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THE RIGHT REVEREND RICHARD CHARTRES Bishop of London.

COLIN F. BADDOCK Former Classics Master at Winchester.
PROF. JOHN HALDON Director of Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, University of Birmingham.
DR. STEPHEN KERSHAW Examiner in Ancient History for University of London.
Treasures of the Pharos
Monumental statuary recovered from the sea off Alexandria
Jean-Yves Empereur

Coins of the Pharos
Numismatic evidence of one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World
Peter A. Clayton

Splendours of Ancient Egypt
Treasures from the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, exhibited in Florida
Robert S. Bianchi

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The making and drinking of wine in ancient Greece and Rome
Ruurd Halbertsma

Excavating Ancient Cyprus
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Ian A. Todd

Calleva Atrebatum
The Roman town at Silchester
John Rhodes

After Marathon
Money, war and society in ancient Greece
Ute Wartenberg

Akhenaten: The Earliest Portrait
A recently-discovered head
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Textiles of Late Antiquity
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A private collection on view in Athens
Jerome M. Eisenberg

IN FORTHCOMING ISSUES
- Trojan Treasure at the Pushkin
- Treasures of Egyptian Art in Cleveland
- Ancient Egyptian Mining and Metallurgy
- Roman London
- Greek Vases in Florence
- Excavating Butrint, Albania
New Old Kingdom pyramid found at Giza

A small pyramid, just 50 metres in height, apparently dating to the Eighth Dynasty, c. 2170 BC, has been uncovered by a group of French archaeologists just south of the famous pyramids of the Fourth Dynasty. It is the 97th pyramid known to have been constructed in Egypt and one of only a few to date to the First Intermediate Period.

Meanwhile, the second of the three Great Pyramids at Giza, the pyramid of Khafra (Chephren), is being closed to tourists for three months in order to repair the damages caused to the interior limestone walls by the moist breath of untold thousands of tourists.

Stairways and more rooms uncovered in KV5

Dr. Kent R. Weeks, the rediscoverer of KV5, the tomb of the sons of Ramesses II in the Valley of the Kings, has informed the writer, in a fax of 16 October, shortly after his visit to the tomb, that ‘not only do we have a stairway (as expected) in the rear of KV5, but a long, steep stairway with short ends at the front.’ After the rubble was cleared away it was found that the stairway led to a stone wall.

A second matching stairway was also uncovered parallel to the one found at the front of the tomb, the pair flanking the entrance but leading away from the tomb, sloping downward and under the Valley road. Just fifty feet of these passageways have been cleared so far, but they are just about 120 feet from the tomb of Ramesses II, which is across the road. Several chambers appear on each side of these stairways, increasing the number of rooms found so far from 62 to at least 81 and possibly as many as 93 or more.

Dr. Weeks made a quick lecture and fund-raising tour in the United States following the end of his November fieldwork. Dr. Eisenberg and *Minerva* hosted a reception for Dr. Weeks on behalf of the New York offices of the American University in Cairo, following his lecture at the Metropolitan Museum of Art on 26 November. For a full report by Dr. Weeks on KV5 see *Minerva*, November/December 1995, pp. 20-24. A complete list of the finds to date was published by Dr. Weeks in *Minerva*, September/October 1995, pp. 3-4.

Tomb of Queen Nefertari opened to the public

Following six years of restoration and conservation by the Getty Conserva-

**NEWS FROM EGYPT**

Royal mummy found in new Roman tomb

While excavating for Coptic antiquities at the site of a ninth-century AD Coptic church in the Bahariya Oasis, in the Western Desert 320 km southwest of Cairo, archaeologists accidentally discovered a Roman tomb containing eight mummies, all wrapped in linen, with gilt masks and collars of gold leaf. Inasmuch as one of the mummies is wearing a crown of gold leaves to which was affixed a figure of the royal falcon Horus flanked by two uraei (cobras), he must have been a member of a royal family. The condition of the mummies, which include a female and a child, is exceptional. Bahariya Oasis is the site of the only temple in Egypt built for Alexander the Great and also of a once-existent Roman triumphal arch.

Egypt considers seeking the return of the Rosetta Stone

In a recent editorial in *Minerva* (September/October 1994, p. 2), the writer wondered what other actions would be taken by foreign governments following Greece’s request for the return of the Venus de Milo from the Louvre, their earlier campaign for the return of the Elgin marbles from the British Museum, and the Iraqi government’s demand for the return of the Assyrian reliefs brought to England in the 1840s and recently sold in London. The answer lies in a recent burst of news releases from Egypt: the Minister of Culture, Farouk Hosni, stated that Egypt may stage an appeal for the return of the Rosetta Stone, discovered in 1799 and in the British Museum since 1802, through the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Dr. Zahi Hawass, Director of the Pyramids, Giza, stated that: ‘The return of the Rosetta Stone is considered a fair request, and UNESCO agreements give us this right.’ A formal request for its return was presented to the Egyptian Foreign Ministry by the Governor of al-Beheira governate, Salah Atia.

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D.
NEW ANCIENT MAYA ROYAL TOMB DISCOVERED

Important new discoveries, including an exceptional decorated panel and a new royal tomb, have been made by archaeologists from the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in their 1995 season at the ancient Maya ruins of Copán, Honduras.

The ongoing excavations, which have uncovered an important royal tomb complex c. AD 400-500 deep beneath the tallest temple pyramid at Copán, are coordinated by the Museum's Early Copán Acropolis Program (ECAP), led by Project Director Dr Robert J. Sharer, and Field Director David W. Sedat.

The team have excavated and conserved significant portions of an early temple platform (called Margarita) situated deep within the heart of the early Copán Acropolis. The Margarita platform contains a royal tomb, c. AD 400-500, intensively investigated by the University of Pennsylvania Museum's ECAP programme since its discovery in 1993. The Margarita tomb consists of two vaulted masonry chambers (on different levels) connected by a narrow staircase. An upper chamber, containing brilliantly coloured pottery vessels and remains of textiles and other organic material, has a staircase leading down to a red-painted doorway into a lower burial crypt. Much of the floor of this lower chamber is covered by a large stone slab upon which were found the remains of a single individual, surrounded by quantities of jade jewellery and shells. The entire burial, together with a significant portion of the chamber, is coated with cinnabar.

Investigations in this deeper chamber were delayed due to the presence of poisonous mercury-based compounds (as well as extremely toxic mercury vapour in an adjacent offering chamber), but during the spring 1995 field season a team of University of Pennsylvania Museum archaeologists, suitably protected, uncovered the skeletal remains of an ancient Maya dignitary painted with a brilliant red pigment (mercury sulphide or cinnabar – symbolic of the sacred status of the individual), and surrounded by great quantities of carved jade and shell offerings. It is currently believed that this could be Popol Kinich, the second ruler of Copán, son and successor of Yax K'uk' Mo', founder of the royal dynasty, but more careful work cleaning and analysing the burial must still be done before a firm conclusion is reached.

An extraordinary panel on Margarita's facade was also excavated last spring. Measuring seven feet high and ten feet long, it is decorated with low-relief figures of ancient gods and hieroglyphs, sculptured in stucco and still brilliantly painted in shades of red, green, yellow and blue. The preservation of Margarita's decorated facade is exceptional, and it has been hailed as one of the most important and impressive works of ancient Maya art dating to the Early Classic Period (c. AD 250-500) yet uncovered. The centre of this composition consists of two intertwined birds – a quetzal and a macaw. Specialists in Maya iconography and epigraphy interpret this central scene as the expression of the name of Yax K'uk' Mo' (Green Quetzal-Macaw), founder of the royal Copán dynasty (c. AD 426-437), an additional confirmation that this early Maya king was an historic person.

A further discovery was made below the Margarita platform on 1 April 1995 when the team discovered another masonry chamber (c. 9 feet long, 4 feet wide, and ten feet deep) immediately next to the already known Margarita tomb, but at a still deeper level, in a structure named Hunal. A remote-controlled camera lowered into this chamber revealed the remains of an individual on top of a very large stone slab, but quantities of fallen debris obscure any offerings. The structure of the masonry vault is very precarious, requiring careful consolidation before this new tomb can be opened for investigation (planned for the 1996 season). The person interred in Hunal tomb undoubtedly enjoyed royal status very early in Copán's history, and there is speculation that this burial could be the long sought-after tomb of Yax K'uk' Mo', founder of Copán.

View of the interior of the Margarita tomb before excavation, with red cinnabar covering the fallen debris and the burial deposit. (Photo: David Sedat).
EXCAVATION OF IMPERIAL JAPANESE TOMBS BLOCKED

Despite signs of a softening in its official attitude, the Japanese government appears to have backed down from suggestions that it would finally allow archaeologists to excavate the Imperial tombs.

Last August, leading scholars were invited by the then Minister of Education, Ichiro Yasuno, to discuss the possibility of access to some of the tombs, dating from the Kofun (Tumulus) Period between the fourth and eighth centuries AD. Thousands of non-Imperial kofun, belonging to lesser lords, have been systematically excavated to reveal mirrors, swords, and the famous kamonon clay figurines, as well as important historical information about daily life under the rulers of Yamato, the precursor of medieval Japan. But unlike Japan's 200,000 other kofun, the Imperial tombs are owned and administered by the Imperial Household Agency (IHA), the government department responsible for all matters relating to the emperor and his family, which has never allowed their excavation.

'I told Mr Yasuno that society has changed, and that I want the IHA to abandon this old-fashioned way of thinking', says Hatsue Otsuka, Professor of Archaeology at Tokyo's Meiji University. 'He said that he would talk to the IHA as soon as possible.' But a week later, Yasuno, a former nuclear scientist with a personal interest in antiquities, was ousted from his post in a cabinet reshuffle. His successor, Yoshinobu Shimamura, has given no indication that he is pursing the issue, and archaeologists believe that the emperor has been lost. 'I don't believe that there will be any digs in my lifetime,' says Professor Masashi Ishibe of Utsunomiya University. 'It's a flasco, a scandal, unprecedented in a civilised country', says another archaeologist.

The largest and most famous kofun is that of the legendary Emperor Ninotoku (reigned AD 313-399) in the town of Sakai, a few miles south of Osaka. A vast, key-hole-shaped burial mound, half a kilometre long, it is surrounded by earthen ramparts and a water-filled moat. 26,000 tons of stone slabs are believed to lie beneath the tumulus, covered by an immense volume of heaped earth and trees. Inside there may be swords, jewels, crowns, statues, and the coffin remains of Ninotoku himself. On the other hand, there may be nothing there at all. Nobody knows because, officially at least, nobody has been allowed inside for 1600 years.

Even by the standards of Japanese bureaucracy, the IHA is notorious for its conservatism. According to the Agency, the tombs are more than just historical relics; they are sacred religious sites, the sanctuaries of the spirits of the Imperial ancestors. 'Our job is to protect the dignity and peace of the Imperial tombs', a spokesman for the Imperial Tomb Bureau of the IHA says. 'It is neither desirable nor necessary to excavate them.' The IHA carries out its own surveys and restoration work. An annual 200 million yen (£1.25 million) is spent on their upkeep; every year Imperial Agency emails offer Shinto prayers and gifts.

This is a controversial enough position in itself. The late Emperor Hirohito famously renounced his divinity in 1946, and Japan's post-war Constitution, drafted by the American occupiers during the same period, unequivocally insists that 'the State and its organs shall refrain from religious education or any other form of religious activity.' To older Japanese, the discreet continuance of the emperor cult is a sinister reminder of the militaristic 'State Shinto' of the wartime period, espoused by a minority even today. In 1978, when Professor Otsuka published an article calling for the opening up of the tombs he was placed under police protection after receiving death threats from right-wing groups.

But many archaeologists suspect that there is more to the Agency's reluctance to allow excavation than their stated desire to maintain the 'quiet and dignity' of the tombs. It is almost certain, for instance, that several of them are incorrectly attributed. The early emperors already endow figures as historical personages, and excavation around the periphery of several tombs has thrown the IHA's dating of them into doubt. The artefacts found in lesser tumuli, moreover, display striking similarities with continental relics, additional proof that much early Japanese culture was imported from Korea.

'This - the links between Korea, Japan and China - is the most important theme in modern Japanese archaeology', says Professor Otsuka.

We have found marvellous objects that demonstrate the dynamic links that existed all over East Asia in the fifth and sixth centuries. Every true archaeologist believes that these links should be opened, so that we can follow and appreciate this dynamic circulation of objects and ideas.' But the idea that the early emperors were Korean princes - a race colonised by Japan until 1945, and still the object of prejudice and rivalry - may be more than the Imperial Household Agency can bear.

However, centuries of grave-robbing may have left no evidence either way. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, has a sword apparently taken from Ninotoku's tomb during the nineteenth century, when the British Museum also acquired enso (cylindrical pots) apparently removed from kofun. Professor Otsuka believes that many of the tombs, including Ninotoku's, may even be empty.

'When it comes to the pre-war period, there is an overwhelming response in Japan: keep it all covered up', says Professor Ishibe. 'This is how the cult of the Imperial family is maintained - by hiding everything about them. If it turns out that the supposed Imperial tomb is not the emperor's, their dignity would be undermined, and they know from the their own research that this is quite likely.' The Imperial Household Agency ingenuously refuses to be embarrassed by this possibility. Professor Ishibe was recently told that, even if the tombs were empty or misattributed, the spirits of the emperors assigned to them still reside there, attracted by centuries of mistaken worship.

Richard Lloyd Parry

ORIGINAL HELLENISTIC SCULPTURE OF THE PASQUINO GROUP FOUND IN GREECE

The Greek Ministry of Culture has announced that what appears to be the original third-century BC Greek sculpture of the famous 'Pasquino' group, known hitherto only from a small group of fragmentary Roman copies and heads, has been unearthed in Loukos, in Arcadia, at the site of the villa of Herodes Atticus.

The subject is well known from the Iliad - Menelaus is about to carry away the body of the slain Patroclus during the battle of the Greeks against the Trojans. It was named the 'Pasquino' after the nickname attached to the group in the Palazzo Braschi in Rome. The most famous example is the one at Palazzo Braschi in Rome; the most complete example, exhibited in Zurich in 1990, is to be displayed at the Royal-Athena Galleries in New York.

Also discovered with the Pasquino at Loukos was a sculpture group of Achilles fighting with the Amazon Queen Penthesilea and a colossal torso of a satyr.

MINERVA 4
THE DISCOVERY OF THE PHAROS OF ALEXANDRIA

Dr Jean-Yves Empereur reports on his extraordinary recent discoveries of colossal statuary and blocks of masonry in the sea off Alexandria, by the site of the ancient Pharos.

The underwater site where the remains of the Pharos of Alexandria lie was discovered in 1961 by a pioneering Egyptian diver, Kamal Abu el Sadat, and then subsequently visited by Miss Honor Frost as part of a specialist UNESCO team. This led to the first publication (INJA, 1975). It may appear surprising that it was only in 1994 that serious interest began to grow around a site of such importance, but the history of Egypt during the past half century is sufficient explanation. Beginning with the Second World War, through the various wars and crises of the Middle East, the coasts of Egypt have remained carefully controlled and in the hands of the military. This situation has been relaxed only in the last few years.

In 1994 the Egyptian Antiquities Service called upon me to undertake an emergency underwater excavation in this area of sea just off the fort of Qait Bey in Alexandria (Fig 1). As the north winds and concomitant storms were threatening the fort, constructed in 1477 by the eponymous Mameluke sultan, it had been decided to build a breakwater to protect it, but first it was deemed necessary to evaluate the importance of the submerged ruins. Thanks to private sector funding – from the Elf Foundation and the French multi-media production company Gédon – the Centre d’Études Alexandrines and the Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale were able to mount a large operation of underwater prospecting and excavation. In 1994 and 1995, three campaigns lasting 20 weeks in total allowed us to explore this extraordinary site lying beneath six to eight metres of water and spread over an area of some 5.56 acres. Waiting for us quietly beneath the surface, with only the fish for company, were thousands of ancient blocks: columns, bases and capitals, colossal statues and a dozen sphinxes. They had lain for at least sixteen centuries.

Our intervention involved a detailed topographic study of the site, charting the thousands of architectural elements and drawing them one by one. The elaboration of this map allowed us gradually to understand the formation of the site in all its complexity. The office work of summer ’95 brought us a clear view of the evidence: enormous blocks of Aswan granite – each weighing 50-75 tonnes – which we had sketched underwater, lay in a linear fashion running from south-west to north-east and beginning at the north-eastern corner of the Mameluke fort. Some of these huge blocks were broken in two or three pieces in a way that could only have happened had they fallen from a certain height. The obvious question presented itself: what monument, of such a scale as to incorporate these massive chunks of masonry, stood upon the extreme eastern tip of what was the Island of Pharos? The answer seemed just as obvious. A reading of the ancient sources, and with Strabo to the fore, places the celebrated Lighthouse at just this spot. It is true...
that Strabo wrote of the tower being constructed of white stone, but certain elements must have been in granite, the doorways, for example, or even the load-bearing frame of the structure.

Aside from these blocks we came across colossal statuary. Already in 1961, a statue of Isis, more than nine metres tall, had been lifted from the water. We not only discovered the crown of Hathor that it once bore (1.9 metres high) (Fig 4), but also its huge base (2.6 metres high). Nearby lay the colossal statue of a Ptolemy represented as pharaoh (Fig 5) and we could see its base and head trapped beneath the modern concrete of the breakwater. These two are most probably one of the first Ptolemies accompanied by his queen and would have stood within the architectural complex of the Pharos. And we know that they were not alone as we discovered the remains of at least three other colossi, including a female corso and two male heads, all of Ptolemaic date.

Elsewhere there lay a dozen sphinxes, the majority inscribed with the cartouches of either Setostris, Ramesses II or Psmemetchius II, and three fragments of obelisks carrying the names of Seti I, Ramesses II and Psmemetchius respectively. These are certainly all elements taken by the Ptolemies from the ruins of ancient Heliopolis (near Cairo) to decorate their own capital.

The mass of architectural pieces, particularly the columns which numbered in their hundreds, came largely from the dismantled monuments of Alexandria itself, perhaps and most notably from the Serapeum. Arab sources recall that this great temple was quarried by a Mameluke governor of Alexandria to block the port, or rather to limit access, as a means of protection against seaborne raids. The city had suffered from the ravages of the crusaders, such as in 1365 when the Frankish King of Cyprus, Pierre I de Lusignan, sacked the city over two days.

The excavation is not finished and a further campaign is foreseen for Spring 1996. This will allow more than just a fine tuning of the provisional remarks noted here as to the formation of this archaeological site, which is, until now, the largest in Alexandria. We also hope to lift certain important pieces missing from this puzzle. Already, 35 elements have been taken from the water (see Minerva, November/December 1995, p.5) and they are now undergoing restoration in desalination tanks within the site of the Graeco-Roman theatre (Fig 6).
THE PHAROS OF ALEXANDRIA

The Numismatic Evidence

Following the discovery of the statuary in the sea off Alexandria (as reported on pp. 5-6), Peter A. Clayton looks at the depiction of the Pharos on ancient coins.

The Pharos or lighthouse of ancient Alexandria was one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World and appears as the last monument in the accepted canonical list. It was a Greek poet, Antipater of Sidon, who, in about 140 BC in a short poem, gave a list of seven wonders, but he does not mention the Pharos. His seventh wonder, later to be dropped in favour of the Pharos, was 'the walls of impregnable Babylon'. By the Renaissance, when the list was finally crystallised, the Pharos was securely enshrined as the seventh wonder, after the pyramids of Egypt, the Hanging Gardens of Babylon, the statue of Zeus at Olympia, the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, and the Colossus of Rhodes.

Representations of three of the Seven Wonders can be found on ancient coins: the chryselephantine statue of Zeus created by Phidias in the temple at Olympia; the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, and the Pharos at Alexandria. All the coins are issues in the Roman provincial (Greek Imperial) series and, of the three monuments found, the Pharos is the one most often represented. We therefore have the unusual advantage of having both coins and literary descriptions surviving in some detail from ancient authors such as Diodorus Siculus, Strabo (Geography), and Pliny the Elder (Natural History). However, none of these authors had the opportunity of seeing the relevant coins, which were all struck after their deaths. Homer, in the Odyssey, refers to 'an island called Pharos in the rolling seas off the mouth of the Nile', and Strabo says that 'Pharos is an oblong island, is very close to the mainland and forms with it a harbour with two mouths'. It is this name of the island on which it was built, probably itself a corruption of the Egyptian for 'Pharaoh's isle', that gave the lighthouse its name. Hence the word 'pharos' became misapplied to identify a lighthouse, and lighthouses have been so-called ever since – yet another of the many misnomers that proliferate in archaeological terminology.

Many monuments of antiquity appear on ancient coins (cf. Price and Trell) and, in the main, are of inestimable value for giving elevations of buildings of which so often only the excavated foundations remain. In the case of the Pharos, its site is now occupied by the fifteenth-century Islamic fortress of Qait Bay, within which stones of the original masonry of the Pharos can be identified. The Pharos, at about 100 metres in height, was the second tallest building in the ancient world after the Great Pyramid of Cheops (Khufu) at Giza (147 metres), which is the only substantially surviving example of the Seven Wonders.

Representations of the Pharos first appear on the bronze coins of Roman Alexandria under Domitian (AD 81-96) and, since the series is dated by the emperor's regnal year appearing on the reverses of the coins, they are known for years 12, 13 and 15 (the regnal year at Alexandria ran from 29 August until 28 August the following year). Here we see the basic details of the Pharos as a conical tower surmounted by a tall statue and, at the lower level on either side, a pair of Tritons blowing trumpets. The statue can be identified as Zeus Soter (the Saviour) who holds a tall sceptre. Entry to the Pharos is by a doorway that can be clearly seen low down on the base. The Pharos does not appear on the coins from the succeeding short reign of Nerva (AD 96-98), but it then reappears under Trajan (AD 98-117) on half-drachm pieces of years 11, 14 and 16 when it is not quite so stubby a building and rises in two stages. It is under Trajan's successor, Hadrian (AD 117-138), that the Pharos is most prolific as a coin type, appearing in years 2, 3, 6, 10, 11, 16 and 17. The details of the Zeus Soter statue and the Tritons leaning out from the top of the first stage blowing their trumpets are very clear. There is, however, a variation in the angle of view of the Pharos on the coins of years 11 and 17 (fig 1). On the former

Fig 1. Bronze half-drachms of Hadrian (AD 117-138) struck at Alexandria in his regnal years 11 and 17 respectively. The profile view of the Pharos shows a ramp ascending to an entrance and the frontal view a low entrance on a two-stepped podium. (x 2.5)
News

Fig 2 (left, top and centre). Bronze half-drachm of Antoninus Pius (AD 138-161) struck at Alexandria in years 5 and 9. Here the entrance to the Pharos is seen at the head of a flight of steps. (x 2.5)

Fig 3 (right). Bronze drachm of Antoninus Pius struck in year 12 at Alexandria. The goddess Isis, as Isis Pharia protector of sailors, holds an inflated ship’s sail and dwarfs the representation of the Pharos in front of her. (x 2)

the lighthouse is seen in profile with a clearly indicated ramp leading up to the entrance, whereas on the later coin the view is from the front with a facing doorway above a two-stepped podium.

Hadrian visited Egypt and Alexandria in year 15 of his reign and he is shown on coins of that year in a four-horse chariot being greeted by a personification of Alexandria and also standing whilst she acknowledges him by kissing his hand. However, curiously enough, although Hadrian must have seen if not actually visited the Pharos, there do not appear to be any issues of year 15 featuring it.

The representations of the Pharos continue in the reign of Antoninus Pius (AD 138-161), again on the bronze half-drachms, and are known for years 4, 5, 6, 8 and 9 (Fig 2). Some new features now appear. Very truncated second and third stages can be discerned on some specimens and the doorway appears to have been moved higher up with an obvious steep stairway leading up to it – perhaps a new entrance was required at a higher level to a mezzanine or first floor. Also evident is a series of well defined dots rising vertically up the tower. It has been argued that these might variously represent circular shields hung on the outside or, much more likely, windows for lighting the dark interior staircase. The latter would be obviously utilitarian and also in keeping with similar windows cut through the reliefs on the pylon entrance to the great Graeco-Egyptian temples such as the temple of Horus at Edfu. The Pharos last appears as a predominant reverse type under Marcus Aurelius (AD 161-180), known for coins of years 4 and 17.

Associated with the Pharos on some reverse coin types is the ancient Egyptian goddess Isis, holding an inflated sail and being identified as Isis Pharia, patron and guardian of sailors (Alexandrian terracottas of her in the same pose are known). She first appears on very rare pieces under Domitian but is most clearly represented on drachm pieces of Hadrian (Fig 3) and Antoninus Pius. The elevated doorway and circular windows mentioned previously are clearly seen on the latter coins. Possibly the goddess had a temple dedicated to her close by the Pharos on the island (which was subsequently transformed into a peninsula) since a colossal statue of her was recovered from the sea off Qait Bey fort in the early
1960s. Further underwater survey work in the area in 1995 has produced a mass of large scale sculpture, including what might be an upper torso of the goddess in granite as well as numerous sphinxes, large portions of royal male statues and several hieroglyphic-inscribed fragments from the shafts of granite obelisks (see Minerva, November/December 1995, p. 5).

A last appearance of the Pharos as an Alexandrian coin type occurs on a tetradrachm of Commodus (AD 180-192) dated to year 29 (Commodus continued to use the Alexandrian years of his father, Marcus Aurelius). This type shows a rigged galley sailing past the Pharos (Fig 4). It has been suggested that this may be the equivalent of the 'Adventus' reverse celebrating an expected or actual Imperial visit, but in this instance it must be a hoped for visit which did not actually take place.

The misappropriation of the name of the small island off the then fishing village of Rhacotis (which was to be transformed into the later Alexandria) has given a misnomer to the world as a word for a lighthouse. The original Pharos was copied in antiquity at a number of ancient ports around the Mediterranean, e.g. at Caesarea, at Ostia (the port of Rome), and even in Roman Britain at Dubris (modern Dover), where it still stands within the castle beside the church of St Mary ad Castro. The Ostia lighthouse appears on several reliefs and also on a bi-metallic medallion of Commodus (Fig 5), which represents the annual Egyptian grain fleet arriving at Ostia and is identified as such by the helmsman in one of the galleys, the Graeco-Egyptian god Jupiter-Serapis with his distinctive modius (corn measure) headdress. The motif of a pharos was also thought an appropriate decoration in the mosaic floors of a number of the small shipping offices located around the Square of the Corporations at Ostia (Fig 6).

A last literary description of the ancient Pharos, much wrecked by earthquakes in AD 956, 1303 and 1323, is given by the Muslim traveller, Ibn Battuta, who visited the ruins in 1326 and 1349 when he found the Pharos 'in such a ruinous condition that it was not possible to enter it or to climb it up to the doorway'. A medieval manuscript in the monastery of Montpellier gives the exact date of the destruction of the Pharos in an earthquake as 8 August 1303. However, the Pharos as it appeared modified after the Islamic invasions of Egypt in AD 641 can be seen in a mosaic of about AD 1200 high in the curve of the roof of the thirteenth-century chapel of Zeno in St Mark's Cathedral, Venice (Fig 7). This shows the legendary arrival of St Mark in a boat at Alexandria (he was reputed to have introduced Christianity into Egypt in AD 43). The Pharos depicted in the mosaic, however, has been changed under Muslim rule - gone is the five-metre high bronze statue of Zeus Soter seen on the coins and in its place is a small domed mosque capping the third stage. St Mark died in Alexandria and his body was subsequently stolen by crafty Venetian merchants in AD 868 to grace the high altar of their church in Venice that now bears his name. The Lion of St Mark then began an odyssey against Islam that was to leave its imprint in sculpture and art throughout the far-flung Venetian empire.

Peter Clayton is an Egyptologist and numismatist who is a regular guest lecturer in Egypt. All photos are by Peter Clayton.

FURTHER READING
The exhibition is arranged in a specially designed set of galleries intended to evoke the environments in which many of the objects were originally sited. In keeping with a current trend in the interpretation of the material culture of ancient Egypt, the FIM presents these objects as the visual manifestation of the ideology - political, religious, economic, and the like - of the elite at whose head stands pharaoh. In this context, the craftsmen are commissioned by the elite, so their productions may be regarded as visual statements of prevailing social attitudes, and the craftsmen were deprived of an independent artistic authority.

One example may suffice. The art of the Amarna Period is currently being subjected to a revisionist approach because it is now acknowledged that many of the supposed innovations in the religious programmes of Akhenaton were already in place during the reign of his father, Amenhotep III. The representations of Akhenaton, far from being naturalistic, rely on artistic conventions already seen earlier in the history of ancient Egyptian art. So, for example, the characteristic egg-shape of the heads depicted in this period is indebted to a cranial shape which was popular during the Middle Kingdom. It is to this earlier period as well that one turns for precedents for the corpulent bodies of Amenhotep III and Akhenaton. These are, of course, based on formulae developed during the Old Kingdom. From this viewpoint, corpulence in ancient Egyptian

Fig 1 (above). Limestone relief of Akhenaton (detail). New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty, H. 52.7 cm. 10/11/26/4

Fig 2 (right). Quartzite head of a daughter of Akhenaton. New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty, from Amarna. H: 10.8 cm. JE 05040
art was regarded as a sign of status, rank, wealth and authority, rather than as a depiction of the actual physical appearance of the individual. The resulting images of Akhenaton and the members of his immediate family (Figs 1,2) are, therefore, intended to signify in a graphic way just how different the concerns of these pharaohs were from their Tuthmoside predecessors. Furthermore, the intimacy which characterizes many of the familial representations of Akhenaton and his daughters, in particular, may also prove to have had its precedents during the Middle Kingdom. The intimacy of Dedusobek and his daughter, Renisenebkhonsu, is instructive in this regard (Fig 3).

The exhibition likewise stresses the hieroglyphic nature of ancient Egyptian art by the conscious juxtaposition of objects. The stele of Hekaib (Fig 5), who is depicted twice, each time with one wife, is presented in such a way that the Egyptian principle of priority of place in two dimensional representations is affirmed, and the importance of the depiction at the spectator’s left is emphasized. A painted limestone statuette of Nefer, Overseer of Brewers, from the Old Kingdom, the height of which is commensurate with the figures of Hekaib, is displayed adjacent to that stele (Fig 4). The left leg of this three-dimensional image is advanced because such images are, in this context, to be understood as a translation into the round of the dominant image in two-dimensional representations.

The Egyptian authorities have been most generous in their approval of loans of painted objects, and the exhibition contains at least one gallery devoted to ancient Egyptian painting of the New Kingdom. The history of the advances in painting can be readily documented by looking at the stelae in the exhibition. One such is dedicated to the god Shed, and other deities, by Peherepezet (Fig 6). Here, as in certain instances in the Tomb of Nefertari, wife of Ramesses II, in the Valley of the Queens, one can clearly see how the craftsmen have broken with tradition. In general, colour in ancient Egyptian two-dimensional representations is confined by the contours which were like the lines in a child’s colouring book and prevented the colour ‘bleeding’ between sections. However, this stele shows feathering of the reds in the torsos and thighs of the figures in the bottom register. Whereas the intention of such an innovation remains to be explored, its use appears to be limited to the late New Kingdom. Nevertheless, such representations have a plasticity not seen in the normal section contour which makes objects seem flat.

The exhibition is not without its problems. These have been included intentionally to give an impression of the complexity of the study of ancient Egypt’s material culture. The colossal image inscribed for ‘Ramesses beloved of Isis’ is a case in

**Fig 3. Painted limestone funerary stele of Dedusobek and his daughter Renisenebkhonsu. Middle Kingdom, 12th Dynasty, from Abydos. H: 27.9 cm. CG 20596.**

**Fig 4 (right). Painted limestone statuette of Nefer. Old Kingdom, 5th Dynasty, from Saqqara. H: 34.9 cm. CG 145.**

**Fig 5 (below). Painted limestone funerary stele of Hekaib and his two wives. Middle Kingdom, 12th Dynasty, from Aswan. H: 73 cm. JE 36420.**

MINERVA 11
Nubians, black Africans whose rich history often developed independently from that of Egypt. At other times the histories of both cultures became intertwined, as during the 25th Dynasty when the Nubians, after a series of successful military campaigns against the Egyptians, established themselves as the legitimate rulers of most of Egypt with Thebes as their seat of power. Whereas there has been a tendency in museums of late to treat Nubia independently and create separate galleries devoted to Nubian culture, this exhibition attempts to integrate it with that of Egypt by exhibiting examples of art of the 25th Dynasty alongside ancient Egyptian objects. One such piece is that inscribed for Amunirdis the Elder commissioned by her daughter Shepenwepet II (Fig 8). Amunirdis was a daughter of Pianky, the Nubian pharaoh who is credited with founding the 25th Dynasty. She was enrolled into the clergy of the state god Amun-er where she served as the deity’s divine consort. Her daughter, Shepenwepet II, followed her into office and dedicated this honorific image to her mother, with the following words inscribed on the back pillar so that ‘she [her mother] might be able to endure... forever and ever in the house of the god Amun’.

It has occasionally been claimed that the faces of some ancient Egyptian statues were intentionally defaced by racist Egyptologists in order to obliterate certain features which would reveal the ethnic composition of the ancient Egyptians. The damage to the face of this statue has been cited as a case in point. In reality, however, the circumstances of this statue’s discovery show otherwise. Its substantial back pillar meant that it was reused, upside down, as a doorknob in the Christian period. So, inverted and reused, the statue’s face was damaged quite naturally. Its present condition, therefore, reflects the state in which it was found when it was excavated in 1937.

The exhibition also features a generous selection of the treasures from Tanis, which have never before been on exhibition in North America, despite the successful tour of some of these objects in Europe, Japan and selected venues within the Commonwealth.

The gold of Tanis is truly remarkable, and its importance has unfortunately been eclipsed by the disproportionate attention given to the treasures of Tutankhamun. The reasons for this are varied, but in large
part can be attributed to world events. Pierre Montet, who discovered them, began to uncover the tombs at Tanis, a site in the eastern Delta, early in 1939. By the end, he had cleared nine burials, five of which were royal, belonging to pharaohs of the 21st and 22nd Dynasties. However, by the autumn of 1939, the Second World War had been declared, and the world's attention turned to more momentous events.

It is, therefore, unfortunate that more visitors are not aware of the importance of these objects, which were created during a period when Egyptian culture was characterised by several technological milestones. The art of casting metal, particularly bronze, reached its zenith during this period, and most authorities would agree that the craft of mummification, from a purely medical viewpoint, was never better, either before or after. It was during this period as well that the settlements of what were to become the powerful city-states of ancient Greece were beginning to develop and that development was accompanied by increasingly more frequent contact with the Orient in general and with Egypt in particular.

The Third Intermediate Period, which is comprised of the 21st-25th Dynasties, deserves to be better known to a popular audience. Of the objects from Tanis on view, one mentions here only the pectoral of Pharaoh Psusennes I (Fig 10) and the necklace with a statuette of the goddess Isis as a pendant (Fig 11).

Robert Steven Bianchi is Exhibition Curator of 'Splendors of Ancient Egypt'.

'Splendors of Ancient Egypt' is at the Florida International Museum 10 January-9 June. The exhibition will probably tour additional cities in the United States, but at the time of going to press the venues had not been decided. A fully illustrated catalogue in both paperback and hardback accompanies the exhibition.
WINE IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

The National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, the Netherlands, is currently housing the exhibition 'Wine! wine! wine!' which focuses on different aspects of viticulture in the Greek and Roman world, including reconstructions of a symposium, an ancient wreck loaded with amphorae, a Roman 'pub', and a splendid dining hall.

Ruurd Halbertsma

'The skyphos enjoys the touch of sensual Zenophila's talkative lips. Oh, lucky skyphos! If only she would press her lips against mine and allow our souls to merge!'

(Meleager, Anthologia Palatina V, 171)

This simple Greek poem, written 2000 years ago, brings us directly in touch with the world of antiquity and the world of wine. The drinking vessel, a cup known as a skyphos, is represented as boasting about touching the beautiful girl's lips. The poet, inebriated by too much wine, is jealous and sighs that he would like to drink from the lips of his favourite beauty and to merge his soul with her's.

This image of merging together is closely related to the fascination of the Greeks for the working of wine. Drinking wine meant consuming the god Dionysos himself (Fig 1); the drinker became one with the god, who, once consumed, was able to give consolation, warmth and inspiration, but could also strike the drinker with blindness and rage. Prophecy of the future could also take place under the influence of wine, according to the Greek poet Euripides: 'when the god [Dionysos] enters the body of a man, he fills him with the breath of prophesy.' In short, wine was a mystery, which fascinated the ancients and inspired them to many works of art.


EARLIEST TRACES: THE CAUCASUS

The history of wine goes back a long way. Fossils of the wild vine have been found in layers of earth some 60 million years old. The first domesticated variant, the *vitis vinifera silvestris*, has been found in the Caucasian area and dates back to the fifth millennium BC. From the regions of Georgia and Armenia the process of wine-making spread across Asia Minor, Egypt (Fig 2), and Mesopotamia. Fertile soil produces poor grapes, which meant that these regions never produced wines of good quality: the growth entered the leaves, and not the fruit. The grape flourishes in a poor soil with lots of sunshine and sufficient cooling during the night.

These climatic conditions are especially to be found in the Aegean area. The Greek islands produced grapes of extremely high quality: the summers are hot, the rocky ground is poor, but partly of mineral origin, and the sea breezes bring cool air during the night. In Greece viticulture flourished and on the islands wines were
produced which can be considered as the ‘grand crust’ of antiquity.

**DIONYSOS IN TRIUMPH**

The spread of viniculture from the east to the rest of the ancient world is reflected in the legends surrounding Dionysos, the Greek god of wine. Dionysos was the son of Zeus, father of the gods, and Semele, daughter of the Theban king Kadmos.

The god of heavens and the goddess of the earth produced together the god of wine, a typically Greek way of explaining the world through myth. What is wine other than the result of a marriage between heaven and earth? The parallel was taken even further. Semele, still carrying her child, was killed by Zeus’ lightning, through Zeus’ jealousy. Zeus took the child from her womb, placed it in his thigh, and after some time gave Dionysos a second birth. A ‘double birth’ is also seen in the grapes, which come to life a second time in the form of wine.

For fear of Zeus’ jealous wife Hera, young Dionysos was brought up in Asia Minor by lovely nymphs. Here he discovered the process of wine-making and decided to spread this art over the world. He made long journeys to Afghanistan and India, but did not succeed in converting the beer-drinking Mesopotamians: the clay in their region is far more suited to growing grain than the elegant vine.

As an eastern monarch, riding on a tiger (or panther), Dionysos began his conquest of Greece (Fig 3). In his cortège were satyrs, animal-like creatures, always in pursuit of the pleasures of wine and sex, and the maenads, wild women who wandered through the countryside, occasionally killing animals and devouring them. This wild retinue was not appreciated by everyone. The conflict between the licentious bawdy ecstasy and the rules of law and order is beautifully put into words by Euripides in his tragedy *Bacchae*. He describes how King Pentheus of Thebes imprisoned Dionysos and tried to stop the insulting behaviour of his followers. Dionysos’ wrath was terrible. He blinded Pentheus’ mother, who was dancing in the woods with the maenads. In her frenzy she mistook her son for a wild animal, and killed him.

It was impossible to challenge the power of the ferocious god. For the Greeks it was clear that wine had two different aspects. When used in moderation one could reach a state of calm and relaxation, which inspired good conversation and poetry. When drunk in large amounts, it caused wild emotions and the genial atmosphere could suddenly change to dangerous violence. ‘Nothing in excess’ was a proverb with which the Greeks often used to warn each other.

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**THE CONVIVIALITY OF THE SYMPOSIUM**

The drinking of wine was for the Greeks a social event. The occasion for such a congenial ‘wine evening’ could be, for example, a sporting victory. The organiser invited family and friends. Wives and children were not allowed to attend a symposium – it was out of the question that they could keep measure while drinking. Present, however, were hetairai, professional women who amused the men with conversation, songs, dances and (occasionally) erotic dexterities. The organiser had a lot to think of. A Greek epigram dating from the third century BC conveys this busy atmosphere very well. We hear the host counting out loud:
Four are coming to drink: for each
one an additional bdr.
One amphora of Chios-wine is
never enough for eight!
Boy! Go to Aristion and tell him to
send another half,
as soon as possible: we are in need
of at least two jugs.
Maybe even more... Go and make
haste!
At the fifth hour the guests are
coming!' (Poseidippes, Anthologia
Palatina V, 183)

The participants at a symposion
wore wreaths on their heads and per-
fumed oil (Fig 4), and lay on beautiful
couches adorned with cushions, while
tripods supported flickering lamps.
The organiser, known as the sym-
posiarch, or leader of the symposion,
started the evening by offering a few
drops of wine to the gods, sprinkling
them on the ground. He also decided
how strong the wine should be and
the pace at which the guests should
empty their drinking bowls. The wine
was mixed with water in a mixing
vessel (krater), and this diluted wine

was poured into drinking bowls
(kylies) or drinking cups (skyphoi)
using jugs or ladles. The kylix has an
elegant form, the large surface of wine
giving an extraordinary fragrance, but
it is rather difficult to handle when
full (Fig 5).

When the boy-slave had distributed
the wine, the men started drink-
ing. The symposiarch could impose
tasks on his friends, such as singing a
song or telling a witty story, and
music was performed on the lyre and
flute by the guests or the women.
Games were played, such as the curi-
ous kottabos: one of the guests had to
empty his kylix, aiming the dregs of
his wine at a krater. If he missed he
incurred a forfeit, for example empty-
ing a kylix in one draught. If he suc-
cceeded, he could make a wish, which
in some cases could be fulfilled at
once by one of the attending girls.

In intellectual company the atmos-
phere was serious and witty. Certain
subjects were discussed at length, as
in the famous symposion of the
fourth-century BC Athenian philoso-
pher Plato, in which the guests try to
define Eros (Love).

From other sources we know that
the behaviour of the guests was not
always beyond reproach. The decora-
tion on Greek pottery often shows the
effects of too much wine: drunken-
ness, wild dances on the street, and
sickness (Figs 6-7). The Greek author
Athenaeus (third century AD) tells an
interesting story about a symposion
which got completely out of hand.
The event happened in the city of
Akragas, modern Agrigento, in Sicily,
where there was a house with the
nickname ‘trireme’, a Greek rowing-
vessel. The reason for this name was
explained thus:

'Timaeus of Taormenium says
that in Agrigento there is a house
which is called the 'trireme' from the following circumstance. A party of young fellows were drinking in it, and became so wild when overheated by the liquor that they imagined they were sailing in a trireme, and that they were in a bad storm on the ocean. Finally they completely lost their senses, and tossed all the furniture and bedding out of the house as though upon the waters, convinced that the pilot directed them to lighten the ship because of the raging storm. Well, a great crowd gathered and began to carry off the jezsam, but even then the youngsters did not cease from their mad actions. The next day the military authorities appeared at the house and made a complaint against the young men when they were still half-seas over. To the questions of the magistrates they answered that they had been much put to it by a storm and had been compelled to throw into the sea the superfluous cargo. When the authorities expressed surprise at their insanity, one of the young men, though he appeared to be the eldest of the company, said to them: 'Ye Tritons, I was so frightened that I threw myself into the lowest possible place in the hold and lay there'. The magistrates, therefore, pardoned their delirium, but sentenced them never to drink too much and let them go.... This is why the house was called the 'trireme'.

Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae II, 37
(translation: Ch.B. Gulick)

THE SPREAD OF THE VINE

From the seventh century Greek colonists brought the vine to the shores of the Mediterranean. In the southern parts of Italy and France they found suitable conditions for the production of their favourite drink. The Romans, living in the area between the Etruscans and the Greek colonies in the south, applied themselves only late to the practice of viniculture. Not before the second century BC did they start to cultivate vineyards on a large scale. Writers such as Pliny and Columella gave detailed instructions of how to produce wine of good quality (Fig 8). Inspired by Hellenistic poetry the poet Horace wrote about the pleasures of wine: about the expensive imported 'grand crus' from Greece, such as the wine from the island of Chios, and about Italian wines such as the Falernum and the Caecubum from Campania, the region around Naples.

In certain aspects of their attitude to wine the Romans seem oddly familiar to us. For the first time we learn about obvious 'wine-snobbery'. Pliny tells of a sumptuous dinner party at which a wine of poor quality was served for the less important guests, especially for the freedmen. He uttered his indignation about this to the host, who replied by asking how Pliny himself would have tackled this problem without spending enormous amounts of money on expensive wines. 'Simple', replied Pliny. 'My freedmen don’t drink the same wine as I, but I the same as my freedmen.'

In order to cope with the enormous demand for wine in the Roman Empire ‘bulk wines’ were produced in France, Spain and North Africa, and were exported to the remotest corners of the Empire. Mediterranean viniculture reached the banks of the rivers Danube, Mosel and Rhine, following in the footsteps of the Roman legions. Along the sloping banks of these rivers wine was produced in large quantities. Beautiful wine sets testify to the wine-culture in these regions (Figs 9–10). Simple earthenware beakers have also been found, decorated with merry Latin aphorisms.

MINERVA 17
Museum Exhibition

Fig 11. Roman mosaic showing the pitching of jars, 2nd century AD, Saint-Romain-en-Gal, France.

Ruurd B. Halbertsma is Curator of Greek and Roman art in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, the Netherlands, and co-organiser of the exhibition ‘Wine! wine! wine!’ All photos are from the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, by P.J. Bomhof.

such as Bib(e) (Drink me), Reple (Fill me up), Valeus (To your health) and Da vinum (Give me wine).

These are texts which might provide cheer even today. Less familiar would be the taste of the ancient wine. This taste was partly influenced by the methods of transportation and storage. The large wine amphorae were covered on the inside by a layer of pitch (Fig 11) and sealed with a lump of resin, fastened by gypsum. Wine from these amphorae had a strong resinous taste, which is still to be found in the Greek retsina wine of today. The Romans stored their wines preferably in warm attics, for example above the kitchen. The smoky smell and taste were highly appreciated. Furthermore, herbs, sweeteners and even dairy-products could be added to the wine, for example coriander, pepper, cinnamon, honey, anise and cheese. This was done partly to mask the poor quality of the wine, but also because the Romans enjoyed these tastes (according to the season). We should not forget that Roman cooking could also at times be very spicy. The pinnacle of delight was the addition of sea water to wine. Wines from the Greek island of Cos were especially famous for their salty flavour, which was imitated in various ways. Whatever the different tastes, wine was held in high esteem, a gift from the gods!

‘Wine is as great a boon to earthly creatures as fire.
It is loyal, a defender from evil, a companion to solace every pain.
Yea, wine is the desired portion of the feast and of merry making, of the tripping dance and of yearning love. Therefore thou shouldst receive and drink it at the feast with glad heart...’

Panyasis, fifth century B.C.
(translation: Ch. B. Gulick)

‘Wine! wine! wine!’ is at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, the Netherlands, until 10 March 1996.

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MINERVA 18
A CROSS-SECTION THROUGH CYPRIOt HISTORY

Surveying the Vasilikos Valley

Recent excavations have documented the development of settlement from Neolithic village to Late Bronze Age town with widespread international connections.

Ian A. Todd

Because of its geographical position at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, the island of Cyprus is susceptible to influences from many different directions. The archaeology of the island has a flavour all of its own, at times obstinately insular, at other times totally in tune with the whole of the surrounding region. This pivotal position means that archaeological discoveries on the island are frequently of widespread significance throughout the eastern Mediterranean and Aegean regions. Almost two decades of archaeological research in a southern coastal valley have provided much new evidence on the prehistory of the island and the nature of early contacts and interaction with its mainland neighbours.

The Vasilikos valley, centred on the village of Kalavasos, lies approximately half way between the southern coastal towns of Limassol and Larnaca (Fig 4). It forms one of a series of valleys running down to the coast from the eastern end of the Troodos mountains. In climate and vegetation it is typically Mediterranean, with hot dry summers and a varying amount of rainfall in winter. Olive and carob trees dot the landscape, and cereals are widely grown. The tree cover is becoming increasingly sparse, and irrigation agriculture is now sweeping away the practices of the past.

Initial archaeological research was undertaken in the region by Dr Porphyrios Dikaios in the 1940s. The present project, directed by the writer, commenced fieldwork in 1976, and is continuing at the time of writing. From its inception, the aim of the Vasilikos Valley Project has been to undertake multi-disciplinary studies in the valley as a whole, together with excavations of sites of various different prehistoric periods and an archaeological field survey of the area from the Kalavasos copper mines down to the coast. By this means it is hoped that a thorough and accurate picture will emerge of the nature of life in the valley in the different phases, and how environmental, economic, social and political conditions changed from phase to phase. Excavations have so far been undertaken at four main localities in the Kalavasos area: Tenta (ceramic Neolithic and ceramic Neolithic/Early Chalcolithic), Ayious (Early Chalcolithic), Kalavasos Village (Middle Bronze Age) and Ayios Dhimitrios (Late Bronze Age). Minor rescue and test excavations have also been undertaken at several other sites in the region. The field survey entails the surface examination of the fields in the valley to determine the presence of artefacts indicating the existence of archaeological sites: this has amply demonstrated the richness of the area with the location of approximately 140 sites of different periods throughout the valley. An overview of the results of the project is presented here and a subsequent article in Minerva will be devoted to the excavation of the Late Bronze Age town at Ayios Dhimitrios.

The earliest occupation of the valley belongs to the ceramic Neolithic phase, prior to the use of pottery, dating in general terms to the seventh millennium BC. The village of Kalavasos-Tenta (Figs 2,3) was inhabited at this time, and at least two other settlements are known in the valley, one in the upper reaches of the valley and the other to the south of Tenta nearer the sea. Palaeolithic remains are unknown on the island. The origin of the initial settlers at Tenta is obscure.
They may have arrived by sea from the adjacent mainland, or they may have come from elsewhere within Cyprus. The Tenta village comprises one of the three main settlements of this phase excavated so far on Cyprus, the others being Khirki (c. 5 km east of Tenta) and Cape Andreas-Kastros on the eastern tip of the island. The village at Tenta was established on a small natural hill, c. 150 metres west of the present course of the Vasilikos river. It has a commanding position with a fine view northward to the eastern end of the Troodos range, and southward to the coast. It also lies close to the major east-west route which runs along the southern coastal fringe of the island, and overlooks an easy crossing point of the river. A flourishing village grew up at this strategic point, made even more secure by an encircling wall and, at least on one side, a ditch outside the wall. The villagers constructed curvilinear dwellings of mud brick or stone (sometimes both) within a fairly tightly built up community. The dead were buried in pits below the house floors or outside the structures in the narrow intervening spaces. Different types of stone were used for the manufacture of artefacts of everyday use such as vessels with sophisticated shapes and items of personal adornment. Pottery and metal objects were unknown. The economy depended on domesticated plants and animals, with the diet enriched by the hunting of deer.

Despite the apparently successful adaptation of the earliest settlers to the valley environment, the settlement at Tenta was abandoned for reasons unknown, probably before c. 5000 BC. There follows a hiatus of uncertain duration (500 years or more) prior to the re-occupation of the valley in the ceramic Neolithic phase, c. 4500 BC. This latter phase is represented only by pits which may have been associated with lightly built
houses, although more solid domestic architecture is known elsewhere in Cyprus at this time.

The early phase of the succeeding period, the Chalcolithic (c. 3500 BC) is also marked in the Vasilikos valley (and elsewhere in Cyprus) by a lack of substantial architecture. At the site of Kalavasos-Ayious, located on a flat-topped plateau overlooking the valley from its east side, remains of numerous pits were excavated, cut into the ground to varying depths (Fig 5). While the largest of these might be interpreted as the remnants of pit dwellings, a more likely interpretation is that the pits served some domestic function in association with lightly-built houses, the remains of which have not survived. The most enigmatic feature excavated at Ayious comprises a complex of three pits with interconnecting narrow subterranean tunnels, the purpose of which is unknown. In addition to quantities of finely-painted handmade pottery, the occupants of the site also employed clay for the modelling of human figurines (Fig 6), and stone continued in use for the manufacture of utilitarian items and jewellery.

The middle and later phases of the Chalcolithic are known from excavations elsewhere in Cyprus, especially the Paphos region in the west, but in the Vasilikos valley there is only the evidence of a scatter of pottery sherds of the relevant types on the surface of several sites to attest to the utilisation of the valley in the many centuries after 3500 BC. Future excavation at a suitable site should rectify this deficiency in our knowledge of the development of society in the valley. The Early Bronze Age (c. 2300-1900 BC), well represented in the northern part of the island, is also conspicuous by its absence in the Kalavasos area, and more generally in the southern part of the island as a whole. Only one site of the period has been excavated in this region (west of Limassol), and the reasons for this apparent lacuna remain to be explained. The role of regional variation and differential development, even within an island of the size of Cyprus, has been much discussed, but it seems more likely to the writer that, at least in the Vasilikos valley, remains of the Early Bronze Age have been encountered during the field survey but that they have remained unrecognised amongst the large quantities of similar ceramics of the succeeding Middle Bronze Age.

Knowledge of the Middle Bronze Age (c. 1900-1600 BC) in the Kalavasos area has greatly increased in recent years as a result of the excavation of numerous tombs of this period within the confines of Kalavasos village (Fig 7). Very limited excavation has also been undertaken at the Middle Bronze Age settlement at Laroumena, immediately north of Kalavasos, and evidence derived from the field survey has shown a particularly dense concentration of Middle Bronze Age sites between the village and the mining area to the north of it. The distribution of sites is suggestive of a connection with the extraction of copper from the mines; metal tools and weapons have been found in the excavated tombs, but there is no direct evidence present to substantiate the Bronze Age utilisation of the Kalavasos ore deposits.

Despite the last century or so of archaeological research in Cyprus, very little is yet known about matters pertaining to life, as opposed to death, in the Middle Bronze Age. The site of Laroumena is the only settlement of this period in the southern part of the island at which any architecture has been excavated; however, beyond the fact that the structures are rectilinear, little can be said until more extensive excavation is undertaken. The discovery of a crucible on the site suggests metallurgical activity within the settle-
the graves are undisturbed since the last interment, at worst they are thoroughly disturbed, looted and emptied.

The ceramic gifts deposited with the dead comprise large numbers of red burnished vessels ('Red Polished'), sometimes of highly elaborate shape, and much smaller numbers of painted vessels of the 'White Painted' category (Fig 8). Metal tools and weapons occur (Fig 9), and beads of faience and other materials are commonly found (Fig 10). The grave goods generally indicate prosperity rather than high status. The survival of objects of precious metals is very rare and usually limited to small fragments of silver. This contrasts strongly with the highest status burials of the succeeding Late Bronze Age at Ayios Dhimitrios, around 500 years later.

The pattern of settlement in the Vasilikos valley seems to have undergone a considerable change around the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. In the preceding period numerous settlements of varying size occur frequently from well south of Kalavasos northward to the mines area and beyond. In the first phase of the Late Bronze Age (c. 1600-1450 BC) the number of settlements seems to decline very considerably, judging from the evidence collected by the field survey. During the second phase (c. 1450-1200 BC), however, the trend is reversed, the number of settlements increases again, and, perhaps most significantly, a major nucleation of pop-

ulation becomes apparent at Ayios Dhimitrios south-south-west of Tenta. This phenomenon will be discussed in a future article, but the existence of this strategically located site is probably to be associated with the mining and trade of copper as well as the manufacture of olive oil in large quantities.

With regard to the history of Late Bronze Age settlement in the valley, the field survey and the excavations at Ayios Dhimitrios have indicated a total lack of evidence of any settlement in, or utilisation of the area in the final phase of the Bronze Age (1200-1050 BC), and only very scant evidence of use in the succeeding Cypro-Geometric period. Considering the metallurgical significance of the Kalavasos mining area, a momentous change must have occurred to account for this major, and perhaps abrupt, discontinuity in the settlement of the valley.

Additional information on the Late Bronze Age settlement and economy of the Vasilikos river catchment has been derived recently from a rescue excavation near the village of Sanidha, 10 kilometres west-north-west of Kalavasos, in the foothills of the Troodos mountains. Three brief seasons of excavation have revealed the existence of a site the purpose of which was clearly industrial rather than domestic. Set at an elevation of c. 520 metres, the rainfall in the area is higher than at Kalavasos and the vegetation distinctly richer and denser with a greater forest cover. The area is among the best watered in Cyprus. Very large quantities of White Slip sherd found on the surface of the site, including some 'wasters' (Fig 11), sherd deformed during firing, suggested large scale ceramic manufacture there (Fig 12); this seems to be confirmed by the occurrence of numerous fragmentary baked clay bars or bricks of a type known to have been used in other countries, and in more recent times, to support the floors of pottery kilns. The site is excellently placed for the manufacture of ceramics since all of the necessary raw materials and supplies are abundantly available locally. The excavations revealed pits and large quantities of material derived from the manufacture of ceramics, but actual remains of kilns were not encountered and these must presumably be situated nearby. The importance of the site lies not only in the information to be derived from it concerning Late Bronze Age ceramic technology, about which comparatively little is known, but also in the definition of routes along which the Sanidha ceramics were traded, both within Cyprus and abroad.

The excavations of the Vasilikos Valley Project at various sites in the valley, in conjunction with an extensive and methodical field survey of the region and study of its resources, have all combined to provide a picture, albeit discontinuous, of settlement within a limited geographical area throughout prehistory. Because of the central geographical position of the island, the discoveries at Late Bronze Age Ayios Dhimitrios and Sanidha are of direct relevance for the study of international trade and inter-relationships throughout the East Mediterranean and Near Eastern area. The significance of the present project thus stretches far beyond the island's shores.
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Roman Britain

CALLEVA ATREBATUM
The Roman Town at Silchester

A new gallery at the Museum of Reading, Berkshire, displays the treasures found in the excavations of Calleva Atrebatum, the most completely excavated Romano-British town. John Rhodes reports.

Some time perhaps in the late fifth century an Irish traveller called Ebicatus died and was buried within the walls of the old Roman town of Calleva, on the uplands south of the middle Thames valley. His memorial stone, formed from a Roman column and inscribed with his name in Ogham script, was found down a well at Calleva fourteen centuries later (Fig 1).

Most Romano-British towns were virtually or completely deserted by the time of Ebicatus' death, no longer sustained by the central Roman organising power which finally went from Britain in 410. Many were eventually revived as natural urban centres for the developing areas of English settlement - York, Leicester, Winchester, Bath, St Albans, Cirencester and others. Calleva remained deserted as new towns grew and prospered at Reading and Wallingford, closer to

Fig 1. The 'Ogham Stone' from Calleva, commemorating a traveller from the west, Ebicatus. H: 60 cm.

Fig 2. The amphitheatre at Silchester, drawn by William Stukeley and published as an engraving in 1724.

...
Roman Britain

Fig 3. The directors of the Silchester excavations with their work force, local agricultural labourers, photographed in 1899.

Fig 4 (left). The Silchester eagle, of cast bronze, discovered wingless and damaged in 1866 by the Rev. James Joyce. H: 15 cm.

Fig 5 (above). Gold ring with onyx intaglio. D: 1.9 cm.

Fig 6 (right). The Flute Player, bronze figurine of a female figure playing the ibila. She is thought to represent Euterpe, one of the Muses and mistress of lyric poetry. H: 125 cm.

recorded in drawings, photographs and models and quickly published in two thick volumes of Archaeologia. Inevitably in the state of excavation technique at the time, they missed a fair amount - primarily the remains of timber or other insubstantial structures, or anything very much which could have helped with dating or establishing stratigraphic sequences for the town. They did, nevertheless, provide the information for a full and

close of work on site during the 1860s and 70s he wrote up his findings in a Journal, which survives in two bound volumes in the Museum, beautifully illustrated with watercolour sketches and diagrams.

His most celebrated find was the Silchester eagle (Fig 4), found in the Basilica on October 9th 1866, the finely cast but damaged body, minus wings, of what must have been part of a splendid bronze statue of Jupiter or an Emperor, but which was variously interpreted at the time and since. Its identification as part of a legionary standard was taken up by the writer Rosemary Sutcliffe, who based her stirring historical novel for children, The Eagle of the Ninth on its imagined adventures.

Joyce was elected for his work at Silchester and elsewhere a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. It was the Antiquaries who set up a Silchester Excavation Fund and in a great sequence of excavations from 1890 to 1910 (Fig 3) dug their way through Calleva season by season until the whole town had been revealed. Their excavations were thorough, well
Fig 7. Timed bronze belt plate, 3rd century AD. L: 11.8 cm.

market place; the Public Baths, social centre for the town; the Mansio or Inn where travellers, merchants and messengers of the Imperial Post could stay and which had its own bath-house, with two independent suites, presumably for men and women to bathe separately.

There were numerous houses, ranging from simple rectangular blocks of rooms to elaborate complexes with corridors and wings arranged around courtyards, and with underfloor heating systems and mosaic floors, mostly of geometric or stylised foliage designs (Fig 9). Some of the houses had agricultural outbuildings from which the land beyond the walls could be farmed. Along the main east/west street were ranged workshops for craft or manufacturing occupations, with working spaces to house furnaces and living areas behind. In such workshops must have been used used some of the splendid range of craft tools discovered in the excavations: blacksmiths' tongs and anvils, carpenters' chisels and hammers and a remarkable plane (Fig 10), a rare find in the Empire as a whole and similar in every respect to a modern carpenter's jack-plane.

Seven of the buildings were temples, mostly of the simple Romano-Celtic form with a square central shrine surrounded by a colonnaded walkway, though one larger example was sixteen sided with a circular shrine. In one temple were found fragments of Bath stone statuary, and inscriptions referring to the setting up of perhaps these very statues by a collegium peregrinorum consistensiam Callevae—an 'association of foreigners resident at Calleva', useful confirmation of the contemporary name of the town (Fig 11).

A particular type of temple, excavated close by the Forum-Basilica in 1892, was identified then and since as a Christian church, the earliest example in Britain. It was basilican in plan, with an entrance porch, transepts and an apsidal 'east' end (though it was actually at the west—the alignment was reversed) but apart from this similarity to the conventional church plan, there was nothing found to suggest Christian worship, nor was anything specifically Christian found elsewhere in the town. It could have been the meeting place of a guild, or associated with some non-Christian cult. Another possibility is posed by the strange fate which befell the great Basilica of Calleva, which from around the mid-third century was at least partly given over to industrial metal-working, especially, it seems, the manufacture of nails. The town would have needed an alternative, smaller, Basilica and perhaps this is what the 'church' was intended as. It was re-excavated in the 1960s by Sir Ian Richmond in an attempt to elucidate the problem, but inconclusively; the question of identification remains open.

detailed plan of all the substantial buildings in the town, the streets and the walls—the first complete plan of a Romano-British town (Fig 8). And through their finds but passed an astonishingly rich assemblage of material, illuminating many aspects of the daily life of the townpeople—pottery in great quantity, coinage, jewellery (Fig 5), craft tools and agricultural equipment, personal and toilettry items (Fig 7), inscriptions, fragments of sculpture, religious figurines (Fig 6), building materials and mosaics. There were astonishing survivals: stave-built barrows of silver fir from the Pyrenees in which wine perhaps from Bordeaux was imported, wooden buckets and a ladder, too fragile to exhibit, which was abandoned down a well when the sides started to cave in and the well-diggers fled.

The excavations revealed the full range of public and domestic buildings making up the regular pattern of a Roman town: the Forum-Basilica, serving as town hall, lawcourts and

Fig 8. Plan of Calleva, the most completely mapped of Romano-British towns.

MINERVA 29
The Atrebates saw themselves as allies of Rome, unlike their tribal enemies the Catuvelauni, centred in modern Essex. As the Catuvelauni gained the upper hand, the leaders of the Atrebates were driven first from Calleva and ultimately from their surviving territories on the south coast. Their last king Verica was expelled by the Catuvelaunian Caratacus in AD 42 and fled to Rome to seek help from the Emperor Claudius saw the chance of a military triumph, invaded Britain in ostensible support of Verica and initiated the Conquest. It is unlikely that Verica himself was restored; soon the lands of the Atrebates seem to have been ruled on Rome’s behalf by the client king Cogidubnus from his palace at Fishbourne. Calleva became a Roman town, but it was not until the 80s that it was fully integrated into the Province as Calleva Atrebatum, the main town of the community of the Atrebates. A small but vigorous symbol of the Iron Age at Calleva is the cast bronze figure of a horse (Fig 12), found in the Forum, stylistically close to the horses on Celtic coinage and to the White Horse at Uffington.

Fig 9. Mosaic floor from one of the grandest houses in Calleva.

Fig 10. The plane of a Callevan carpenter; the wooden stock has decayed away. L: 37 cm.

Fig 11. Portion of inscription set up by ‘the association of foreigners at Calleva.’ H: 37 cm.

Fig 12. The Silchester horse, decorative bronze handle perhaps of a drinking vessel, in pre-Roman Celtic style. L: 9.6 cm

There have been other excavations this century to clarify and extend the findings of the Antiquaries: Mrs Aylwin Cotton in the 1930s, concentrating on the defences, George Boon in the 1950s and ‘60s. More recently Professor Michael Fulford for the University of Reading has excavated the Forum-Basilica, the north and south gates and (for the first time) the Amphitheatre. These later excavators have added much detail about the life of the town, and in particular confirmed that Calleva was no new town plantation of the Roman occupation. The place was already an important centre for the tribal region of the Atrebates and had, in the years before the Conquest in AD 43, a regular pattern of streets and buildings, extensive earthwork fortifications and close contacts with Rome which resulted in, among other things, imports of fine pottery and wine.
Roman Britain

Glimpses of the lives and personalities of the Romanised British inhabitants of Calleva are regularly provided by the collections – through intimate personal possessions and ornaments, the tools used in workshops or kitchens, the evidence for leisure spent gaming at the baths or watching events in the Amphitheatre. Nowhere, however, do we come closer to the Callevans than in what they wrote, often quite casually, on a variety of surfaces and always in Latin, their adopted language: Venusta, inscribing her name on the rim of her pewter bowl (Venusiae vas – Venus's vessel), or Primania, marking the bowl of a silver spoon as hers. There are many other marks of ownership on more humble pottery vessels. Familiarity with the Roman authors is suggested by an inscription made on a tile while still wet: 'Untrustworthy Perticus, Campester, Lucilianus, Campanus, all fell silent', the latter being part a quotation from Virgil's Aeneid: 'continueres omnes'.

Other inscriptions on wet tiles are more laconic – 'puellam' (girl), and 'Satis' (enough), written on a roof tile and suggesting either that the tile maker had reached the last tile of a batch or had had enough of tile-making for the day (Fig 13). Other marks on tiles are an extensive range of animal footprints, domesticated or wild, and of human footprints too – a woman and a small child who independently wandered through the drying grounds near Calleva one day fifteen or more centuries ago.

The new permanent display of the Silchester Collection is at the Museum of Reading, Blagrove Street, Reading, Berkshire. Admission is free and the Museum is open 10am to 5pm Tuesday to Saturday, 2 to 5 Sunday (closed Mondays). The exhibition was designed by For Heal Design Ltd for Reading Borough Council. The site of Calleva, 8 miles south-west of Reading, may be visited. It is managed by Hampshire County Council and English Heritage.

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In 480 BC the Persians burnt down Athens and destroyed all her temples and sacred treasures on the Acropolis. Few lives were lost in this assault, as most of the population of Attica had evacuated their homes in the autumn of 481 when the oracle of Delphi had prophesied the total destruction of the city. 50 years later Athens had gained a vast empire that reached far beyond the Greek mainland, and the city had been rebuilt in a style that was to be much admired and imitated in history. The sculptures of the Parthenon and the temple itself bear witness to the splendour of the Athenian empire of the fifth century BC.

A question that is not easily answered—nor easily displayed in a museum—is how these grand buildings were paid for. The use of money and coinage of the Athenian empire in the Classical period is the subject of a small exhibition that is now on display in the British Museum.

The history of Athens and her empire which was established after the Persian Wars is well-known. After the victory over the Persians in 479 BC an alliance was formed to protect the Greeks of Ionia, Aetolia, and other parts against a further attack. Under the leadership of Athens, the various allies (numbering between 180 and 230 at different times) contributed ships or money to the league, but by the middle of the fifth century the organisation, which was not based initially in Athens but on the island of Delos—hence the modern name 'the Delian League'—had become an instrument for Athenian imperialism.

We are relatively well informed about financial matters of the empire through the so-called Tribute Lists. These lists record or state the yearly contributions of the allies, each member-state's payment being assessed by the Athenian assembly. The money was sent directly to Athens where one-sixtieth was paid into the temple treasuries of Athena; the rest was used by the Athenian state for its own expenditure.

How did the cities in the Athenian empire raise the required sums of money for tribute? This question is very difficult to answer, as the ancient sources are heavily biased towards Athens, leaving most other cities in the empire in relative obscurity. Numismatic evidence may help to fill this gap, though it is not always as easy to interpret classical coins as one would wish.

In what follows I would like to look at one particular member state of the League, the Thracian island of Thasos, and give a general outline of its history and coinage.

The island of Thasos had three main resources which were responsible for its legendary wealth: timber, wine and important mines on the island and on the Thracian mainland. The direct access to mines explains to some extent the large coin output of Thasos and of other Thracian cities; accordingly these cities were forced to contribute a considerable sum to the Athenians (in 446 BC as much as 120 talents, out of a total of 417 talents from the whole empire). Athens always taken an economic interest in this region (modern Bulgaria and parts of northern Greece), and in Thasos in particular. Her involvement in Thrace as early as the rule of the tyrant Peisistratus is attested by the finds of archaic Attic black-figure pottery sherds in excavations in Bulgaria.

When the island tried to revolt against Athenian domination in 460 BC, it was over the use of trading posts and an important gold-mine. The revolt was crushed by the Athenians, but only after three years of siege, during which the Thasians fought against the formidable Athenian fleet. After the capitulation Thasos had to give up its fleet, hand over the ports and mines on the mainland, and pay tribute to the Athenians in silver rather than the ships they had previously contributed to the Delian League. It looks likely that the output of silver coinage ceased at that point. The suppression of this revolt was an important warning to other member states of the Delian League that Athens would not tolerate any revolts that were to disturb the alliance. Furthermore, it clearly illustrates the imperialist measures that Athens took to keep its leading position in the Delian League.

The coinage of Thasos displays a remarkable coin image on its archaic and classical states (and on the smaller tribe) — a satyr carrying off a nymph (Figs 1, 2, 3). This image refers to the cult of Dionysos, the god of wine, who was one of the most popular deities in Thrace. The area produces wine up to the present day, and in ancient times that wine was renowned for its fine quality. Very similar designs have been found on handles of Thasian amphorae which show a satyr, alone or with a nymph. This confirms the use of the Dionysiac scene as the badge that stood for the island of Thasos. The smaller denominations, with a satyr running off with an amphora, explore the same Dionysiac theme.

Like many other silver coins of the sixth and fifth centuries, the coins of Thasos are found in hoards from
Egypt and the Near East, which were then under Achaemenid rule. In these parts of the Mediterranean world demand for precious metal did not meet supply, and ‘Greek’ coins were esteemed rather for their value as silver bullion, than as a currency. However, the coins of Thasos also circulated in the Thrace hinterland, where we frequently find them in hoards or individually, and where, interestingly, contemporary imitations of these coins also turn up (Fig 3). This phenomenon, too, reflects a shortage; but a shortage of coins rather than bullion. The coinage from Thasos (just like the coinage of the Macedonian king Philip II a century later) was used by the Thracians because it was generally accepted as a ‘hard’ currency which could be trusted and would be accepted by everyone. It is not clear who minted these pieces, as they lack any indication of an authority. They are of very similar appearance, and it is only often a secure provenance from an excavation, that helps to identify them as a local imitation.

How does this information relate to the tribute payment? A correlation between wealth, large tribute, and coinage in the case of Thasos emerges, insofar as the economic power of the island is reflected in the wide circulation of its copious silver coinage. However, a list of the other main cities, their tribute, and their coinages shows that economic power does not necessarily relate to either coin minting or a large tribute payment. A brief survey of some of the coinages and cities in the empire confirms this interpretation.

In Ionia the most important coin mints were on Samos (Fig 5), Chios (Fig 4), and Lesbos. Though members states these cities do not appear in the tribute-lists, as they most probably contributed ships. The biggest contributor in the area was Rhene, which paid nine talents in 441 BC. In the fifth century it issued only small silver obols with an eagle head, which were for local use and certainly not for tribute payments. Other states which paid heavily are Eretria, Ephesos, Teos (Fig 6), and Miletos (in the same year they paid between 7 and 5 talents each). All of them minted coins in the fifth century. The Black Sea district, though somewhat on the fringe of the Greek world, was very wealthy, and it is not surprising that we find Byzantion on the Bosporus (the modern city of Istanbul) paying over 15 talents. Cyzikos contributed the lowest sum of 9 talents. The rich city of Byzantion did not issue its own coinage in the fifth century, but the area was well served with coins by the so-called Cyzicene staters made of electrum (an alloy of gold and silver) (Figs 7, 8). These coins circulated widely and were extremely popular in mainland Greece, as single finds from excavations on the Athenian Agora show.

Unlike other Greek coinages, these carry a variety of designs, to which a tunny (tuna fish) is added as the badge of the city. Other big payers in the region were Perinthis (which issued no coinage), Lampsoak, Chalkedon, and Selymbria.

In south-west Asia Minor, a non-Greek area with some Greek settlements, the largest single contribution came from the Lycians. In the tribute list of 445 they paid 10 talents, but payments seem to have stopped by 440. The large number of Lycian coins of the fifth century indicate that the area had some access to silver: the coins have various designs, and in some cases the names of rulers. Many of them are struck with dies that are often very worn and show little artistic sense. On the island of Rhodes (Figs 9, 10), the Greek cities Kameiros, Lindos, and Laxysos, paid up to 9 talents, and issued their own coinage in the archaic and classical period.

Many of the Aegean islands were Athenian allies: they include Paros, Naxos, Andros, Karystos, and Keos. Naxos, Keos, and Andros issued coins in the archaic period, but nothing in the time of Athenian domination. Paros issued a series of coins which consists mainly of drachms. The rich island of Aegina, just off the coast of Attica, paid 30 talents. Aegina had been the first mint in mainland Greece to produce silver coins, the so-called ‘turtles’ (Figs 11, 12). Initially an ally of Sparta, Aegina came under Athenian control in the early 450s. There is no evidence, however, that coin production stopped for more than a few years.

In the north the largest payments were made by Thasos, Abdera (Figs 13), Ainos (Fig 14), Argilos, Potidaia, Skione, Thome, Samothrace, Akandos, Aenea and Paphrethos. In 446 BC, a year for which the record is almost complete, the Thracian and Macedonian allies contributed the largest share – 120 talents out of a total of 417. These figures translate into a massive number of coins, since each talent consisted of 1,500 tetradrachms.

What happened to all the money that was paid to Athens? A large part was spent on the fleet which allowed the Athenians to reach most parts of their large empire swiftly. This in turn allowed Athens to enforce tribute, if necessary, from allies that were late in

**Figures:** 4.5.6. The Ionian coastal region of Asia Minor with its famous cities was at the heart of the Dorian League, which was created in 479 BC under the leadership of Athens. The idea behind this association was to protect the Greeks of Ionia and Aeolia against further Persian attacks. Many of the cities and islands in the area contributed money or ships to the League. Among the most powerful allies of Athens were the islands of Chios and Samos, who minted a large coinage in the fifth century. Fig 4: Silver coin of Chios with a sphinx and an amphora, c. 450-440 BC. Fig 5: Silver coin of Samos with a head of a bull on the reverse, c. 450 BC. Fig 6: This coin of Teos shows a griffin with a raised paw.

**Tables:**

- **Table 1:** The coins of Cyzicene staters made of electrum, an alloy of gold and silver. They carry a variety of different designs, but can be attributed to Cyzicene because of a small tuna fish ‘badge’ in all designs. These staters were a very popular currency in Athens and mainland Greece.

- **Table 2:** Throughout its history Rhodes was an important commercial centre. In the archaic period, the main cities on the island issued silver coins. A winged boar and a bird’s head can be seen on the coin of Ilianysos (Fig 9); a fish head and the Greek inscription of the people of Kameiros on a silver coin of Kameiros (Fig 10).

- **Table 3:** The island of Aegina was the first place outside Asia Minor to issue silver coins. They became famous because of their widespread circulation and for their distinctive design, which was initially a turtle. In the middle of the 5th century, under Athenian control, it was replaced by a tortoise (Fig 11). The island of Paros issued coinage which showed a goat (Fig 12).
payment or perhaps not as forthcoming with it as was required.

It was the revenue from the allies and that of the silver mines of Laurion which allowed the Athenians to mint their famous coinage, the ‘owls’ (Figs. 15, 16). Unlike most other Greek coinages, their designs hardly changed in style over the fifth century. The head of the goddess Athena and the owl remain curiously archaic, whereas other coinages (in particular in Sicily or Southern Italy) often followed the Classical style of their time. One effect was that the coins were immediately recognisable anywhere in the Mediterranean. The tetradrachms were valued for their fine silver and soon became an international currency, like the coins of Aegina or the Persian darics. Smaller denomina-

tions existed down to very small fractions, which were used in Athens for daily transactions.

By the time of the Peloponnesian War, Athens was a very wealthy city and a formidable sea power, unlike its great enemy Sparta. The Spartans had a traditional army, and some ships from their allies at their disposal, though effective navies were very expensive, and eventually it was the lack of money that ended the war. The large sums of money that Athens had accumulated over the decades vanished in an expensive struggle, which in the end was lost. Athenian coins, still found in large numbers today, are a vivid reminder of this state’s tremendous wealth and its cultural achievements, which continue to influence us to the present day.

After Marathon: War, Society, and Money in Fifth-Century Greece


The Battle of Marathon in 490 BC was a watershed in Greek history which led into the prosperous fifth century and, not least, gave the world its gruelling road race of 26 miles – no wonder that the original runner, Philippides, dropped dead having announced the defeat of the Persians. Greece’s rebuff of Persian aspirations was confirmed at sea at Salamis (480) and on land at Plataea (479). As an insurance policy against future Persian aggression the Greek states formed the Delian League with Athens at its head receiving tribute. This was rapidly, with Athenian ‘bully boy’ tactics, transformed into an Athenian Empire. Historical detail of the period and events has come down to us via Herodotus and Thucydides.

Dr Wartenberg has used these sources, coupled with an examination of building accounts and records of tribute, plus the evidence of the design and use of coinage, to fill out the political and socio-economic picture. From the coins emerges the evidence of everyday transactions in the marketplace, international trade, and the payments made to soldiers, mercenaries and the sailors of the invincible triremes. The illustrations of inscriptions, vase paintings, and coins complement the text, although it is a pity that the connection between the unique portrait tetradrachm of Tissaphernes (on page 19) with its Athenian-style owl reverse (on page 27) is not made evident until it is seen as number 96 in the collection of 121 coins illustrated in the catalogue which forms the second part of the book. For all Athens’ manoeuvring, by the end of the fifth century the aggression was from within Greece and Athens was to be defeated by Sparta in the Peloponnesian Wars.

References in the text to the further Reading are very useful, but the reader should be warned that the numerous citations of authors’ papers in Coinage and Administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires will only be found properly cited bibliographically under its editor, Ian Carradice.

Several invaluable small and concise booklets on aspects of Greek coinage, similar to the present example, have appeared from the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum in the last twenty years (by Kenneth Jenkins and the late Martin Price). This is a most welcome addition to their ranks, but it is time that further similarly valuable publications appeared on other aspects of the national collection, not least the Roman series.
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A few years ago a large (under-lifesize) granodiorite head was unexpectedly brought to light in an old and obscure private collection in the west of England. Though badly broken and a mere shadow of the sculpture it had once been, the superb quality and extraordinary presence of the piece were clear to all. It was, without doubt, a highly important portrait of an Egyptian king, and a product of one of the best royal workshops; yet the precise identity of the subject remained elusive. A recent, preliminary analysis of the piece by Dr W. Raymond Johnson has now surprised – and convinced – us all.

The head in question, broken from the body at the base of the neck, wears the khat, or bag wig, and was originally shown with a royal beard, now represented only by its supporting ‘negative space’. The type of statue from which it came is suggested both by an unfinished area at the right temple and by the smaller and somewhat less competently modelled right ear. This combination of features may indicate that the head originally formed part of a dyad, and that the presence of a second figure to the right had hampered the sculptor’s movements and affected the quality of his work at this point.

The initial impression is that the face is rather broad and short – an impression which is misleading and due entirely to the loss of the chin. Though severely broken, the head preserves sufficient detail to show that, when intact, it displayed high cheekbones and a long face perched on a long neck which is thrust forward. The profile view shows that the jaw, rather than projecting straight out, angled down somewhat. The ears are structurally comparable with a specific type associated with the sculpture of Amenhotep III. In this type of ear the vertical tragus just touches the curve of the helix, sometimes bending slightly inward towards the auditory canal. The lobes of both ears, in addition, show evidence of piercing. The strong brow, curved arching eyebrows, and long narrow eyes with outlined upper rims are reminiscent of both Amenhotep III and Akhenaten, though the pinched
inner canthus is unusual for both kings. There is no evidence of a differentiated eyelid.

Although the head exhibits several characteristics of the sculpture of Amenhotep III, Dr Johnson points out that an attribution to this king is effectively ruled out by the shape of the head and the neck. In fact, what we seem to have is an early and unique image of his son, co-regent and successor, Amenhotep IV-Akhenaten. The work was executed in the pre-regnal year 30, traditional Thutmose style of Amenhotep III (the Amenhotep III ears and lack of differentiated eyelids are details still present in Akhenaten’s somewhat later Karnak colossi) in which elements of Akhenaten’s own physiognomy - long neck, long face, underslung jaw - are beginning to appear. Because the earliest reliefs of Akhenaten depict him with the physique and physiognomy of Amenhotep III in the traditional Thutmose manner, Johnson would suggest for the head a similar or perhaps slightly later date, before the inauguration of his new style sometime around his regnal year 3.

Until other examples of his new style are excavated, presumably at Karnak where in all probability this head was originally found, it may be considered unique. Or almost so. Interestingly, one stylistically related parallel may be cited - a fragmentary head wearing the kepresh, or Blue Crown, preserved in the Museo Civico Archeologico in Bologna. An Amenhotep IV-Akhenaten attribution for this piece has plausibly been suggested by Marsha Hill of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The Bologna head displays a strikingly similar ear structure and eye shape, though with a carved lid-line to the eye and a rather more gaunt visage. For Johnson, these differences suggest that the Bologna head is stylistically later, reflecting the next step taken by Akhenaten in his ever-evolving mercurial artistic programme.

It is an indication of the revulsion in which Akhenaten’s memory was held that no sculptures of the king were ever usurped by his successors; almost without exception, his images were systematically destroyed. Significantly, both the head published here and the Bologna sculpture display closely similar ‘programmatic’ destruction: the royal uraeus was intentionally struck off first, an act that speaks for itself, followed by the nose and the mouth, ‘killing’ the subject by depriving him of air and the means of sustenance.

By his penetrating analysis, Ray Johnson has succeeded not only in restoring life to an annihilated sculpture but in further elucidating a confused and complex period. For, since the head is executed in the traditional style of the beginning of Akhenaten’s reign and bears none of the hallmarks of Amenhotep III’s fourth-decade ‘dedication’ style, it adds support to Johnson’s argument for an extended co-regency between the ‘heretic’ and his father.

Dr Johnson’s observations so far have been on the basis of photographs alone. We await with interest his definitive publication, following a first-hand study of the piece which is presently in a London gallery.

Dr Nicholas Reeves, formerly of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities at the British Museum, is the author of The Complete Tutankhamun.
Conference Report

CONSERVATION OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN MATERIALS

The second conference on this subject, held in London, 20-21 July 1995.

Susanne Gänzicke

The first conference on the Conservation of Ancient Egyptian Materials took place in Bristol in 1988, organised by the British group of the International Institute for Conservation (IIC-UKIC). It seemed appropriate to arrange for a second such specialised meeting, in addition to the many other existing conservation conferences, given the many materials unique to the Egyptian culture. The complex combination of organic materials connected with burial customs, for example, continues to be a challenge for conservators. Furthermore, there are quite a number of professionals who specialise in this area of conservation and a forum for discussion was most welcome. The publication of the first meeting served as an important source of information for conservators and curators.

This year’s conference repeated the success of 1988 with more than 50 participants from the United Kingdom, Europe, and the US. The intense two-day long programme was organised masterfully by Helena Jaeschke, chair of the Archaeology section of UKIC, and contained twenty-one lectures and five posters. A reception in the large sculpture hall of the British Museum during the summer heat wave in London kindled for many of the participants happy memories of field seasons in the Nile Valley.

The first eight talks centred around the treatment of polychromed cofins, cartonnages, and mummies. Prior to treatment, most speakers had undertaken thorough analysis of the individual materials and the degradation of their objects. Treatment methods and materials, although impressive, added little new knowledge or ideas. It was stressed that despite numerous recent analytical studies of different materials such as binding media and pigments, the available databanks of such information are still very limited.

The same is true for the knowledge about certain ancient technologies and about the deterioration of the original materials caused by numerous environmental factors. More directed studies and publications were called for.

Maya Elston discussed the examination, conservation, and mounting of a late period coffin in the Getty Museum whose unique decoration includes Christian subjects. A coffin from the 21st Dynasty was examined by David Watkinson who analysed the different groups of materials and their conservation problems. The treatment of a 22nd Dynasty coffin lid in the Petrie Museum was presented by Irit Narkiss along with her analysis of its unusual ancient daub filler, which she unsuccessfully tried to identify as dung. Karin Hignett gave a very interesting overview of techniques of Greco-Roman mummy masks in the collection of Eton College from northern Egypt, first-fourth centuries AD. The preservation of a mummy at the Royal Scottish Museum and the measures taken during treatment were illustrated by Brian Melville. Cartonnage was the subject of two lectures: Barbara Wills showed in great detail the conservation of mummy wrappings at the British Museum, and a method of reforming cartonnage by consolidation with acrylic resins was presented by Richard Jaeschke.

The conservation of a linen shroud, in the British Museum, with an illustration of an 18th Dynasty Book of the Dead was masterfully accomplished by Pippa Cruickshank while Bridget Leach removed unsalvageable support material from the back of papyrus. Alexandra Seth-Smith and Alison Lister researched an Old Kingdom bead net dress which had been wrongly reconstructed some decades ago. Their finding led to a new improved reconstruction and mounting method. Jan Quinton lectured on the treatment of a Predynastic group of low-fired clay bulls. Old restoration materials needed to be removed and replaced by modern, more appropriate, adhesives and supports. Two lectures from New York and Paris discussed ancient metals: Elizabeth Delange, Angelique di Mantova, and Marie Emmanuelle Dehoyos examined a large female bronze statuette of the Late Period in the Louvre. The method of manufacture was shown, as well as the conservation carried out, during which gliding was exposed. Deborah Schorsch presented jewellery from the tomb of Wah in the Metropolitan Museum. She focussed her discussion on the ancient solder joins of silver ball beads which she examined on polished cross sections.

Three contributions dealt with more general questions of conservation and collections care for new museum installations and storage renovations: the writer presented a whole group of recent measures undertaken at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, to improve the preservation of the collection, including storage renovations and gallery reinstallations. Eileen Pearmain discussed the ‘behind the scenes’ conservation aspects of the new installation of the Egyptian collection at the Brooklyn Museum, as well as different treatments and aesthetic discussions. The treatment of stone objects, undertaken as part of the Brooklyn Museum renovations, was discussed by Lisa Krontahl and Christina Krumrine, including the reconstruction of a monumental limestone stela. Matthew Simkin presented the impact of major building renovations at the Horniman Museum, London, on the reinstallation of the Egyptian Collection. Two communications reviewed conservation issues of objects in situ. The frequently discussed erosion of the sphinx was presented for Dr Shawki M. Nakha in his absence. He attributed it in large part to the poor quality of the lower sandstone complex, as well as to the increased pollution and heavy use of the area. Helen Jaeschke deliberated on her and her husband’s work in Abydos and at Medinet Habu in regard to cleaning of encrusted polychrome limestone wall reliefs.

Susanne Gänzicke is Assistant Conservator in the Department of Objects Conservation and Scientific Research, The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

MINERVA 38
Dr and Mrs Jerome M. Eisenberg and Minerva are pleased to sponsor the following series of free lectures at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, organised by the American Research Center in Egypt and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art on the occasion of the opening of the exhibition 'The American Discovery of Ancient Egypt'.

January 7 HERBERT WINLOCK'S EXCAVATION AT DEIR EL-BAHRI FOR THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART.
Catharine Roehrig, Associate Curator of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

January 14 EXCAVATING IN THE SHADOWS OF THE PYRAMIDS.
Rita E. Freed, Curator of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

January 21 THE FORMATION OF THE EGYPTIAN COLLECTION AT THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM. Donald Spanel, Associate Curator, Department of Egyptian, Classical, and Ancient Middle Eastern Art, Brooklyn Museum.

All lectures will begin at 1pm in the Bing Auditorium at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.
TEXTILES OF LATE ANTIQUITY
in the Metropolitan Museum of Art

In celebration of the opening of the Antonio Ratti Textile Centre at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, on 14 December 1995, a special exhibition of sixty-one Late Antique and Islamic textiles of the third to eighth centuries AD from Egypt, drawn from the permanent collection of the Museum, has been mounted. Dr Jerome M. Eisenberg, who acquired his first ‘Coptic’ textiles in Egypt in 1958, reviews the past and present activity in this field, and its scope as reflected in the current exhibition.

A brief history of Late Antique Egyptian textiles

By the second century AD only the wealthier Greeks and Romans living in Egypt still embalmed and mummiﬁed their dead in the traditional Egyptian manner, burying them in coffins. The less fortunate local colonists and native Egyptians dressed their dead in their everyday garments and wrapped them in shrouds. The mantle (palium) that was worn over the usual tunic was often used as the shroud. They were tied to wooden boards, their heads supported on pillows made of old textiles, and then buried in shallow graves without coffins. The remarkable preservation of these garments is due to the fact that they continued to bury their dead, as did the earlier Egyptians, in a dry area between the Nile valley and the nearby hills. The writer would estimate that well in excess of ﬁfty thousand Late Antique textiles, mostly fragments of garments, can be found in existing collections worldwide.

Very little was known about these attractive textiles just one hundred years ago. The ﬁrst formal excavations at Antinoopolis (present-day el-Sheikh ‘Ibada), conducted by the French Egyptologist Albert Jean Gayet, were published from 1897 to 1903. They were then designated as ‘Coptic’ textiles, referring to the native Egyptian Christians, even though very few bore Christian motifs. The Copts were given their name by the Arabs based upon the Arabic word for Egypt, kipt, derived from the Greek koitoi.

The earliest of the Late Antique Egyptian textiles can be dated to the second half of the third century AD. These colourful tapestry-woven clothes and wall hangings, usually made of polychrome wool woven into Fig 1. Fragment of a textile from a large hanging or drape with the head of Luna, the moon, or Diana, the goddess of the hunt. The crescent-shaped ornament in her hair would identify her with either of them. Egypt, late third-fourth century AD. Undyed linen with a polychrome wool design in a weft-loop pile. 56 x 63 cm. Gift of Helen Miller Gould, 1910. 10.130.1076. Cat. no. 8.
undyed linen, had their roots in the multi-coloured products of the wool workshops (ergasteria) of the Near and Middle East, in places such as Palmyra, Palestine, Arabia, southern Mesopotamia, and the Black Sea coastal area, where they can be dated from the first to third centuries AD. The fine colour gradations of the dyed wool enabled the weavers to create three-dimensional effects, often so vivid that those with life-sized figures appeared to be almost life-like. Even earlier wool tapestry weavings, in the form of wall hangings, covers, and cushions, had been recorded by ancient writers in reference to the court of Ptolemy II (285-246 BC).

In the third century AD the Egyptian weavers adopted the bright, colourful styles of the East, probably most strongly influenced by the Palmyrenes, who themselves adopted some of the patterns of Persia. There was also the direct importation of garments manufactured in Syria, Asia Minor, and even Persia. Dr Staufner, the author of the essay in the exhibition catalogue, has noted that there are references in Egyptian papyri of garments from Antioch, shirts and cloaks from Anatolia, Issaurian tunics, linens from Tarsus, and so on.

There are enough pieces with specific provenances that we know, for example, that some of the better textiles were produced in large workshops in Antinoopolis and Panopolis (modern-day Akhmim), while the crude weavings were made at such rural sites in the Faiyum as Karanis. The large workshops were responsible for the large wall hangings and curtains that were hung in sets in public buildings and in the homes of the wealthy citizens. Large covers of coloured, looped wool forming naturalistic representations and carpets patterned after mosaic designs were produced by separate workshops. Surprisingly, no workshops have yet been attributed to the principal Graeco-Roman city of Alexandria.

No doubt specialist workshops in the fourth or early fifth century produced the extremely fine wool squares in a wide spectrum of colours that were sewn on to the linen garments like the separately produced emblema in mosaics. Groups of two to four pieces representing such ensembles as mythological couples or the Four Seasons were commonly produced to be worn together while the later designs of the fifth and sixth centuries were of single subjects. Others specialised in the long shirt-like linen tunic decorated with woven wool designs, worn, by those who could afford it, over a long-sleeved undergarment, while the less wealthy wore just a simple short-sleeved garment. Women also dressed in fine linen headcloths, caps, veils, and hairnets. Decorated silk weavings have been dated as early as the fourth century AD, the technique most certainly having been imported from the East. Before the Islamic period these silk textiles were of the greatest rarity in ancient Egypt.

The tapestry weavers were referred to as genofol, the general name applied to weavers in all materials. Their complex patterns were made with the use of pattern books, and papyrus and, later, paper drawings have been found which can be identified as patterns for woven fabrics. This explains the continuous repetition of many motifs over long periods of time. By the fifth to sixth century AD the naturalistic motifs with their fine shading were replaced by designs with solid areas of intense colours, usually with dark contour lines, or with simplified dark patterns on the underlying undyed linen. The heads and hands of figures were usually too large and the motifs often appear to be copied but not understood.

The most common motifs often related to the cult and worship of Dionysos. Nilus, the god of the Nile, and Aphrodite, the classical goddess of love, fertility, beauty and marriage, were also popular subjects. In Early Christian art images of Christ represented the same divine powers of prosperity and salvation offered by the local deities. Dr Staufner writes that 'the imagery of Late Antique textiles is dominated by symbols of fertility (fecunditas), fortune (felicitas temporum), paradise (tyrpe), and cyclical renewal'. She also notes that the Knob of Herakles and even the overlaid and interlaced squares might bear a cosmological significance, perhaps derived from the Parthians.

By the sixth century specific Christian designs appear on the garments, often saints bearing haloes or palm branches. Biblical images such as Joseph and David are portrayed. Staufner believes that the popularity of the story of Joseph and his many-coloured cloak was due to the Egyptian belief that 'beautiful garments were considered to be the only appropriate clothing for the eternity of Paradise. The textile finds from Egypt reflect some of that eternal splendour.' The early Islamic tunics were both broader and shorter in length and were made only from wool. Several examples of early Islamic textiles of the seventh to tenth centuries are included in this exhibition, including sections of a shawl that bear bands of both Coptic and Kufic (Islamic) inscriptions. (See ‘Witnesses of the Arab World: Textiles from Egypt – eighth to fifteenth centuries’, Minerva, May/June 1994, pp. 24-27.)

The study and exhibition of Late Antique Egyptian textiles, especially in the United States

The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired its first important collection of Late Antique (Late Roman to Early Byzantine) textiles in 1889 from Theodore Graf, a prominent Austrian antiquities dealer most noted for his exhibition and sale in Paris of Roman wood mummy panel portraits from the Fayyum that same year. In 1890 the large Baker Collection was donated to the Museum and a third major collection was purchased from Friedrich Fischbach in 1909.
Meanwhile the first extensive studies of textiles of the third to the sixth centuries were published in Europe by Alois Riegl and Joseph Strzygowski—a catalogue of the collection in the museum in Vienna by Riegl in 1889 and research into the origins and sources of motifs of the 'Coptic' textiles by Strzygowski in 1901 and 1903.

Among the first excavations conducted by the Museum—due to the wish of the first curator of Egyptian art, Albert M. Lythgoe, for the collection to be all-inclusive and because of the deep interest in Early Christian and Byzantine art by the president of the Museum, the eminent collector J. Pierpont Morgan—was that of the third- to fifth-century AD cemetery of Bagawat in el-Kharga Oasis in 1908. The Museum was allotted a major group of textiles which dated to the beginning of the eastern colouristic style in Egypt.

The succeeding curator, Herbert E. Winlock, was also interested in Egyptian textiles of all periods. Having become director of the Museum, he purchased some very important textiles from Akhmim (Fig 3), a major wall-hanging with Dionysian portrait busts, and a rare rug fragment with a design patterned after a mosaic floor. He was assisted in this endeavour by the generous financial assistance of one of the trustees, Edward S. Harkness. Another trustee, George D. Pratt, donated an outstanding collection of early Islamic textiles from Egypt from 1926 to 1933.

Other scholars were beginning to publish in this new field. A three-volume publication on the textiles in the British Museum by A. F. Kendrick, Catalogue of Textiles from Burial-Graves in Egypt, was published in London in 1920-24. Late Antique Coptic and Islamic Textiles of Egypt by W. F. Volbach and E. Kuehnel was published in London in 1926. Very little interest was paid to Late Antique textiles or in the related fields of art by the Metropolitan Museum or any other museums for many years following due to the severe lack of scholarly studies needed to better define the art styles of this period. A rare American publication appeared in 1933: Ancient Textiles from Egypt in the University of Michigan Collection by L. Wilson. The museum of the University of Michigan houses over five thousand Late Antique and Islamic textiles, primarily from the universality's excavations at Karanis in the Fayyum from 1924 to 1935.

The first major exhibition in the United States to include a good selection of Late Antique textiles was not held until 1941, at the Brooklyn Museum; 'Pagan and Christian Egypt'. In 1943 the Brooklyn Museum, one of the first major American museums to purchase outstanding examples of Late Antique textiles, published Late Egyptian and Coptic Art: An Introduction to the Collections in the Brooklyn Museum by the curator, John D. Cooney. A handful of dealers and collectors took advantage of this little-developed field and built fine collections in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s. The writer sorted through countless thousands of textiles stored in dustyPasteboard trunks and boxes in the antiquities shops of Kamel Hammouda and Rahim el Shaer in Cairo during this period of time. They had accumulated these hoards for a number of years, for little interest had been paid to them. Typical examples of tunic roundels could be purchased at that time for as little as US$1 and choice museum pieces started at US$50. Their value has since increased one-hundred-fold and more. The writer published some of these in catalogues from 1959 to 1962 and donated a collection of them in 1961 to the newly formed Eisenberg Museum in Louisville, Kentucky, where they were placed on permanent display.

Many thousands of textiles were exported from Egypt until the mid-1960s, all with official licences from the Cairo Museum, as there was virtually no interest in this period of Egypt's history by the museum curators in Cairo. A large number of important, fine textiles and sculptures were officially exported at that time, including major sculptures and other objects from el-Ashmunin (the Graeco-Roman city of Hermopolis), el-Balinas (Graeco-Roman Oxyrhynchus), el-Fustat (Old Cairo), Kom Abu Billo (Graeco-Roman Thebais), Mallawi, e-Sheik Ibsa (Antinoopolis), and the Fayyum (Graeco-Roman Moeris). Galleries in New York and Switzerland mounted exhibitions in the 1950s and 1960s but museums and private collectors bought sparingly and very few museums attempted to form collections. The chief interest shown at the time came from Japan, where Late Antique textiles were regularly exhibited and published. The Japanese love of the ancient textile arts has been evident in the West for several generations.

A major exhibition, 'Koptische Kunst: Christentum am Nil' was held in Essen, Germany, and in Zurich in 1963 and 1964. The first of two vol-
Fig 4. Ornament square (tabula) with putti in a Nilotic scene. Egypt, fourth-fifth century AD. Said to be from Akhmim. One of the two putti is astride what appears to be a hippopotamus. They are playing in a Nilotic environment of fish, ducks, and lotus flowers. The young putti, 'in the entourage of the river god Nilus, himself often linked with Dionysos, symbolise the levels of the Nile inundation, and, therefore, fertility and prosperity.' Undyed linen and polychrome wool in a tapestry weave. 17.5 x 14 cm. Gift of George F. Baker, 1890. 90.5.825. Cat. no. 12.

The Stanford Art Gallery of Stanford University in California possesses a fine collection of textiles formed initially by a large donation of material by Timothy Hopkins in 1893 received from Sir Flinders Petrie from his excavations in the Fayum. The exhibition of the Stanford collection, 'Early Coptic Textiles', with an accompany-

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The Metropolitan Museum's 'The Age of Spirituality' exhibition in 1977, devoted in part to Laté Antique and Early Christian art, and an exhibition in Frankfurt, Germany, 'Spätantike und frühes Christentum', in 1983, helped to reawaken an interest in this period of time and scholars began to successfully seek out the sources for the motifs. Excavations in Egypt and in other areas of the Near East helped establish their dating and a re-determination of their places of manufacture.

Another little-noted but important exhibition, 'The Art of the Ancient Weaver: Textiles from Egypt (fourth - twelfth centuries AD)', was held in 1980 at the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan. The Textile Museum Washington, D.C., finally published a catalogue of the best pieces in their collection in 1982: The Roman Heritage: Textiles from Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean 300 to 600 AD by James Trilling. It consisted primarily of the collection formed from 1925 to 1957 by the founder of the museum, George Hewitt Myers.

Patrice Cavadeleir wrote Les tissus cœptes: catalogue raisonné du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon in 1985 for an exhibition of the museum's collection of Egyptian textiles formed by Albert Gayet, the excavator of Antinoopolis, who was a native of Dijon. Florence Friedman organised an excellent exhibition, 'Beyond the Pharaohs', in 1989 of Laté Antique and Early Christian art, including a good selection of textiles, at the Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, also shown at the Walters Art Gallery. Catalogues bearing the same titles were published for all of these exhibitions.


The current exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum consists primarily of the fine garments that were worn at burial and the hangings and covers that were reused in the tombs as shrouds for the dead. It includes a ceremonial or official scarf, a child's hooded tunic, some brightly coloured hats, and a pair of red leather shoes with gilded design. Most of the pieces have never been placed on permanent exhibition; some have never been exhibited before.

Dr Jerome M. Eisenberg is Editor-in-Chief of Minerva.

'Textiles of Late Antiquity' was organised by Marka Hill, Associate Curator in the Egyptian Art Department; Helen Evans, Associate Curator in the Medieval Art Department; and Daniel Walker, Curator in Charge of the Islamic Art Department; all of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. An illustrated booklet is available featuring an essay by Professor Annemarie Staufer, an expert in Late Antique textiles, in the Division of Conservation and Restoration of Art and Cultural Materials at the Fachhochschule, Cologne, Germany. Much of this article is based upon that publication.

The exhibition is at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, until 14 April 1996.

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THE GREEK VASES OF THE STAVROS NIARCHOS COLLECTION

The first international exhibition of ancient art – nearly all Greek vases – from the collection of Stavros Niarchos is being held at the N. P. Goulandris Foundation Museum of Cycladic Art in Athens. Dr Jerome M. Eisenberg, an avid collector of ‘minor’ Greek vases, describes some of the highlights.

The Greek vase collection of Stavros S. Niarchos was initiated with the purchase of four Archaic and Classical Greek vases and a single bronze figure of a Greek female (a peplophoros), c. 480-450 BC, in the 1957 auction sale in Lucerne, Switzerland, of the collection of the noted dealer Dr Jacob Hirsch. In the following year the collection was strengthened with the addition of fifteen vases from the Munzen und Medaillen auction in Basle, Switzerland. In 1959 further vases from the Hirsch collection were acquired in auction in Lucerne. That same year Mr Niarchos purchased in Basle a magnificent second-century-AD Roman marble statue of the Eros of Centocelle formerly in the Stocklin collection.

Following a very long period of inactivity in this area of collecting – over twenty years – he purchased a single vase in 1980 at Christie's in London. It was one of the stars of the Castle Ashby Sale (the old collection of the Second Marquess of Northampton) – an archaic black-figure amphora from an Ionian workshop (Fig 6). Apparently thirteen years passed without the acquisition of another classical antiquity. He then set a world record for an antiquity sold at auction when he obtained the finer example of two superb Caeretan hydriai (Fig 7) from the collection of Carl Hirschmann, which sold for £2,201,500 (US $3,302,250) at Sotheby's in December 1993 (see 'The December 1993 Antiquities Sales', Minerva, March/April 1994, pp. 28-30). His only other purchase from this collection was a rather prosaic Apulian fish plate. In fact these appear to be the only three vases that he has acquired in the past thirty-five years. Nevertheless, two of these vases are of major importance and are the only 'world class' pieces in the collection.
Greek and English - was prepared for this first international exhibition of his antiquities collection under the capable direction of Dr Lila Marangou, Professor at the University of Ioannina, with the collaboration of Dr Marijena Carabates, curator at the Museum of Cycladic Art, and several other Greek scholars. The vase entries, written primarily by Dr Marangou, with several by Dr Carabates, Professor Micalis Tiverios, and Christina Mitsopoulou, are exemplary, with, however, one exception - the attributions to the painters are hidden well into the text. The description, bibliography, and copious notes for each vase leave no questions unanswered. In preparation for the exhibition the vases were cleaned and conserved by Gianpaolo Nadalini. The collection will be on display in Athens until at least the end of January 1996.

Fig 1. Attic black-figure amphora by the Afferter Painter, c. 540 BC. Theseus, brandishing a sword, attacks the fleeing bull-headed Minotaur who holds a rock in defence. Theseus and his companions went to Crete to rid the Athenians of their obligation to King Minos - every nine years seven youths and seven maids were sacrificed to the Minotaur. Theseus entered the Labyrinth at Knossos where the Minotaur lived and killed the monster. They are flanked by two bearded spectators; the one behind the Minotaur, holding a sceptre and extending his other hand in encouragement, probably represents King Minos of Crete (see Fig 5 for another depiction of this heroic scene). The four bearded men on the reverse may represent the Athenians bidding Theseus farewell. The Affector Painter received his name due to his exaggerated style in depicting his figures with their small heads, thin limbs, and long fingers. Most of his work has been found in Etruscan tombs. This vase was first published in J. D. Beazley’s Paralipomena, p. 246, 85 bis, H. 40 cm. Coll. no. A 633 (1958), catalogue no. 8.

Fig 2. Attic black-figure amphora signed by Nikosthenes, c. 535 BC. The main band of decoration on the body of this striking vase is a depiction of sixteen lively figures - ten dancing nude males and females clad in sleeveless garments and animal skins separated by three erotic couples: a pair embracing; a nude, bald, and bearded male attempting to seduce a young girl; and a nude bearded male enticing a youth. The shoulder of the vase is decorated with two nude horsemen and two attendants, and on the other side two pairs of warriors in combat, each with a wounded or dead warrior between them. It is a typical ‘Nikosthenic amphora’ following the style of the Tyrhenian amphorae which were based on metal or black clay models, so popular with the Etruscans of that period. This vase was found in Cervet-
Greek Vases

Fig 4. Attic black-figure trefoil oinochoe of the Guideline Class (Class of Vatican G 47), c. 510 BC. Two confronted cocks, separated by a palmette and lotus flowers, decorate the central panel. Cocks are extremely rare as a principal subject on Attic vases. They are usually seen in scenes of cockfighting, in erotic scenes as love gifts, or as the sacred bird of a deity. It was previously unpublished. H. 23 cm. Coll. no. A 037 (1958), catalogue no. 15.

Fig 5. East Greek black-figure 'stamnos', c. 560-550 BC. Another vase illustrating the contest between Theseus and the Minotaur, this has been shown to contrast the depiction by the Etruscan Painter (Fig 1) and rather prosaic work of an East Greek vase painter who had probably established a workshop in Etruria (as suggested by Dr C. Isler-Kerenyi). It had earlier been incorrectly attributed as the earliest example of an Attic stamnos. The Minotaur holds the rock limply in his left hand while he reaches to Theseus with a beseeching gesture – no match for the Athenian hero. Traces of Theseus' name may be seen in the field behind him; TAYPOMINION is inscribed behind the Minotaur. On the reverse five long-haired females, probably representing the virgins sent by the Athenians as tribute to King Minos, form a solemn procession. An unusual form of 'penguin' himation envelops the upper part of their long garments and projects well in front. Found in Chiusi, this vase was first published in 1832 by F. Inghirami in the nineteenth century and was formerly in the collection of A. Castellani, Stewart Hodgson, and the Earl of Sligo. It was first published by W. Helbig in 1866. H. 32 cm. Coll. no. A 036 (1958), catalogue no. 9.
Greek Vases

John Boardman. This group has been termed the Northampton Vases after the owner of this striking amphora, the Second Marquess of Northampton (1790-1851), who formed at Castle Ashby the finest private collection of Greek vases in England. Though it was first recorded by E. Gerhard in 1846, its first scholarly publication, by J. D. Beazley, did not appear until 1929, H. 32.4 cm. Coll. no. A 059 (1980), catalogue no. 17.

Fig. 7. Caeretan hydria by the Eagle Painter, c. 520-510 BC. On this unique vase a nude, muscular, bearded man rushes forward, armed with a harpe (sickle-shaped weapon) and a stone, to attack a giant ketos (sea monster). Two dolphins cavort in the field, accompanied by a seal and an octopus. On the back of the vase a hunter, wearing a pleated, sleeveless chiton, holding a spear and a stone, and accompanied by a hunting dog, chases a billy goat and a stag. The obverse scene has not yet been satisfactorily explained, though both Perseus and Herakles have been proposed, although the usual female figure is missing and the presence of the seal is unique in Greek mythological representations. Dr J. Hemelrijk suggests that the scenes may refer to a hitherto unknown myth relating to the city nymph of Phocaea ('Sea City'). The image of the seal on the archaic Greek electrum and silver coins of Phocaea, c. 600-550 BC, should be familiar to most classical numismatists. The floral motifs and lively pattern of colours are typical of this class of polychrome hydriae, of which 38 examples are known, all certainly from the same workshop, most probably located in Caere or in Etruria. (For an illustration of the reverse of this vase and illustrations of the companion hydria by the B绩tis Painter, with which it was said to have been found, also from the Hirschmann collection, see 'The December 1993 Antiquities Sales', Minerva, March/April 1994, p. 38.) Ex Carl Hirschmann collection. H. 40 cm. Coll. no. A 061 (1993), catalogue no. 18.

Fig. 8. Attic red-figure pelike by the Syleus Painter, c. 475 BC. Apollo, wearing a long chiton and flowing himation, sings as he holds a large kithara, about to pluck it with a plectrum. A finely decorated cloth, used to cover the strings of the kithara, hangs from the instrument. On the reverse a goddess, most probably Artemis, holds an oinochoe and a phiale, and strides to the left to perform a libation. This depiction, as are

Fig. 6. Ionian black-figure amphora, c. 540-530 BC. On the principal zone of this striking vase Dionysos, holding a kantharos, strides to the right, flanked by four lively bearded nude satyrs, one holds a wineskin and a rhyton (drinking horn), a second one holding an amphora. Another dances and plays a dionulos (double flute), and the fourth draws wine with an oinochoe from a dinos set upon a tripod. Only the dancing satyr has human legs; the others are typically Ionian, with horse's legs and hooves. The back bears an elegant floral decoration flanked by Pygmies riding cranes accompanied by a rabbit, a fox, and two hedgehogs. A triton appears on both sides of the neck. It has been suggested by Dr E. Simon that the scenes represent Dionysos' annual spring arrival from the sea and the myth of the victory of the Pygmies over the Cranes. One of a group of just four amphorae and several vase fragments, their exact origin has long been contested, but they are either from the North Ionian area, as argued by Greek scholars, or from an Ionian workshop in Etruria, as supported by
most representations of Apollo with the kithara, is most probably that of the Delian Apollo. He commonly appears in the company of Artemis and Leto, and is often featured on Attic vases following the Persian War. The Syleus Painter is known for vases such as this one, of large size and with sculptural figures identified by their low foreheads and thick necks. This vase is one of the largest known from the Kerameikos in Athens. It appeared in Beazley's *Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters*, II, p. 1109, no. 36. H. 44 cm. Coll. no. A 039 (1958), catalogue no. 22.

Fig 9. Attic red-figure column krater by the Naussica Painter, c. 450-445 BC. Triptolemos, the young Eleusian hero, seated upon his winged chair with large side wheels, is about to ascend into the heavens. He wears a wreath of corn and holds a sceptre and a bunch of corn ears in his left hand and a large phiale in his other hand. A female, probably Kore, stands before him, holding a torch and an oinochoe, from which she pours a libation. Behind him Demeter, her hair bound by a sacco, holds a sceptre. Three males appear on the reverse, the central figure, an elderly man with a sceptre, most probably Keleos, King of Eleusis, flanked by two Eleusian heroes. Formerly in the Hirsch collection, this vase was published by J.D. Beazley in *Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters* (1963), II, p. 1109, no. 36. H. 45.5 cm. Coll. no. A 051 (1959), catalogue no. 28.

Dr Jerome M. Eisenberg is Editor-in-Chief of Minerva.

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'The Greek Vases of The Stavros Niarchos Collection' are at the N.P. Goulandris Foundation Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens, until at least the end of January 1996. A catalogue accompanies the exhibition.

Fig 8. Attic red-figure pelike by the Syleus Painter, c. 475 BC. H. 44 cm.

Fig 9. Attic red-figure column krater by the Naussica Painter, c. 450-445 BC. H. 45.5 cm.

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ART THEFT AND CONTROL

The view from the Ancient Art trade

We publish here a paper presented by James Ede, Chairman of the International Association of Dealers in Ancient Art, IADAA, at a conference held in London last November on the problems of art theft.

 Whilst the conference dealt with the problem of art theft generally, the writer dealt with particular problems which are encountered in his specialised field of ancient art. The areas covered are as follows:
- Problems particular to the field of antiquities.
- Due diligence and defective title insurance.
- The dissemination of information.
- Proposals for easing the situation.

Antiquities which have been demonstrably stolen from a private or public collection are treated no differently from any other class of stolen artwork, and such issues have been dealt with exhaustively. How then do antiquities differ?

Uniquely among art objects, antiquities come from excavation, and the question of ownership is therefore extremely complicated. The situation is not helped by the fact that there is no worldwide convergence of law. In some countries it is a question of 'finders keepers'; in others everything under the ground or in territorial waters has effectively been nationalised. Between these two extremes lie countries which allow the private ownership of antiquities and have mechanisms for deciding whether finds will be pre-empted by the state (usually after the payment of a reward), or whether the piece remains in the ownership of the finder. The decision is usually determined on the basis of the archaeological and artistic importance of the piece. England falls into this category. To purchase antiquities, whilst knowing that they have been illicitly exported from a country which claims blanket state ownership, may lead to a charge of handling stolen goods. It must be stressed that knowledge or reasonable grounds for suspicion of the illicit exportation is of paramount importance in such cases, and this is usually extremely hard to prove.

Some countries allow private ownership of antiquities, but forbid export Without a licence, which in Italy has the effect of a complete ban, since licences are very rarely granted. Indeed, some people will recall that Patricia Rawlins, a British MEP, had a great problem getting a licence for a portrait of herself, which she had had commissioned! If antiquities from such countries are purchased without a licence, a claim for their return may be made through the civil courts, but no criminal act will have been committed in England, provided of course that the vendor can demonstrate title, since no theft will have occurred.

The situation is further complicated because many of the source countries regard all antiquities as having been stolen, no matter whether they have been in the British Museum since the eighteenth century or have been carried out of their country recently in a tourist's hand luggage. Clearly this definition is not acceptable to the countries of the West, but nevertheless it serves to muddy the waters. At the recent UNIDROIT conference in Rome the Greek delegation tried to extend the time period under which claims could be made for pieces from the proposed 75 years to 5000 years. Astonishingly, I do not think that this proposal was made tongue in cheek.

Unfortunately, the vast majority of antiquities, no matter how long they have resided outside the country where they were discovered, have no provable provenance. Dealers therefore have little to go on when deciding whether to purchase a piece. In the good old days, such decisions were taken purely on instinct. To some extent, particularly with minor pieces, this is still possible. Elderly ladies selling souvenirs of their tour in Egypt are unlikely to present a problem. More major items require a more systematic approach. If one knows, or has good reason to suspect, that an object has been stolen, it is of course one's duty to report it to the police. The problems reside with pieces for which no provenance is demonstrable. It has been suggested that dealers should respond to this difficulty by refusing to buy any object unless published, but the idea of 'guilty until proven innocent' is not acceptable. Not only will it definitely result in the baby being thrown out with the bath water, but also runs counter to all our legal and cultural traditions. In any case, if it is judged a suitable panacea for the problems of our area, why not logically extend it to the rest of the art and antique market, or indeed all transactions involving second-hand goods?

What practical steps can antiquities dealers take then to protect themselves? The question of client confidentiality comes into play. Many vendors wish to be anonymous for perfectly good reasons (for example, I recently purchased a piece of Roman sculpture, from a nineteenth-century English aristocratic collection. The owner was unwilling for me to publish his name because he did not wish his wife to know that he was selling off family heirlooms). It is, of course, wise to be sure of the identity of the vendor (though many sellers take a dim view when asked for proof since our legal system does not require individuals to carry proof of identity), and to obtain certification of good title. Even this is more stringent behaviour than that displayed by purchasers of, say, second-hand cars.

The next step, in the case of major pieces, is, by research, to try to eliminate the possibility of the object having been stolen. IPAR in New York and the Art Loss Register in London both have archives of stolen artworks, and for a fee will do a search on a given object. Although a great help, we have found problems with this approach. First, there is of course the cost; although the fee is not large, it soon adds up if many checks are required. Secondly, there is the time factor. Some vendors, often for perfectly good reasons, require a swift decision. Lastly, these archives are dedicated to the whole spectrum of art, and specialist knowledge can be extremely helpful in saving time and
Antiquities Trade

effort. In view of this, the trade association which I represent, the Internationale Association of Dealers in Ancient Art, decided some time ago to establish a register devoted solely to antiquities. Appropriately to our business this uses stone-age technology i.e. paper! The first volume has recently been published and distributed to our members, leading museums, and to the police. Items will only be included if they have a reasonable photograph and short description, and if they have characteristics which enable them to be distinguished. There is no point in including hundreds of mould-made artefacts, of which hundreds more already exist on the legitimate market.

Our greatest problem in this undertaking has been gaining access to information, and I know that we are not alone in this. Recently I heard on the grapevine about a series of thefts from English local museums. On contacting the Fine Art Squad for descriptions of the pieces, I was told that this was the first they had heard of the matter. If Scotland Yard are not being sent relevant information by county constabularies, what chance have we got? Sadly, in many of the major source countries the situation is even worse. When information is released it is often in an extremely inadequate form - reams of repetitive and unclear descriptions with no photographs. Worst of all, information appears often to be deliberately withheld, either because of embarrassment, or one suspects sometimes to protect the identity of those responsible for the theft, who may be senior figures within the administration. In times of peace the situation is bad enough, but in times of war or civil unrest it is a hundred times worse. Antiquities have certainly been sold by some of the 'governments' which have enjoyed power in Kabul, for example, while whether their export permits have any validity is hotly debated, to put it mildly.

The procedure I have outlined above represents all that a dealer might reasonably be expected to do in order to protect himself from buying stolen goods, and would certainly support any claim under defective title insurance. But as I have said, the lack of information available (and our archive has only scratched the surface) means that most stolen pieces will still slip through the net. UNESCO seems to be the only body with worldwide contacts that could sponsor and support a full-scale archive, but even here the resources seem to be inadequate.

We would contend that these resources would be put to best use in providing full documentation for material already in museums. In recent years museums round the Mediterranean have been the target of an increasing number of vicious armed robberies. The chances of recovering the stolen goods are extremely slim given that many of the institutions concerned have not only failed to catalogue their collections, but in many cases have not even entered them in an inventory! To spread meagre resources wafer thin in a misguided attempt to hold all antiquities within their original boundaries (which may incidentally bear no relation to ancient boundaries) seems to us futile and unnecessary. This really brings me to the nub of the matter.

The field of archaeological artefacts is fraught with problems. It is an area that is charged with emotion, often for very good reason, but emotion and law-making make very uneasy bedfellows. Of course it is monstrous that a state should have no surviving examples of an important part of its national heritage, but that is not an argument for the wholesale banning of export. Norman Palmer gave an amusing example of the circular argument: 'we don't like this law and it won't work' - 'why not?' - 'because we don't like it.' I would like to turn this on its head: 'we say this law, which you call impractical, will work' - 'why?' - 'because we say so.'

Detective Sergeant Richard Ellis, of the Art and Antiques Squad, Scotland Yard, once said to me: 'you may not like these laws but you must respect them.' It is of course his job to say that, but history reveals that other countries often ignore laws which they don't respect equally, defying the very legislation is only enforceable if the majority accepts it, as Margaret Thatcher found to her cost over the poll tax.

It is no coincidence that many of the source countries enacted Draconian legislation at a time of nationalistic revival - for example, Italy under Mussolini, and Greece following the war of independence against Turkey. I have a genuine sympathy for the motive if not the aim, because I do believe in national cultural identity, but I also believe in the concept of a world cultural community. A Turkish delegate to a conference said to me once: 'we want all the artefacts to remain at home - if people can see them in the British Museum, they won't want to visit us in Turkey.' The opposite is, of course, true. Tourism in Egypt exploded after the Tutankhamun exhibition in the early 1970s.

Let us abandon emotion and concentrate on the practicalities. What do we all agree on? We wish to suppress theft. How can we really stop looting when every farmer and Bedouin is a looter? We propose that this is best done by enlisting their support. Pay proper rewards, especially for finds which have not been disturbed after the initial discovery. Fund this by selling duplicate material, once it has been properly recorded and all the archaeological information saved. The store houses of the Mediterranean countries are bursting with material that has no archaeological value, because it has no context. Allow this material to circulate in a regulated way on the market, and one of the major props of smuggling will disappear. At the same time it would free resources to protect and preserve items of true material importance, since the state would have right of pre-emption. I know that this proposal is a hot potato, but I genuinely believe that it is the best way forward. You may have heard of the legitimate trade as embodied by the IADAA has as much interest in preserving the remains from man's ancient past as the source countries themselves.

The truth is that the pace of economic development is leading to the discovery of many thousands of objects a year - at least as many, if not more, than are found by clandestine excavation. Appalling as have been the depredations of tomb robbers in Egypt in the last 7000 years, infinitely more damage has been done in the last 20 years by the Aswan Dam, which has changed the micro-climate with catastrophic results. In the UK phosphate and nitrate fertilizers used in farming mean that bronze found objects are being eaten under better condition than those discovered pre to the Second World War. Because of the way in which objects are unearthed during building (often in the bucket of a bulldozer) their archaeological context (which archaeologists tell us represents 90 percent of their scholarly value) has already been lost. If major source countries were to adopt a more liberal regime, along the lines of UK law, we feel that they would stand a much better chance of protecting important cultural items. More money could be devoted to protecting identified sites, chance finders would be decriminalised and rewarded rather than cattigated, and would therefore be far more likely to report objects, which at present through fear of the law they often destroy. An international archive devoted to important material stolen from sites and museums, and not bogged down with a mass of lesser items, might then really start to have some chance of success.

James Ede, Chairman of IADAA, is Managing Director of Charles Ede Ltd

MINERVA 56
Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire


This is a richly detailed study in four chapters and an epilogue with a full apparatus of indices and a wide range of photographs, maps and line drawings. It is written with vigour and enthusiasm: enthusiasm for raising questions as well as quarrying out the answers from assorted topographical, archaeological and historical sources.

There are two fundamental challenges. The first is dealing with an area which was not a demonstrably cohesive administrative unit until the early eleventh century. The awkward and initially incoherent nature of the region corresponds to a period of fragmentary and disparate types of evidence for economic and social structure. Here a reader less familiar with the terrain than Dr Blair would have benefited from a larger scale map or two, perhaps replacing the opening grey landscape views which have reproduced poorly.

For most of the middle Saxon period Oxfordshire was a frontier zone and the author establishes that the region had links on a north-south axis as well as east along the Thames, redressing the imbalance of archaeological evidence. With the introduction of Christianity and development of pastoral care we enter an area which the author has made his own with the emphasis on the central importance of the minster churches. The economic and administrative development of the region and Oxford are drawn from increasingly detailed sources and the epilogue on the English in Norman Oxfordshire is a gripping study of what the Norman conquest meant to the local landed families, a model treatment of pre-Conquest, post-Conquest changes. I look forward to a sequel.

Dr Blair's scrupulous presentation of the strengths and weaknesses of the evidence, whether of coins, documentary or archaeological material can expose sleight of hand, when conviction appears to outrun caution. This is most obvious in the case of the great eighth-century earthen causeway at Oxford, evidence for major construction works by a Mercian king or the presumed monastic community 'if the clay causeway is really artificial' – but it may be a modified natural feature with stake holes and the pottery of a riparian settlement which made shoes. He presses on nevertheless: 'The scale of the works does at least suggest that the crossing was of considerable importance' with, therefore, implications for relations between crown and monastery. This is a fascinating, exciting interpretation but it self-evidently lacks a solid factual foundation.

Overall this is both a fascinating and a frustrating book, written by a distinguished scholar, a vigorous marshalling of diverse evidence for an administrative chimaera, Oxfordshire. The medieval county was still in gestation in the late tenth century. It is a regional study of immense, wide-reaching erudition written by someone who knows the area almost too well. This makes it hard work for anyone who cannot place Wantage, or, closer to Oxford, Grandpont or even Boars Hill on the map, for, despite the generous provision of plates and line drawings, you will find them in the text but not on a map or, in the case of Wantage, on a busy map of ministers thirty pages before it appears in a topographical discussion. Early Oxford is described on page 63 but there is no map until page 77 and this fails to label the Cherwell and the Thames, nor is the minster church of St Frideswide identified precisely although it is presented as a prime reason for the development of the town. Bampton is better served but not Woodstock, although it seems to have been rather more than a royal hunting lodge by the eleventh century. This rather irritating assumption of detailed topographical knowledge should have been dealt with by the publisher's reader: there was ample scope in the generous illustrations to rectify the omissions.

Susan Youngs, Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, The British Museum.

The Mysterious Fayum Portraits: Faces from Ancient Egypt


Euphrosyne Doxiadis is by training an artist, a pupil of the Greek master Yannis Tserouchis (1910-89). From him she learned not only the techniques of Byzantine Greek icon painting, but also a passion for the ancient painted portraits of the Egyptian Fayum, widely held to be the forerunners of Byzantine icons and the only coloured images of communities of individuals to have survived for antiquity.

It must be said at the outset that this book is an extraordinary achievement, a labour of love informed both by artistic sensibility and by up-to-date scholarship in a field of growing academic interest. The author has been wise in her choice of advisers: the historian Dorothy Thompson, who contributed a foreword and is generously acknowledged for much more; Barbara Borg, the German scholar who has contributed a chapter on the minefield of scholarly controversy that has dogged the Fayum portraits since they were first discovered en masse a century ago, and who is herself publishing a book that will set the dating of the portraits on a sounder basis than ever before; and not least by Lucinda Douglas-Menzies, whose superb photographs are the first to do justice to their remarkable subject. The publishers, too, should be warmly congratulated on the finest book on ancient art that has come from this review. Her general works on Roman art by Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli and Bernard Andreae published in the 1970s.

Any reader will be captivated by the haunting faces that gaze from these pages in magnificent colour. However, two characteristics make this book exceptionally memorable: the unerring eye of the artist-author in juxtaposing images to maximum effect: i shall not forget my first sight of the pages (58-59) of portraits of women found in the cemetery at Hawara; and the ability of Euphrosyne Doxiadis to convey her personal experience of the mystery and poetry of these paintings while vastly increasing our understanding of them. The reader may expect a first-class exposition of the techniques of mummy portraiture from such an author, but to find such a clear account of the context of these portraits is remarkable. Following a general section on the social and religious history of the portraits, there are accounts of the pictorial tradition and the methods of the unknown artists; of the findsites; very full commentaries on every portrait illustrated in the book, and the essay on the problems of dating the portraits by Barbara Borg. A full scholarly apparatus follows, with notes, bibliography, indices and photo credits. While the 150 black-and-white illustrations are integrated with the text, the 124 colour plates are separated by site into four sections. The book is, then, eminently usable as a tool of scholarship, the outstanding quality of the photographs permitting a very clear reading of the evidence.

This is a very controversial field, and there will be some scholarly quibbles on certain points: for example, the subjects of the shroud-portraits
Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant: The Interconnections in the Second Millennium BC

This volume of twelve papers represents the results of an international colloquium held in the British Museum in July 1992 and devoted to the subject of Egypt's relations with the Mediterranean world, focusing specifically on the Second Intermediate Period and the early New Kingdom. The topic of Egypt's northern relationships has been of interest for many years, going back to Schliemann's finds at Mycenae in the 1870s and John Pendellbury's 

A Catalogue of Egyptian Objects in the Aegean Area (1930). Professor Peter Warren's leading paper on 'Minoan Crete and Pharaonic Egypt' is an invaluable up to date survey of the present evidence.

The timing of the colloquium was extremely appropriate in the light of the recent extraordinary finds made at Tell el-Daba (the ancient Hyksos capital of Avaris in the Delta) by Professor Manfred Bietak. These are the focus of five of the papers, beginning with Professor Bietak's own outline of Egyptian/Minoan contacts that fall in the 13th and 18th Dynasties with, strangely, no evidence of contacts in between times. For the first time sherd of Kamares Ware (MM II - IIIA) were found in stratified Egyptian contexts. The subsequent late Hyksos/early 18th Dynasty periods are represented by thousands of fragments of Minoan wall-paintings (featuring on four of the colour plates) and stucco reliefs, all apparently from the destroyed remains of a Hyksos palace. Scenes of bulls and bull-leapers, so familiar from the palace at Knossos, appear on them and their dating may indicate a controversial placing prior to the Knossos frescoes. The question of which way the influences went is paramount. Four subsequent papers take up the theme of Tell el-Daba and Minoan painting connections, the site's Cypriot connections, the pattern and purpose of the metalwork from it, and its chronology.

An analysis of exotic imports from Late Bronze Age Mycenae showed a total of 53 New Near Eastern items and 219 Egyptian. Mycenae has actually produced more than 10% of the 857 oriental/Near Eastern finds known from good contexts within the LBA Aegean, more than any other site.

Susan Walker, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, The British Museum.
except for Kommos on Crete. Most of the items are small, and essentially of Egyptian faience (a delightful fragment of a blue monkey figurine with the cartouche of Amenhotep II is illustrated in colour). Small though they are, their evidence is of primary importance.

A paper on stirrup jars from El-Amarna notes the 1341 Mycenaean sherds found by Flinders Petrie in 1890-91, amongst which the ‘false-necked’ jar was recognised. It was the recognition of these sherds as Mycenaean and the co-relation from Amarna that began to put Aegean archaeological chronology on a firm footing. Finds from elsewhere in Egypt, notably at Saqqara, in securely dated contexts have added considerably to this. The converse of Mycenaeans in Egypt at El-Amarna emerged from a fresh study and interpretation of a number of painted papyrus fragments found with a complete Mycenaean vase in a house on the site in December 1936. The fragments, only recently rediscovered, can now be seen to represent two substantially surviving scenes and a third more fragmentary. It is the second scene that has opened new windows since its shows two warriors with boar’s tusk helmets of Mycenaean type and also Aegean-style cropped ox-hide tunics. The first fragment shows the most unusual scene of Libyan archers attacking a fallen Egyptian.

On the technical and analytical side, an interesting paper examines the origins of Egyptian copper from El-Amarna via lead-isotope analysis and raises the important question of why Egypt would import copper from Cyprus (but does Alaska = Cyprus?) when excavations in Sinai, notable at Timna by Professor Beno Rothenberg, have shown the rich sources available there and worked under Egyptian control certainly in the 19th Dynasty. Results from excavations at Teil es-Sa‘ideyeh, close to the River Jordan in ancient Canaan, showed direct Egyptian control in the late 13th-12th centuries (19th/early 20th Dynasties) of a strategically important site, but with strange burial customs – in double-pithos burials. Totally alien to both Canaanite and Egyptian traditions alike, they have been interpreted as evidence of a substantial Sea Peoples presence in the garrison, probably the Sherden (noted on the Rameside battle reliefs at Abydos by their horned helmets).

An unusual approach to examining imports into Egypt is the programme carried out in the British Museum to analyse the wood of Egyptian coffins dating from the 6th to 18th Dynasties. Of the 36 sampled a third were of foreign wood and 24 were of native wood (mainly sycamore (20), three of tamarisk and one of siddar). Cedar was the predominant imported wood used. This is particularly interesting in the light of the many terms for varieties of foreign wood found in Egyptian texts, none of which are securely identified. The growing body of analytical results indicating the prominent use of cedar wood now seems to be very much in favour of interpreting the hitherto controversial term s (ash) as being without doubt cedar.

This collection of papers is an extremely valuable addition to the literature of both Egyptian and Aegean studies and clearly shows how much has been learnt in recent years, and also how far there is yet to go.

Peter A. Clayton

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THE ANCIENT COIN MARKET

Auctions come in groups

Eric J. McFadden

Like vulnerable small animals seeking security in numbers, numismatic auctions tend to cluster near one another. Last month in this column Victor England wrote about the exhausting number of sales grouped around Coinex, London’s traditional October fair. There is, of course, good reason to hold several auctions in conjunction. The greater volume of material will attract more buyers, who create more competition. A small auction, especially if held on its own, cannot be expected to attract much interest.

So it was also in Zurich at the end of October, with auctions held by Hess-Divo (one day), Numismatica Ars Classica (two days), and Sternberg (two days). I must admit I was not looking forward to spending a full week in Zurich to view and bid in three auctions. Compared to the other principal numismatic centres — London, Munich, Paris, New York — Zurich can be a little on the dull side. The main consolation is a good fondue, but one cannot eat fondue every night for a week. On this occasion, however, there was so much business to be done, at auctions and among the various dealers present, that I hardly had time to think about local cuisine.

The Numismatica Ars Classica sale had a good cross section of Greek and Roman, although this was not billed as one of the firm’s premier sales and did not have the ‘wonder coins’ sometimes on offer. A silver tetradrachm of Ainos, c. 410 BC (Hermes/Goat), fetched SF11,000 against an estimate of SF8,000. A rare double sestertius of Herennia Etruscilla, wife of Trajan Decius, AD 249-251, sold for SF4,200 against an estimate of SF4,000. Nice runs of Roman Republican struck bronze and Dark Ages material sold especially well, with many strong prices.

Sternberg held two auctions, the first being a joint sale with Freeman and Sear of an old English collection of Roman bronze. Despite the fact that some of the coins had been conserved in the nineteenth-century manner, when it was customary to smooth the surfaces so as to make the design appear bolder, competition was strong and prices for the better coins were high. A sestertius of Caligula, AD 37-41, depicting on the reverse his three sisters (whom he held dear), fetched SF8,000 against an estimate of SF7,000. A sestertius of Nero, AD 54-68, depicting a triumphal arch on the reverse, brought SF13,000 against an estimate of SF6,500 (Fig 1). The highlight of the sale, a magnificent pristine sestertius of Pertinax, AD 193, sold for SF32,000 against an estimate of SF20,000 (Fig 2). A double sestertius of Trajan Decius, AD 249-251, fetched SF8,000 against an estimate of SF8,500.

The second Sternberg sale was also strong. An interesting collection of Bactrian coins, clearly formed over many years, suffered as a result of a surplus of supply on account of the great volume of Bactrian material that has been lately on the market from recent finds, but a fine offering of Jewish coins brought surprisingly high prices in a field that has been weak for the last few seasons. A rare silver shekel of Year 4 of the First Revolt against Rome sold for SF12,000 against an estimate of SF13,000. A large bronze of Year 2 of the Second Revolt against Rome brought SF14,000 against an estimate of SF10,000. A sestertius of Hadrian, AD 117-138, celebrating the Emperor’s visit to Judaea, with the legend ADVENTVS AVG IUDÆÆAE and depicting a personification of the province sacrificing before the Emperor, fetched SF9,500 in the Sternberg auction.

Fig 1. Sestertius of Nero, AD 54-68, featuring a fine mature portrait and a triumphal arch, brought SF13,000 in the joint Sternberg/Freeman and Sear sale.

Fig 2. Sestertius of Pertinax, AD 193, sold for SF32,000 in the joint Sternberg/Freeman and Sear sale.

Fig 3. Sestertius of Hadrian, AD 117-138, celebrating the Emperor’s visit to Judaea, with the legend ADVENTVS AVG IUDÆÆAE and depicting a personification of the province sacrificing before the Emperor, fetched SF9,500 in the Sternberg auction.

Fig 4. Gold aureus of Macrinus, AD 217-218, brought SF20,000 in the Sternberg auction.

MINERVA 60
lifestyle associated with it throughout antiquity. No. 23, ANTIQUITIES. (71) 163163. Until 10 March. (See pp.14-18.)

ROERMONT FROM LUMP TO OBJECT. Exploring the different aspects of conservation and restoration, with special attention given to recently restored objects found in a Roman 3rd-century grave in Roermont. STEDELIJK MUSEUM 0475-33 34 96. Until summer.

ROTTERDAM DREAMING OF PARADISE: ISLAMIC ART FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE MUSEUM OF ETHNOLOGY, ROTTERDAM. An extensive collection of Islamic art from the 7th century AD onwards, including architectural elements, jewellery, costumes, manuscripts and miniatures. MUSEUM VOOR VOLKSKUNDE (31) 10-411-1055. Until 26 February.

SPAIN BARCELONA ROMAINESE GALLERIES. The world's most outstanding collection of Romanesque mural paintings, some in their original apses, mostly from the area of the Pyrenees, has been reinstated after being off display for some years. Also on exhibit are altar frontals, sculpture, and metalwork. MUSEU NACIONAL D'ART DE CATALUNYA (34) 3-423-7189.

MADRID MUSEO DE AMERICA. The museum has reopened and is now near the University of Madrid campus. The new installation devotes an area to Precolombian objects, including the Paracas Mummy and the gold Treasure of the Quimbayas. (34) 1-549-2641.

TOLEDO SEPHARDIC MUSEUM. The museum, just re-opened, is housed in the Transito Synagogue, built in the reign of Pedro de Castilla in the 14th century, and in the rooms of the former house of the Consors of the Order of Calatrava. Emphasis is on the history, culture, and religious art of the Jewish Community in the medieval period. MUSEO SEFARDI, Calle Alamillos del Transito (25) 22-36-65.

SWEDEN STOCKHOLM THE GOLD ROOM. A new permanent underground 'rock chamber' with around 3000 gold and silver antiques from the Iron Age to the Medieval period, including a magnificent display of prehistoric and Viking jewellery. STATENS HISTORISKA MUSEUM (46) 8-783-9400.


ZURICH IMMES OF MEN AND GODS: NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS FROM THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. A major exhibition covering 5,000 years of Chinese history, and focussing on images of men and gods in the art of prehistoric and early Imperial China. Approximately 200 objects, mainly from new finds and most of which have never left China before, provide an insight into the development of Chinese civilization from c. 5000 BC to AD 220. KUNSTHUS ZURICH (01) 251 6765. 4 April-14 July.

9-11 February. GREEK COLONISATION IN THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN. Organised by Oxford University Department for Continuing Education. Contact: The Archaeology Course Secretary, OUDICE, 1 Wellington Square, Oxford, OK1 2JA. Tel (01865) 270369.

8-10 March. AFRICA IN THE ROMAN WORLD. Organised by Oxford University Department for Continuing Education. Contact: The Archaeology Course Secretary, OUDICE, 1 Wellington Square, Oxford, OK1 2JA. Tel (01865) 270369.

18-20 April. THE ROMANISATION OF ATHENS. An international conference featuring twelve distinguished scholars presenting original research papers on the transformation of Greek society affected by Roman intrusion. Keynote address by Cornelia C. Vermeule. University of Nebraska-Lincoln. Contact: Prof. Michael C. Hoff. Tel. (402) 472-5342; fax (402) 472-9746.

BRUSSELS, Belgium THOMAS COOK AND SON IN EGYPT. ART KIOSK BOOKSHOP, 32 2 5346611. Until 21 January-21 May.

NEW YORK, New York THE MCGREGOR BOOK OF THE DEAD. A rare Egyptian manuscript on exhibition for the first time since it was sold by Sotheby's in 1922. ROYAL-ATHENA GALLERIES, 153 East 57th Street. Extended until 28 February.

LETTURES

LONDON 16 January. LIFE AND LOVE IN NEW KIDS FROM EGYPT. Dr Morris Bieber. Egypt Exploration Society lecture, at the British Academy. (0171) 242 1880. 6pm.

15 February. ANCIENT EGYPTIAN GLASS AND FAIENCE. Dr Paul Nicholson. Egypt Exploration Society lecture, at the British Academy. (0171) 242 1880. 6pm.

LOS ANGELES, California See p. 39.


NEW YORK 20 January (11am) and 21 January (7pm) UNCOVERING THE URARTIAN FORTRESS 'RUSAHINILI' AT AYANIS, TURKEY. Dr Alan Cangirayoglu. Co-sponsored by the MMA and the New York Society of the AIA. Metropolitan Museum of Art (212) 879-5600. 26 February. STRANGERS IN THEIR MIDST: THE CHINESE AND THEIR SIGNIFICANT OTHERS IN THE BRONZE AGE. Dr Katherine Linnell. Co-sponsored by Columbia University and the New York Society of the AIA. 501 Scher- born Hall, Columbia University. 6:15pm.

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