ASSYRIAN ART IN NEW YORK

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SARMATIAN GOLD FROM THE STEPPES

GODS, STATE AND PEOPLE IN ANCIENT EGYPT

ALONG THE NILE: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF SUDAN

Detail of a Neo-Assyrian ivory plaque showing a lioness mauling an African, 9th-8th century BC, on display at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
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Two important exhibitions at the Metropolitan Museum of Art

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LOST LEIDEN TREASURE FOUND IN THE ENGLISH CHANNEL

A 2000-year-old treasure, bound for a Dutch Museum, which was lost in a maritime disaster 101 years ago has been rediscovered by a team of divers at the bottom of the English Channel.

Now the long-lost antiquities - 12 Roman sculptures and inscriptions - could end up in their intended destination, the Ryksmuseum van Oudheden at Leiden, just over a century late! However, there could be quite a dispute before that happens. Potential claimants to the treasure could include the descendants of the Dutch antiquities dealer who sent them on their ill-fated voyage, the British Crown, the Turkish Government, an insurance company, and Leiden Museum itself to which the antiquities were consigned.

The marble sculptures and inscribed stones were being shipped from Turkey to Holland in July 1894 when catastrophe struck the vessel they were in, a Dutch KNMS steamship, The Castor. In thick fog it collided with a German sailing vessel and sank to the bottom of the English Channel in notoriously dangerous waters 10 miles south-west of Dover, within English territorial waters. All the crew managed to escape. The ship's last resting place was known to be in a 40-mile stretch of the Channel in which over 2000 ships have been wrecked over the centuries. However, its exact location was unknown until amateur divers from Folkestone Diving Club discovered the wreck and the antiquities, and guided archaeologists to the site. The archaeological diving unit from St Andrews University, together with Canterbury Archaeological Trust, have been examining the wreck, and the inscriptions are being studied at Cambridge University and the British Museum.

So far seven of the twelve marbles have been located and brought to the surface. The remaining five, including what is believed to be a lifesize marble figure, are still being searched for inside the wreck.

The seven items so far recovered - two marble heads and five inscriptions - were originally found in ancient Smyrna (modern Izmir in Turkey), while the five pieces still being sought, all sculpture, came from ancient Nysa (modern Sultanhisar, also in Turkey).

They were bought by the Dutch consul in Smyrna, the antiquities dealer van Lennep, in the first half of 1894, and were put on the KNMS steamship The Castor for shipment to Amsterdam. The treasures were packed in two large cases and addressed to the Director of Leiden Antiquities Museum.

Van Lennep was a frequent supplier of Turkish material to Leiden in the 1880s and '90s and much of the Museum's current collection of classical antiquities from Turkey were sent by him. According to the surviving correspondence between the Museum and van Lennep, the latter was much saddened by the loss of the 1894 shipment, especially the complete figure which he rated as being particularly beautiful, not a word he used when describing the hundreds of other antiquities he sent to Leiden over the years.

The correspondence reveals that van Lennep was planning to charge Leiden Museum 1045 French francs (plus 69 francs for packing and expenses). One of the sculptured heads, a fine second-century AD work resembling the young Marcus Aurelius before he became emperor, was priced at 340 francs, while the Nysa material was 500 francs.

All the inscriptions are funerary in nature and refer to previously unattested individuals: a man called Ariminas, son of Jason of Potlemais (in Libya), who died aged 25 in the first century AD; Moschos, son of Stasion, and Moschion, son of Staisochos of Thysaeira (in Turkey) also probably first century AD; Lucius Julius Maximus and his wife Claudia Tyranno who died in c. AD 180; and Klados, a first-century AD gladiator who was instructed lovingly by his wife to "keep his spirits up" in the afterlife.

The objects will now pass into the hands of Britain's official Receiver of Wrecks who will keep them for a year and a day to see who claims them. The problems will start if there is more than one claimant. The Crown has rights to all material found on the seabed in British territorial waters. If those rights were to be asserted and other claims shown not to be valid, the pieces would probably be given by the Crown to the British Museum.

The original consignee, Leiden Museum, and the descendants of the consignor, Alfred van Lennep, might also have a case, as might the Turkish government on whose territory the material was found.

However, if no claims are made within a year and a day, the amateur English divers who rediscovered it in the first place may be awarded it by the Crown.

Dr Harry Picket, Professor of Ancient History and Greek Epigraphy at Leiden University, who catalogued the rest of van Lennep's classical inscriptions at Leiden Museum, was thrilled by the discovery of the missing marbles. "It's a fascinating discovery. The information from the inscriptions will add to our knowledge of people in the classical world."
GUDMEL AND LUNDEBOURG: ‘ROME BEYOND THE ROMAN FRONTIER’

In April 1833, while ploughing one of the fields known as Enemaerket on the manor of Broholm on the island of Funen, the plough hit an obstacle. The farmer spotted something gleaming in the sun; he stopped and searched and found six gold rings. The son of the manor, Frederik Schested, soon to be one of Denmark’s most noted antiquaries, was called to the spot. Young Frederik and the farmer dug up 20 more objects that day. In all four kilos of gold were found in this field. Not surprisingly, this site, known as Gudme, has attracted archaeological attention ever since. Then in 1982 a new haul of gold finds was made. This provided the momentum for a systematic project devised to investigate these fields, and their context in eastern Funen, more thoroughly. The result, recently published, has transformed Migration Period archaeology in the Baltic.

Gudme lies on slightly rising land about five kilometres inland from the eastern coast of Funen. The area is rich in Later Roman period settlements, several large mound cemeteries, and, of course, extraordinary finds of gold objects. The concentration of archaeology is remarkable. The campaign of excavations at Gudme which began in the later 1980s and continues today simply reinforced the richness of these sites.

The settlement known as Gudme I has produced 11 gold solidi, 35 denarii, and six silique of fourth-century date. In 1984 excavations showed that the finds came from large post-built halls, associated with which were fine brooches, and scrap Roman metal including fragments of a silver dish and the hook from a silver ladle which terminated in a dog’s head.

Gudme II was found by metal-detectors. An impressive bracteate hoard, gold rings and a gold button inlaid with garnets were amongst the finds which were probably part of a nobleman's regalia. Excavation produced the outlines of seven houses, in one of which was silver statuette depicting one of the Caesars.

Gudme III lies 300 metres away. Remains of more than 30 houses from between AD 200-500 have been found in the excavations. Yet again the finds are rich, including Roman glass and a die for the production of small rectangular pendants in gold foil.

Gudme V is the site of another gold solidus hoard. Excavations yet again showed that this was a later Roman village in which there were large amounts of scrap silver, gold fragments, gold foil, a Frankish silver bird fibula and some gilded fragments of a Roman bronze helmet.

The initial reports of the excavations conclude that the farms owe their origins to the earlier Germanic Iron Age, but evidently flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries. Some of these inhabitants doubtless ate from Roman bowls and drank from Roman glasses. Much of their wealth, though, was in scrap material which was being melted down and made into new items for Gudme's gentry or princes. For a short span of time, Gudme was undoubtly the nexus of contact between the dying ancient world and the burgeoning Migration Period communities of the North.

The archaeology of Gudme has become all the more fascinating with the discovery of its port on the nearby Funen coast at Lundeborg. This was discovered in 1986 when a new sewage system was constructed along the coast. The later Roman period port lies either side of a small stream. A black layer full of artefacts and refuse extends approximately 900 metres along the coast and 350 metres inland. Post-built dwellings are absent; the only structures are small huts. The assemblage of artefacts is astonishing for the pre-eminence of imported Roman commodities. Large numbers of Roman glass beads, glass vessels, broken terra sigillata, are the predominant finds, illustrating the influence of Roman culture far beyond the bounds of the Empire. The other predominant finds are thousands of rivets and plates for ships, and a rich array of craftsmen's tools and debris. Ships plying the
RELICS OF THE BALTIC SEA BATTLE OF VIBORG

The keel of a large Swedish warship located by the Italian divers of the Archeoclub d’Italia.

Europe that extended far beyond the imperial frontiers.


At the end of July 1994 divers working for an international Italian-Russian scientific expedition made an exceptional discovery in the freezing cold waters of the Baltic Sea – they located the site of the sea battle of Viborg, fought on 11 May 1790. The discovery was made possible by the hard work of the underwater team of the Archeoclub d’Italia, a highly important Italian association of volunteers for work in culture and archaeology.

Last Spring, executives of Archeoclub d’Italia and STAS (the technical department for underwater archaeology of the Italian Ministry of Culture) signed an important agreement with the Russian Academy of Sciences, giving Italian technicians and volunteers an exclusive right to work alongside their Russian counterparts in pursuing underwater archaeological research in the waters of the former Soviet Union. The first expedition under this agreement was the Viborg ‘94 mission in the Baltic Sea with a team made up of Russian archaeologists and technicians and Italian underwater archaeologists and divers.

For a short season of two weeks they explored the difficult waters of a Baltic fjord, based on the mine sweeper Nord.

Despite extremely adverse environmental conditions in very cold water (usually only 5 to 6 degrees C) and bad visibility, coupled with the location being far from any large towns or ports, within five days they had managed to locate the battle site, discovering four of the wrecks and produce a detailed map of the area. This remarkable achievement was made possible by the initial preparatory work done by Russian scientists who had scoured all the historical documents available in the files of the Navy departments in Stockholm and St Petersburg. They were thus able to pinpoint exactly the relevant fjord that the divers had to explore.

Historically the battle of Viborg was important in deciding the control of the Baltic Sea in the 1790s. Here the Swedish and Russian fleets met, the outcome being a disaster for the Swedes who probably lost 50 ships or more whilst the Russians lost only five.

The success of this first season has already led to the Archeoclub d’Italia undertaking a further expedition in 1995, the results of which promise to be equally important.

Giovanni Lattanzi

DISCOVERY OF ROMANO-BRITISH AMPHITHEATRE

A Roman amphitheatre, one of just ten known in Britain, has been discovered by an amateur archaeologist under a grassy field near the site of a Roman town near Norwich in Norfolk. Mr Peter Cott, a retired satellite communications engineer, found the 1900-year-old stone-built amphitheatre by using home-made remote sensing equipment for measuring differences in electrical resistivity in the ground.

Data from his resistivity equipment linked to specially developed computer software suggest that the amphitheatre was oval in shape and measured up to 80 metres north to south and up to 70 metres east to west. It would have held between 5000 and 10,000 spectators. Dating to the late first or second centuries AD, the amphitheatre would have been used for gladiatorial contests, fights between animals and men (often convicted criminals) and for animal baiting.

The main entrance faced south, while at the northern end there was a short corridor leading to a series of rooms, almost certainly once used to hold the gladiators and wild beasts waiting to do battle.

The arena within the amphitheatre was some 40 metres long and 34 metres wide, and almost certainly had a metalised surface of some sort, which Mr Cott’s resistivity equipment has succeeded in detecting. The resistivity survey has revealed the existence of what appear to have been small alcoves at each side of the arena, probably intended to house statues of Nemesis, the Roman goddess of retribution.

The amphitheatre was built just south of the Romano-British town of Venta Icenorum, of which only the defences can still be seen, and which was built by the Romans as the new tribal capital of the Iceni after their revolt, under Boudicca, had been crushed. The site of the ancient town, near the modern village of Caistor St Edmund, is now managed by the Norfolk Archaeological Trust, in cooperation with whom Mr Cott has been working. Archaeologists had speculated since an aerial survey in 1977 that a dark oval patch in a field south of Venta might be the traces of an amphitheatre.

David Keys
SCHLIEMANN 'A STRANGER TO TRUTH'

Last year, in the Lost Treasures of Troy, Caroline Moorhead gave us a journalistic summary of the life of Heinrich Schliemann. She recounted what was most commonly known: that Schliemann had twisted a few rules in his excavations, rather over-dramatized his role in them, and generally contributed to the antitype legal limbo which his Trojan finds now occupy in Moscow's Pushkin Museum.

In a new study just published entitled Schliemann of Troy: Treasure and Deciet, David Trail of the University of California argues a much more serious case against the founder of Aegean Bronze Age archaeology. Based on research persistently conducted over the last twenty years, he accuses Schliemann of much more than a touch of roguish licence here and there. In Trail's view, Schliemann was an almost total stranger to truth; he is a pathologicalCondition which has serious implications for archaeology. The case has already been presented in a specialist collection of his own articles (Excavating Schliemann, Illinois 1993); Trail now uses Schliemann's own former publishers, John Murray, to bring his indictment to a wider public.

Before Schliemann became a crooked archaeologist, argues Trail, he was a crooked businessman, and a crooked husband too. Trail shows how Schliemann's commercial dealings - selling indigo, tea, gold dust, or whatever - were dictated by strategies of selling others short, and also how he lied in order to achieve American citizenship and a divorce from his first wife, a Russian whom he had married whilst dealing in St Petersburg. To the traditional image of the polyglot hard-worker, it seems, we must add the coarser edge of the incorrigible cheat.

Schliemann would eventually claim that his money-making had but one end in sight: to find and excavate Homer's Troy. Trail advances a different story. With his capital safely amassed, but his marriage collapsing, Schliemann travelled for pleasure much as any other grand tourist of the time. He commissioned a young Greek wife for himself mainly because he admired the manner in which Greek women worshipped their husbands, not because he needed a helpmate in the search for Greek heroes of old. And he came across Troy more by accident than design. Touring Greece in 1868, he was mostly obedient to the literary instructions of the John Murray Handbook for Travellers, until he met a German in Athens who had been exploring the Troad area of western Turkey in search of ancient Troy. Schliemann then got the bug, and travelled there himself.

The story progresses, or degenerates, as follows. Schliemann came across an American vice-consul, Frank Calvert, who had for several years been convinced that a large mound, locally called Hisarlik, was the site of Troy. Calvert had even bought a part of the mound in order to test his theory by trial excavation trenches. Calvert, in Trail's narrative, plays the innocent lamb to Schliemann's wolf. Trusting this evidently naive but enthusiastic visitor, Calvert allowed Schliemann the benefit of all his ongoing researches. Two years later, Schliemann was back. With a gang of workmen, but no official permission, he began to dig. He would later claim that it was he, not Calvert, who had first identified Hisarlik as Troy.

The rest of the story is both well known and obscure. Schliemann, despite his mastery of Arabic, showed little diplomatic respect for Turkish officials. But his money, on top of pledges not to remove any finds from the country, gained him access. Hisarlik was duly excavated over three years, with a large structure identified as the palace of Priam, Homer's ultimate king of Troy. In 1873 a considerable cache of gold and silver vessels, jewellery and weapons was recovered, according to Schliemann, from the incinerated remains of a wooden chest in the precincts of this palace. This, for Schliemann, was 'Priam's Treasure.' Despite his previous assurances to the Turks, Schliemann smuggled it out of the country before making it public. He would eventually pay some nominal recompense for it, and donate it to a museum named in his honour in Berlin; in turn, 'Priam's Treasure' would eventually be seized as war booty by the Russians in 1945 - which is why it is presently in Moscow, of highly uncertain international legal status. But David Trail is not concerned about the latter vicissitudes. He believes that the objects were originally not found together, that they may not come from the Hisarlik site, and indeed that they may not be entirely ancient at all.

As defenders of Schliemann have pointed out, these are suspicions based on evidence more circumstantial than forensic. When it came to economy with the truth, claims Trail, Schliemann was highly adept, 'thanks to his training in book-keeping'. However, significant discrepancies survive in Schliemann's own excavation records, and it is known that mock antique jewellery was being fabricated in the area. It is possible that, for the sake of the academic reputation a self-educated man so desperately craved, Schliemann 'invented' Priam's gold?

Trail shows how Schliemann played the treasures hard. Photographs of his young Greek wife Sophia decked out in Trojan jewels attest to clever marketing of a find that caused as much popular excitement as academic interest. Such dissenting voices as sounded were vehemently put down by Schliemann in various mainstream organs of the European press. Schliemann did not engage so much in debate as battering exercises.

In 1876, thwarted by an understandable reluctance on the part of the Turks to readmit him to the Trojan site, he turned to Greek Mycenae. And it happened again. After a season of more or less mundane excavation, there was an explosion of gold: fourteen kilograms of it, worked marvelously into vessels, sceptres, ornamental armlets, masks. Schliemann never in fact sent a telegram to the King of Greece declaring that he had stared upon the face of Agamemnon, but he happily broadcast that the tombs of Mycenae included the grave of Agamemnon, who had supposedly received the famous golden mask. The Greeks quarrelled and Schliemann was ordered to leave, and returned to Mycenae to be murdered by his wife Clytemnestra and her lover Aegisthus.

Despite subsequent finds of fine metalwork in Mycenaean tombs - the cups from Vaphio in Lakonia, for example - Schliemann's Mycenaean treasures still seem unusually rich. By itself, that is no good reason for doubting them. Egyptologists remain equally puzzled by the generosity of the grave goods interred with the young and supposedly insignificant pharaoh Tutankhamun. But, as Trail points out, all it would take to stretch the rumours that the 'mask of Agamemnon' and other items from Mycenae might be faked is a simple microscopic test. And that is something which the authorities at the National Museum in Athens - where Schliemann's finds have been recently rearranged in fresh splendour - have so far refused to do.

Nigel Sprivey

MINERVA 5
ASSYRIA IN NEW YORK

Robert Steven Bianchi looks at two important exhibitions showing concurrently at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York – 'Art and Empire: Treasures from Assyria in the British Museum', and 'Assyrian Origins: Discoveries at Ashur on the Tigris – Antiquities from the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin'.

It is rare for a museum to mount simultaneously two lean exhibitions on the same theme, but that is what has happened at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. The two exhibitions, one from the collections in Berlin and the other from those in London, not only complement one another but also place into sharper focus the permanent collections of that Museum's Ancient Near Eastern Department. And since both of these exhibitions deal, at least in part, with trade and influences East and West, one can continue the experience by viewing the Metropolitan
Assyrian Art

Fig 4. Limestone relief with episode from royal lion hunt. Neo-Assyrian period, reign of Ashurbanipal, 668-627 BC. Nineveh, North Palace. H: 157cm.

Museum of Art’s recently opened permanent exhibition of interconnections in the Ancient Near East. The visitor may be staggered by this embarrassment of riches, but the undaunted will, with repeated visits, gain an insight into the nature of Assyrian civilization in a way that was not hitherto possible.

These two exhibitions are also about personalities, namely Walter Andrae, who as director of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft (German Oriental Society) conducted excavations at Ashur from 1903-1914, and Sir Austen Henry Layard, archaeologist and later diplomat, who excavated Nineveh (modern Mosul) and Kalhu (modern Nimrud) between 1845-55 for the British. He was followed by such luminaries as Sir Wallace Budge, better known, perhaps, for his work in Egyptology but who also served as field director at Nineveh for two seasons between 1888-91, and Sir Max Mallowan, whose wife, Agatha Christie, wrote some of her detective novels at the dig house in Nimrud.

The exhibitions are also about war, antiquities, and the fate of museums. Consider for a moment that the greater number of objects in both of these shows were legally ceded to either Berlin or London under terms sanctioned by representatives of the Ottoman Empire. The fate of the objects destined for Berlin is, in retrospect, agonising. The vessel in which the objects were being shipped to Germany called en route at the port of Lisbon, Portugal, just as World War I erupted. The pieces were confiscated and handed over to a museum in Oporto. After the war, in 1926, Walter Andrae ‘managed to ransom the Ashur finds in Oporto for other works of art from the Berlin museum.’ In 1928 he was appointed director of Berlin’s Vorderasiatisches Museum and had to struggle to obtain funds for the installation of the collection. He amazed his administrators and the public alike with the consummate skill he displayed in the preservation and re-erection of the glazed bricks from the Ishtar Gate of Nebuchadnezzar II from Babylon, but his success was short-lived. The outbreak of World War II in 1939 forced him to put the objects into store; several were destroyed and others were transported to the then Soviet Union, only to be returned in 1958-9. Following the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, plans are now underway for the reinstallation of these treasures which are being loaned while the renovations are taking place.

The focus of each of these two exhibitions and their accompanying catalogues are very different indeed. One may profitably begin by examin-
Assyrian Art

Fig 6. Ivory plaque showing a woman at a window, Neo-Assyrian period, 9th-8th centuries BC, Nimrud, North-west Palace, Rooms V-W, H: 11cm; W: 8.85cm.

ing 'Art and Empire' and the objects from the British Museum. The pieces are exquisite and include many which have become icons of Assyrian art, and have never before been seen on display in North America. The statue of Ashurnasirpal II (Fig 1) from the Temple of Ishtar at Nimrud is exceptional, crafted as it is from magnesite and set into a separate, reddish stone base. Since neither material is native to Assyria, it has been suggested that the choice of material was deliberate, and consistent with the recurring theme in Assyrian texts in which monarchs delight in 'exotic things acquired from abroad.' The stones may also have had symbolic value. The statue of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BC) remains true to its cylindrical mass with the arms and their attributes – a ceremonial sickle and a mace held close to its head – neatly tucked into the composition and the details of the costume rendered in somewhat less bold relief. The king, with head uncovered, appears to stand in eternal prayer before the goddess Ishtar.

One should examine the following three reliefs and then contrast the Assyrian treatment of animals with that of the ancient Egyptians, represented by the exhibition 'An Ancient Egyptian Bestiary', on view in the Museum's Egyptian department (see Minerva, May/June 1995, pp.72-4).

The relief of the dying lion from Nineveh (Fig 2) has all too often been regarded from the modern view point, emphasising the pathos of this grisly scene. The king of the beasts has been laid low by Ashurbanipal's arrow, from whose palace this relief comes, and is bleeding profusely from the wound itself and from his mouth. However, because the lion came to symbolise for the Assyrians all that is inimical to civilization, those originally regarding this scene 'were meant to laugh, not cry' at the lion's plight.

The relief of going to the hunt (Fig 4), from the same king's palace at Nineveh, depicts a train of attendants, identified perhaps as eunuchs by virtue of the fact that they are beardless. The one to the left leads a vicious mastiff, straining at the leash. The central figure carries a net and stakes, to be set across the path of the herd pursued by the dogs.

Certain composite beasts in Assyria were beneficial to humans, as seen in these two registers of Protective Spirits (Fig 5). The two opposed figures to the right of the top register are each identified as the agalli, or great lion, whereas a third is probably paired with the House God, only partially preserved at the left. The might of each agalli is conveyed by its powerful anthropomorphic body, lion's head, and talons of an eagle, brandishing daggers over their heads, and holding maces in front of their bodies; these beasts, with their erect ears, were regarded as vigilant protectors. Beneath them appears a single lion-man, or annaḫuš, whose less belligerent gestures belie his role as protector of the palace from both evil and bad luck.

The exhibition also contains a
number of stunning ivories, the most
famous of which is, of course, that of
the lioness mauling an African (Fig 3).
The contrast between the beast’s
head, shown in frontal view, and the
profile of its victim’s, whose neck she
bites, is extraordinary and contributes
to an exceptional compositional
scheme in which the limbs and backs
of man and beast are contained
within an artistically defined peri-
meter. The craftsmanship rivals that of
a jeweller in its attention to minute
detail, such as the gilding of the
African’s kilt and the rendering of the
curls of his hair as separately made
ivory pegs, each also gilded. The floral
background is covered with gold leaf
and inlaid with carnelian and lapis
lazuli. The most plausible suggestion
for the use of such a plaque is that it
served to decorate a piece of furniture
because of the two square mortise-
holes at its top and two additional
rectangular holes at the base. Near
both sets of these perforations are two
incised letters, in each case an alph
written in a West Semitic script.
A gimmel, in that same script, is
found on the ivory plaque of the
woman at the window (Fig 6), which
is a motif represented in some Assy-
rian reliefs where a variant form
appears as a decorative element on
the legs of couches, reinforcing the
suggestion about their function. The
exact significance of this scene is
debatable, despite the long-held belief
that the woman is a sacred prostitute.
The full-frontal face of the woman is
rendered in an Egyptianizing style as
is her hairstyle and necklace.

That stylistic characteristic is evi-
dent also in a third ivory plaque rep-
resenting a striding sphinx (Fig 7).
The nemes-headdress of the Egyptian
pharaohs without well defined lap-
pets, the ill-proportioned double
crown, and the uraeus, or sacred
cobra, suspended from the chest
rather than rising from the forehead,
would seem to indicate that such
ivories were indebted to pharaonic
norms but were not made by Egyptian
craftsmen. It has, therefore, been sug-
gested that these objects were crafted
by Phoenicians, a suggestion which
compounds issues of interpretation
because such transmuted Egyptian
motifs may have held meanings for
these putative Phoenician craftsmen
which differed from those assigned to
them by the Assyrians for whom the
finished products may have been
intended.

 Whereas the focus of ‘Art and
Empire’ is on art, that of ‘Assyrian
Origins’ – the objects from Berlin – is
on the archaeological context of
objects which all come from the same
site, in this instance Qalat Shergat, or
Ashur. Many of the ninety objects on

view here have been inaccessible to
the general public for over 50 years,
due to circumstances outlined above.
Nevertheless, the narrow archaeological
context of many of the pieces leaves
several issues unresolved.

According to the catalogue, these
‘excavated objects raise questions
about date, function, and methods
and sources of manufacture. In addi-
tion, because of the lack of securely
dated monuments from both southern
and northern Mesopotamia, the
attribution and dating of major sculpt-
tures remain uncertain.’ Statements
such as this throughout the catalogue
and the constant equivocal nature of
the various findspots themselves
should do much to refute the purists’
theory that objects without archaeo-
logical context are useless. Here one
has objects from known archaeological
contexts which, in many cases,
remain mute about their dating, func-
tion and interpretation.

This conundrum is nowhere more
in evidence than in the discussions
about the dating of a head of a
woman from the Archaic Temple of
Ishhtar (Fig 8) which may have come
from Level G. Whether it belongs to
the Akkadian (2334-2154 BC) or the
Neo-Sumerian Period (2112-2004 BC)
remains inconclusive, although there
is universal agreement about its sig-
and elsewhere, the figures found at Ashur are habitually devoid of accompanying inscriptions so that their identifications are open to discussion. One suggests, therefore, that this figure represents an official, clothed in a sheep skin which leaves the upper torso bare, who clasps his hands together in eternal prayer. The hole in the fist appears to be too small to have served as a socket for an attribute and may better be regarded as a naturalistic rendering of a human fist.

The bronze male figure holding a calf (Fig 10) is one of the objects from the copper hoard from the Ashur Temple, an assortment of objects which were apparently secreted in several ceramic vases which were intentionally buried under sherds and gravel and embedded in alternating layers of charred wood, ash, and rubble. One is neither informed about the individuals responsible for this cache nor their motivation, and the original purpose(s) to which these objects were put is likewise a matter of discussion.

This figure is hollow cast and is technologically very interesting because it is made of an arsenic-rich lead bronze. The feet retain their original holes, doubtless to secure the figure to a no longer existing base. The eyes and eye brows were originally inlaid, and the attention to certain anatomical details is extraordinary. These include the suggestion of the man’s fingers as well as the definition of the tail, hooves, and features of the head of the calf he bears. The hollow in his right hand was for the insertion of an attribute, doubtless a knife, which suggests that he is about to sacrifice the calf.

One of the most extraordinary complexes of objects excavated by Andrae at Ashur was a Merchant’s Grave from the Old Assyrian Period, which contained a number of remarkable objects, none more striking perhaps than a necklace with beads and four pendants (Fig 11). Made of gold, carnelian, lapis lazuli, and agate, the elements have been restrung in modern times.

More remarkable still is a second necklace (Fig 12) found in a tomb dated to the Middle Assyrian Period which contained two skeletons, both of which are now suggested to have been female. The grave was opulently supplied with a variety of ivory objects including a comb, pyxis, bowl, and pins, as well as with a remarkable group of stone vessels decorated in either high relief or incision. The component elements of the necklace have been identified as gold, lapis lazuli, and perhaps jasper. The eleven spacers are square in shape and were originally strung together by two wires or threads. The two pendants,
Assyrian Art

Each in the form of a calf, were found in proximity to the spacers, and were incorporated into the design of the necklace, although the distinct possibility exists that these elements do not belong.

Among the most enigmatic objects in the exhibition is a cult pedestal of the god Nusku (Fig 13), who was both a god of light and an intercessor, praying in this case daily on behalf of king Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207 BC), who is depicted in the scene and named in the inscriptions, which are incomplete. The monument was discovered in the Ishtar Temple in a secondary context, in which, it has been argued, it was stored because it was no longer needed.

Despite its deceptive appearance, the perimeter of the pedestal, when removed from its accompanying base, is a perfect square, in the decorative field of which are found two identical figures. Differing only in their attitude, before a similarly shaped pedestal bearing a rectangular object. It has been suggested that the two figures portray one and the same person, king Tukulti-Ninurta I himself, approaching (left) and then kneeling (right) before the cultus. Some interpret the object on the pedestal as the two leaves of a shrine’s door; others as a rod or ray of Nusku’s against a background of some sort; and others still as a stylus and tablet on which the king’s fate is to be recorded. The torso of a statue of a male (Fig 14), monumental in size and of diorite, was discovered adjacent to the east corner of the north-east zigurrat of the Anu-Adad Temple and is dated to the Akkadian Period (2300-2200 BC). It can be profitably regarded as belonging to the same tradition as the later statue of Ashurnasirpal II (Fig 1), and is one of the earliest examples of large scale stone sculpture ever made in Ashur. Both adhere to the cylindrical contour of the composition and rely for their thematic message on the attitude of the hands folded across the lower abdomen in a gesture of prayer. The individual was bearded but his hair was short and did not fall onto the shoulders. Here, again, the lack of accompanying inscriptions makes identification difficult and there is not agreement about the original position of this statue within Ashur.

The accompanying catalogues are fully illustrated. Both exhibitions will be on view at the Metropolitan Museum, New York until August 13, after which only ‘Art and Empire’ will move to a second American venue. It will be on view at the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas, from October 1995 to February 1996.

Fig 12. Gold, carnelian, lapis lazuli and agate necklace. Late 3rd-early 2nd millennium BC. Ashur, found in Grave 20. Diam. c. 11cm.


THE TOMB OF SONS OF RAMESSES II DISCOVERED?

Peter Clayton looks at the recent discoveries in the Valley of the Kings and puts them into context.

High above the Valley of the Kings on the west bank at Thebes rises the natural pyramid called The Quorn, also known as 'The Lady of the Peak' (Fig 1). It appears that this remote, almost inaccessible cul-de-sac valley was chosen as the burial place of the pharaohs of the New Kingdom (18th to 20th Dynasties, c. 1570 to c. 1070 BC) for two main factors: the natural pyramid, reflecting the religious beliefs and associations of the Old Kingdom beliefs, and the secret nature of the place. The earliest known royal burial to take place in the Valley was that of Tuthmosis I (1524 - 1518 BC), the third king of the 18th dynasty. Whether his initial tomb was no. 38 or no. 20 (the latter ascribed to his daughter, Hatshepsut) is a matter of contention amongst Egyptologists. All the tombs in the Valley have been given numbers, following a scheme started by the Egyptologist Sir John Gardner Wilkinson (1797-1875). Lowest numbers indicate those tombs that have been known longest, often being open since antiquity and having Greek, Latin or Coptic graffiti of early tourists or inhabitants on their walls. Hence, the highest number in the sequence, 62, is that of Tutankhamen, the last tomb found in the Valley in 1922. There are two caveats, however, to enter here: first, although the highest number reached is 62 this does not mean that there are 62 tombs in the Valley, many of the numbers only indicate excavated pits or unfinished tombs; second, not all the tombs are royal, some were granted as a high honour to royal relatives (e.g. no. 46, Yuya and Tuya, the in-laws of Amenophs III) or courtiers (e.g. no. 48, Amenemope, vizier under Amenophis II).

The first specific searches in the Valley were made by Giovanni Belzoni in 1816-19 when he located several tombs in the Western Valley (including Ay, no. 23) and in the Eastern (principal) Valley, including Seti I (no. 17) and Ramesses I (no. 16). Subsequent work by Victor Loret at the end of the century located notably the tombs of Tuthmosis III (no. 34), and Amenophis II (no. 35), both in 1898 (it was in no. 35 that the second great cache of royal mummies was found; see below). A number of other royal tombs were found in the first decade of this century, largely by archaeologists such as Ayrton, Weigall and Carter working for patrons such as the American lawyer Theodore M. Davis and the fifth Earl of Carnarvon. The culmination of the excavations was, of course, the discovery of the almost intact tomb of Tutankhamen by Howard Carter for the Earl of Carnarvon in November 1922.

The excavations that have recently hit the headlines are the result of clearing a tomb, no. 5, that has been known for over 170 years. The discovery stems initially from the work carried out by Professor Kent Weeks of the American University in Cairo for the Theban Mapping Project. This grandiose scheme aims at locating, mapping and measuring every tomb in the Theban necropolis. The eventual record will enable any tomb to be examined on computer, its location, layout, etc., all being available instantly on the screen. In pursuing

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**Fig 1.** The entrance to the Valley of the Kings with the 'Lady of the Peak', a natural pyramid, rising high above it. The recently relocated tomb, KV 5, the possible burial place of several of the sons of Ramesses II, lies on the left behind the line of vendors' stalls.

**Fig 2.** View from the entrance into the badly damaged and unsafe tomb of Ramesses II (KV 7).
Discovery

Fig 3. Fine carvings with the cartouche of Ramesses II immediately inside his tomb and very similar in style and quality to those rediscovered in tomb KV 5.

This part of the Project in the Valley of the Kings it was felt that more information was needed concerning the layout of no. 5 (KV 5). The entrance to the tomb lies immediately behind the line of vendors stalls on the left (east side) of the entrance to the main Valley. It had been noted in recent years that seeping sewage from the Rest House situated just inside the Valley entrance had been polluting the adjacent ground. This Rest House has now been removed and a splendid new one built facing the entrance to the Western Valley.

KV 5 was first noted early in the last century, in 1820, and the traveller James Burton (1788-1863) left the only known plan of it until now in his manuscripts (British Library, Add. Ms. 25641, f1.42). This showed two large halls with 16 and 4 pillars respectively and a couple of small schematic rooms with corridors leading off. Howard Carter worked in the area of the tomb in 1902 and again in 1920 but was not able to penetrate very far beyond the first rooms due to the heavy rubbish filling and instability of the tomb. Initial clearance work by Weeks in June 1993 showed that the first two chambers were decorated with fine relief carvings and texts that named Ramesses II and scenes showing the king presenting various of his sons to the gods (very similar style low reliefs can be seen on the entrance passage walls of Ramesses II’s tomb). The entrance to KV 5 lies only a matter of some 30 metres away from the entrance to the much damaged and practically inaccessible tomb of Ramesses II (KV 7) (Figs 2, 3).

Although the first two chambers of KV 5 had suffered from the heavy tourist bus traffic and sewage seepage, beyond there was every evidence that the tomb had not been entered before the early nineteenth century AD since about 1150 BC when it was broken into. Enormous destruction was wrought by the early robbers who left only fragments of funerary goods and a small piece of hard stone breccia from a sarcophagus. An ancient ostrakon (writing on a limestone flake) in the Cairo Museum (JE 72460) suggested that the tomb of Merytamun, a son of Ramesses II, lay in this area. The plan of the tomb, KV 5, as it is now being revealed, is unlike that of any other in the Valley. With its many halls and descending stairways it may eventually prove to be the largest known tomb there (possi-

Fig 4. Head of the mummy of Ahmose I found in the great cache of royal mummies in 1881; his original tomb is still undiscovered.

Fig 5. Upper half of the unique fine white limestone ushabti figure of Ahmose I, possibly a portrait piece, that must have come from his tomb at some time and which was acquired by Sir William Budge for the British Museum in the late 1890s.
bly even larger than the immense 26th Dynasty private tomb of the Chief Lector Priest, Pedamenopol, no. 33 in the Assas in front of Hatshepsut’s temple). Not least, the tomb does not appear to be of 19th Dynasty construction contemporary with Ramesses II; it was almost certainly cut in the last years of the 18th Dynasty around 1350 to 1320 BC for high status use and subsequently usurped by Ramesses II.

The occurrence of several sons of the king together in the presentation scenes suggests that they may have all died at the same time or close to each other, plague possibly being the cause. Certainly, Ramesses II in his long reign (1279-1212 BC) outlived twelve of his possible heirs and it was his thirteenth son, Merenptah, who succeeded him (his tomb is KV 8). Ramesses’ progeny from his two principal wives (Nefertari and istnofer), as well as many minor wives and ladies of the harem, were numerous – over 50 sons, and uncounted daughters. Other than his successor, Merenptah, the best known son was Khemwaset, noted as a ‘magician’, who predeceased him and was probably buried at Saqqara.

It would appear that when the first of Ramesses’ many sons began to die, he appropriated the large earlier tomb near his own in the Valley for their burial. The numerous underground rooms were then to serve as a mass mausoleum for many of his other sons; they could amount to as many as 50. So far 67 chambers have been located but there is yet another lower level to be explored and the number could rise to around 100. The finds at present are essentially the decorations on the walls, a statue of Osiris, the god of the dead, in his usual mummiiform holding crossed crook and flail, which stands in a passageway off the central 16-pilledared hall, and an incredible amount of debris. The latter has to be carefully sifted and examined since there will be extremely important information about the original burial provisions, as well as possibly names, to be gleaned from it. The copying and interpretation of the reliefs are going to be immense tasks but will pay dividends in no doubt identifying many of the original occupants of the tomb.

What other secrets still lie in the Valley of the Kings?

Most of the royal mummies now safe in the Cairo Museum (eleven of which are currently exhibited in a special room) come from the two great caches found in 1881 at Deir el-Bahari in tomb no. 320 and a smaller group in the tomb of Amenophis II (KV 35) found in 1898. Of the royal mummies, only Amenophis II and Tutankhamen have been found in their own sarcophagi in their own tombs. However, there is an anomaly: we now have the bodies of most of the kings of the New Kingdom (Dynasties 18 to 20) and, curiously, some of kings whose tombs have not been found. Principal among these are Ahmose I (Fig 4) and Amenophis I, the first two kings of the 18th Dynasty who preceded Tuthmosis I (possibly they were buried outside the Valley, but they could also have been earlier, as yet undiscovered, burials in the Valley), and Tuthmosis II and Ramesses VIII. There is also another mystery of a missing tomb. When the two caches of the royal mummies were found, many of the bodies were identified by the collars and inscriptions on them and their bandages indicating when they had been rewrapped by the priests, and also their various movements from their original tomb until they found their last resting place. Many of the rewrappings were carried out under Herihor, the first pharaoh of the 21st Dynasty. In the 1881 cache the mummy of his wife, Queen Nodjmet, was found. However, several years before the cache was officially declared, whilst it had been steadily robbed of its smaller items by its original finders, the Abd ‘El Rassoul brothers, a funerary papyrus Book of the Dead owned jointly by Herihor and his wife had been removed and sold. This papyrus was donated to the British Museum in 1903 by King Edward VII (Fig 6). The curious thing is that this is the only item of funerary equipment that can be associated with Herihor and the presumption must be that somewhere in the Valley, or nearby in the Theban Hills, his tomb lies undisturbed. The late Pro-

Fig 6. Detail from the joint Book of the Dead papyrus of the pharaoh Herihor and his wife, Queen Nodjmet, showing the couple raising their hands in adoration. The papyrus was stolen from the Deir el-Bahari royal mummy cache before 1881 and subsequently presented to the British Museum by King Edward VII in 1903. Herihor’s tomb or any other items of his funerary equipment are presently unknown.
Professor Jaroslav Černý of Oxford identified graffiti written in hieratic script inscribed on the rocks in several places that refer to Herihor with the usual interpretation, as proved to be the case in other instances, that a tomb lies nearby.

There is still a lot of research being carried out in the Valley of the Kings, and the reassessment of earlier finds and discoveries. Edwin Brock is studying the tomb of Merenptah and the many sarcophagi provided for that king. Dr Donald Ryan is clearing and recording uninscribed tombs (some that were found by Belzoni), and a Japanese expedition is re-clearing the tomb of Amenophis III in the Western Valley, first rediscovered by two engineers with the French army in 1799 and re-clearred by Howard Carter for the fifth Earl of Carnarvon in 1915. Much new information is coming to light as a result of this but there is still the possibility of the discovery of more tombs, most likely in the Western Valley, and of another cache of some of the other missing royal mummies such as Queen Hatshepsut, Amenophis IV (Akhenaten), Ay, Horemheb, Ramesses I, Amenmesse, Seti I, Queen Twosret, Setnakht and Ramesses VII, VIII, X and XI, as well as others of the royal children.

The Valley, watched over by 'The Lady of the Peak' and guarded by the goddess Meretseger shown as a scorpion wearing the Double Crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, still has secrets that it will perhaps grudgingly reveal to the favoured ones some day.

Peter A. Clayton, FSA, is the author of Chronicle of the Pharaohs: The Reign-by-Reign Record of the Rulers and Dynasties of Ancient Egypt.

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MINERVA 15
SURVEY OF THE MIDDLE NILE IN NORTHERN SUDAN

Derek Welsby reports on survey results that have thrown new light on the occupation of a little known area of the Sudan, including the discovery of two previously unknown channels of the Nile in the third millennium BC.

Today the Nile is the only river to cross the Sahara, the largest desert on earth. It is solely the presence of the river in Northern Sudan and Egypt which allows the area to sustain a sizeable human population with its economy principally derived from agriculture. If one looks back in time the situation was very different. During the last great pluvial period the areas which are now uninhabited desert were occupied by a rich flora and fauna and the latter in particular was utilised by man to provide food and raw materials. Since then the climate has deteriorated, but this deterioration was by no means constant and there have been fluctuations, some of short duration, which will have had a marked effect on the potential for human habitation of certain areas. Like the climate, the Nile has a dynamic history with periods when higher rainfall in its main catchment areas in central Africa and on the Ethiopian highlands have dramatically affected its flow. Erosion over time has led to down-cutting of the channel, while deposition and erosion have resulted in lateral movement of the river’s course.

When studying the history of the utilisation of the Nile valley by man one must take account of these fluctuations, which in the relatively marginal environment of the middle and lower Nile may have had a profound effect on its potential for human occupation. Archaeologists thus need to work alongside geomorphologists and climatologists who have much to contribute to those studies. The northern part of the Dongola Reach upstream of the Third Cataract is a fertile field for these researches and is the subject of this article.

In 1993 the Sudan Archaeological Research Society (SARS), in collaboration with the Sudan National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums, began a four season project designed to examine evidence for all periods of human activity in an area on the east bank of the Nile in the Dongola Reach (Fig 1). The survey area was defined north and south by archaeological concessions already awarded to the French Archaeological Research Unit north of Rirani and to the Royal Ontario Museum to the south of el Khandag East. The eastern margin of the survey area lay on the edge of the desert plateau which rises to a height of around 15 metres above the plain and is between 15 and 18 kilometres to the east of the river. Very little archaeological work had been undertaken in this area in the past apart from at Kawa. Kawa had appeared to stand in isolation, but the current project quickly showed this to be an illusion.

Detailed survey of the concession held by SARS would be a very time consuming process and time was a valuable commodity. The genesis of the project was the urgent need to explore the area in the face of the large scale threat of destruction of sites posed by the expansion of agricultural activities. Much of the plain to the east of the river is fertile and in the past it has only been a lack of

Fig 1. A map showing the location of the survey area.

Fig 2. The edge of the desert plateau. The settlement in the centre of the photo dates from the Kerma period.
water which has failed to allow it to realise its potential. Now using a combination of canal irrigation with water drawn directly from the Nile, artesian wells and the water brought to the surface by diesel pumps, large areas are being taken into cultivation. The destruction this causes to the archaeology is total.

Faced with these problems it was decided to conduct a systematic survey along east-west transects from the plateau to the river at intervals of five minutes of latitude (9.27 km), as well as noting other sites as we moved through the survey area. By this means in the three seasons so far completed we have located approximately 250 new sites ranging in date from the Palaeolithic to the recent past. Evidence of human activity was found over most of the survey area, but the distribution by period varied considerably.

Limited evidence for Palaeolithic activity in the form of rather poor quality stone tools was noted along the edge of the desert plateau (Fig 2). Neolithic material was much more widespread, with occupation sites and cemeteries being located across the whole area although with concentrations in certain places. The area appears to have suffered much from erosion since the Neolithic and this has largely destroyed the occupation sites which are now represented by extensive scatters of artefacts – pottery, lithics and ostrich shell beads in particular. To bury their dead the Neolithic inhabitants chose the isolated natural mounds which are a prominent feature of the plain. They were buried in a contracted position and accompanied by grave goods (Fig 3), including on occasion pottery bowls with as many as three nested one within another. During this period there appear to have been episodes when the climate of the area was much wetter and it is thought that until the third millennium BC the sub-Saharan vegetation belts were between 400 and 500 kilometres north of where they are today. Although perhaps not sufficient to support sedentary settlement away from the river, the more favourable conditions will have favoured a pastoral economy supplemented by utilisation of the big game which roamed the area. Evidence for aquatic species such as crocodile and hippopotamus and for savannah species such as giraffe, elephant and antelope has been noted.

Around 2500 BC a major urban centre developed at Kerma, 55 kilometres to the north of Kawa, and this was destined to become the metropolis of a kingdom which controlled at its largest extent the river valley from the First to the Fourth Cataract. Sites of this period, which spanned 1000 years, included both cemeteries and settlements. These were often of considerable size, the largest cemetery having over 600 burials placed under low tumuli covered in brown quartzite pebbles (Fig 5). Many of the settlements, which were presumably villages inhabited by agriculturists, were occupied for a considerable time and developed into prominent mounds several metres high. The inhabitants lived in dwellings of mud brick and presumably of timber, while more monumental buildings of stone and timber construction (Fig 4) may have served as communal stores with raised floors to protect their contents from the ravages of the termite and from dampness. The people had access to copious amounts of pottery often of extremely fine quality and of identical types to those used by the population of the metropolis. Among the finest examples are those dated to the Kerma Ancien period (2500-2050 BC). The most common types are bowls which are highly red burnished on the exterior and black burnished on the interior. Below the rim is a band of often extremely fine incised decoration. The famous Kerma beakers dating to the Kerma Classique period (1750-1550 BC) are some of the best ceramic products ever to have been made in the Nile Valley. Stone tools and weapons (Fig 6) also were of importance and large numbers of axes made from this material have been recovered along with evidence for the working of copper.

It was the Kerma period sites which gave unambiguous evidence for the nature of the physical landscape of the survey area four thousand years ago. When their locations were plotted they were seen to be concentrated as a ribbon of settlement. Detailed examination on the ground indicated that these settlements were along the course of old river channels and collection of the artefacts from the sites allowed their chronology to be ascertained. This analysis is not yet complete, but it appears that in the Kerma Ancien and
Moyen periods (2500-1750 BC) the Nile flowed through the survey area in three channels. The eastern two channels joined a few kilometres east of Kawa and the combined stream, the Seleim Nile (Fig 7), then ran north parallel to the present day channel which was also active at this time. During the Kerma Moyen period the central channel was abandoned, presumably because it had ceased to flow while settlement continued along the eastern channel well into the Kerma Classique period (1757-1550 BC) if not beyond. The only evidence for New Kingdom activity in the area is at Kawa where the New Kingdom pharaoh Tutankhamun built a temple around 1350 BC. A number of New Kingdom scarabs have been found in the agricultural settlements on the eastern channel, but none of these need be later than the reign of Thutmose III (c. 1504-1450 BC). It must have been around this time that the eastern channel dried up forcing a relocation of the population towards the west and thereafter all sedentary activity has been confined to the banks of the present stream until the very recent past.

Under the local Kushite dynasty, who ruled Egypt for a time as pharaohs of the XXVth Dynasty (747-656 BC), Kawa was again an important centre, the capital of a nome (administrative area) and one of the towns visited during the coronation procession through the kingdom. At its greatest extent the town covered some 36 hectares and two large cemeteries lay in the plain to the east and although a large mud brick fortress, Qasr Wad Nunier, exists on the west bank of the river, 11 kilometres upstream of Kawa. Towards the northern end of the survey area are several gubba (Fig 8), tombs of holy men which are of very distinctive form. All are made of mud brick, are circular in plan and are covered by parabolic domes. Although not closely dateable they may have been constructed in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries.

This work has shown the immense richness of the archaeological remains along the Sudanese Nile valley and the significant additions to our understanding of the interaction of man and his environment which can be made even by a small scale project. We have demonstrated the archaeological potential of the area, the challenge now is to find a way to preserve this heritage while at the same time allowing the agricultural development to proceed unhindered.

Dr Derek Welby, FSA, is an Assistant Keeper in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities at the British Museum.
BERENICE PANCHRYSOS

The Jewel of the Nubian Desert

Mary Jo Wagner describes how the dedicated quest of two Italian twin archaeologists has revealed the site of a long-lost city in the remote Nubian desert.

Pliny the Elder, the Roman writer who died in AD 79, wrote in Book VI of his encyclopaedic Natural History about countries, nations, towns, cities and peoples 'who now exist, or formerly existed'. One city that he mentioned was called Berenice Panchryos, which means 'all golden', from its proximity to the gold mines of Gebel Allaki and which was said to be the major source of the vast amounts of gold used in ancient Egypt. The work force consisted of criminals and prisoners of war and the mines were said to produce as much as twenty times more gold than any other region.

There were three cities in the area of Egypt and the Sudan all named Berenice: Berenice Trogloidiata (a port on the Red Sea), Berenice Epidire, south of the Bay of Assab, and Berenice Panchryos. All three cities had been founded by Ptolemy II (285-246 BC) in honour of his mother Berenice I (Fig 1), wife of Ptolemy I who had founded the Ptolemaic dynasty in 305 BC. Henry Salt, who was later to be British Consul in Egypt, discovered Berenice Epidire in 1809 and the Italian explorer Gio...
vanni Battista Belzoni located Berenice Trogloditica on the coast in 1818. It was therefore more than appropriate that the Italian twin brothers, Alfredo and Angelo Castiglioni should also be interested in this remote area. Initially they had set out in 1989 to try and find the gold mines in the Wawat region but, after an incredible journey of fourteen days across 850 kilometres of desert east of the Nile, on 12 February 1989 they passed over an enormous tumulus and suddenly saw on the other side the two impressive fortresses that had once protected the wealthy mining city (Figs 2, 3).

The location of the city is below the 22nd parallel in the Sudan, on latitude 21.56.93N and longitude 35.08.88E, although the exact location of the site would have been unknown to the ancient travellers who made their way across virtually trackless wastes to the city. Satellite photographs of the area have revealed passages through seemingly impossible areas in a web of dried up rivers in the Sudanese desert.

The discovery was made under the auspices of a research centre the Castiglioni brothers had founded: The Centre for Research in the Eastern Oriental Desert (CeRDO). It was through the Centre and the archaeological expertise backing it, including noted authorities on Nubia such as Jean Vercoutter, Sergio Donadoni, Charles Bonnet and Ahmed Al Hakem, that the Castiglioni were granted permission to work. Their concession, granted for ten years, was to explore, survey and excavate in an area of some 90,000 square kilometres (roughly the size of Ireland) in the Nubian desert. Some professionals have taken the view that the Castiglioni, together with the third member of the group, Giancarlo Negro, were cast in the 'Indiana Jones' mould as they were prepared to deviate from the normal techniques of archaeological exploration, and were duly rewarded by their discovery.

Fig. 4. The incredible preservation of the two main fortresses at the site made it seem to the Castiglioni as if the last inhabitants had only just left.

Fig. 5. One of the typical stone-built mounds that are a notable feature of the landscape.
The finding of the city of Berenice was accidental, but remarkable all the same. Laid out on a typical Ptolemaic town plan, the city extended three kilometres from north to south in the Wadi Aluki and was located at 500 metres above sea level. It has been estimated that it had a total population of around 10,000. The city was laid out around a principal street, itself bisected by secondary ones creating a series of blocks (Fig 4). There was also evidence of an advanced drainage system. The main ‘residential’ zone where the slaves and miners slept was about 500×150 metres and consisted of small roofless shelters with walls some 70 centimetres in height, just enough to protect them from the wind. The main working area, consisting of the remains of ancient circular and rectangular huts, lay to the south of the wadi beyond the city and below the prevailing wind. Here there was ample evidence of the gold-working activities to extract the precious metal from the auriferous quartz: crushing and grinding mills, stone tools and the means of washing the gold dust.

The mines themselves lay at the foot of the red sandstone mountains to the west and along the south side of the wadi where evidence of open-cast mining and tunnelling was found. Here was also found a well, providing the most important element of all and without which the mines could not have been worked. It was this that had enabled the first pharaonic exploitation of the area to be carried out and to be continued through Ptolemaic and Roman times, into the medieval Arab period when Berenice Panchrysos appears to have been the capital of the rich Beja kingdom, dominating the spice route and the road to the Red Sea port of Aidhab on the route to Mecca. Then, sometime in the thirteenth century AD, for reasons as yet not completely known, the city was abandoned, and was lost sight of.

During the Middle Ages, when the Arabs conquered the Sudan and Egypt, gold production came to a grinding halt because the Arabs believed it was evil and corrupt. Angelo Castiglioni said after the return of their latest expedition, 'The gold mines involved dreadfully hard and inhumane work. Labourers had to crush one ton of quartz to get about five or six grams of gold. Added to which, the work was carried out in temperatures of 47 degrees Centigrade in the shade.'

'After a time', added Dario del Bufalo, an architect from Rome who accompanied the recent expedition, 'the story of Berenice Panchrysos entered the realm of legend as it slipped from sight and travellers found other, easier routes to get to important places like Mecca. Now, five years and four expeditions later, the Castiglioni twins with their twelve-man team are slowly bringing Berenice back to life. Each expedition and season sees the discovery of new artefacts and fresh information gleaned from the Nubian Desert about the Beja people. The preparation of each expedition is painstaking since often the team is isolated for as long as 30 days with no local water source. Not least, there are the diplomatic difficulties to be overcome in mounting the expedition since relations between Egypt and the Sudan are not always easy. Important members of the expedition are the technician Luigi Balbo and the head, the German archaeologist Karim Sadr, who, remarked Angelo Castiglioni, 'has the head of a German and the diplomacy of an Arab, rendering him much more than just an archaeologist.'

Space technology makes an important contribution to the mapping potential of the expedition. Colour Landsat satellite imagery, interpreted by satellite experts, has made possible the plotting of over 200 sites associated with the ancient exploitation of the auriferous quartz. Not least, the colour enhancement can also indicate sources of water for the expedition. Normal archaeological techniques, and also the use of metal detectors, have enabled them to record the ancient mining villages, hieroglyphic inscriptions and rock engravings and to excavate fifteen graves.

The first grave surveyed last year in the Wadi Elie revealed the body of a 12- to 13-year-old child. Five gold discs had been placed on the pelvis, and the body of a dog, probably sacrificed, was lying near the head indicating, at this period of Sudanese history, someone of great social status.

Despite the abundant evidence that the Castiglioni have gathered...
during the course of their four expeditions to the area, from the excavations of the graves (Figs 5-7), and the additional 200 archaeological sites they have surveyed, details of the local inhabitants of Berenice Phanagryon, other than that they were from the nomadic Beja population, remain a mystery. More details are available about the lives of the miners. Diodorus Siculus, writing in the first century BC, had a telling phrase describing the workers’ conditions: ‘The only hope these poor people had was to die quickly’. Certainly there was no escape once they were condemned to the mines - there was no need for restraints, they were penned in as surely by the desert as if they had been locked in a cell. Their lot and sole existence was to produce gold, and lots of it, in appalling conditions. The never-ending process of breaking up the auriferous quartz, pulverising it in grinding mills (Fig 8), washing it to separate the gold dust (Fig 9), and then ‘cooking’ the particles continuously for five days and nights to produce ‘nuggets’ was continuous. Large quantities of gold dust and the particles were transported to the Nile for further treatment and smelting where water and wood were more plentiful. Here Egyptian goldsmiths could then work the metal, their skill being such that they could produce gold leaf as thin as cigarette-paper. Sculptures in Old Kingdom mastabas at Saqqara and wall paintings at Thebes show goldsmiths at work and also Nubians bringing gold, either as dust or ingots, into the court in Egypt.

In a piece of experimental archaeology, Alfredo and Angelo Castiglioni took two of the grinding querns still in perfect condition, and, explained Alfredo, ‘We took little pieces of quartz and inserted them into the mill. I took the handle used to turn the mill and started rotating it in order to crush the rock. After a short time I had pain in my arm and in my shoulders, which eventually could not move any more because of the fatigue.’ In antiquity the inhumane work was carried out mainly by the women, the old and the sick because, according to Diodorus Siculus, the strong male workers were assigned to working the mines and extracting the blocks of quartz.

Other mine workings of the medieval period near the city were identified through the technical ingenuity of Luigi Balbo. Using a camera suspended beneath two helium-filled balloons at a height of 350 metres, and operated by remote control, he was able to create a detailed composite map of the area. It even allowed the expedition to locate some of the modern-day Beja nomads in the area, still wearing similar dress and observing similar customs as their ancestors of over 4000 years ago.

In the Wadi Terfowl, about 150 kilometres south-west of Berenice, a Beja tomb was found. Excavation revealed a skeleton accompanied by very rich grave goods consisting of several jewels of different types, lapis lazuli disks, a large carnelian pendant and also a small one, 19 gold cylinders and, pre-eminent, a large emerald cube on a gold chain. Emeralds had a special place in antiquity, by virtue of the powers ascribed to the stone, as well as its inherent value. Emerald dust, it was said, drunk in a liquid, would build up an antidote against poisoning and an emerald applied to the stomach of a pregnant woman would ease the delivery of her child. Cleopatra was said to have presented emeralds as gifts to important people, who would often then have her portrait engraved on the stone, and Nero, Roman emperor from AD 54 to 68, once draped spectators at a circus in believing that staring into a concave emerald would sharpen their vision.

One intriguing question posed by the discovery of this grave was that its rich contents contrasted so sharply with the poverty of the modern Beja nomads. Alfredo Castiglioni noted that in antiquity the Beja were a powerful warrior people who fought both the Egyptians and the Romans. The Egyptians used to buy them off with gold, which explained their wealth, and the significance of the emerald find was that it showed the Beja dealt not only in gold but also in emeralds and appreciated their value and significance.

For six weeks each year, the CeDIO and the Castiglioni are gradually revealing the hidden history of an area that surely must be one of the most inhospitable environments in which to conduct archaeological research.
THE MUD FRIEZES OF ANCIENT TUCUME

The vast complex of eroded pyramids of ancient Tucume in northern Peru had been little studied until the explorer and adventurer Thor Heyerdahl started an excavation there in 1988. The ancient city was first built c. AD 1100 by people of the Lambayeque culture, flourished under the Incas, but eventually fell into ruins after the Spanish conquest. Here the archaeologist Alfredo Narváez describes one of the most important discoveries made at the site – a series of modelled mud friezes including a scene showing reed boats.

Early in 1992, excavations began on the Huaca Facho tombs as part of our programme of stratigraphic testing throughout the site. We had decided that a second section was needed in the same general area, and I was looking for a place where erosion or looting had exposed a deep profile. A local farmer told me about a small huaca in the south-west part of the site where there were walls with beautiful 'drawings' that looters had exposed in two large pits. He took me there, and I began to sort through the looters' debris. Within ten minutes, I had discovered fragments of mud friezes in high relief. Bringing a workman to the small mound, we immediately began formal excavations. More frieze fragments soon appeared as we worked through the debris, all of a greenish tint like the earliest phase of Huaca Larga.

Before we started, I asked Teodoro Sandoval, the workman, to clean back the spiny branches of two small algarrobo trees growing in the centre of the looters' pit. When he did so, he found that one tree had the form of a cross. Cross-shaped trees are considered sacred by the local farmers, and

Map of the Lambayeque Valley area, showing Tucume in its regional archaeological context. The area labelled 'Batán Grande Complex' includes a number of pyramids and sites such as Huaca Los Ventanas and Huaca Lurín, North of Lambayeque only the old Panamerican Highway is shown.
Teodoro immediately got out the tea he had brought for lunch and offered it to the tree, saying: 'Cruzita bendita, que haya rabajo, que haya trabajo, que muestrenos los secretos de la huaca, que encontremos cosas muy lindas' ('blessed little cross, let there be work, let there be a little work, show us the secrets of the huaca, let us find very beautiful things'). Within a week, we had our first view of the fantastic balsa raft frieze preserved on a long segment of original wall.

Huaca Las Balsas (Mound of the Rafts) is located on the south-western edge of the site, in the only group of large pyramids outside the Monumental Sector in the north. Huaca Los Gallinajes (Mound of the Crows) is slightly north and west of Las Balsas, while Huaca Las Abejas (Mound of the Bees) lies to the east. Unlike these two large pyramids, Huaca Las Balsas is a small, low mound, as is Huaca Facho to the south, where the Inca tombs were found. Were it not for the looters' discovery of the friezes, there would have been nothing to distinguish Las Balsas from several dozen other low, amorphous mounds in the south-western and southern sectors of Túcume.

However, the excavations of Huaca Las Balsas have shown it to be one of the most important structures yet uncovered at Túcume. Eight construction phases have been distinguished, seven of which have associated friezes. All phases were made of plano-convex (or bread-loaf) shaped adobe bricks.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE FRIEZES

During the 1992 excavations, we found a hearth at the base of the looters' pit with no associated architecture. Nevertheless, this hearth must have been part of an elaborate structure, as one side was made of adobe covered with plaster of the same greenish colour as the later mud friezes. Above the hearth is fill. A radiocarbon assay of charcoal from this hearth yielded a result of 555±70BP (BG-1612), which calibrates to AD 1399 to 1445 with a mean of AD 1423. The hearth is probably intrusive, but the fill in which it was found forms the base for the first construction phase of the mound.

Phase HB-1, with a bench and associated floor is constructed over the fill. The base ('zócalo') of the bench is decorated with mud friezes showing a line of mythical birds wearing half-moon headdresses. Another wall rises behind the bench, but it was covered with later friezes so we could not expose it.

A fill covering the Phase HB-1 bench formed the base for Phase HB-2. This phase has an inclined, east-west wall decorated with a frieze of a row of birds with half-moon headresses, each holding a round object in front of its body. Above the birds is a series of cut-out stepped crests connected on top by a clay rail, like a banister; between each stepped crest is open space, producing a lattice-like effect. On the other side of the banister is an inclined ramp, which turns at right angles at the top of the crested wall to run north as a level corridor. Friezes on the east wall of the corridor show a wave motif with a bird perched on top of each wave. In a second sub-phase of Phase HB-2, the wave-bird frieze was covered and a ramp added to the south of the inclined, crested wall.

To build the Phase HB-3 structure, the Phase HB-2 crested wall and associated ramps were covered with a fill of loose earth in small, crudely made
Statue of Osiris, Egyptian, XXVI Dynasty (650 BC), Granite, 64 x 32 cm.
The National Trust, Douglas-Perman Collection, Penhyn Castle, Gwynedd, NTPL.
Illustrated in Apollo, May 1995, 100 Great Treasures from the Collections of the National Trust.

The July issue of Apollo again features antiquities and ancient art
with articles on Acquisitions of Antiquities at the Met., recent discoveries at
Butrint, early Byzantine Rome and Safavid ceramic production

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floors of adobe and mortar. In some places broken stepped crests from the Phase HB-2 friezes were used instead of adobes. Much of the Phase HB-3 structure within the excavated area had been destroyed by looters, while other parts are covered by later friezes and could not be exposed. However, on the east face of one north-south wall we found the Frieze of the Rite. The upper part of this frieze shows a priest inside a roofed structure; he holds a line attached to a llama-like animal in one hand and a rod ending in a half-moon form in the other. To one side is a geometrical symbol which may be an attempt at a three-dimensional representation of a structure with corridors, a door, and exterior walls decorated with stepped temple symbols, in other words a typical Lambayeque building similar to Huaca Las Ventanas at Batan Grande. Separated by a raised line, the lower section of the Frieze of the Rite shows several figures in dance-like poses and with birds on their heads. In the background is a large vessel, similar to those depicted in fine-line scenes on some earlier Moche culture pots; jars of similar form are still used today to hold chicha (corn beer), an essential ingredient in all indigenous rites and festivals today as in the past. On one side of the lower section is a crane-like device from which another figure is suspended by the waist.

In Phase HB-4, a new north-south wall was added in front of the Phase HB-3 wall, covering the Frieze of the Rite. Originally, this wall was plastered but lacked reliefs, and a floor was built in front of it. When a second floor was placed on top of the first floor, the Balsa or Rafts Frieze was added to the east face of the wall. At this time, low benches were built along the sides of the room, creating a sunken chamber in front of the Balsa Frieze. The wall directly opposite the Frieze has not yet been excavated; it may also be decorated.

THE BALSAS FRIEZE
The Balsas Frieze is one of the most extraordinary finds at Túcume. The central panel, measuring 2.20x1.60m (7'x5'2" ft), shows two reed boats or rafts, each with two figures holding oars or paddles; one has a human body and the head of a bird and the other is a mythical bird. On each raft, one birdman has a half-moon head-dress while that of the other consists of two stepped structures shown in profile and joining in the center at the lowest step. Within the same central space as the rafts are more figures, representing fish and diving birds. Around the edges of this central panel are borders containing a figure known as the "anthropomorphic wave" which can be traced back at least to late Moche times. I have noticed that this figure also has avian characteristics and could more correctly be called the "anthropo-ornithomorph wave" that not such an awkward term.

To the north of the main panel is an area deliberately left clear of decoration. Some piece of movable art (such as a decorated textile or a carved wooden panel) may have been placed in this space; Dan Sandweiss found a similarly shaped space in one wall of the West Mound in Sector V. Further north, the Balsas Frieze wall was destroyed by the looters, exposing the Frieze of the Rite of Phase HB-3. To the north of this gap is a small, poorly preserved section of frieze which must be a continuation of the Balsas Frieze. All that remains is part of a flexed figure with a long head-dress, reminiscent of the anthropomorphic wave in the border around the raft scene. This figure holds a round object, like the birds in the Phase HB-2 frieze.

During Phase HB-3 or HB-4, post-holes were cut through the Phase HB-2 walls, presumably to support a roof which would have covered the decorated chamber in one or both of these phases. It seems likely that both the Frieze of the Rite and the Balsas Frieze were protected from the elements by such a roof. The fine preservation of both friezes argue in favour of this idea — without a roof, the constant winds, seasonal drizzle, and occasional torrential rains associated with El Niño would surely have damaged the delicate mud designs. Instead of such environmental deterioration, most of the damage to the friezes was
Huaca Las Balsas. In this phase (Phase HB-2) the relief was of a row of crouching birdmen with half-moon headdresses, holding round objects in their hands. Above them the wall was cut out in a series of wave motifs.

dish colour, now badly eroded and faded. The one exception is the west wall of the kitchen - the outer wall of the huaca - which was greenish. A short ramp from the north-west corner of the kitchen led to a corridor to the main entrance to the huaca, which from at least Phase HB-4 through Phase HB-6 was located on the north-east side of the mound. The ramp on the north side provided a secondary entrance to the huaca; during Phase HB-6, the Phase HB-5 friezes along this ramp were partly covered by the remodelled ramp but still visible.

To the east of the kitchen, we found a room full of llama dung. Clearly, this space was a corral of some kind, perhaps for the llamas eaten in the kitchen. Another possibility is that the llamas were to be sacrificed, as in the Frieze of the Rite of the Llama. Another is the llamas buried around the Stone Temple in the Monumental Sector.

Following Phase HB-6, the kitchen, associated rooms, and the north-east entrance were filled and sealed. During Phase HB-7, the final face of Huaca Las Balsas was added to the north side of the mound, covering the north-east entrance. At this time, the west ramp must have become the principal entrance. The upper parts of the Phase HB-5 friezes in the west ramp continued in use throughout Phase HB-7. The final phase, HB-8, is poorly preserved and represented only by a few floor fragments of fine grey plaster and a series of postholes, all found on top of the south end of the huaca.

**CHRONOLOGY OF HUACA LAS BALSAS**

In terms of chronology, I initially believed that Huaca Las Balsas was built, enlarged, and then abandoned in a relatively short span of time prior to the Chimú conquest of the Lmbayeque Valley. This hypothesis would place the date of the mound sometime around AD 1200, the period of local, Lmbayeque control of the site and the region. Given that the one radiocarbon date available for Huaca Las Balsas comes from a hearth which may predate construction of the mound and falls between AD 1399 and AD 1455 (calibrated), I must now reconsider my original estimate. Perhaps the hearth is intrusive and belongs to a later period, or it is possible that the huaca itself is later. In that case, it would provide evidence for the longer period of continuity of the Lmbayeque cultural tradition even under foreign domination by the Chimú and later Inca empires.

**INTERPRETATIONS**

Regardless of the absolute date and
span of Huca Las Balsas, one of the most striking features is the continuity displayed throughout the entire sequence of phases. With one possible exception, it seems clear that we have here the product of a single, long-lasting cultural tradition: the Lambayeque Tradition. All construction phases employed the same plano-convex adobe bricks – the type characteristic of late pre-Hispanic architecture in the Lambayeque Valley. The growth of the huaca resulted from the deposition of fill and the construction of parallel superimposed walls. All the plaster from Phases 1 to 7 shows the greenish tint characteristic of the Lambayeque (pre-Chimú) structures on Huca Larga; the grey plaster found on Chimú and Inca period buildings in the rest of the site occurs

The Balsas Frieze of Huca Las Balsas (Phase II-B-4, probably Lambayeque Period). One of the most extraordinary finds from Tucume, the central panel of the relief shows two reed rafts with two birdmen on each. The rafts are set in a field with diving birds and fish, and the whole is surrounded by a border of the anthropomorphic wave motif.
only in fragments of a floor dating to
the final phase, HB-8.
Finally, with the exception of the
Phase HB-3 Frieze of the Rite, the
iconography of the friezes shows con-
siderable formal coherence. The reliefs
found in Phases HB-1, -2, and -4 all
have a strictly maritime theme: rafts, fish,
sea birds, shells, anthropomorphic
and ‘natural’ waves, and so on.
In contrast, the Frieze of the Rite
shows dancers and priests with lla-
mas. Surely this scene represents the
celebration of a religious ceremony.
There is no evidence that this cere-
mony was related to the sea, but
given the theme of the earlier and
later friezes, I suspect that this is the
case. It may be that the Frieze of the
Rite shows a ritual related to the
moon or another of the coastal gods
(in muchik, the native language of
the north coast, the word ‘si’ means
both moon and sea). The animal
wearing a half-moon headdress is a
descendant of the Moche moon ani-
mal.
In the Lambayeque iconographic
tradition of AD 1000 to 1600, repeti-
tive or stereotypical elements predomi-
nate, as in the contemporary Chimu
tradition further south. The Frieze
of the Rite is an anomalous element in
the late Lambayeque tradition in
which religious scenes are scarce. It
is more like scenes represented in the
fine-line drawings on earlier, Moche
culture vessels, and I see a Moche
spirit behind the conception of this
relief. Indeed, at Túcume a strong
Moche tenacy is detectable, more
like the revival of an old and revered
tradition than a simple archaism.
A similar return to things Moche
may be involved in the continued use
of extended burials at Túcume,
instead of the more ‘modern’ flexed
burials. In sites such as the nearby
Batán Grande, or Chan Chan in the
Moche Valley, the later Middle Horiz-
on (c. AD 850-1100) saw an ideologi-
cal change inspired largely by external
influences and expressed in part as a
shift from extended to flexed burials
and a pre-dominant use of blackware
pottery as burial offerings. However,
I should note that we do not have any
evidence for a Middle Horizon occu-
pation at Túcume, and Professor Shi-
nada reports that extended burials do
return to Batán Grande in the periods
succeeding the Middle Horizon. We
may be witnessing a generalised
return to pre-Middle Horizon, local
traditions.
Prior to our project at Túcume, few
modelled mud friezes were known
from Lambayeque – the most im-
portant examples are those found by
Christopher Donnan at Huaca Gloria
in the Chotuna complex. The
Chotuna friezes are clearly a copy of
those found in the Moche Valley at
Huaca Dragón: the Chotuna version
lacks a proper style and it is obvious
that the artists had no clear idea of
what they were representing. This
situation contrasts markedly with the
mastery of execution of the Huaca Las
Balsas friezes, where the artists show a
fully developed conception of their
subject matter.
Donnan argues that the Chotuna
friezes end the relief tradition in Lam-
bayeque, and that no further develop-
m ent takes place in the region. He
suggests that Lambayeque lacked a
local relief tradition and tried to
import one from the Moche Valley
(witness the Chotuna friezes), without
great success. Our discoveries at Túc-
ume provide evidence that this is not
so: the Huaca Las Balsas friezes and
the Chimu-period frieze on Huaca 1
demonstrate the continuation of a
local tradition of mud reliefs.
This tradition co-existed with a Lam-
bayeque mural painting tradition
known from sites such as Ucapa and
Huaca Pintada of Illimo, and contin-
ued with the vibrant bird paintings in
the Temple of the Mythical Bird on
Huaca Larga at Túcume.

(above) Close-up of
the right-hand raft
of the Babas
Frieze.
(below) A detail of
the anthropo-
morphic wave
motif from the
Babas Frieze.

Alfredo Narváez
is an archaeologist
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of Culture in
Lambayeque, Peru.

This extract is taken from Pyramids
of Túcume: the Quest for Peru’s For-
gotten City, by Thor Heyerdahl, Daniel
H. Sandweiss and Alfredo Narváez,
published in July by Thames and
Hudson, price £16.95.
GODS, STATE AND PEOPLE IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Egyptological and Anthropological Perspectives

Robert Steven Bianchi

The Sixth Annual Symposium sponsored by The American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) took place at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City on 10 December, 1994. The proceedings were very illuminating, and were the result of the fruitful cooperation and long term planning between Terry Walz, the Executive Director of ARCE, and Diana Craig Patch, of the Museum, who introduced the day's proceedings with a Prologue, to provide 'a setting for the conference'. The majority of Egyptologists focus their academic attention on the élite, the top 5-10 percent of the population of ancient Egypt. Anthropologists, however, try to glean from the archaeological record information about the entire population, and most particularly that 90-95 percent who are often overlooked in popular treatments of ancient Egypt. Patch suggested that the scientific methods employed by anthropologists might be adapted to suit the needs of Egyptology in general, but argued that data acquired by these methods would supplement that obtained by other means, to give a clearer picture of the entire population of Egypt.

Whereas anthropologists have successfully addressed the issues of non-élite populations in other ancient societies, they are more restricted when it comes to ancient Egypt, as Matthew Adams, a Ph.D. student at the University of Pennsylvania, demonstrated in his presentation on the development of towns. He admitted that very little is known about the villages and hamlets in which the vast majority of the population must have lived because most of these settlements have been lost, one of several reasons for this being alluvial deposition. Their absence, however, cannot be used as evidence to state, as the late John Wilson once did, that Egypt was 'a civilization without cities.' Adopting as a working hypothesis that ancient Egypt may be characterised as a territorial state rather than a city state, Adams urged scholars to examine Egypt 'from the bottom up, not from the top down.'

As a model, Adams presented his own work at the site of Abydos, which suggested, for the Old Kingdom at least, the presence of a series of urban centres controlled by a ruling élite in which craft specialists were based (Fig 1). The agricultural community was located in smaller villages in the surrounding area. This settlement pattern, obtained by archaeological methods, was consistent with the general picture of the period's urban pattern provided by contemporary texts.

The challenge to the élite's authority at the end of the Old Kingdom, linked to other factors such as low Niles, fostered inter-regional competition during the First Intermediate Period. This in turn triggered a movement of the population from the countryside to those formerly élite urban centres. This relocation of the population had significant ramifications on the economy, as revealed for example in the suggestion that households then became grain producers. Although it may be premature to judge the applicability of this model to other regions or epochs, the results obtained so far from this line of investigation are promising and should be taken as an indication that a stronger emphasis on settlement archaeology in the Nile Valley could be fruitful.

Patch's contribution concerned itself with regional settlement patterns and the rise of complex society in ancient Egypt during the Predynastic periods. Basing her presentation partly on work at Abydos, she paid particular attention to the urban patterns within the great Abydos emplacement. She admitted that the social mechanisms which led to the development of urban patterns in this region between 4200 and 2550 BC are debatable.
However, the application of anthropological models did reveal that during the Naqada II period the villages in that area were approximately the same size and were generally equidistant from one another. Moreover, their inhabitants seem to have been engaged in similar activities. During the course of the Naqada II period, however, the area began to empty out so that there were fewer sites within it, but many more sites seem to have been clustered around the urban centre of Abydos itself. These shifts in settlement patterns were accompanied by an increase in trade and a marked degree of social stratification. Patch then presented a correlation between these urban settlements and their cemeteries, and surmised that a reason for the emergence of Abydos as the royal cemetery might be its topography which was visually related to the ancient Egyptian concept of the Underworld.

Wilma Wetzerstrom, an Associate of the Natural History Museum, concentrated on the relationship between the land and the people as she explored issues of environment, ecology and agriculture in ancient Egypt. Reafirming that many of ancient Egypt's domesticated crops - emmer wheat, peas, lentils, flax - were introduced from the Ancient Near East, she presented evidence for environmental degradation brought about by farming of those domesticated plants which depleted the indigenous wild plants and eventually replaced them. Concomitantly, the once abundant sources of wood, mainly dense thickets of sycamore and tamarisks on the river banks, were depleted not only because they were exploited as a resource for firewood, but also because they were cleared for settlements. The grazing of domesticated animals within this zone also quickened the pace of deforestation.

The most provocative paper of the day, however, proved to be that delivered by Christiana Koehler, a Visiting Scholar in the Department of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, who reviewed the state of research on late Predynastic Egypt, before presenting her new evidence for the development of the pharaonic state. She suggested that whereas there may be currently about two dozen theories to explain the cultural dynamics leading to the unification of Egypt, almost every hypothesis ultimately regards the unification, for the sake of simplicity here, as the triumph of Upper Egypt over Lower Egypt.

Koehler challenged this assumption. Because of the complexities of her argument and the impact it is certain to have on the study of the Predynastic Period, I will not present it here in synopsis. I will only mention that her interpretation of the data obtained from field settlement archaeology, of the type advocated by Adams, seems to provide data significantly different from that obtained from cemetery archaeology. The result of this new approach to the material remains of the Predynastic produces data which does not fit the model of a monarch from the south imposing his control on the Delta. I leave it to Koehler to argue her case, but most in the audience were convinced that Koehler's anthropological approach to source site criticism provides Egyptologists with a 'tool kit' to examine the new evidence so that one can better understand the old.

C. Loring Brace, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Michigan and Curator of Biological Anthropology at the University's Museum, presented a paper on 'The Population of Ancient Egypt in World Perspective'. His initial remarks were informative and he observed, quite correctly to my mind, that the compulsion for racial designation is a decidedly American phenomenon, and succinctly traced its historicity. He reitered the position of progressive anthropologists that there is no biological basis for race in discussions of the populations of ancient Egypt.

David O'Connor, Professor of Egyptology at the University of Pennsylvania, presented an informative paper on the Egyptian cosmos. After introducing his theme by way of the activities of the creator deity, O'Connor concentrated on the cosmological interfaces between heaven, earth and the underworld. He did so in order to cast into sharper focus his discussion of built forms. In doing so, O'Connor suggested that the temple, the palace, and the elite tomb were individually linked in the Egyptian mind with heaven, earth, and the underworld, respectively, but each also shared to a somewhat lesser degree characteristics of the remaining two spheres so that each could be regarded iconographically as the cosmos in its totality (Fig 2). This pluralism of approach to built forms in ancient Egypt is admirable, and should do much to dissuade those who insist on only one Aristotelian interpretation of these aspects of the cultural record.

The participants, Andrew Moore, Associate Dean of the Graduate School at Yale University, Rita Wright, Professor in the Department of Anthropology at New York University, and Gregory Johnson, Professor and Chair of the Department of Anthropology at Hunter College, CUNY, in New York City, each elaborated upon Terry Walz's opening remarks that 'an anthropological framework can do much to place the culture of ancient Egypt within a worldwide perspective.' It was only fitting, therefore, that this symposium featured a tribute to the late Walter Fairservis, delivered by Rita Wright. Fairservis, characterised as a field anthropologist, who realised the value of comparative methods, excavated Indus Valley settlements before moving on to Egypt to work on the Nubian salvage campaigns. In the context of this symposium, however, Wright focused on Fairservis's own work at the site of Hierakonpolis, which figures so prominently in discussions of the formation of the early Egyptian state.

**Fig 2. A view of the pylons and the columns of the Palace of Pharaoh Mentuhsen of Dynasty XIX at Memphis.**
CHINESE JADES FROM THE NEOLITHIC TO THE QING

Carol Michaelson describes Sir Joseph Hotung’s remarkable collection of Chinese jades, currently being shown in an exhibition at the British Museum.

For most of China’s history jade has been one of its most precious materials. Long before bronzes were made and treasured, jade was esteemed by the Chinese as the material from which to make their most valuable objects. In contrast with the Western taste for brilliant silver, gold and sparkling gems, in China the luminous qualities of polished stone reigned supreme. No other culture has valued jade for a continuous period of over 7000 years or given such literary and philosophical weight to this material. During this time span the Chinese have attributed to jade qualities such as moral virtue, benevolence, aesthetic purity, aspects of immortality and the power to avert evil influences.

Sir Joseph Hotung has been collecting jades for over twenty years and the collection embraces most of the major types of jades that were produced over China’s long history. It is fitting, therefore, to present a survey of this traditional and very highly valued material through the many items he has gathered together so carefully.

The English word jade is a generic term for two quite different minerals, nephrite and jadeite. All Sir Joseph’s jades are of nephrite. Jadeite only began to be used in China to any extent from the eighteenth century and there are no examples in the Hotung collection. Nephrite is a silicate of calcium and magnesium; jadeite is a silicate of sodium and alu-

Fig 1. Neolithic period, Hongshan culture, c. 3500 BC. H: 17cm; W: 11.5cm. This hoof-shaped jade belongs to one of the major categories of Hongshan jade but we do not know what its function was. Its importance is evident from its size and its position in the burial, near the head of the corpse. A carving of this size would have been made from a substantial block of material, from which the centre was removed: a most extravagant measure.

Fig 2 (right). Cong, Neolithic period, Liangzhu culture, c. 2500 BC. H: 49cm; W: 8cm. This cong is divided into 17 sections. These display faces in the two long upper bands and one short lower one. The circles of the eyes are only occasionally visible.

Fig 3. Cong, Neolithic period, Liangzhu culture, c. 2500 BC. H: 5cm; W: 8.8cm. This cong has four square panels, each divided horizontally into two with a simplified man’s head in the upper part and a monster’s face in the lower part.
The Chinese fascination for jade is all the more remarkable considering the physical properties of the material and the difficulty of working it. Its very toughness and molecular structure mean that it cannot be carved or cleaved along fraction lines but rather has to be abraded and polished. Raw jade was cut or sawed into blocks in ancient times with bow or string saws, used in conjunction with abrasives. These blocks were then ground or drilled, using drill points of metal, stone, bone or other hard stones, in conjunction with abrasive substances such as quartz sand. After the initial cutting and subsequent shaping, the jade had to be polished to the desired smoothness, again by using various stones, or leather, with abrasives used as a polish. Some kind of rotating tool was introduced for cutting holes and grooves at quite an early date, and, in some parts of China, holes were drilled from both sides; in others the holes were drilled from one side only.

Jade working began in China far back in Neolithic times, about 5000 BC, and long before there was any writing system to explain why they might have chosen this material. It had long been thought in China and the West that the primary centres of Chinese civilization were established near the Yellow River and its tributaries, but we now know that in fact there were several distinct Neolithic cultures existing concurrently and spread over much of the land mass.
that is now China. Many of these neolithic societies overlapped and many probably had some sort of trading or other relationship; some were probably more isolated.

One of the earliest such jade-producing societies arose in the far northeast of China, in what is now Liaoning province. Here the Hongshan culture thrived from about 3500-2400 BC. This is fairly late in the neolithic period but it is one of the earliest jade-producing cultures about which we have considerable knowledge, due to the finds made in this area during the last two decades by Chinese archaeologists. Jades had been produced by earlier societies living around this area, but not to the same extent, and we have very little evidence of these earlier peoples.

The Hongshan people had a very sophisticated society with impressive buildings, platforms and separate religious areas. They also made stone-lined or cist tombs. They produced very fine jades including discs, bracelets, large tubular ornaments, and some ornaments in the shape of animals, particularly in the shape of a coiled creature, known as a pig-dragon. The hoof-shaped ornaments, found near the heads of bodies buried in this area are assumed to have been ornaments, although in fact they would have been extremely heavy and uncomfortable to wear, and were perhaps made only for use in burial (Fig 1). Such carvings were certainly very extravagant items to make since the interiors of the pieces had to be hollowed out. Discs were also buried and these were intermentally a common burial item for many Chinese societies over the next thousand years or so.

It used to be thought that jade had always been imported into China and that there were no indigenous sources for it. However, over the last few years geologists such as Wen Guang have shown that there were local deposits of nephrite in the area of the northeast and also in the south-east, around Shanghai, where another major jade producing neolithic culture flourished.

The Liangzhu people, situated around Lake Tai, in Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces, was another major, neolithic jade-producing culture flourishing around 3000-2250 BC, and it seems likely that there was some communication between the peoples of the Hongshan area in the northeast and this south-eastern coastal area. However, in the main, the jades the Liangzhu peoples produced were quite different from those of the Hongshan; they also produced them in much greater quantities. As explained above, jade cannot actually be carved, so the very impressive tubular jades they produced, known much later as cong, including the one of 48 cms height in the exhibition (Fig 2), are certainly a great testimony to the skills of the artisans. We can only guess what significance and meanings jade had for the Liangzhu people: perhaps it was felt that jades provided some kind of protective power since they were buried in such great numbers in the graves. The principal motif on the cong is a combination of a monster and human figure (Fig 3), often very powerfully delineated, but still enigmatic to us today. In one particularly well published grave at Sidun, there were 33 cong aligned along the body and 25 bi (circular discs) placed on it; the best qual-
ity nephrite discs were positioned on the centre of the body and less good or pure stones at the feet. We can tell that the artisans knew which stones were nephrite and which were not; and the best nephrite was clearly kept for the most important burials and positioned in what was considered to be the most important place (Fig 4).

During the neolithic and early dynastic period, 4000-1000 BC, blades of many kinds were particularly important. Their distribution across China was uneven and there were many varieties which are well represented in the exhibition. The various blade types had their prototypes in stone tools which were then made in jade to make them more special. These special versions presumably had some symbolic meaning or represented some form of status within the different societies. Early stone axes and reaping knives were thus first reproduced in thick heavy jade carvings and later in more thinly-sliced jade, which was generally highly polished. Such jade blades often retain the holes derived from stone tools which had been hafted to wooden shafts: in the jade examples such holes are simply references to their earlier, functional history. The blades were much too fragile and costly to have actually been used for any utilitarian purpose (Fig 5).

Neolithic cultures were succeeded eventually by the Shang and the Western Zhou dynasties, known from historical texts, for a period lasting from c. 1500-770 BC. The Shang dynasty is the first archaeologically attested dynasty and was the period that saw the beginning of writing on oracle bones, as divination records, and the emergence of the Bronze Age. Animal pendants were very popular at this time and varieties of fish, hare, deer and rabbits are found although we cannot be sure how they were actually worn (Fig 6). The only Shang dynasty royal tomb so far to be found undisturbed by tomb robbers is that of Fu Hao, a consort of the Shang ruler, Wu Ding; she died in about 1200 BC. Her grave held an astonishing number of approximately 750 jades, of which bracelets and animal pendants formed a good proportion, but she also had some neolithic items buried with her, which she must have inherited or acquired during her doubtless privileged lifetime. This assemblage illustrates how durable a material jade is and how it was patently treasured by the Chinese even as long ago as the Shang dynasty. By 1200 BC these neolithic jades were already about 1000 years or more old. Fu Hao also had some copies of neolithic jades in her tomb, such as small versions of the Hongshan pig-dragons, jade type (Fig 7). During the later Shang and Western Zhou period, jade use seems to have declined.

In the next period, the Eastern Zhou and Han times, from c. 771 BC to c. AD 220, the role of jade in Chinese life began to develop into new associations. We can suppose that in earlier times jade had had an important role in Chinese society, but during this later period the Chinese began to use jade systematically in large numbers in burial. It is likely that there was some sense that jade offered protection to the body in death. From about the ninth century BC discoveries in tombs have shown jades covering the facial features and the culmination of this was eventually to be the jade burial suit, which appeared in the second and first centuries BC. However, as it took on average ten years to make such a suit, this was something in which only the very highest ranks of Han dynasty royalty could indulge.

At this time the disc or bi shape, much used in the neolithic period, was again widely employed, generally in very decorative forms, often with scrolling designs and dragons. Ancient historical and ritual texts refer to jades being used in negotiations between leaders and as spirit guardians.

![Fig 9. Belt set of 18 pieces, Tang Dynasty, 7th-8th century AD. Large rectangular pieces: 8.75x5cm. The various elements composing this belt set have holes on the back for attachments to a leather or cloth belt. The slits in the smaller plaques were for suspended straps, from which implements could be hung.](image)

![Fig 10. Lobed cup, Tang dynasty, 8th-9th century AD. H: 6.2cm; L: 17.1cm. The shape of this oval elongated cup mirrors that of silver shapes of the Tang dynasty.](image)
offerings. The King of Nan Yue, buried in Canton in c. 122 BC, had many such discs buried with him as did Prince Liu Sheng, buried slightly later at Mancheng, Hebei province in the north of China, in about 113 BC (Fig 8).

The later jades from the end of the Han to the Qing period, c. AD 220-1911, were generally quite different to those produced earlier.

In the post-Han period, although still very highly regarded and classed at the top of the hierarchy of élite materials, jade no longer played such a pivotal role in ceremony and ritual. Instead it gradually became more widely used for personal ornaments such as pendants, belts, hair ornaments and jewellery and vessels; such jades were more for worldly display than display to spirits in the tombs. Belt sets were originally introduced into China from the steppe area and gold, silver and gilt bronze examples, composed of a variety of plaques and a rounded buckle section, were copied in jade by the Chinese. Such belts often represented rank and status and the Hotung collection includes one whole belt set and several belt plaques (Fig 9).

During the Han dynasty Chinese ideas about immortality had undergone fundamental changes. Ideas about the underworld and paradies to which the dead might go were modified, such new beliefs being known as religious Daoism, an indigenous Chinese religion. The dead were no longer thought to live primarily in their tombs, but rather to enjoy an afterlife in paradise, so models, rather than the real thing, were now placed with them and precious objects were no longer buried. Jade became closely linked with the Daoist search for immortality, and the Daoist paradises were described as being luminous like translucent jade and filled with jade immortals and animals. Beliefs such as that of eating powdered jade in order to assist mortals reach these miraculous realms became prevalent. Prior to this period jade vessels were probably a rarity because of the wastage involved in their manufacture. However, during the Tang dynasty some jade vessels were made copying foreign gold or silver shapes, partly in an attempt to assist those who sought immortality through drinking or eating from such precious jade vessels. Such vessels were obviously very luxurious and ownership implied great wealth and status (Fig 10).

Such vessels continued to be rare items until the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) dynasties, when they began to be produced in greater...
quantities and varieties of form. During this later period the Chinese controlled the area along the trade routes to Khotan and Yarkand from where most of their jade now came. Some larger vessels were made in this later period in imitation of archaic shapes, originally of bronze (Fig 11). The large spinach-green brush pot also typifies the later vessels, both in its size and its pictorial quality. Often such vessels were worked as if they were a two-dimensional surface onto which a picture could be created. This brushpot is decorated with scenes of rice cultivation and stacks of sheaves which can be directly compared with similar scenes from an illustrated album depicting similar activities, as shown in the print reproduced here (Figs 12 and 13).

Despite the fact that the process of producing jades was extremely time-consuming and labour-intensive, the many thousands of jade ritual and ornamental objects that have been made by the Chinese amply testify to the great symbolic and material worth this material held and still holds for them.

'Chinese Jades from the Neolithic to the Qing' is at the British Museum until 17 September. A comprehensive catalogue of the Hotung collection is published to coincide with the exhibition. The exhibition presents an entirely new approach to the understanding and study of Chinese jade. This new approach is fully explored in a detailed account of the history of jade use in the catalogue by Dr Jessica Rawson, Warden of Merton College, Oxford, and previously Keeper of the Department of Oriental Antiquities, the British Museum. Carol Michaelson is very grateful to Dr Rawson for her help and permission to make use of the material in the catalogue in the preparation of this article.

Fig 13. Woodblock print showing the stacking of sheaves in a rick from the Gengjii lu, in a printed edition of AD1696. British Museum.

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THE ANCIENT COIN MARKET
Market drifts into Summer

Eric J. McFadden

The Spring New York International was not, this year, the usual final international event of the spring season. The fair was held in early May, a full month earlier than its usual date, and so occurred before several of the major European sales. As a result, the New York International was held while the European season was still in full swing, and many of the European dealers were too busy closer to home to come to New York. The fair suffered from the absence of the Europeans, as there was simply less material to buy and fewer buyers to whom to sell. The fair, which was held at the Sheraton Hotel and Towers, suffered also from a nearly constant leak of sewage through the ceiling in one corner of the room, producing a rather disgusting odour that was not exactly conducive to relaxed business. One of the auction viewing rooms, in addition, was inundated by a deluge of mystery fluid from above, which reportedly caused significant damage. The fair was not a disaster, by most accounts, but neither was it a glowing success.

The New York auctions did remarkably well despite the absence of Europeans. Spink America (known to its friends as 'Spam'), the new Christie's venture in New York, had great success in its premier auction, with active bidding throughout. One of the most interesting coins of the sale, a fifth-century BC silver tetradrachm of Katane in Sicily, was struck on a slightly earlier and even more famous silver tetradrachm of Naxos, fetched $7,000 against an estimate of $4,000-$6,000. An extremely fine gold aureus of Augustus, AD 27BC-14, sold for $11,000 against an estimate of $4,000-$6,000. An extremely rare two solidi gold medallion of Constantine the Great, AD 307-337, brought $27,000 against an estimate of $17,000-$20,000. This was an auspicious start for Spink America, which also held a grand opening for its new office.

Rumour on the floor of the New York International had it that after this great success the firm is now planning to open a Canadian office, perhaps to be known as 'Spam in the Can'.

The Classical Numismatic Group Auction was likewise strong, with better coins bringing active bidding. A silver tetradrachm of Messana in Sicily, c. 430-420 BC, sold for $5,750 against an estimate of $5,000 (Fig 1). A silver tetradrachm issued by the Carthaginians in Sicily (Heraclides/horse head), c. 300-289 BC, fetched $4,000 against an estimate of $2,600. An archaic silver didrachm of the Derrones, a Thracian-Macedonian tribe, c. 470 BC, brought $6,000 against an estimate of $5,000. A superb silver denarius of the Roman emperor Otho, who reigned for only three months in AD 69, 'the year of the four emperors', fetched $6,000 against an estimate of $4,000 (Fig 2).

Later in May, the Leu Numismatics sale in Zurich featured an important array of outstanding coins. A beautiful archaic silver stater of Kaulonia in Southern Italy, c. 520 BC, brought SF29,000 in keen bidding against an estimate of SF16,000 (Fig 3). The piece is made in the distinctive method employed by the Greeks in South Italy (and possibly invented by the great philosopher Pythagoras who was resident at Croton) of using the same design on both sides, one raised and the other incuse. A remarkably fine silver stater of Aegina depicting a tortoise, c. 350 BC, sold for SF12,500 against an estimate of SF7,500. The highlight of the sale, a superb gold aureus of the Roman emperor Pescennius Niger, AD 193-194, fetched SF150,000 against an estimate of SF125,000 (Fig 4). Two splendid gold aureus of Licinius I and II sold for surprisingly strong prices at SF48,000 and SF50,000, respectively, against estimates of SF36,000 and SF32,500.

The usual clear divide between the spring market and the summer full has been obscured this year not only by the early date of the New York International but also by a highly important sale of Greek and Roman coins to be held by Sotheby's London on 5 July. This auction, the most important London sale of ancient coins for many years, is certain to attract good attendance and strong prices. Sotheby's has timed the sale to coincide with the usual summer antiquities sales in the hope of attracting crossover bidding from antiquities buyers. We will watch with interest to see how successfully this plan works.

MINERVA 38
Passage through Angkor

Angkor: Heart of an Asian Empire

The first photographer to immortalise Angkor, in 1866, was a Scotsman, John Thomson. His panoramic view of the western facade appears in Bruno Dagens' book Angkor: Heart of an Asian Empire.

Now another British photographer, Mark Stanedge, has captured the ruins in the Cambodian jungle in an inspiring book which ranges from dramatic to elegiac. Passage through Angkor opens with an arresting image of the same western facade before sunrise. The temple is silhouetted against the deep indigo pre-dawn sky. But what captures the eye is the lower half of the picture, streaked with a horizontal line of brilliant golden-red light, slicing through the long corridor of bas-reliefs. At that moment, a group carrying burning torches were walking through the passage towards a ceremony. The unique shot is surprising and eerie, as if the temple were haunted by spirits.

The text is by John Hoskin, also English, and an expert on art in Indochina. He and Stanedge have structured the book around the theme of passage: passages of time, passages within architecture, and rites of passage. Hoskin invites the reader to 'pass through Angkor and appreciate it in its entirety, not as the scattered remains of a long dead city but as a vital design in the cultural fabric of the Khmer world.'

To show that vitality, Stanedge photographed the people whose daily lives are inextricably linked with the site, such as monks, children, fishermen, conservation workers, stone carvers, dance troupes and soldiers. They, like the monuments, have survived a tumultuous history. He juxtaposes them with images from bas-reliefs. A woman in a wooden boat collects lotus buds for an offering. On the opposite page, a bas-relief from the Bayon reveals an identical scene.

'Oxen have always lived beyond the sandstone walls,' writes Hoskin. 'The same traditions dictate the rites of passage from birth to death now as before; the same beliefs and superstitions hold power over the assurance of tomorrow.'

Capturing the temples in intricate detail, in every light, this book is a pictorial celebration of Cambodia's rich artistic past and enduring contemporary traditions.

Since its first appearance in French as Angkor: Forêt de Pierre in 1989, Bruno Dagens' enthralling history, now published in English as Angkor: Heart of an Asian Empire, has been a source book for scholars and tourists alike. It focuses on the rediscovery of Angkor in 1860 and the people who reconstructed it. Dagens, who was brought up in Africa and France, worked at Angkor Conservation between 1965-72 and was a member of the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient (EFEO).

The interest of this handy, pocket-sized book lies not only in the detailed text, but also in the richness of its illustrations. Unlike Passage through Angkor, these are not limited to photographs, but include a wealth of sepia prints, autochromes, drawings, paintings, engravings of the ruins, and of the personalities who made them famous.

Starting with accounts of the lost city - the first chapter is aptly titled Discovery? Was that the Word? - gives the subject immediacy, setting it, like Stanedge's book, in a contemporary context. Dagens explodes the myth about the explorer Henri Mouhot stumbling across the temples swathed in jungle. Numerous visitors came before him, among them Charles-Emile Boullévaux in 1858. The 'kili-joy missionairy', as Dagens calls him, said the temples had not been discovered, for they had never been lost. Nevertheless, Mouhot, a brilliant naturalist, artist and linguist, travelling under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society, is justified praised. He died in 1861, later aged 36. His fine drawings are reproduced here. Dagens follows them with descriptions of the great city in its heyday by the twelfth-century Chinese emissary, Chou Ta-Kuan.

Dagens emphasises the importance of the rediscovery for France, 'as symbol of colonial rule restoring to a nation its past grandeur.' The arrival of the British, 'France's age-old rivals,' in the shape of Thomson and the ambassador in 1866, made them anxious. 'Their one great fear was that the British might outmanoeuvre them - not just in Angkor but, more importantly, in China, their ultimate goal.'

The European imagination was captured by half-ruined temples emerging from violent jungle vegetation. French Government representatives, Doudart de Lagrée and François Garnier, and explorer Louis Delaporte, 'a new Lord Elgin,' wrote about and drew exotic representations in Voyage au Cambodge. Delaporte 'acquired' sculptures for France, many now in the Musée Guimet. Huge casts of Angkor were made for a fantastic display at the Universal Exhibition in Paris in 1867, and for the Colonial Exhibitions of 1922 and 1931, where 'vast crowds jostled among stone giants and monsters.' Architect Lucien Fournier produced superb technical drawings in 1887. Writer Pierre Loti realised a dream when he saw the mysterious heads of the Bayon in 1901, 'one of the most stupendous temples in the world.' When King Sisowath came to France with his Cambodian dancers in 1906, the sculptor Rodin was bewitched by their beauty.

In 1907 Angkor, which had been annexed by Thailand, was returned to Cambodia. Clearing the temples, strangled by giant banyan and fig trees, was started by EFEO under successive curators: Jean Commaille, Henri Marchal, George Trouvé and Maurice Glaise. Commaille, ensconced happily in a straw hut beside Angkor's causeway, while his wife and children were returned to France. He was murdered in 1916, which prompted the poet Paul Claudel to describe Angkor as evil.

Dagens pays homage to all those whose lives were devoted to the ruins: George Coedes who deciphered inscriptions, Henri Parmentier, EFEO's director, and George Groslier, who built the National Museum in Phnom Penh. They stare out of faded old photos, in white colonial costumes, against the dramatic backdrop.

He mentions the scandal of André Malraux, art critic and Minister for Culture, who in 1924 removed pieces of Banteay Srei, for which he was imprisoned. The 'coolly calculating art-lover' wrote a romanticised version of his experiences in The Royal Way. Soon, tourists arrived. A 1934 photograph shows a convoy of splendid cars in front of the Elephant Terrace. 'The curator,' observes Dagens, 'managed to ignore them most of the
time.' Tourism boosted Cambodia's economy but increased looting.

Archaeological investigations continued until the 1960s, while Prince Sihanouk brought dignitaries such as De Gaulle, but ceased after Sihanouk was deposed in 1970. Few references are made to the war. There is only one photo, a shadow of a soldier and his AK47, cast across the bar reliefs. Dagens never mentions the Khmer Rouge, the damage they caused or the landmines planted around the temples.

He jumps to 1992, when Angkor became a World Heritage Site, ending appropriately where a new-era begins.

Denise Heywood.

Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art

Symbol and Magic in Egyptian Art

To the western art-educated eye ancient Egyptian art, especially the 'official' art that appears in tomb paintings and reliefs in tombs and temples, always seems a little curious. This is largely due to two things: the lack of true perspective and the use of what is termed 'twisted' perspective in the representation of the human figure (true perspective does not appear in European art until the Renaissance). Once the reasons for this presentation become known it is possible to view and appreciate Egyptian art from a different standpoint.

It has long been realised that ancient Egyptian art and its presentation was dictated by a 'canon of proportion' based on a squared grid system that hardly changed over several millennia. One of the first to appreciate this and publish in detail was Professor Erik Iverson in his seminal work Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art (1955). The long continuity of use of this principle has invariably given the wrong idea about Egyptian art, suggesting that it was moribund and stereotyped. Because many tombs were left unfinished at their owner's death the method of working in grid squares has been found left marked on the walls and also on some stone statue blocks. In her new book, Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art, Professor Gay Robins has traced the system of grid presentation from the Old Kingdom in the third millennium BC right through the major periods of Middle Kingdom (twentieth-nineteenth centuries BC), the highwater mark of the New Kingdom (ending c. 1085 BC) and down into the later Ptolemaic (i.e. Greek) period. In so doing she has been able to show (and well illustrate here with line drawings) the development that is not readily apparent both in the grid use and also the physical differences between the sexes from the even earlier Early Dynastic Period (c. 3300 BC). Of particular interest is her discovery and detailed account of the canon of proportion used during the highly controversial period of Amarna art, often written about as the first true naturalism in art but actually (as the late Cyril Aldred suggested) more mannerism.

An innovation is the examination of the use of the grid, essentially for seated and standing figures, in relation to the rest of the scene represented. The lack of perspective, plus the need to represent as much detail as possible, e.g. the items on a table of offerings, led to an encoding of the information by the artist. Thus he might show objects that in actuality were spread over the flat surface of a table as being piled vertically above it so that every item could be seen by the viewer. The need was for everything present to be seen in its entirety for it to endure. Another illustration of this is the depiction of garden pools laid out as a rectangle but having the trees put flat at right angles around the four edges of the pool. To show a large assembly of beasts or people, they might be encoded and placed in registers above each other, although in actuality they would all be intermingled.

Interspersed with photos of paintings and reliefs, several still with their ancient grid squares visible, the drawings of Ann S. Fowler form an essential and cogent aspect of the book. This new study is essential reading for all with an interest in Egyptian art or who are looking at the precursors of western art and its different basis of representation and understanding.

A different aspect of ancient Egyptian art is treated by Dr Richard Wilkinson in his Symbol and Magic in Egyptian Art. This is an extension of his earlier Reading Egyptian Art (1992), but here taking the reader deeper into the complexities and understanding of the art. Symbolism, whether overt or covert, was an essential element of Egyptian art, the 'code' of meaning put there to be read by the initiated at different levels. Also, much of the symbolism and the symbols themselves, often coupled with their specific colours had a particular magical message or context. Colours had a far greater potency than is recognised in the modern world; similarly, numbers carried power, hieroglyphs could become a very complex anagram expressing much beyond the basic interpretation, and location of representations in tombs (especially royal ones) and temples had a very important significance.

In a series of nine chapters, the symbolism of form, size, location, materials, colour, numbers, hieroglyphs, actions and gestures are examined and appropriately illustrated with photos and line drawings to focus on the specific aspects that the ancient artist is projecting. The introductory text of each chapter is followed by a series of illustrated case studies with a detailed relevant text. For example, only when it is pointed out does one realise that the very gesture of presentation made by the god Amun, with his arms outstretched over the kneeling Queen Hatshepsut at her investiture on her fallen obelisk (not of Tuthmosis Ill as in ill. 105) at Karnak also represents the ka (soul) hieroglyph. There are many intriguing and interesting insights and comments on Egyptian art in this book which need to be savoured for the different view they present below the surface of often apparently simple representations. Any symbolism is a challenge, especially that from an ancient culture and, as Dr Wilkinson rightly points out, it 'is a fascinating challenge, and not always a simple matter'. For Egyptian symbolism is a vast subject and may be approached from a number of viewpoints. To this, Wilkinson is an excellent guide and mentor.

Peter A. Clayton.

Iron Age Britain

This is what its author calls an 'interpretative essay' on a subject to which he has devoted much of his time both in the field and at his desk. The first important aspect he portrays is Britain as part of the Continent instead of a totally separate island with its peoples independent of Europe. This has been the view of many past historians, and was the cause of a rift between archaeology and history, which has mercifully been swept away. Fig 2 shows
more clearly than any words that Britain is part of Western Europe; while on Fig 3 we see the main zones of types of settlement governed by different physical conditions.

The long succession of invading settlers came from different parts of Western Europe. The Romans thought that the peoples of what we know as south Wales came from Spain; but most invaders used the shorter crossings, and each wave pushed the earlier settlers further to the West and North. Apart from the tribal movements there were merchants bringing exotic goods, which complicate the distribution patterns. All this is skilfully portrayed. As the population grew under more settled conditions so inter-tribal disputes became inevitable, and this is shown by the growth of hill-forts, where the inhabitants could defend themselves. The Celts were natural warriors, whose way to manhood was by the taking of an enemy head.

Chapter 5 is concerned with the development of tribal societies under the influence of a growing trade with the Roman world, especially in the south-east. The introduction of the potters' wheel in the first century BC gradually improved the quality of domestic wares. The minting of coins by the tribes in the south-east provides evidence of tribal grouping and areas, although their use is not fully understood, and trade was still operated by the exchange of goods.

Chapter 8 on Celtic religion is perhaps the least satisfactory. The anti-Druid propaganda of Caesar is accepted, and there is a serious omission of the Celtic deities of Caesar, especially springs, woods, streams and rivers, and the important triad of mother goddesses associated with birth. Also missing are the links with classical deities such as Lenus-Mars, Apollo-Cunomaglos and Mars-Nodens, and the significance of sacred pools with their annual gifts to the gods. However, these are very minor points, and as the author acknowledges in his preface, the format of this series imposed a strict limitation on his use of detailed evidence.

We are dealing with a period of dramatic change, and not only in social structures. Even the climate was changing. There were devastating variations in rainfall and a drop in overall temperature of two degrees. This may not sound very startling, until we learn that this variation effectively shortened the growing season by up to five weeks. The study of the effects of such changes gives us a much better understanding of the development of land-use over the succeeding periods. The effects of trade, too, are discussed at some length. It is interesting to learn that the flow of goods was not always one way: that British swords and daggers are occasionally found on the Continent.

As well as some beautiful colour illustrations, there are plenty of good clear black and white photographs and drawings, and useful lists of places to visit is given at the back of the book. There are now some forty volumes in this excellent series and this latest addition gives a lively introduction to a difficult subject.

Dr Graham Webster, OBE.
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  - Medieval Love Poem Written In Wax
  - The Art Loss Register
  - The AIA Meeting in Chicago

- **MARCH/April 1992**
  - The Luxor Temple Cache of Statuary
  - Egyptian Art from the Vatican
  - The Aesthetics of the Forgotten Rome
  - The Future of the Past
  - Conservation in Ladaik
  - Milton Keynes Medieval Gold Cross

- **MAY/JUNE 1992**
  - A Roman Fort on the Red Sea Coast
  - Music of the Maya
  - Greek Vases in Britain
  - Medieval Love Poem Written In Wax
  - The Art Loss Register
  - The AIA Meeting in Chicago

- **MAY/JUNE 1993**
  - Mosaic Centre in Jordanian Desert
  - Roman Archea: A Supply Base on the Northern Frontier
  - Teotihuacan: City of the Gods
  - Queen Ashopote and the Minoans
  - A Royal Burial at Veralumun

- **JANUARY/FEb 1993**
  - African Gold from a Pirate Shipwreck
  - Egyptian Regional Art
  - Profile of the Alchimist
  - Beatrix Potter’s Archaeology Paintings
  - Tuscan Villa Excavation
  - Pueblo Indian Pottery

- **SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 1993**
  - The Royal Tombs of Spian in Peru
  - Scrolls from the Dead Sea
  - The Getty Kouroi Seminar in Athens
  - Discovering Bronze Age Spain
  - Amarna and Post-Amarna Art
  - Coins of the Twelve Caesars

- **NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 1993**
  - The Honex Roman Treasure
  - Art of Medieval Spain, 500-1200
  - The Gold of Merou
  - Digging In Jordan: BM exhibition
  - Excavations at Ortanu, Italy
  - The Furniture of Western Asia

- **JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1994**
  - The George Ortiz Collection
  - Booty from a Roman Villa
  - New Egyptian Galleries in London & New York
  - The Making of Greek Pottery
  - Uncovering Christian Carthage
  - Amorium - a Byzantine city in Turkey

- **SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 1994**
  - The Elkhorn antiquities collection
  - Neolithic Jades from China
  - Israel’s Maritime Heritage
  - New museum in Leipzig
  - The source of Imperial porphyry
  - The arts of Tibet
  - The summer 1994 antiquities sales

- **NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 1994**
  - The Mahdia Roman shipwreck
  - Tomb treasures from China
  - Archaeological finds from Romania
  - Jain art from India
  - Roman sculpture in Carthage
  - Ancient silver in Cleveland Museum
  - Looted in Jordan

- **JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1995**
  - New Mexican gallery at the BM
  - Treasures of Byzantine art
  - Conservation of the Sevus Treasure
  - Ancient Egyptian stone vessels
  - Looting in Africa
  - Roman Military Diplomas
  - Archaeology in China

- **MARCH/APRIL 1995**
  - Greek and Roman portraits
  - Excavating an Elizabethan wreck
  - Rewriting Sri Lankan history
  - Restoring the Acropolis
  - Reconstructing a Roman mosaic
  - The pillage of a Cambodian temple
  - Winter 1994 auction reports

- **MAY/JUNE 1995**
  - Animals in ancient Egyptian art
  - New discoveries at Aksun, Ethiopia
  - Prehispanic art of central Panama
  - Saving Turkish mosaics from the sea
  - Redating the Uffington White Horse
  - Treasures from the Black Sea region
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White ground lekythos by the Athena Painter.
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Amphora, Attic, ca 530 BC
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Roman terracotta figure of a Flavian lady, holding a poppy in her right hand.
H. 22 cm. 1st century A.D.
GOLD OF THE SARMATIANS
Nomads of the Ancient Steppes

Francine Turcat describes an extraordinary loan exhibition in France, including material never before seen in the West.

Fig 1 (above left). Cup with an elk-shaped handle. Gold, turquoise, coral, coloured glass inlays. 1st-2nd century AD. Hohlchok barrow-grave near Novocherkassk (Rostov region). H: 7.5cm. Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.


Gold of the Sarmatians is an exhibition taking place in Daoulas, between Brest and Quimper in Finistère, France, this summer, until 29 October.

The treasures on display come not only from the vaults of the Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg, but from the lesser known museums of Rostov-on-Don and Azov. The visitor will discover the ‘old classics’ from Peter the Great’s ‘Siberian Collection’ as well as many artefacts from recent excavations which have not been seen in the West before.

The exhibition recalls the Sarmatians, whose female warriors Herodotus called the Amazons, and who were in all likelihood the Sarmatians’ ancestors. A number of

Fig 3 (above). Oblong spice flask. Gold, coloured glass. 1st century AD. Hohlchok barrow-grave near Novocherkassk (region of Rostov). L: 13.5cm. Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg. The lid shows fantastic animals fighting.

Fig 4 (left). Clay model of a wagon. 1st/2nd century AD. From Kerch. H: 18cm. Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.

Fig 5 (left). Gold torcs and bracelets. 4th century BC. From Stavropol. Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg. Diam: torcs 28.4cm, 24.8cm; bracelet 8cm.
Sarmatian Art

weapons and sacrificial instruments as well as bronze mirrors were discovered in female burials. Stone altars from this period (sixth-fifth centuries BC) are shown next to various objects representing the mythical Amazons, such as ancient Greek vases from Russian, Italian and French museums, as well as several modern pictures depicting them.

Herodotus (fifth century BC) and Strabo (58 BC - AD 25), described the Sarmatian and Sarmatian peoples, who both spoke a language of Iranian origin. Strabo says of the Sarmatians: 'their tents, made of felt, are fastened to the wagons in which they spend their lives... they follow their herds, moving on to further grazing grounds from time to time' (Strabo, Geography VII).

A clay model of one of these wagons (Fig 4) is on display which illustrates the everyday life of these fierce Sarmatian horsemen, who were first mentioned in the third century BC, when they dwelt between the Ural mountains and the Caspian Sea. They then fought the Scythians north of the Caucasus and around the Sea of Azov. Swords, daggers, helmets, arrowheads etc. are displayed alongside bronze cauldrons with animal-shaped handles.

Some of the most unusual treasures from Peter the Great's 'Siberian Collection' are included in the exhibition. Their complicated zoomorphic composition, the use of turquoise inlays to enhance the animals' muscles, ears and eyes are closely related to the sumptuous artefacts discovered in the kurgan (barrow graves) near the Sea of Azov.

Other pieces of jewellery are quite simple in style: bracelets and torcs made of plain gold spiral bands with monster-head finials were found in Sarmatian kurgans along the Lower Volga valley or at the north-eastern foot of the Caucasus mountains. Their style probably originates from Assyria or ancient Iran.

The focus of the exhibition is the most extraordinary jewels and weapons as well as horse harnesses of pure gold and silver, inlaid with turquoise, agate, coral and glass. These boards which were excavated from the 'royal' burial-mounds at Hohloch (near Novocherkassk) (Figs 1, 3), Kobiako (near Rostov) (Figs 8, 13), and very recently at Dachi in the suburbs of Azov (Figs 10, 11, 12, 14), are breathtaking, and date from around the turn of the first century AD.

The ultimate piece displayed is a single gold-plated saddle excavated from a warrior's burial near Strasbourg, in eastern France. It is characteristic of the tribe of the Alans (a branch of the Sarmatians), and serves as a reminder that many Sarmatians ended their lives far from their homeland. Their armoured cavalry fought the Romans and are depicted on Trajan's Column in Rome. Some were


Fig 7. Gold bracelet. Late 1st century/ early 2nd century AD. Verlooye-Pogomouye, excavated in 1954. D: 8.4cm. Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg. At both ends of the spirals can be seen a stylised feline devouring a deer: the small cavities were probably filled with coloured inlays.


Fig 9. Articulated torc. Gold inlaid with turquoise, coral and coloured glass. 1st/2nd century AD. Hohloch (near Novocherkassk). D: 21cm; H: 5.5cm. Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.
old of the Sarmatians is an exhibition taking place in Daoulas, between Brest and Quimper in Finistère, France, this summer, until 29 October.

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‘Gold of the Sarmatians’ is at the Centre Culturel Abbaye de Daoulas, Daoulas, France, until 29 October 1995. Catalogue available.
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MUSEUM EXHIBITIONS

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NEW ANTIQUITIES GALLERIES. New Roman British GALLERIES at the Fitzwilliam Museum, and West Asiatic Gallery, opened in June. (Article in the next issue of Minerva.) The FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM.

EDINBURGH

WITHIN THE MIDDLE EAST: TEXTILES, ORIGINS AND INFLUENCES. A permanent public gallery featuring material and artefacts from the Middle East, including some of the finest examples of textile arts from the region. Runs until August 1995. See Minerva, July 1995, pp. 20-21.

LIVERPOOL

THE AMERICANS. A new permanent gallery covering the civilizations of North, Central and South America before and after the arrival of the Spanish. LIVERPOOL MUSEUM (051) 207-0001. (See Minerva, June 1995, pp. 32-37.)

BROOKLYN, New York


CHINESE JADES FROM THE NEOLITHIC TO THE QING. An important exhibition of jade, collected by Sir Joseph Hounslow, including the history of its use in China from c. 5000 BC to the Qing dynasty (AD 1644-1911). THE BRITISH MUSEUM (0171) 636 1555. 8 June-17 September. (See Minerva, May/June 1995, pp. 19-20.)

CLASSIC ART OF JAPAN FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM COLLECTIONS. A selection of objects from the permanent collection of Japanese art, including works on paper, ceramics, and sculpture. THE BRITISH MUSEUM (0171) 636 1555. Until 13 August. (See Minerva, July/August 1995, pp. 18-19.)

THE HELLENISTIC WORLD: ART AND CULTURE. A new permanent gallery chronicling the cultural legacy of the Greek-speaking world from the rise of Athens to the east conquered by Alexander. THE BRITISH MUSEUM (0171) 636 1555. (See Minerva, May/June 1995, pp. 26-31.)

MEXICAN GALLERY. A new gallery providing the first permanent exhibition of Mexican art in the British Museum, including Mexico’s pre-Columbian civilizations, illustrating the achievements of Mexican civilization through many outstanding examples of prehispanic sculpture, mosaic and wall decoration. THE BRITISH MUSEUM (0171) 636 1555. (See Minerva, Jan/Feb 1995, pp. 6-11.)

NEW PREHISTORIC GALLERIES. A new permanent exhibition in the British Museum’s rich holdings of prehistoric artefacts from London, many of them recently excavated for the first time at the KENTISH RIVER MUSEUM OF LONDON (0171) 600 3669. (See Minerva May/June 1995, pp. 19-20.)

THE RAYMOND AND BEVERLY SACKLER GALLERY OF LATER MESOPOTAMIA. A new gallery displaying one of the greatest collections of later Mesopotamian objects, including the famous ‘Ivory Carvings of the South’ and other important pieces. (See Minerva, July 1995, pp. 39-43.)

TEXTILES FROM MASADA. 1st-century AD textile fragments from the Hebrew Museum’s excavations of 1963-65, recently cleaned and conserved at the Textile Conservation Centre at Hampton Court. THE BRITISH MUSEUM (0171) 636 1555. Until 29 October.

MANCHESTER

MEDITERRANEAN GALLERY. A new permanent exhibition at the Manchester Museum’s collection of archaeological finds from the Mediterranean, including a collection of Greek trading ships. THE MUSEUM (061) 275 2634. (See Minerva, May/June 1994, pp. 15-16.)

DALLAS, Texas

EXHIBITION II: ANCIENT NUBIA. The third instalment of a long-term loan from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which includes a major collection of Nubian faience vessels, weapons, stone vases, scarabs, and a large group of royal Nubian ushabtis. THE DALLAS MUSEUM OF ART (214) 922-1200.

GOLD OF MYCENAE. A collection of 20 gold objects from the Mycenaean period, c. 1800-1200 BC, recently assembled by a New York antiquarian, to be returned to Greece only after 1997. THE DALLAS MUSEUM OF ART (214) 922-1200. Extended until 1 August. (See Minerva, March/April 1994, pp. 2-3, for a new story concerning the settlement of a lawsuit on this group.)

THE MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAS. A major exhibition of Native American cultures, featuring a selection of objects from the Dallas Museum of Art, which has special collections from the Pre-Columbian period, with a collection of over 6,000 objects. THE DALLAS MUSEUM OF ART (214) 922-1200.

SOUTH ASIAN ART. A group of exceptions from the museum’s collection of sculptures and other art from the kingdom of Ayutthaya, including some of the finest examples of Buddhist art from Thailand and Buddhist works from India, major examples of Khmer, Lao and Cambodian art, and ancient artifacts from the Himalayan region. DALLAS MUSEUM OF ART (214) 922-1200. An ongoing installation.

DENVER, Colorado

ADORATION FOR ETERNITY: STATUARY AND RANK IN CHINESE ORNAMENT. 113 gold, silver, and bronze objects and jewellery from the 11th century BC through the Ming dynasty, from the former bronze hoard to gold filigree earrings, from the Ming dynasty collection in THE MUSEUM OF ART (303) 640-7645, Until 3 September. Then to London. Catalogue £4.

KNOXVILLE, Tennessee

ANCIENT EGYPT: THE ETERNAL VOICE. A permanent exhibition of ancient Egyptian art, featuring 200 objects including the KV16 Dynasty mummy of Djeh-Qhonsu-Iset-Akhet. The exhibition also includes a large-scale reproduction of the KV16 mummys ceremonial statue. THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (212) 299-3000.

LOS ANGELES, California

MUSEUMS OF ANCIENT AND ISLAMIC ART. Newly installed galleries augmented by an outstanding group of Islamic art from the Museum’s permanent collection. Gold and silver vessels from a royal necropolis at Mashif, on loan from the NEW YORK MUSEUM OF ART. THE LOS ANGELES COUNTY MUSEUM OF ART (213) 857-6111. Continuing indefinitely.

MALIBU, California

ON VIEW. On view in the kouros are observations and analyses by scholars, sculptors and artists. This exhibition highlights the new wave of ideas among the younger generation of American sculptors. THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM. (See Minerva, Sept/Oct 1993, pp. 32-35.)

MEMPHIS, Tennessee

THE PEACEFUL LIBERATORS: JAIN ART FROM RISHIMA. A major exhibition featuring 150 works of art covering nearly two thousand years: architectural sections and reliefs, stone, metal, and wood sculptures, symbolic objects, textiles, and illuminated manuscripts. NEW ORLEANS MUSEUM OF ART (504) 888-9626. 15 July-17 September (then to London). Catalogue £29.95; hardback £65. (See Minerva, Nov/Dec 1994, pp. 33-39.)

NEW YORK, New York


ANCIENT EGYPTIAN BESTIARY: ANIMALS IN EGYPTIAN ART. About 350 objects in the art of animal representation in ancient Egypt in sculpture, relief, painting, and the decorative and applied arts from the permanent collection of the museum. THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (212) 897-3950. Until 15 October. (See Minerva, May/June 1995, pp. 32-42.)

PERUAN PUERORI MANTELS: ICA TRENCHER Y FERIAL. Rectangular cloak-like men’s garments, combining the most ancient techniques, including recent bequests and loans from several museums, made in southern Peru between 300 BC and AD 200. Illustrate the development of an extraordinary piece of Peruvian folk art in the ancient Americas. THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (212) 897-3950. Until 14 August.

ART AND EMPIRE: TREASURES FROM ASIA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. Monumental stone reliefs from the first millennium BC, and paintings from the Last Kingdom. Minerva and Nineveh will be exhibited with a selection of sculpture, ivories, metalwork, seals and tablets. THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (212) 897-3950.
MUSEUM OF ART (212) 879-5500. Until 13 August. Catalogue. (See pp. 6-11.)

ASSYRIAN ORIGINS: DISCOVERIES ON THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. A new exhibition of uncataloged objects, including statues, jewelry, and grave goods will complement the Assyrian displays from the British Museum's permanent collection in the METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (212) 879-5500. Until 13 August. Catalogue. (See pp. 6-11.)

EARLY CULTURES OF THE LEVANT. A new exhibition of gold from the ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY. A long-term loan of objects, c. 4500-3300 BC, including ivory and stone figurines from the Beersheba and Gush Etzion regions, house-shaped burial containers from Aszur, and a group of copper and ivory finds from the Cave of the Treasure near Ghalil Ma'arim. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (212) 879-5500.

THE FLORENCE AND HERBERT IRVING GALLERIES OF SOUTH AND SOUTH-EAST ASIAN ART. New galleries of the arts of the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Sri Lanka, and Vietnam. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (212) 879-5500. (See Minerva, July/Aug 1994, pp. 6-13.)

GREEK AND ROMAN ART: ANCIENT EGYPT. An exhibition of nearly 120 purchases and gifts acquired over the past five years, including an Antikythera. The Greek sculptural and funerary manuscripts have been cleaned and now show much of their original colour. The exhibition will be on view at the same period. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (212) 879-5500.

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MASTER PLAN FOR THE GREEK AND ROMAN GALLERIES. Five large architectural models, on a scale of one inch to one foot, and a series of miniature funerary monuments of many hundreds of objects, this time of the Imperial period, will be on display. The models cover areas from 26,700 square feet to 60,000 square feet, the objects on display from 3000 to 14,000. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (212) 879-5500. Until 6 August.

PHILADELPHIA, Pennsylvania

THE ANCIENT GREEK WORLD. A complete renewal and reinstallation of the museum's extensive collections of sculpture, bronze, vessels, jewellery, and coins. THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY (215) 898-4000. (See Minerva, July/Aug 1994 pp. 24-27.)


TIME AND RULES AT TIKAL. ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE OF THE MAYA. A reconstructed and newly installed gallery presenting a view into the museum's major temple of Tikal, 1956-70 which will provide the evidence for new theories about the development of Maya civilization. THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY (215) 898-4000. Until 6 August.

SAN FRANCISCO, California

ANCIENT ARTS OF Mesoamerica, CENTRAL & SOUTH AMERICA. A newly installed exhibition featuring over 200 works of art, including, never before seen outside China, from the third millennium BC onward, including gold and silver objects and other objects from the time of the Mongol conquests. ROYAL ALBERT MUSEUM (643) 254-3701. Until 10 September. Catalogue. (See Minerva, May/June 1994, pp. 6-13.)

DENMARK

COPENHAGEN. ANCIENT ART FROM SOUTH AMERICA. CHAVIN CERAMICS AND STONE. About 60 ceramic figures and 14 stone figures from the Chavin culture, c. 1800-200 BC. Also on display is a series of 2000-year-old textiles from a variety of South American cultures. GALERIE ASBAEK (45) 33 15 40 04. Until 14 August. Catalogue.

EGYPT

CAIRO. ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ART. Eleven pharaonic mummies, 8 kings, including Ramesses II, and 3 queens and princesses, have now been added to the museum's temporary exhibition. They were removed from display in 1976 when Anwar Sadat thought that their appearance robbed them of their dignity. THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM (20) 75 43 10.

FRANCE

AIX-EN-PROVENCE. THE LAST PHARAOHS. MUSEE GRANET (33) 42 38 14 70, Until 15 October.

TROYES. THE SPLENDOUR OF THE ANCIENT CELTS. MUSEE DES BEAUX-ARTS ET D'ARCHÉOLOGIE (33) 25 76 21 68. Until 4 September.

GERMANY

SAARBRÜCKEN. ON THE WAY TO THE GOLDEN FLEECE. ARCHÄOLOGISCHER FINDS FROM GEORGIA. A major exhibition of about 400 objects covering almost five thousand years of Bulgarian sculpture, vessels and jewellery from the Greek colony of the ancient Rhodian city, Samothrace. SALZLANDMUSEUM Saarbrücken (49) 0681 66361/62. Until 8 August.

TRIER. WITH TERROR AND COURAGE IN DEATH: JUDAEA IN RESISTANCE AGAINST THE ROMANS. A special exhibition spanning the period from Horod the Great (40-4 BC) to the Second Jewish Revolt under Bar Kochba (AD 132-135). RHEINISCHES LANDESMUSEUM TRIER (49) 0651 48368. Until 8 October.

GREECE

ATHENS. THE EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES ROOM. New permanent works of art, including statues, sarcophagi, sarcophagus portraits, vases, and jewellery, selected from the ancient city of Alexandria. By the end of World War II, all permanent display in two rooms. ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE (30) 821-27-17.

IRELAND

VIKING AGE IRELAND. New permanent galleries tracing the impact of the Vikings, branded by ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE (30) 821-1000. In addition, on display until the end of 1995 are objects loaned from the Historisk Museum, Bergen, Norway; the British Museum; and the Roman Catholic Diocese of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise, Ireland, THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRELAND (01) 661 8811. (Article in a forthcoming issue of Minerva.)

ISRAEL

JERUSALEM. TOMBS OFFERINGS FROM TEL NAMI. New permanent exhibition of bronze jewellery, sceptres, and incense cups, as early as the 13th century BC, discovered in the cemetery of Tel Nami, south of Haifa. THE ISRAEL MUSEUM (972) 02-702-811.

ITALY

ROME. BIBLIOTHECA ARCHEOLOGICA. PUBLICATIONS CONCERNING THE CIVILIZATIONS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN. An exhibition providing a general overview of works concerned with the ancient civilizations of the Mediterranean region, from prehistoric times to the Middle Ages, with special attention devoted to museum catalogues. MUSEO DELLA CIVILTA ROMANA (06) 690888.12-22 October.

THE NETHERLANDS


LEIDEN. THE HEROIC BATTLE FOR TROY. A small exhibition of ancient objects decorated with scenes from the Iliad and Odyssey. RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEIDEN (31) 71-16-31-61. Until 30 July.

DINNE. The history and archaeology of the ancient city of Djene in Mali, which has been occupied for more than 6000 years. RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEIDEN (31) 71-16-88-00. Until 27 August.

TEMPLES ALONG THE NILE. Watercolour reconstructions of ancient Egyptian buildings along the Nile by French artist and Egyptologist Jean-Claude Golvin. RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEIDEN (31) 71 16 31 63. Until 3 September.

NIJMEGEN. OLD TABLEware. An exhibition on Roman eating habits and utensils, now being studied thanks to recent finds in and around Nijmegen. PROVINCIAAL MUSEUM KAM (30) 82-02-19. Until 16 November.

ROTTERDAM. DREAMING OF PARADISE; ISLAMIC ART FROM THE COLLECTION OF ADOLF DE BOUTCHER. An extensive collection of Islamic art from the seventh century AD onwards, including architectural elements, jewellery, costumes, manuscripts and paintings. MUSEUM VOOR VOLKENKUNDE (30) 10-411-1055. Until 26 February 1996.

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