindir, Antalya, yielded a spectacular group of ivory and silver figurines. Although these remarkable figurines have been published and illustrated in the Antalya Museum catalogue (Ankara, 1988), they had not yet been studied in any detail. Ilkem Ozgen of Bilkent University notes that they exhibit features found in Phrygian, Lydian, and East Greek objects. The female figurines wear a long veil tucked into their belt, a feature occurring on Cybele figurines from Phrygia. They relate to ivories from the Artemision at Ephesus. Some characteristics suggest an origin in Lydia, close to Ephesos and associated with the cult of Artemis. Other silver and bronze objects found in the tumuli closely relate to material from Gordion.

A MINOAN BULL-LEAPING FRESCO FROM EGYPT

El Daba'a has been identified by M. Bietak as ancient Avaris, the capital of the Hyksos. Among the major themes on the painted plaster fragments excavated is one of bull-leaping. They were thought to have been discarded from the yet undiscovered Hyksos palace destroyed in the late sixteenth century BC. Maria C. Shaw of the University of Toronto selected Knossos as the origin of the artists of this series of frescoes based on both distribution of the theme in the Aegean and on inherent iconographic details. She then analyzed the connection between the maze-like pattern behind the bull and other Aegean and Egyptian patterns and related it to the Minotaur and the Labyrinth in later mythology. Both motifs appear on Classical coins from Knossos. [Editor: For Cretan painting recently found at Tel Kabri in Israel see Minerva, March/April 1993, p. 34.]

MICROCOLONIAL FUNGI AS THE CAUSE OF 'DESERT VARNISH'

The dark manganese- and iron-rich coatings deposited over the centuries on rocks most commonly found in desert area have been described as desert varnish, rock varnish, desert patina, desert crust, desert lacquer, protective coatings, and more recently biogenic varnish (Figs 3.4). They were noted as early as 1793 by Humbolt and 1832 by Darwin. Leoncio A. Garza-Valdes of the Southwest Society of AIA listed the different theories as to its origin: airborne dust, airborne pollen, algal and cyanobacterial activity, groundwater, leaching, minor Eh and pH changes, and microcolonial fungi. This varnish occurs on chert, jasper, obsidian, jadellite, albite, aventurine, gold, pottery, plaster, murals, and even sea urchin spines. An intense analysis of the varnish was made using a number of state-of-the-art methods such as energy dis-

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Persive spectrometry, gas chromotography/ mass spectrometry, scanning electron microscopy, wavelength dispersive spectroscopy, and fungi culture media. Microcolonial black fungi were present in the varnish of all of the artifacts studied. They are identified as ascomycetes (order Dothideales), described as a new genus in 1981. It is composed of calcium carbonate, kaolin-montmorillonite, manganese and iron oxides, Poly N-acetylglucosamine, and silica. There are four varieties: desert, soil, temple, and tomb.

Copies of the 118-page 'Abstracts', summaries of all of the papers presented at the meeting, may be obtained for $7.50 from the Archaeological Institute of America, 675 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02215.

Figs 3, 4. Desert varnish: (left) Egyptian chalcolithic brown flint olivette hand axe with dendritic 'desert varnish', c. 2000 BC, 12.1 cm; (right) Egyptian predynastic brown flint pointed scraper with finely pitted 'desert varnish', c. 4th millennium BC, Wadijen, Thebes, 1905, 11.7 cm. Both from the collection of Dr Jerome M. Eisenberg. Photos by Alan J. Eisenberg.

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Archaeological Resource Management in the UK: an Introduction


British archaeology has changed irrevocably in the last twenty years. The seventies and eighties were the era of Rescue archaeology, where predominantly young people, in the early years, hairy and bohemian but increasingly, as time went on, bespectacled (from staring at computers), wearing ties or talking about marketing, and with flow charts and Gantt charts, sought and often fought to record the heritage of development sites in the countryside and towns throughout Britain. All that changed with alarming rapidity in and after 1990. The economic recession cut down work; English Heritage directives and policy guidance notes, especially that of November 1990 called PPG16, turned the tap of rescue archaeology almost shut. From now on, preservation of archaeological strata will be the presumption on development sites in town and countryside.

This collection of 22 essays on the structure and context of archaeology in Britain today, essentially written in 1992, was therefore well placed to look ahead as well as back at the development of the profession, within local authorities or independent units, over the last twenty years. As history, it may be of interest only to those who participated or to historians of social mores or government expenditure. But to what extent is this collection of relevance to the young archaeological graduate looking for guidance in how to deal with a church as a listed building, or for arguments to put forward about the value of retaining archaeological strata rather than building a supermarket or a hospital?

The title refers to archaeological resource management, though the editors have also set out to describe diverse aspects of the structure, outlook and operation of archaeology in the UK, which is a rather different matter. Several sturdy papers deal with the accessibility of archaeological information, English Heritage funding policies, and, even more usefully, with the laws (and multitude of associated acronyms) dealing with portable antiquities, listed building and churches. There are views of how different kinds of archaeologists work, and a useful wider view of British practice in an international context. The largest group of papers describe the specialist areas of a mixed bag of archaeological jobs, from remote sensing and aerial photography to the dissemination of information (a contribution of mixed value, with several good but some uninformed comments) and new directions in museum activities. Finally, a thoughtful paper deals with archaeology as land use; the argument that archaeological monuments truly are a resource to be protected, managed and promoted.

As a guide to professional prospects (there are no yuppies in archaeological consultancy) and to the legal framework of archaeology, the collection of varied, though incomplete, perspectives is excellent. It contains some wapsihed criticism of English and Scottish archaeological government agencies. In terms of important recent or current initiatives, a notable and sad omission was any serious examination of the coupling of archaeology and tourism in the brave and spectaculously successful Jorvik Centre in York and its imitators. Though there is a good paper on the way British archaeology manages its own appeal, there is little on how it should be presented in schools.

If, as many believe, the rescue era is over and archaeology has now become a political issue, then the profession is entering a period of reflection, regrouping and transformation. All these elements are present in this useful and commendable survey, which functions both as a reference work and as a snapshot of British archaeological practice.

John Schofield,
Museum of London Archaeology Service.

Of Cats and Women, Faience and Tutankhamun

In popular thought the cat is the animal par excellence associated with ancient Egypt. Amongst the earliest of animals domesticated from the wild, it alone has preserved its innate arrogance and aristocratic demeanour – small wonder that it acquired high status and association with a goddess in that most ancient civilization. In his new book, The Cat in Ancient Egypt, Dr Jaromir Malek shows his love of the animal in the way in which he describes its many aspects in the life of ancient Egypt. Probably domesticated around 3000 BC, the cat began to appear in tomb paintings in the mid-second millennium, sometimes in splendidly observed cameos, such as the numerous pet cats seen under their mistress’s chair at banquets, most of them enjoying some delicious titbit, a fish perhaps, they have surreptitiously removed from the feast, or in a more fearsome aspect with a large knife in its paws as it slays the serpent Apophis in wall-paintings or vignettes from the Book of the Dead.

Here the multiple facets of a cat’s many lives are seen in cats wild, domesticated, divine, in literature and cartoon ostraka, and those that were finally mumified. The sanctity of the cat only reached strong recognition in the Late Period with its close association with the goddess Bastet and her cult centre in the Delta at Bubastis. There the faithful would take their own cats for burial. The literally thousands of cats that were mumified bear witness to the widespread acceptance of the cult. The vast quantities of cat mummies found can be judged from just one shipment of about 180,000 of them to England in the nineteenth century that weighed over a ton – all to be used as fertiliser. And still cemeteries of cat mummies continue to be found by accident.

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There were no limits to the heights that a cat could reach: Tamyt, pet of prince Djehuty manganese, a son of Amenhotep III, had her own limestone sarcophagus for her burial at Memphis. As the companion and manifestation of the great cat-headed goddess Bastet the world of Man was hers. This is a splendid paean in praise of the cat, with some particularly fine colour illustrations and some most unusual and delightful representations of the cat in its many aspects in ancient Egypt.

Whilst a cat could move with ease in ancient Egypt, the place of women in an essentially male-oriented society has only recently been addressed. The contribution of women to Egyptian society was of a high order, vide only the important place held by goddesses with Isis pre-eminent and, not least, the few occasions when women held the supreme power as 'king', notably Hatshepsut. Neither is it always realised that, despite its all-male bureaucracy, ancient Egypt was a matrilineal society with all the important relationships that involved.

Of necessity, the bulk of the surviving evidence for the role of women in ancient Egypt relates to the upper echelons, the ladies of the ruling classes, the priestesses and the like. The lower classes are rarely referred to in the literature, unless such as in the tomb-robbing papyri where they have been charged along with their menfolk.

Dr Gay Robbins, in Women in Ancient Egypt, discusses the role of royal ladies, queenship and those others who were able to hold high office and she then examines in detail, from original sources where possible, the life of the ordinary woman and her family, her work and duties. In a series of ten well-presented chapters every possible aspect of women is examined and discussed. Much of the evidence for women of lesser status comes from the workmen's village at Deir el-Medina at Thebes, where papyri and scribbled ostraka have thrown enormous light on aspects of everyday life. The book has an interesting series of illustrations taken from many and different mediums to show women, from those who unusually had their own funerary stele to the papyri, many tomb scenes and ostrakon sketches. Unfortunately, although the illustrations are integrated into the text, the majority do not occur anywhere near their references in the text. The reader has continually to flick back and forth, and not always in the same chapter - some are far away from their citation in a completely wrong chapter, e.g. the lady Bukanepthah's stele is illustrated on page 130 and she and the stele are referred to on pp. 159-60, 162, two chapters away! A little more care in the design would have made a useful book even more attractive to the reader.

One of the most common manufacturing items, especially for amulets, in ancient Egypt was faience and Dr Paul Nicholson addresses this in Egyptian Faience and Glass. The latter material was invented quite late in Egyptian history (the earliest pieces dating to the mid-fifteenth century) whilst faience, essentially a sand-gazed frit fired at between 800 to 1000 degrees centigrade, was produced from Predynastic times. The book is divided into two appropriate parts and all aspects of each material examined, its composition, manufacture and use. It is an extremely useful, compact and concise book that will be very illuminating to many within Egyptology, as well as those outside who continually confuse European and Egyptian faience - same word, no relation.

The most emotive and well-known pharaoh's name is that of Tutankhamun. Before the discovery of his virtually intact tomb in the Valley of the Kings in November 1922 he was a relatively obscure minor pharaoh; after that date he was news and, subsequently, very 'book worthy'. In another addition to his literature, Tutankhamun's Welsh takes an objective view of the young man who probably died just before his eighteenth birthday and bequeathed to the world the richest tomb ever found in Egypt. In a very concave approach, Mrs Welsh outlines what little we actually know of his nine-year reign, preceded by the religious upset of Akhenaten and the Amarna Period; assesses the significance of his tomb and examines aspects of his life and his death as revealed by the objects buried with him and the artistic styles that were in transition at the period. A short epilogue explaining the historical aftermath makes one realise what a watershed his reign represented at the end of the 18th Dynasty in the third quarter of the fourteenth century BC. It is pleasant to find such a short and well-balanced book on the young king, rather than be overwhelmed by the usual hyperbole that so often accompanies any text concerning him.

Peter Clayton


CAERETAN VASE SETS  
RECORD FOR ANTIQUITIES  
IN HIRSCHMANN SALE  

A collection of 64 Greek vases once in  
the possession of a Swiss-American  
collector, Carl Hirschmann, and now  
being sold by a Private Trust, brought  
a stunning total of £5,534,575  
(US$8,301,862) (including premium)  
at the 9 December Sotheby’s auction  
in London. Many of them were pub-  
lished by Dr Hansjörg Bloesch in  
Greek Vases from the Hirschmann  
Collection, a catalogue which accom-  
paied the exhibition of the collection  
at the Archaeologische Sammlung der  
Universität, Zurich, from 12 Novem-  
ber 1987 to 6 March 1988. It was with  
the advice of the late Dr Bloesch that  
Mr Hirschmann had acquired most of  
the vases, thus it especially reflects Dr  
Bloesch’s particular interest in vase  
shapes. The collection was originally  
designed for the University of Zurich.  

The absolute star of the sale was a  
Caeretan hydria of the late sixth cen-  
tury BC, 40 cm, attributed to the  
Eagle Painter. It depicts a bearded,  
nude hero holding a sickle-shaped  
sword (harpe) and a stone as he  
attacks a giant sea monster (ketos) (Fig  
1). In the field are a seal, two dolphins  
and an octopus. On the other side a  
huntsman with a javelin, accompa-  
nied by a dog, pursues a stag and a  
goat (Fig 2). It was first published in  
1977-78 by Jaap M. Hemelrijk and  
Stella M. Luhsen-Admiraal in Bulletin  
Antieke Beschaving: ‘Notes on some  
Caeretan Hydriai’.  

Sotheby’s pre-sale estimate of  
£200,000-£300,000 was meaningless,  
as several dealers were actively bid- 
ing up to its probable normal market  
value of £600,000-£800,000. Then an  
exciting series of rapidly escalating  
bids between the English dealer Robin  
Symes and an Italian dealer (G. de  
M.), no doubt both acting as agents,  
reached an improbable £1,900,000,  
only to be eclipsed by an anonymous  
telephone bid of £2,000,000. With  
the buyer’s premium, the sale price of  
£2,201,500 (US$3,302,250) represents  

Figs 1 & 2 (above). Caeretan hydria, attributed to the Eagle Painter, late 6th century BC. Side A (left): hero  
battling with a giant sea monster, the ketos. Side B (right): huntsman in pursuit of a stag and a goat.  

Figs 3 & 4 (below). Caeretan hydria, attributed to the Bustris Painter, last quarter of the 6th century BC.  
Side A (left): Herakles in battle with three centaurs. Side B (right): two giants drawing swords.
A superb Attic white-ground lekythos attributed to the Painter of New York, c. 430 BC, showing Dionysos and Herakles reclining at a symposium. Potted by Python.

Fig 8 (bottom left). Fragmentary Attic red-figure cup, signed by Douris as painter, c. 490 BC, showing a youth seated on a stool playing with a hare. Potted by Python.

Fig 9 (above). Attic red-figure neck-amphora with twisted handles, attributed to the Berlin Painter, c. 480 BC.

a new world record for an antiquity sold at auction.

On a second Caeretan hydria of the fourth quarter of the sixth century BC, 42.3 cm., attributed to the Busiris Painter, Herakles, with bow and arrow, battles with three centaurs who use uprooted trees as weapons (Fig 3). On the reverse two young giants draw their swords to battle for possession of a dinos (Fig 4). It was also exhibited in Zurich with the other Caeretan hydria, with which it was said to have been found. It was also first published by Hemelrijk and Lubben-Arnidal. This vase, also with an estimate of just £200,000-£300,000, was acquired by the Italian dealer mentioned above for £881,500 ($1,322,250). This dealer also purchased the last Caeretan hydria offered at auction, at Christie’s in July 1982, for £162,000. It was later acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum.

Three Attic red-figure cups by Douris were also actively contested. The first, attributed to the early period of Douris, c. 500 BC, and potted by Euphronius, diam. 22.7 cm., has a tondo scene of a musician singing to the music of his kithara and facing a youth, with an inscription ‘the boy is beautiful’ (Fig 6). Estimated at only £60,000-£80,000, it was purchased on the telephone for £221,500. The second, attributed to the late period of Douris (although it has been suggested that it is by the Oedipus Painter, a pupil of Douris), c. 470 BC, and potted by Python, diameter 32.2 cm., has a tondo with Dionysos and Herakles reclining in a banquet scene (Fig 7). Each side depicts three pairs of draped youths in conversation. Again, bearing an estimate of just £40,000-£50,000, it brought £221,500 from a telephone bidder with the Italian dealer as the underbidder. A fragmentary cup, c. 490 BC, diameter 28.8 cm., signed by Douris as painter and potted by Python, with a seated youth, holding a stick and playing with a hare, in the tondo (Fig 8). On one side are two men with a Molossian hound snarling at a leopard, with an inscription: ‘Hippodamas beautiful boy’; on the other, four men lean over a small cat (missing but for the tail). These two scenes
probably depict courting scenes, with the cat and leopard representing love gifts. It was purchased for £155,500 by a telephone bidder, said to be a New York collector, in spite of the estimate of £30,000-50,000.

A small but choice Attic red-figure trefoil oinochoe attributed to the Berlin Painter, c. 490 BC, 15.8 cm., depicts the winged goddess of the dawn, Eos, pursuing the young hunter Kephalos, a dog by his side (Fig 10). It is thought that this is the earliest representation of this scene in Athenian red-figure vases. It was first published by J.D. Beazley in Attic Red-figure Vase-painters (2nd edition), 1963. It was again purchased by the Italian dealer for £150,000, who obviously thought little of the estimate of £50,000-£60,000, as was an Attic red-figure neck amphora with twisted handles, also attributed to the Berlin Painter, c. 480 BC, 57.3 cm., with a young warrior on one side, an older bearded warrior on the other (Fig 9).

In spite of its poor state of preservation it realized £101,700, with an estimate of £50,000-£60,000.

The Italian dealer, who dominated the sale (according to the writer's records, he purchased 16 of the 64 vases), also acquired an Attic black-figure 'Tyrrhenian' neck-amphora, c. 540 BC, 47.2 cm., with a wedding procession of the gods on one side, two warriors in combat on the other (Fig 11), for £122,500 (estimate £40,000-£60,000), as well as a superb Faliscan calyx krater attributed to the Nazzano Painter (Fig 12), early fourth century BC, 42.8 cm. The complex scene on the front depicts the result of the contest between Athena and Poseidon for the sovereignty of Athens, between them a frontal sphinx sits on a tall column, surrounded by figures of Perseus, Dionysos, Hera, and Herakles above, and Eros and two satyrs below. On the other side are a maenad and two satyrs. Estimated at only £50,000-£80,000 it realized £144,500.

As with the sale of the Nicholas Embricicos collection by Christie's on 28 April 1993, which realized £1,460,905 for 30 Greek vases, this auction confirms the continuing strength of the Greek vase market. Before the sale, it would have been foolhardy to predict a total of more than £3,000,000. Space limitations restrict us from covering more of the sale and its results, but an exceptionally well-produced hard-bound catalogue with 185 full-colour illustrations (with several views of all of the better vases) may still be available for £20 (£21 overseas), as well as the full list of prices realized. As with Christie's Embricicos collection catalogue, it should be on the shelf of every library of Greek vase literature.

We wonder why Sotheby's continues to publish such extremely low estimates. It is understandable that they wish to entice buyers, but it also includes prospective collectors and museums into placing proportionately low bids, thus losing them their opportunity to acquire important objects. It also places into the literature a false set of values for the vases and other antiquities, since the lists of prices realized are seldom kept with the catalogues or even sent to the bidders or purchasers of the catalogues unless specifically requested.

**OLD KINGDOM EGYPTIAN STATUE FAILS TO SELL AT SOTHEBY'S LONDON**

The star and cover piece of the regular 9-10 December 1993 Sotheby's antiquities sale was an Egyptian limestone standing male figure from the late fifth Dynasty serdab of Wery and Mety at Giza, c. 2350-2290 BC, 80.3 cm. (Fig 13). Much of the original red, yellow, blue, turquoise and black pigment still remains. Estimated at £400,000-£600,000, it failed to meet its reserve (£320,000) and was bought in at
£300,000. Deaccessioned by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, it was acquired by the British Rail Pension Fund in the 14 December 1978 auction at Sotheby's, New York, for $280,000.

A Roman marble head of a young woman of the third-fourth century AD (Fig 14), 30.5 cm., from the Eastern Mediterranean, was published by L. Curtius in *Mädchenportret Vom Ende Des 2. Jahrhunderts N. Chr.* in 1957. Estimated at just £25,000-£35,000, it sold for £78,500 to a telephone bidder, with a New York dealer, Peter Sharer, as the underbidder. A fine but headless Roman marble statue of Asclepius accompanied by a headless Telephoro, c. first-second century AD, 87.6 cm., estimate £8,000-£10,000, sold to a telephone bidder for £21,850.

An Egyptian dark quartzite bust of the lion-headed goddess Sekhmet (Fig 15), 61 cm., catalogued as 18th Dynasty, but more probably from the Late Period or possibly even the Roman Period, was from the collection of Professor Julius Mayr of Munich. Estimated at £25,000-£35,000, it sold for £43,300 to the owner of a private Egyptian museum in Spain, even though the front of the face was completely restored.

A Nubian steatite ushabti of the pharaoh Senkamanisken (Fig 16), grandson of Taharqa, of the Napata Period in Nubia, from Pyramid III at Nuri, c. 643-623 BC, 20.3 cm., was part of a large group of ushabtis excavated by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and published in 1951. This particular example was given by the museum to the Holyoke Public Library in the 1920s, which sold it at auction in Boston in December 1991 to benefit the library's endowment for $13,200 (see Minerva, March/April 1992, p. 25). Estimated at £20,000-£22,000, it now sold for £20,700.

The auction culminated in a sale of 300 lots of Egyptian scarabs, totalling about 600 pieces, from the collection of Jonathan Rosen of New York, who has been concentrating upon his collection of cylinder seals in the past several years. Many of them appeared in an auction 'Scarabs and Design Amulets', conducted by Numismatic Fine Arts in New York, on December 11, 1991. In spite of an excellent catalogue, which is now a reference work (see Minerva, March/April 1992, p.26), apparently most of the lots did not sell, contrary to the 'prices realised' list published at the time. They were now liquidated with a reserve, for the most part at very low prices, often a small fraction of their current market value. The principal buyers were Royal-Athena Galleries, New York (118 lots), and Arete Gallery, Zurich. The sale totalled just £644,285, with 77.6% of the lots sold by number (compared to 62% in the July 1993 sale) and only 49.5% sold by value (due primarily to the buy-in of the Egyptian statue).

**BRONZE PORTRAIT BUST OF CALIGULA SOLD AT CHRISTIE'S, LONDON**

Very few portraits survive of Caligula as most of them were destroyed following his assassination in AD 41. A small (20 cm.) bronze bust (Fig 17), said to have been found in the Tiber, originally in the Schinz-Rüesch collection, was consigned by a descendant to Christie's for their sale of 8 December 1993. It was first published by B. Andreae in *Römische Kunst* in 1973, then exhibited in 1982-83 at the Historisches Museum Bern and published in *Gesichter-Griechische und römische Bildnisse aus Schweizer Besitz*. Estimated at an impossibly low £20,000-£30,000, it was actively contested, and was finally purchased £265,500 (US$398,250) by a French dealer for New York collector.

A well-known Etruscan bronze cista, c. 300 BC (Fig 18), 41.3 cm., probably from Praeneste, once in the collection of S.E. Kennedy, was first sold by Christie's in 1918. It was then again sold by Christie's in 1963, then from the Northwick Park collection of Captain E.G. Spencer-Churchill M.C., when it realized 2,100 guineas. One side of the body the engraving depicts the Judgement of Paris, on the other side a naked winged female spirit, probably a symbol of death, stands between two nude youths. The cover is engraved with a sea monster, two hippocamps, and a dolphin, symbols of the after-life. The handle is a sculpture of two nude figures, a satyr and a female. The low estimate of £30,000-£40,000 did not stop it reaching £106,000.

The Callaly Graeco-Roman marble head of a horse (Fig 19), c. first century BC/AD, height 52 cm., length 64.1 cm., was said to have been found in 1841 at Ephesus on the site of the Temple of Diana. Originally in the Campana collection, it was then acquired by William Henry Forman.
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of Dorking, Surrey, passing by descent in 1890 to his nephew, Major A.H. Brown of Callaly Castle, Northumberland. Most of the original Forman collection was sold in 1899, the greater part of it now in the British Museum. The horse head was consigned to Christie’s by Major Browne’s great-grandson. Although there were significant nineteenth-century restorations (the front of the muzzle, eyes, and the bronze harness), it was sold to a telephone bidder for £62,000.

A marble head of the Kassel Apollo (Fig 20), attributed by Christie’s to the second half of the first century AD (but probably of a later date), was based on a mid-fifth-century BC Greek bronze prototype usually attributed to Phidias or his workshop. With an estimate of £30,000-£50,000, it sold to another telephone bidder for £47,700.

A Sumerian quartzite votive statuette of a bearded male worshipper, Early Dynastic III, c. 2500 BC, 15.5 cm., estimated at £15,000-£20,000, sold for £25,300, even though it lacked most of the face except for the beard and long locks of hair. Two interesting collections of Egyptian antiquities were offered for sale. The first was a private collection formed many years ago of a large number of interesting and often rare types of Graeco-Roman terracottas from Alexandria, Egypt, mainly from the second century BC/AD, including Isis, Caesarius, a canephorous Isis, Baubo astride the shoulders of Herakles, and a child learning to walk with the aid of a wheeled apparatus. The second was a large collection of Egyptian antiquities (99 lots) formed by Albert Ferdinand Pagnon (1884-1909) of Luxor, the builder and owner of several Egyptian hotels, including the Karmak Hotel. Royal-Athena Galleries acquired about 40 of the lots.

The sale totalled £1,041,457, with 91% sold by value and 75% by number. Again, comparing the results with the July 1993 sale (70.1% by value and 65.3% by number) it appears to bear out the fact that the antiquities market is recovering from the effects of the recession.

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN GLASS AND FAIENCE FROM THE ‘PER-NEB’ COLLECTION SOLD AT CHRISTIE’S

The third part of the so-called ‘Per-Neb’ collection, the first two more important sections of which were sold by Christie’s in December 1992 (see Minerva, March/April 1993, pp. 24-25) and July 1993 (Minerva, September/ October 1993, p.43), was presented on 8 December 1993. The collection was formed in Egypt in the 1920s to the early 1940s by a Swiss private collector, the uncle of the consignee. This third group consisted of a very large number of small Egyptian amulets, glass and mosaic glass inlays, glassy faience hieroglyph inlays, theatrical masks, necklaces, beads, and vessel fragments.

An attractive shallow mosaic glass bowl (Fig 21), first half of the first century BC, diam. 13.1 cm., with a pleasing pattern of rose and white stripes, and amethyst and cobalt blue canes with white spirals, was once in the collection of Henry Oppenheim, who sold it at Christie’s in 1936, where it was acquired by Maurice Nahman for 42 guineas. Now estimated at £25,000-£35,000, it was purchased by Ali Abou-Ta’am, a Lebanese
dealer living in Geneva, the major buyer in the other two 'Per-neb' sales, for £59,800.

The best of ten lots of glassy faience hieroglyph inlays (Fig 22), light green with blue details, c. fourth-third century BC, estimated at only £3,000-£5,000 was sold for £21,850 to a Japanese dealer, N. Horiuchi. He purchased a second group in turquoise with dark blue details (Fig 23), bearing an estimate of only £1,500-£2,500, for £14,950. Horiuchi also acquired a group of 31 small mosaic face beads, c. first century BC/AD, with an estimate of £15,000-£25,000, for £21,850.

A yellow quartzite upper part of a ushabti of Akhenaten, bearing his portrait, unsold in the first Per-neb sale, was again offered with the same estimate of £50,000-£80,000, and for a second time failed to find a buyer, being bought in at £28,000. The total of this sale was £504,723 (with the three sessions totalling £1,732,672), 88.3% of the lots sold by value and 80% sold by number, within a few percent of the totals for the July session. The percentage of lots sold by value would have reached 95% if the Akhenaten ushabti had been sold.

**FINE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY EGYPTIAN STELE SOLD AT SOTHEBY'S, NEW YORK**

A strong auction at Sotheby's, New York, on 14 December 1993 was topped by the sale of an Egyptian limestone stele of Neb-seni and Mut (Fig 24), of the early 18th Dynasty, c. 1490-1436 BC, depicting Neb-seni, seated with his wife, receiving a libation from their son, Se-ankh-renen-imen, a table of offerings between them. In the lower register their three daughters kneel before an offering table, the two younger sons on the right. Much of the original paint remains. This piece, from the Sheldon Breitbard collection, sold at Sotheby's, New York, in June 1990, for $127,600, in spite of an estimate of just $25,000-$35,000. Now estimated at $75,000-$125,000, it brought a healthy $217,000 from a private European collector.

A sensitive Roman marble portrait head of the Greek tragedian Aischylus (Fig 25), c. first century AD, after a prototype of the fifth century BC, 33.3 cm., estimated at $40,000-$60,000, was won in a duel between two telephone bidders for $123,500, the winner being an American private collector. Aischylus (525-456 BC) is considered to be the father of Greek drama. A water-worn, life-size (125.1 cm.) Roman marble statue, probably representing an African water carrier (Fig 26), c. early second century AD,
with an estimate of $80,000-$120,000, sold to another private American collector for $90,500.

A small marble figure of a Hellenistic prince or perhaps a Ptolemaic king of Egypt, in the guise of Herakles (Fig 27), c. third-second century BC, 53.7 cm., estimated for $50,000-$80,000, also brought $90,500. It was previously unsold at Christie’s, New York, in their December 1992 sale. The late Hellenistic or Early Roman marble torso of a young satyr (Fig 28), still bears a section of his legboelon on his left arm. Around first century BC, 83.8 cm., estimated at $60,000-$90,000, it was sold on the telephone to a European dealer for $85,000.

A strigillated Roman marble sarcophagus with two lion masks in high relief (Fig 30), late third century AD, length 172.7 cm., originally acquired by John Hays Hammond, Jr., was deaccessioned by the Hammond Castle Museum of Gloucester, Massachusetts. Hammond was the originator of remote control and the guided missile and invented such diverse objects as the harmonic organ and the automobile starter. The sarcophagus, with an estimate of $30,000-$50,000, brought $76,750 on the telephone from an American collector. A Roman marble panel from a coffered ceiling, c. first-second century AD, 195 cm. by 74.9 cm., bearing an estimate of $50,000-$70,000, was also purchased by an American private collector for $60,250.

A Greek bronze helmet in the form of a Phrygian cap, with an applique head of Athena (Fig 29), second half of the fourth century BC, height 14 cm., from the William Herbert Hunt collection, was sold at Sotheby’s, New York, in June 1990 for $82,500, with an estimate of just $25,000-$35,000. Now estimated at $80,000-$100,000, it sold on the telephone to an American collector for $96,000. A 6th Dynasty (2360-2195 BC) Egyptian limestone false door, 90.2 cm. by 124.1 cm., inscribed for the lector priest Sabny, was previously sold at Sotheby’s, London, in December 1989 for £57,200, having been estimated at only £30,000-$50,000. Now with an estimate of $60,000-$90,000, it was sold to an American collector for just $71,250.

Finally, a rare Phoenician orange carnelian scaraboid (Fig 31), c. ninth-seventh century BC, 24 mm., the base engraved with a sitting man in Egyptianizing style holding a papyrus sceptre, with a line of inscription on either side, with an extremely low estimate of $1,200-$1,800, brought a stunning $85,000 from a dealer in London. The auction realized $3,659,150, with 84.4% of the lots sold by number (compared to 72.8% in July) and 90.2% by value (81.4% in July), another confirmation of the continuing upswing of the antiquities market.

CHRISTIE’S NEW YORK AUCTION GAINS STRENGTH WITH SALE OF EGYPTIAN BASALT STATUE

The third sale of the reactivated antiquities department at Christie’s, New York, held on 15 December 1993, showed a dramatic improvement on the first two sales. The cover lot, a fine Middle Kingdom black basalt seated statue of a male with a full striated wig, wearing a short sherdty-kilt (Fig 32), late 12th Dynasty, c. 1897-1783 BC, 30 cm., supposedly from Edfu, was acquired in 1923 in Cairo from Nicholas Tano. Strongly modelled, it relates to the realistic portraits of this period. A formulaic two-col-
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Hellenistic Prince as Herakles wearing a lion pelt, holding a quiver.
Ca. 2nd Century B.C. Height: 20.1cm (8")
Perhaps a Seleukid or Ptolemy ruler.


Exhibiting at the European Fine Art Fair, Maastricht, NL, March 12-20 1994
Member of CINOA

MINERVA 36
An Attic red-figure calyx krater attributed to Polyclitus (Fig 33), c. 450-440 BC, 29.8 cm., depicts the winged goddess of the dawn, Eos, pursuing the young hunter Kephalos (see the Attic red-figure trefoil cinchon described above, Fig 9, for an earlier depiction of the same subject). It was first published by J.D. Beazley in *Attic red-figure Vase Painters* in 1942. In spite of a good amount of restoration, it was purchased by Dr Dietrich von Bothmer for $48,300, having been estimated at $20,000-$30,000.

A Greek bronze helmet of Corinthian style (Fig 34), c. sixth century BC, 23 cm., from the collection of Claire Zeisler, Chicago, was acquired in 1963 from the late Henry Kamer in New York. Because it was pieced, dented and restored in part, it was estimated at $12,000-$18,000, but still brought $36,800 from a museum. A Roman marble funerary altar with two heads of Jupiter Ammon and two eagles, inscribed 'P. NOVIVS P L SYMPHORVS', with a reclining bearded god below, first century AD, height 111.1 cm., was originally acquired by Ambassador and Mrs Lazr Anderson in Rome in 1906. Estimated at $10,000-$20,000, it realized $32,200 from an American private collector.

A monumental fragmentary Egyptian black granite head of a falcon, 19th-20th Dynasty, c. 1307-1070 BC, 14.5 cm. high, estimate $12,000-$18,000, brought $32,200, as did a large (68.3 cm) Egyptian New Kingdom wood figure of a jackal-headed deity, c. 1550-1070 BC, also estimated at $12,000-$18,000. A small (4 x 3 cm) Byzantine sheet gold cross with fine granulations, c. fifth-sixth century BC, estimated at $8,000-$12,000, again brought $32,200.

The vase sale also included a fine group of small Egyptian antiquities from the estate of Dorothea Halpert, originally acquired in Berlin prior to 1933, including several scarce bronzes, most of which were acquired by Royal-Athena Galleries. The sale totalled $1,117,150, with 75% sold by number and 80% by value, as compared with 64% by number and 54% by value in the previous sale. In our review of the first two sales we had noted that the estimates were often quite excessive, no doubt in order to secure some of the objects for auction, rather than lose them to Sotheby's. The second sale succeeded primarily because of the consignment of the McClendon (ex Marconi) collection of cylinder seals. This time the estimates were usually not only in line with the market, but quite often very conservative, no doubt assisting in the success of the sale.
Conference Review

Conservation and the Antiquities Trade

A conference last December organised by the Archaeology Section of the United Kingdom Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works dealt with the problems incurred in the trade in illicit antiquities. It was initially concerned primarily with the possible conservation by its members of illegally obtained objects, but these objectives were soon replaced by an overall attack on the antiquities trade. Minerva's Editor-in-Chief, Jerome M. Eisenberg, one of the invited speakers, reports.

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**LEGAL ISSUES**

Etienne Clement of UNESCO reviewed the main provisions of the UNESCO Convention of 1970, especially those relating to trade in cultural objects and rules applicable to art dealers. While England has not yet ratified the 1972 Convention, it is expected that Italy and possibly France will do so in the near future. He discussed the problems in Cambodia and noted that UNESCO distributes a leaflet for tourists going into Cambodia apprising them of the illegality of the trade in Khmer stone sculpture. A new agreement has been signed between Cambodia and Thailand, to where much of the Khmer material has been smuggled. The United States and Australia have offered their assistance, but the main problem is that many of the looted Khmer sculptures are sold in the French market. In addition to the booklet just published on one hundred objects stolen from Angkor (see pages 16-19), UNESCO is planning two more publications in their 'One Hundred Missing Objects' series on West Africa and the Arab world. He also spoke of the recent ransacking of the Kabul Museum in Afghanistan. (Editor: In January the Museum was bombed, resulting in further losses and much damage. A picture from Reuters depicted the curator sitting in the ruins collecting pieces of broken pottery.)

Lyndel V. Prott, also of UNESCO, discussed the effectiveness of legal controls and the limits to the effectiveness of national laws designed to protect archaeological sites. UNESCO and the Council of Europe established legal instruments to accomplish this through international co-operation. A strong stand has also been taken by ICOM against the illicit trade in antiquities. He spoke of the steps necessary for the protection of cultural objects, often beyond the resources of some countries. The risk of detection and prosecution must be high. Also, the controls introduced by many art-exporting countries are most often not recognized by art-importing countries. He gave examples of the exploitation of the original discoverers of objects and their middlemen by runners and dealers in such countries as India.

UNIDROIT was asked by UNESCO in 1984 to enhance the effectiveness of the UNESCO Convention of 1970, especially regarding the protection by bona fide purchasers of art objects, as it pertains to private law. It is restricted basically to thefts from museums and specific requests for archaeological objects. Seventy-four nations have participated at one time or other in the preliminary draft convention meetings conducted from 1991 to 1993. (See UNIDROIT, the EC, and the International Trade in Antiquities, Minerva, September/October 1993, pp. 19-20, and pages 41-42 of this issue.)

While Professor Pratt acknowledged that the indiscriminate conservation of objects may encourage the development of the clandestine market he believes that if improper conservation is undertaken much more will be lost.

Patrick O'Keefe, an international legal consultant based in Paris, discussed several recent recovery actions such as India vs. Bumper Develo-
ment, and the Seuso Treasure, and the analyses of wood, soil, and organic particles needed to determine the place of origin in order to pursue a legal action for the recovery of stolen or unlawfully exported cultural property. He noted the possible problems affecting the conservator and suggested the use of a standard contract for all objects treated. None of the codes of ethics in the field of conservation have rules concerning stolen or illegally excavated objects. The American Institute of Conservation is now revising its code of ethics.

Following his talk, a member of the audience, an American museum curator, pointed out that unethical dealers will then choose conservators who are not members and who will not abide by any rules of ethics. It was also noted that conservators cannot be private detectives and perhaps a differentiation should be made between conservation and restoration.

Maria Kouroupas of the United States Information Agency reviewed the problems involved in the adoption of the UNESCO Convention by the United States in 1983. After ten years of deliberations, a compromise was finally reached between archaeologists, museums, and dealers. She reviewed the legislation and actions that the United States has taken in response to requests from El Salvador, Peru, Bolivia, Guatemala, and Mali concerning cultural property. A decision will soon be announced concerning a request from Canada. Emphasis was placed on the prospective nature of the legislation focused on the protection of in situ archaeological and ethnological material.

CASE HISTORIES

Patty Gerstenblith of DePaul University, Chicago, first reviewed recent legal developments in the United States concerning the recovery and restitution of stolen and illegally exported cultural property, with emphasis upon the stolen mosaics of the Kanakaria church in Cyprus (see Minerva, May/June 1992, pp. 27-29). She discussed the different approaches now used by American courts to determine when works of art should be returned to their original owner or country of origin, and the problems that these present to international law and the conflicting policies of other countries. In the United States good title must be conveyed, as opposed to European civil law which applies 'good faith'. In court, antiquities and provenance can be considered 'un-owned', not stolen.

The serious damages, some permanent, that were done to the Kanakaria mosaics were outlined by Catherine Sease of the Field Museum, Chicago. The figure of Christ was cut in two. The lower half, not yet recovered, may still be somewhere in Europe. Many of the tesserae were removed to reset and flatten the curved surfaces so that they would be more saleable. Missing areas were restored with other tesserae. They were inadequately crated during their several trips between Europe and the United States, resulting in further damages. Danae Thimme of the Indiana University Art Museum and Ms Sease were called as expert witnesses to testify in a planned damages suit, but it never came to trial. Ms Thimme pointed out that money was paramount and that discretion was a more important qualification for the obviously unqualified restorer rather than professional skills and ethics. Restoration should not impinge on the artist's original intent and should not be a departure from his original concept. Danae Thimme pointed out that you often 'can't put the cat back in the bag'. A certification of conservators would certainly help.

Christopher Chippindale, editor of Antiquity, explored the problem of collecting Cycladic figurines and pointed out the insurmountable distinction between art and archaeological interests. He noted that not only denigrated abstract or stylized art forms but also the fashion of art collecting. He dismissed Dr Patricia Getz-Precioso's classification of some Cycladic artisans as 'Masters'. He stated that the Cycladic people did not make them for art's sake, and that it is only an 'expand aesthetic' that makes us consider them as an art form. They are 'distinctly in the third world'. He believed that we want to change it into what we like today' and that the art interests have created 'this corrupted mess'. The master sculpt a idol, the carver crafts the figure, the rustic shapes the pebble'. (And thus we can write off the artistic achievements of a good part of the civilized world, both past and present!) John Browning of Icklingham, Suffolk, the farmer of the Scheduled Ancient Monument Site on which the Icklingham bronzes were found in 1982 and then exported illegally to the United States (see Minerva, January 990, pp. 10-11; July/August 1991, p.5; March/April 1993, p. 2), discovered the 'woefully inadequate and inconsistent protection given to our art and archaeological heritage'. He also believed that this position leads to England being used to help other countries, instead of the heritage of other countries. England and the United States do not have an existing mechanism for the seizure and return of each other's cultural property because England has not yet ratified the UNESCO Convention. There are now 14,000 Scheduled Sites and it is estimated that they will double within ten years. Stronger laws are needed for the protection of these sites.

The case of the Lydian hoard litigation brought by the Republic of Turkey against the Metropolitan Museum of Art was summarised by Lawrence M. Kaye of Herrick, Feinstein, the lawyer representing Turkey, who brought the lawsuit to a satisfactory conclusion for his client (see Minerva, November/December 1992, p. 2). The lawsuit, initiated in 1987, concerned 363 sixth-century BC gold, silver and bronze vessels, jewellery, sculpture and other objects. Evidence was produced that much of the group was smuggled out of the country in 1966-67, just before the museum acquired it.

Geraldine Norman of the Indep endent noted that laws in most Mediterranean countries provide no significant compensation for finds that are reported to authorities. These countries ban the export of all antiquities. Before these export controls there was little smuggling. 'Treasure hunting in the big way' was unknown. There will always be treasure hunters and they will always seek the highest available price worldwide. Effective control of smuggling requires changes in these laws'. She noted that in Italy compensation is theoretically supposed to be 50% of the value of the object, while in reality it is more likely 1% to 10% of their value.

THE SITUATION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

There are various types of legal protection for ancient structures, sites and landscapes in England and Wales, but not for 'Treasure Trove', or objects of gold and silver buried with the intention of recovery. Peter V. Addyman, President of the Council for British Archaeology, stated that most of the legislation is highly selective and that even the finest objects can be outside the protection of antiquities legislation. The C.B.A. has been seeking a better antiquities law ever since it was organized in 1943. The introduction of inexpensive metal detectors has seen an explosive growth in this hobby and it is estimated that two million objects are recovered annually in Great Britain. 'Archaeology is a threatened non-renewable source'. He discussed the intellectual access to archaeology, its implications for conservators, and introduced a joint Statement of Principles from the C.B.A., the Museums...
Association, and the Society of Antiquaries. He suggested some legislative changes, codes of practice, and some practical solutions.

The curators' view of the antiquities trade was discussed by Brian Cook, retired Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum. He surveyed some of the problems encountered by museum curators such as the ethics of acquiring antiquities. He has been told that a museum department that did not collect was 'moribund'. 'A new paradigm is needed for collectors and a new one for the trade'. He holds the rather strong view that the antiquities market is fed by illicit excavations and that unprovenanced objects represent looted sites, even though evidence might be just circumstantial.

Scotland's portable antiquities legislation was outlined by Alison Sherard, Chair of the Ethical Trading Commission Scotland. A critical review is offered of this system and its operation in both theory and practice. Payment for antiquities uncovered is made by the government to the finder, not to the owner of the land. No recent prosecution has been made for violation of the Treasure Trove legislation. It is admitted that 'the vast majority of material is unexceptional'.

Carolyn Morrison, Head of the Cultural Property Unit of the Department of National Heritage, reviewed the government's export controls, both for the U.K. and for the E.C., the penalties for their evasion, and the government's policy on international conventions on restitution. She is against excessive bureaucracy and admitted that the antiquities trade makes an effort to be necessary to license up to half a million objects annually if there were no minimum qualifications for the value of antiquities. It is now not necessary to secure a licence for antiquities with a value of less than £39,600, though the government would have preferred the minimum to be £10,000.

THE WAY AHEAD

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Editor-in-Chief of Minerva, suggested that it is a widely held misconception that blanket laws restricting or forbidding the movement of antiquities helps to preserve sites, whereas, in fact, it has the opposite effect by driving a good part of the trade underground and encouraging smuggling. A large number of antiquities dealers have recently organised an international association which has among its aims the encouragement of the protection and preservation of ancient sites by promoting a more liberal and rational approach to the import and export of antiquities. Other ethical, moral, and legal issues relating to the antiquities trade were discussed at another conference.

James Ede, Chairman of the newly formed International Association of Dealers in Ancient Art, then outlined the aims of the organisation and their plans to assist in framing workable laws that discourage illicit trade in works of art and encourage legitimate trade. All of the members will be expected to follow a strict code of ethics. They will undertake to make their purchases in good faith and to establish that an object has not been stolen from an excavation, public institution or private property. They will refuse to dismember and sell parts of one complete object and will undertake to keep objects or groups together that were originally meant to be together. They will undertake to keep photographic records prior to any dealings in a work, and to be honest and open by describing in writing to a prospective purchaser any amount of repair and restoration undertaken.

John Butler and Richard Ellis of New Scotland Yard reviewed the history of the Arts and Antiques Squad, which was disbanded in 1984 and not reconstituted until April 1989. It specialises in serious crimes on both a national and an international level and also serves as an intelligence unit for art crimes in England and abroad. In 1992 they received a total of two hundred requests in connection with antiquities. They do not investigate the actual crime but serve only as an intelligence unit. They believe that 'blanket laws will drive the antiquities market underground.' They discussed a new photographic computer data base that acts as a complete pictorial record of a crime. Once this is networked it should be an invaluable tool in the fight against art theft. (For further information on this computerised system telephone 071-230-2150.)

Additional legislation was enacted in Ireland in 1987 to enforce the 1930 laws which required the reporting of all finds of archaeological objects. The Supreme Court then ruled, also in 1987, that title to all archaeological objects found belonged to the State. Eamonn P. Kelly of the National Museum of Ireland discussed the steps which have been taken to protect portable antiquities during their excavation, conservation and possible export, all of which is regulated by licence. The introduction of cheap metal detectors has resulted in widespread breaches of the law and, following some important finds in the 1980s, steps were taken to counter the activities of treasure hunters and to attempt to recover some of the looted finds. The practice in Ireland has been to pay both the finder and landowner for antiquities uncovered. In 1993 new legislation was introduced for wider protection of cultural monuments. The fine has been increased to £10,000 and/or five years in prison.

Ricardo J. Elia of Boston University explored the ethical dilemmas for conservators who work on 'unprovenanced cultural objects within the context of the art market'. 'We must assume that unprovenanced objects are the product of illicit excavation'. He argued that 'conservators must sever their financial connections with the art trade and refuse to work on recently acquired unprovenanced cultural objects'. He believed that illicit antiquities comprise 'an overwhelming percentage of the ancient objects in the art market' and mentioned 'sales in billions' (Dr Elia, in review of the first issue of Minerva, five years ago, in the Journal of Field Archaeology, Vol.18, 1991, wrote that 'The art trade is a multi-billion dollar international business, ranking in monetary terms only behind drug smuggling and perhaps weapons trading. With its clandestine deals, code of silence, smuggling networks, laundered titles, and phoney export licences, the antiquities trade has more in common with drug trafficking and organised crime than with most legitimate commercial enterprises'. He also wrote that 'most of the objects illustrated in the... ads and reported in the auctions are... doubtless stolen, smuggled, or otherwise pillaged from archaeological sites in their countries of origin... others are probably forgeries'.

The summation 'The Art Market: an archaeological conservator's perspective' was made by Kathryn Walker Tubb of the Institute of Archaeology, who was one of the conference organisers along with Helena Jaeschke. We quote from her abstract: 'This paper will examine the distinctiveness of archaeological conservation within the conservation profession. The ethical imperatives imposed by the discipline as reflected in the ICOM Code of Professional Ethics and the ramifications of conforming to such codes will be discussed. The majority of antiquities on the art market derive from clandestine excavation. The implications of involvement with such artefacts will be discussed. Some of the arguments most commonly tendered to foster this association will be mentioned and their inadequacy exposed.' This, above all, sums up the actual intent of the conference. Our readers' views are cordially invited.
The UNIDROIT Convention on the International Return of Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects

Report on the fourth meeting

Dr Jerome M. Eisenberg, invited as an official observer, attended several sessions of this final preparatory meeting held in Rome at the Italian Ministry of Culture from 30 September to 8 October 1993. Since neither the official draft nor the UNIDROIT report of the meeting have yet been issued, this advance summary of the progress to date is drawn from his observations and from information kindly supplied by Harold S. Burman of the US Department of State.

The fourth and final preparatory meeting of UNIDROIT, the International Institute for the Unification of Private Law, on a draft international convention on the return of stolen and illegally exported cultural objects, was attended by representatives from over fifty countries. Delegations were present from most of the principal art-importing and art-exporting countries, as well as from several organizations, including UNESCO, the International Bar Association, the International Cultural Property Society, and the newly formed International Association of Dealers in Ancient Art.

The basic tenet has remained intact - The West European art-importing countries would grant a right of return for stolen and illegally exported objects in return for the assurance that good faith holders or purchasers would be entitled to compensation, with short statutes of limitation as well as a final repose, a period beyond which no future claim could be made. A number of details, including the periods of time allowed for the filing of claims and for repose, will be resolved at a future diplomatic conference. Some of these periods of time would not apply in such countries as the United States, Canada, and Australia, where current laws provide longer rights of return. However, if these countries were to ratify the convention, they would have the general rights under the treaty in seeking to recover objects from other countries.

Amongst the issues not yet resolved are:
1. Special rights for the return of illegally excavated objects, as proposed by the United States.
2. Whether the 'burden of proof' should be shifted to the possessor as to due diligence in cases of stolen property.

3. Whether special protection should be given to public collections, and how 'public collections' should be defined. The United States wants coverage for non-profit institutions, while the European countries are looking only for coverage of state-owned collections. The American Association of Museums suggests that the definition of 'public collections' should cover both 'government and non-profit collections' and 'accessible collections held in private, quasi-public, and public institutions'.

4. An internationally recognised 'certificated export system' or 'passport' for cultural objects, as sought by some of the art-exporting countries such as Greece. The American Association of Museums rejects such a system if the lack of a certificate were used to presume illegal export.

5. Whether special rules would apply for objects passing through more than one country in the EC.

6. Whether countries must accept all the provisions of the convention if they ratify it, or whether they could reject particular provisions. The United States would probably reject a provision, if adopted, that would allow a country's courts to refuse to return an object because that country claimed an equal right to it.

7. The clarification of certain terms and their usage, such as those continually requested by the US delegation: the definition of a cultural object; who may file claims and in which countries.

8. The actual inclusion of a statement of non-retroactivity of the convention and its application, even though this provision has been agreed to in principle.

Since most of the key issues have now been resolved, it will be left to the convening of an international diplomatic conference to complete the convention. Then each participating country must consider ratification and under what terms. Several countries, including Italy and Mexico, have offered to host the diplomatic conference, which could be held late in 1994 or by mid-1995.

The United Kingdom was represented by Carolyn Morrison, Head of the Cultural Property Unit of the Department of National Heritage (Horselards Road, London SW1 3AL, England), and Charles Bird of the Treasury Solicitor's Department. The United States delegates were Harold S. Burman, Executive Director of the Secretariat's Advisory Committee on Private International Law (Office of the Legal Adviser, J/PIL, Room 501, 2100 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037), Ely Maurer,
Assistant Legal Adviser, Dr Francis McManamon, Chief of the Archaeological Assistance Division, Department of the Interior, Maria Papageorge Kouroupas, Executive Director of the Cultural Property Advisory Committee of the United States Information Agency, and Linda F. Pinkerton of the J. Paul Getty Museum.

In a special address to the Convention I outlined the objectives of the International Association of Dealers in Ancient Art and the steps that they were taking to prevent any breaches of ethics in the antiquities trade and to combat the illegal export of cultural objects. The lack of co-operation from several Mediterranean countries in supplying photographs and other documentation on stolen objects, especially from sites and museums, was emphasized.

I pointed out that the illicit trade could, without doubt, be reduced significantly by allowing a limited and carefully controlled legal export of antiquities from those countries with an abundance of archaeological materials which presently prohibit their exportation. He suggested that the definition of a 'cultural object' should be restricted to 'objects of importance to the national patrimony', otherwise a staggering amount of paperwork would be involved for 'passports' for the export of all antiquities, regardless of value. This has already taken place in France, where a separate export document and photograph is required for each antiquity regardless of value. In England a more enlightened approach has been adopted, generally excluding objects of limited archaeological or scientific interest.

The following is an abbreviated and simplified version by Dr Eisenberg of the draft convention:

Scope of application and definition

Article 1. The convention applies to claims of an international character for the restitution of stolen cultural objects removed from a Contracting State and the return of cultural objects removed from a Contracting State, pursuant to any laws regulating the export of cultural objects.

Article 2. Cultural objects are those which are of importance for archaeology, prehistory, history, literature, art or science. The present draft refers to the definitions used by the 1970 UNESCO Convention.

Restitution of stolen cultural objects

Article 3. The possessor of a stolen cultural object, including an object which has been unlawfully excavated or lawfully excavated and unlawfully retained, shall return it. Claims for restitution shall be brought within [one] [three] years of the time of discovery of the location of the object and the identity of its possessor, or [thirty] [fifty] years from the time of the theft. A claim for restitution for an object belonging to a public collection [shall not be subject to prescription] [shall be brought within 75 years].

Article 4. The possessor of the returned stolen object shall be entitled to fair and reasonable compensation by the claimant if unaware that it was stolen and can prove that due diligence was exercised in acquiring it. Regard shall be paid to the circumstances of the acquisition. Possessors of objects by inheritance or otherwise gratuitously are bound by the knowledge of their donors.

Return of illegally exported cultural objects

Article 5. A Contracting State may request the court or other competent authority of another Contracting State to order the return of a cultural object removed from the requesting State contrary to its law, temporarily exported under permit and not returned, or taken from a site contrary to the laws of the requesting State applicable to the excavation of cultural objects and removed from that State.

The return of the object shall be so ordered if its removal from the requesting State significantly impairs one or more of the following interests: the physical preservation of the object or of its context; the integrity of a complex object; the preservation of information of, for example, a scientific or historical character; or the use of the object by a living culture; or if it is established that the object is of outstanding cultural importance for the requesting State. Any request shall include such information that may help in determining if any of the above requirements have been met. Any request must be made within [one] [three] years of the discovery of location of the object and the identity of its possessor, and within [thirty] [fifty] years from the date of the export.

Article 6. Refusal to order the return may be made if it is determined that the object has a closer connection with the culture of the State addressed, or if the object was originally unlawfully removed from that State.

Article 7. The provisions at the beginning of Article 5 shall not apply if the export of the cultural object is no longer illegal at the time the return is requested; or if it was exported during the lifetime of its creator or within [five] years following his death; or if the creator is not known and the object was less than [twenty] years old at the time of export [except if it were made by a member of an indigenous community for their use].

Article 8. If an illegally exported object is returned to the Contracting State, the possessor shall be entitled to fair and reasonable compensation by that State, if he was unaware at the time of acquisition that it was unlawfully removed. If the Contracting State has a system of export certificates, the absence of such shall put the purchaser on notice that the object [has been] [may have been] illegally exported. Instead of compensation, if the requesting State is in agreement, the possessor may, when returning the object to the State, retain ownership or transfer ownership to another person in that State upon payment or gratuitously. The cost of return of the object shall be borne by the requesting State without prejudice to its right to recover costs from any other person. The possessor shall not be in a more favourable position than the person from whom he acquired the object by inheritance or otherwise gratuitously.

Claims and actions

Article 9. A claim may be brought for an object before the courts or other competent authorities of the Contracting State where the cultural object is located. The parties may also agree to submit the dispute to another jurisdiction or to arbitration. Resort may be made to the provisional measures available under the law of the Contracting State where the object is located even when the claim is brought before the courts or other competent authorities of another Contracting State.

Final Provisions

Article 10: Nothing in this Convention shall prevent a Contracting State from applying more favourable rules to the restitution or return of a stolen or illegally exported cultural object than provided for by this convention.

We welcome for publication the comments and suggestions of our readers concerning this important issue. They may also wish to make their opinions known directly to Malcolm Evans, the Secretary-General of UNIDROIT, via Panisperna 28, 00184 Rome, Italy, or to the English and American delegates whose addresses have been given above.
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The recently formed International Association of Dealers in Ancient Art, a group of leading dealers in classical and pre-classical antiquities, is the first international trade association devoted to this field. The association has a comprehensive code of ethics and practice which it believes will aid both active and potential collectors of ancient art.

The association will encourage the study of and interest in ancient art and contracts between museums, archaeologists, collectors, and the trade. It will promote a more liberal and rational approach to the regulations in various countries on the import and export of works of art with the ultimate aim of the protection of our cultural heritage.

For a list of members or further information please contact the chairman, James Ede, 20 Brook Street, London, W1Y 1AD, England.
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The Ancient Coin Market

Eric J. McFadden

Collectors of ancient coins from Europe and North America gathered as usual in New York in December for the New York International Numismatic Convention. This semi-annual fair in New York has established itself as far and away the most important fair worldwide for ancient coins. It consistently attracts a large number of serious collectors, most of the major dealers from Europe and North America, and a healthy number (some would say an excess) of auctions. This December was no exception, with an oversubscribed bourse floor and auctions by Classical Numismatic Group, Sotheby’s, Superior, and Stack’s, not to mention the usual numismatic book sale by Rolbe/Spink’s.

Sotheby’s held the second part of the sale of the Merrill Lynch Athena Funds. This time there were no great individual coins, just lots and lots of quantity. Much of the Athena Funds’ money had gone into buying recent hoards. Merrill Lynch had at first intended to sell all this bulk material at one sale in New York. Concerned at flooding the market, however, they decided to split the material into two groups, the first to be offered last December and the remainder to be offered in June this year in conjunction with the New York International. Thus far, the plan has worked splendidly.

Despite the large quantities on offer in December, the market was easily deep enough to absorb them. Lot after lot of gold staters of King Croesus of Lydia, mid-sixth century BC, sold for around $3,000 each, a respectable price considering that about 20 pieces were on offer. Gold staters from the Black Sea region, c. 43-42 BC, bearing the name of Conson but thought to have been issued by or for Brutus, the tyrannicide, fetched a minimum of about $1000 each, again a strong price considering that nearly 100 were sold. Silver staters of Mazaerus, Satrap of Tarsus in Cilicia, 361-344 BC, of which about 80 were offered, brought mostly in the range of $300-$500 each (Fig 1). Also from Cilicia, about 160 silver staters of the city of Nagidus, c. 370 BC, sold for approximately $300-$400 each. An important group of 10 Celtic gold staters from Gaul, third-second century BC, imitating the types of Philip II of Macedon, averaged around $1,500-$2,000 each. Roman late third-century antoniniani, offered in groups of about 500 coins per lot, sold in the range of $5-$10 per coin. Bulk lots of high quality silver denarii of Severus Alexander, AD 222-235, sold for about $60 per coin (Fig 2). Although prices could not be described as high at Sotheby’s, there were few bargains, and the market showed itself to be very deep at these realistic levels. At the right price, buyers were prepared to absorb almost any quantity.

The Sotheby’s sale demonstrated that even very large quantities of hoard coins attract keen buyers at a certain price level. The auction by Classical Numismatic Group, on the other hand, showed that demand continues to be strong for individual coins. The CNG sale was highlighted by three collections, two of them Byzantine and one Turkoman. The two Byzantine collections, which were integrated for the purposes of the sale, brought especially strong bidding for rare and high grade pieces. A gold solidus from the Revolt of Heraclius, AD 608-610, fetched $7,850 against an estimate of $4,500. A gold solidus of Alexander, AD 912-915, sold for $15,000 against an estimate of $10,000 (Fig 3).

Demonstrating that exciting coins need not be expensive, CNG also offered Part I of the collection of Turkoman coins formed by Messrs. Spengler and Sayles. A collection like this one shows that with careful specialization a collector of modest means can assemble a first-rate collection. The Turkoman series, Islamic figurals coins from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was little known prior to the publication last year by Spengler and Sayles of the first in a series of definitive books on the field. Although coins from the collection sold in many cases for double estimate or more, this series remains reasonably priced considering the interest of the designs, which are often based on classical prototypes. A bronze dirham of Qutb al-Din II-Ghazi II, AD 1176-1184 fetched $325 against an estimate of $175 (Fig 4), while a bronze dirham of Nasr al-Din Artuq Arslan, AD 1201-1239, depicting the centaur Sagittarius shooting an arrow into the open jaws of a dragon whose neck is the centaur’s own tail, sold for $450 in CNG sale (Fig 5). CNG will offer the remainder of the Spengler/Sayles collection in future auctions.
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CUTLASS, New York

AN EYE FOR ANTIQUITY: PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE COLLECTION OF MR. & MRS. WILLIAM K. ZEIDELMAN. An overview of nineteenth century photographs of classical sites and sculpture by the noted related subjects. DAVID & ALFRED SMART MUSEUM OF ART, University of Chicago (312) 413-6242. Until 2 March.

NEWARK, New Jersey

ANCIENT NUBIA: EGYPT'S RIVAL IN AFRICA. Over 300 objects in stone, bronze, gold, crystal, faience. This is the first major exhibition of the range of jewellery in gold, shell, amethyst, and faience, from the University Museum, Philadelphia. The New Jersey Museum of Art (973) 596-6350, Until 17 April (then to Philadelphia). (See Minerva, Jan/Feb 1993, pp. 26-29.)

NEW YORK, New York


THE HERO TWINS IN ANCIENT MAYA MURAL AND OUTFLOW PHOTOS BY JUSTIN KERR. The myth of the Maya Hero Twins as depicted on Maya ceramic vessels from the site of Tikal and Monticello in the Department of North, Central and South America before and after the arrival of the Spanish. LONDON: 6th March. (See Minerva, Nov/Dec 1992, pp. 23-27.)

PHILADELPHIA, Pennsylvania


WASHINGTO, DC

LUXURY ARTS OF THE SILK ROUTE EMPIRES. 82 examples of metalwork and ceramic work from the Silk Road, illustrating the rich artistic heritage of the civilizations that traded along the Silk Road. Included are examples of lacquer, textiles, woodwork, and metalwork. GALLERIES I & II. D.C. 20566. (See Minerva, Jan/Feb 1993, pp. 20-22.)

PROVO, Utah

THE ETRUSCIANS: LEGACY OF A LOST CIVILIZATION FROM THE VATICAN MUSEUM. A renowned exhibition from the Vatican, with over 100 objects, most pieces appearing in the United States for the first time. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, HOUSTON FROM YOUNG CURATOR. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (212) 879-2818. Until 30 April. Catalogue $21.95. (See Minerva, May/June 1992, pp. 6-9.)

SANTA BARBARA, California

TRAVELLERS IN AN ANTIQUE LAND: EARLY TRAVEL PHOTOGRAPHY IN EGYPT. 90 prints from the 1850s to the 1880s, from the collection of Michael G. Wilson, a prominent California historian and R.O.M. archaeologist in western Iran in the 1970's. THE ROYAL OAK MUSEUM OF ART (805) 682-4646. Until 30 April. (See Minerva, Jan/Feb 1993, pp. 17-20.)

SAN DIEGO, California

LIFE AND DEATH ON THE NILE: SUN GODS AND MORTALS FROM ANCIENT EGYPT. One of the greatest Egyptian collections ever to travel outside Egypt, including a number of spectacular gold and faience objects from a royal necropolis at Medinet, one of the finest examples of faience production in the tomb of Tutankhamen. SAN DIEGO MUSEUM OF ART, 1500 El Prado, (619) 239-2001. Until 18 September (then to Philadelphia). (See Minerva, Jan/Feb 1994, pp. 9-11.)

SAN FRANCISCO, California

ANCIENT ARTS OF MEXICANIA, CENTRAL & SOUTH AMERICA. A newly reno- vated, permanent installation of about 150 objects, many of which have never been on view. M. H. DE YOUNG MEMORIAL MUSEUM (415) 750-3600.


THAI CERAMICS: THE JAMES AND ELLEN KENNNELL COLLECTION. A comprehensive survey of Thai pottery from c. 2000 B.C. to the present. The drawings from the Kenneth Collection donated to the museum in 1989 and the Ceramic Art Center opened in SAN FRANCISCO (415) 686-8922. Until 13 March. (See Minerva, Oct/Sept 1993, pp. 32-35.)

ST. LOUIS, Missouri

A GOLDEN LEGACY: ANCIENT JEWELLERY FROM THE BURTON Y. BERRY COLLECTION. 150 pieces of ancient jewellery from the Old Testament era to the Islamic world. NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART, from 3400 BC to AD 1400. THE ST LOUIS ART MUSEUM (314) 721-0022. Until 17 April. Catalogue $17.50. (See Minerva, Jan/Feb 1993, pp. 20-22.)

Tampa, Florida

CERAMICS AND SOCIETY: MAKING AND MENDING ANCIENT GREEK POTTERY. This exhibition of about 50 Greek vessels explores the methods of pottery produc- tion in the Mediterranean world and the role that potter's works played in the crafts- industry played in Greek society. Showcases the clay impressions of the major archaeologists investigating Greek vases. TAMPA MUSEUM OF ART (813) 223-8130. Until 17 April. Catalogue $12.50. (See Minerva, May/June 1992, pp. 23-27.)

CARTAGENA, Colombia

TOURING THE MUSEUMS OF CARTAGENA. A travelogue of the architecture of the modern and historic city of Cartagena, Colombia. (See Minerva, Jan/Feb 1993, pp. 20-22.)

CRAZWELL, Florida

THE JAPANESE ARMS AND ART SOCIETY. The society’s annual exhibition of arms and armor, including Japanese swords, ya Campos of Europe, and western European armor. PALM BEACH: POSTER MUSEUM (561) 848-1200. Until 1 March. (See Minerva, Jan/Feb 1993, pp. 17-20.)

UNITED STATES

ATLANTA, Georgia

COSTA RICAN LAPIDARY ARTS: FROM NATURAL STONE TO CERAMICAL ART. A rotating display from the museum's Pre-Columbian collections. MICHAEL C. CAROLIS MARQUISE GALLERY, 2400 Peachtree Road N.W., Atlanta. Until 21 August.

BERKELEY, California

FROM PASTURE TO POLIS: ART IN THE AGE OF HOMER. More than 100 objects of Greek art from c. 950 to 470 B.C., from the British Museum, by Arthur M. Sackler. Massachusetts Museum of Fine Arts (617) 495-5400. Until 20 March. (See Minerva, October 1993, p. 32-35.)

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama


CUTLASS, New York

AN EYE FOR ANTIQUITY: PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE COLLECTION OF MR. & MRS. WILLIAM K. ZEIDELMAN. An overview of nineteenth century photographs of classical sites and sculpture by the noted related subjects. DAVID & ALFRED SMART MUSEUM OF ART, University of Chicago (312) 413-6242. Until 2 March.

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NEW YORK, New York

Calendar

including many from the Chigi collection. ALBERTINUM (49) 351-495-3556. Until 17 September. Catalogue.

FRANKFURT AM MAIN
ARCHAEOLOGICAL TREASURES FROM ROMANIA. Over 2100 objects, including nearly 2000 coins and pieces of jewellery, dating from the 5th millennium BC to the 6th century AD, including two of the famous Neolithic idols from Cernavoda and the Iron Age bronze chariot from Bucuroy SCHIRN KUNSTHALLE. Until 17 April.

HAMBURG
GOLD OF THE SCYTHIANS: TREASURES FROM THE HERMITAGE, ST PETERSBURG. 165 precious objects from the Schatzkammer, from the sixth to the third centuries BC. HAMBURGER MUSEUM FÜR ARCHAEOLOGIE UND DIE GESCHICHTE HAMBURGS, HELM-MUSEUM (49) 40-771-70609. Until 28 November.

ISRAEL
JERUSALEM

A SHIP IN THE MIDST OF THE SEA. Recently discovered objects from underwater excavations of shipwrecks along Israel's coast. THE ISRAEL MUSEUM OF JERUSALEM (02) 708611. Ongoing. (See Minerva, Sept/Oct 1992, p. 19)

TOMB OFERRINGS FROM TEL NAMI. Gold, silver and bronze jewellery, sceptres, and incense cups, as early as the 13th century B.C.E., discovered in the cemetery of Tel Nami, south of Haifa. THE ISRAEL MUSEUM (972) 02-708611.

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SPINA: STORY OF A CITY, GREEK AND HDRUSCAN. Over 850 objects from the Greek and HDRuscan tombs discovered so far, including jewellery, ceramics, objects of daily use, and inscriptions. CASTELLO ESTENSE. Until 15 May.

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WITH EARTH AND WITH FIRE. Discoveries from the excavation of Roman brick factories. MUSEO COMMUNALE (39) 541-53-414, Until 1 May. Catalogue.

ROME
THE NORMANS, PEOPLE OF EUROPE 1030-1200 A.D. A major exhibition of over 1000 Norman objects from the Middle Ages. The exhibition has been realized through the collaboration of over 140 European and American museums. PALAZZO VENEZIA (06) 488-5465. Catalogue. Until 30 April.

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AMSTERDAM

SINGAPORE
WAR AND RITUAL: TREASURES OF THE WARRING STATES. In five large halls, the bronze culture of the Warring States Period (475-221 BC) is presented along with many major works of art. EMPRESS PLACE MUSEUM (65) 336-73-33. Until July 1994.

SWITZERLAND
GENEVA
TEXTILES OF EGYPT: Islamic textiles of the 8th to 15th centuries from the collection of Maurice Bouvier. MUSÉE D'ART ET D'HISTOIRE (41) 22-311-003. Until 1 May (then to Paris).

GALLERY EXHIBITIONS

BEVERLY HILLS, California
EGYPT, ITS ANCIENT MONUMENTS AND ANTIQUITIES, 18TH AND 19TH CENTURY ENGRAVINGS. ROYAL ATHENA GAL- LERIES (310) 550-1199. Extended until 10 April.

NEW YORK, New York
EGYPT, ITS ANCIENT MONUMENTS AND ANTIQUITIES, 18TH AND 19TH CENTURY ENGRAVINGS. ROYAL ATHENA GAL- LERIES (212) 352-2034. Extended until 30 April.

MEETINGS & SYMPOSIA

MARCH
12 March. MAKING AND MARKETING ANCIENT GREEK POTTERY. A symposium complementing the current exhibition at the Tampa Museum of Art (see Minerva, January/February 1993, pp. 28-30) Contact: Education Department, Tampa Museum of Art, 600 North Ashley Drive, Tampa, Florida 33602. Tel. (813) 274-8130.

APRIL
11-15 April. MATERIALS ISSUES IN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY IV. Spring meeting. Materials Research Society, in San Francisc. Contact the society at 9800 McKnight Road, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15237. Tel. (412) 367-3012.


AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER IN EGYPT, 45th annual meeting, in Toronto, Ontario, hosted by the Department of Near Eastern Studies, Albenheimer Temple Project, University of Toronto. Contact the society at New York University, 50 Washington Square South, New York, N.Y. 10012. Tel. (212) 998-8890.

MAY
4-8 May. CANADIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION Annual meeting, in Edmonton, Alberta, featuring a session on advances in computer applications in archaeology. Contact: Luke Dalla Bona, Lakehead University, Thunder Bay, Ontario P7E 5E1, Canada. Tel. (807) 343- 4027; fax (807) 343-4001.

16-20 May. MATERIAL ISSUES IN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY IV. Cancun, Mexico. A multidisciplinary forum on scientific and technological issues in art, archaeology, and conservation. Contact: James R. Druzik, Getty Conservation Institute, 4503 Gencove Avenue, Marina del Ray, California 90292. Tel. (310) 822-2299; fax (310) 821-9409.

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MINERVA 49
Egyptian Antiquities

AMULETS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

It is now eighty years since Sir Flinders Petrie's seminal book on ancient Egyptian amulets was published. In this series of selected extracts from her new book on the subject, the first detailed study in English since Petrie, Carol Andrews outlines the purpose, categories and materials of Egyptian amulets.

An amulet, talisman or charm is a personal ornament which, because of its shape, the material from which it is made, or even just its colour, is believed to endow its wearer by magical means with certain powers or capabilities. At the very least it should afford some kind of magical protection, a concept confirmed by the fact that three of the four Egyptian words translated as 'amulet', namely mkt (meket), nht (nchet) and sa (sa) come primarily from verbs meaning 'to guard' or 'to protect'. The fourth, wda (wedja) has the same sound as the word meaning 'well-being'. For the ancient Egyptians amulets and jewellery incorporating amuletic forms were an essential adornment, especially as part of the funerary equipment for the dead, but also in the costume of the living. Moreover, many of the amulets and pieces of amuletic jewellery worn in life for their magical properties could be taken to the tomb for use in the life after death. Funerary amulets, however, and prescribed funerary jewellery which was purely amuletic in function were made expressly for setting on the wrapped mummy on the day of burial to provide aid and protection on the fraught journey to the Other World and ease in the Afterlife (Fig 7).

Ancient Egyptian texts give information on the appearances and uses of amulets. In particular, certain funerary amulets are the subject of chapters in the Book of the Dead, a repertoire of nearly 200 spells or chapters written on papyrus and illustrated with vignettes which were intended to help the dead pass through the perils of the underworld and reach heaven. Indeed, Books of the Dead themselves qualify for the term funerary amulet since a copy was placed in the burial chamber either on the mummy itself, inside the coffin or within a special compartment in the Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris figure or in the plinth on which it stood. In funerary papyrus the amulets in question are illustrated in the accompanying vignette, the material from which they are to be made is specified and the spell to be recited over them, together with the desired result, forms the relevant chapter.

A well known list of amulets is depicted on the
thickn of a doorway in the complex of rooms dedicated to Osiris on the roof of the Ptolemaic temple of the goddess Hathor at Dendera. Far more informative, however, is the detailed contemporary list of amulets on the verso of a funerary papyrus, known as the MacGregor Papyrus, in which each is represented pictorially and named. Another source is a select group of amulets depicted on a wooden tablet of New Kingdom date in Berlin; of particular use is the listing of the materials from which they are made. Sometimes, too, Late Dynastic funerary papyri end with a depiction of dozens of amulets positioned in such a way that they can only reflect how they would have been placed on the mummy.

Undoubtedly the positioning of an amulet on the body must originally have had a significance; certainly the location of the prescribed funerary amulets was always laid down. However, when mummies were first unwrapped, such information was not always recorded carefully or was even ignored. Now, the X-raying of wrapped bodies and re-examination of evidence is providing more and more details. Although the majority of mummies examined in this way date to the last millennium BC, and in particular to the last few centuries BC, it has been possible to determine that from the New Kingdom until the Ptolemaic Period the positioning of amulets on the body does appear to follow a certain pattern and it was only after this time that they came to be scattered almost randomly.

When W.M.F. Petrie published his seminal work *Amulets* in 1914, he divided the 275 types known to him into five great classes for which he coined the terms homopoeic, dynatic, kteletic, phylactic and theophoric. By homopoeic Petrie meant amulets of similars: that is, those in the form of a living creature or part of a living creature by which assimilation would endow its wearer with the creature's characteristic powers or capabilities. His dynatic category is closely connected, except in this class the amulets are in the shape of generally inanimate objects invested with particular powers whose use could be transferred to their wearers. Petrie termed kteletic (from the Greek word for property) amulets which represented on the one hand the possessions of the living, such as clothing and personal accoutrements which were taken to the tomb for use in the Afterlife, and on the other hand funerary goods such as equipment for the mummy or food offerings which were connected purely with the burial and funerary cult. Should the actual objects be stolen, destroyed or, in the case of the food offerings, not presented, the amuletic representations of them would magically act as substitutes. If proof were needed of the difficulties inherent in attempting to classify amulets into even as few as five broad categories, it can be provided easily here. Amulets in the shape of human bodily parts could substitute for those members or organs should the mummy be damaged. However, the chief function of such amulets is, of course, to be found under the heading of homopoeic.
The fourth class of phyllactic (protective) amulets comprises those which can be animate or inanimate in form, but it is Petrie's final category of theophoric or, better still, theomorphic) amulets—that is, those in the shape of deities or their animal manifestations—which is the most contentious although the most easy to identify (Figs 2,6). Most theophoric amulets would be worn to place their wearer under the protection or patronage of the deity depicted and are thus phyllactic. The remainder are surely homopoeic in function since their wearer would hope to assimilate the person of the deity represented and thus gain access to the deity's particular powers or characteristics.

In addition to these difficulties, Petrie's work was published before most of the site excavation reports, which were to be the sources for a great number of well-dated and closely identified examples of amulets. Those of Matmar, Mostagedda, Qaw and Badari have proved indispensable. Of course, Tutankhamun's treasures and the royal burials at Tanis were unknown to him, yet Petrie's general system of classification still remains usable. His illustrations of the positions of amulets on 24 Late Period mummies also remain of great value. It must always be remembered, moreover, that although virtually every Egyptian collection, whatever its size, can claim to contain amulets, often in considerable numbers, until very recently only a handful of 'star' or typical examples were published. It is only now that attempts are being made to produce and publish in a systematic manner comprehensive catalogues of small antiquities, including every amulet however unlovely or damaged. Only in this way can comparative studies be carried out to reveal whether known amulets are correctly dated or even representative in form or material.

AMULETS OF ASSIMILATION
There can be little doubt that Egypt's earliest forms belong to what Petrie termed his homopoeic category. The belief in similars, whereby, for example, an eagle's feather was thought to confer on its wearer incredible fleetness or greatly enhanced vision, was prevalent in many ancient societies. In Egypt, too, only part of a creature was considered sufficient to represent the whole: amulets in the shape of antelopes' heads or birds' claws are among the earliest, found in burials of predynastic date before 3000 BC. However, just as early are amuletter images of complete animals whose qualities or characteristic behaviour the wearer may have wished to acquire by assimilation. Yet, particularly at this early time, there is always the possibility that when amulets take the form of a powerful or dangerous creature, they are intended to give protection by acting atopraosically—that is, to ward off the very creature which they represent pictorially.

AMULETS OF POWERS
Petrie termed his second category of amulets dynastic; these are in the shape of, for the most part, inanimate objects which were imbued with authority and power, or else were representative of a certain condition, state or quality which the deceased desired to enjoy in the Afterlife. Not surprisingly, a number of them take the form of royal regalia like crowns and sceptres, or a royal creature like the cobra and sphinx. Their appearance marks the democratization of funerary religion in Egypt. What had once been the prerogative of royalty and a few highly favoured courtiers was now available to all. This process reaches the peak of incongruity when the friezes of personal possessions depicted inside the coffins of commoners during the Middle Kingdom contain royal regalia almost as a matter of course. Other amulets in this category have divine or cosmic associations which again would originally have been intended solely for the promotion of the royal Afterlife. Some of the remainder are concerned with the funerary ritual.

AMULETS OF PROPERTY & POSSESSIONS
Petrie termed ktematic, from the Greek word for 'property', amulets in the shape of possessions which could act as magical substitutes for real clothing, personal accoutrements, goods and equipment taken to the tomb for use in the Other Life which might be stolen or destroyed. The objects represented might be items used in life (Fig 1), but some were of a ritual or funerary nature, made specifically to be set on or near the mummy on the day of the burial. As such, amulets in their shape would always have an underlying symbolism allowing them to be
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classified just as easily under Petrie’s dynastic category as amulets of power. The present attribution must, therefore, be arbitrary. Also included in this category are amulets which might depict funerary offerings, intended to keep the various spirit forms which survived death eternally supplied with essential food and drink even if actual supplies had ceased to be presented at the burial place. Surprisingly, only one amulet can be definitely placed in this category; all the others might have different symbolism.

AMULETS FOR PROTECTION & AVERSION
Petrie termed the amulets intended to give protection phylactic, but in the same category must be included those which worked apotropically, representing the very danger to be warded off. Such is certainly the symbolism of the shell hobbled hippopotamus found in a Badarian burial and thus the earliest representational amulet from Egypt, for it shows the beast incapacitated. Perhaps the early hippopotamus head amulet had a similar function: to ward off the greatly feared beast it depicted. Yet grazing hippopotamus amulets in semi-precious stones of Middle Kingdom date, just like contemporary large glazed-composition examples, seem peaceful. A turtle amulet, at any rate, was undoubtedly intended to work apotropically, for it was a creature of evil symbolising death and darkness. Perhaps because of its water-based existence, it was believed, like the evil serpent Apophis, to inhabit the murky waters of the Underworld, waiting to impede the nightly progression of the sun god’s barque. It was certainly considered his arch-enemy: ‘May Re live and the turtle die’, as New Kingdom coffin inscriptions and some contemporary tomb texts demand. In Late Period temples the turtle is depicted being harpooned and thus rendered harmless just as often as the hippopotamus, that other symbol of malevolence.

The different attitude the Egyptians held toward the male and female of a species when both were deified is very evident in the hippopotamus. As has been seen, the male was the embodiment of evil while the female was invariably benevolent, although she has fearsome teeth and sports a crocodile’s tail. Why she (Thoeris) became linked with childbirth is not at all clear. It has been noticed, though, that in the upright posture she assumes, her breasts are pendulous and her stomach swollen, like those of a pregnant woman (Fig 3).

AMULETS OF GODS, GODDESSES & SACRED ANIMALS
The large number of amulets in the shape of deities, whether completely human, with animal head or in sacred animal manifestation, comprises the category which Petrie termed theophoric but which is preferably called theomorphic from the Greek meaning ‘in divine form’ (Figs 9,10,11). However, in spite of the popular conception that there were 1001 gods in the Egyptian pantheon, amulets were made in the likeness of only a small proportion of them. Of these some are instantly recognisable, others (best of all) are inscribed with the name of the deity in question, but a disappointing number, usually animal-headed, are difficult to identify. The problem is that the Egyptians believed most of their gods were able to manifest themselves in animal form, but there were so many deities that there were not enough types of animal to suffice. Thus any one species might represent a number of different gods. Moonthu, Khonsu, Qebhesenuef and Sokaris, the different forms of the sun god, the three chief Horuses and their variants might all be represented by an amulet of a man with a falcon’s head. Sekhmet, Tefnut, Mahyt, Pakhet and Bastet, even Wadiyt, might all appear as an amulet of a lion-headed woman (Fig 12).

SCARABS FOR THE LIVING & FUNERARY SCARABS
The amulet in the form of a scarab is perhaps the best known of all those manufactured by the ancient Egyptians; it was certainly the most numerous (Fig 13). Hundreds of thousands of scarabs were made in ancient times over a period of some two thousand years from the First Intermediate Period until the Graeco-Roman Period and not just in

Fig 8. Examples of diad pillars, emblems of stability associated with Osiris.

Fig 9. Seated figure of Amen- Re with his shrine reliquary and a small amuletic shrine.

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Egyptians were led to believe that the baby beetles hatched from one and the same type of dung ball. Thus the scarab became a symbol of spontaneous generation, new life and, by extension, resurrection.

The heart scarab was so called because it was made solely to be placed within a mummy’s wrappings, preferably bearing Chapter 30B of the Book of the Dead, the ‘heart scarab formula’ to bind the heart to silence during the weighing (Fig 5). ‘Chapter to prevent the heart of the deceased creating opposition to him in the realm of the dead’ is its full title, and the text at various points exhorts the heart ‘not to stand up as a witness’, ‘not to create opposition in the tribunal’, ‘not to be hostile in the presence of the Keeper of the Balance’ and ‘not to tell lies in the presence of the god’. It also specified that the heart scarab should be made from nmmf (nemehet), a green stone which has not been identified with certainty; green jasper, serpentine and basalt have all been suggested. In fact, heart scarabs are made from a wide range of green or dark-coloured materials, such as glazed steatite, schist, feldspar, haematite and obsidian; even blue-glazed composition, Egyptian blue, rock crystal, alabaster and red jasper occur. A suggested literal meaning of the name nemehet as ‘it does not float’ (that is, ‘it sinks’) raises the possibility that a full heart of virtue was expected not merely to balance against Maat but to pull the pan down. Although the scales are never depicted with the pans other than balanced, this could be due to the Egyptians’ love of symmetry or a desire not to show the issue completely prejudged!

Not all heart scarabs bear a text, but they are usually recognisable from their material, the fact that they are unperforated and, most important, by their size; the largest are over 10cm long. On the other hand, one class of what can only be uninscribed schist heart scarabs are scarcely 3cm long.

**MATERIALS & THEIR SYMBOLISM**

From earliest times amulets were manufactured from organic materials or animal products, notably shell, bone and ivory. Whole shells, many from the Red
By the end of the Middle Kingdom (c.1650 BC) virtually every material that was to be employed in the manufacture of amulets had been put to that use. Even glass, which was not produced in any quantity in Egypt until the New Kingdom, and in particular from the reign of Amenophis III onwards (c.1390 BC), was used for a few scarabs of Twelfth Dynasty date. Yet it never became a proper medium in spite of its malleability and potential for multi-colouring; amulets made of glass are surprisingly few in number until after about 400 BC.

Throughout the Dynastic Period the material most commonly used in the production of amulets was glazed composition, also known less accurately as faience. Perhaps the most characteristic of all ancient Egyptian composition, it consists of a sandy core, ideally, but rarely, of pure powdered quartz, with a vitreous alkaline glaze on its surface; the glaze can be of any colour, depending on the coulanit added to the mixture.

The Egyptians manufactured amulets from virtually every metal available to them, namely gold, electrum, silver, copper and bronze. Even iron was used, albeit rarely, as in the case of the headrest found on the mummy of Tutankhamen.

**POSTSCRIPT**

The Egyptians made amulets with the intention that their magical powers should last forever. Even for those forms whose primary purpose was to be worn in life the ultimate resting place was on the mummy in the tomb to be of use in the Afterlife. However, they would surely have been amazed to see the members of alien cultures, living in lands unguessed at more than twenty centuries later, not only still wearing ancient Egyptian amulets such as the ankh and scarab for their powers, but even modern-made replicas of the same forms.

Carol Andrews' book, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, is published by British Museum Press in paperback at £9.95 with 20 colour and 80 black and white plates that illustrate several hundred amulets.
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